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THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS



United Nations International Research
and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
(INSTRAW)

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Conceptual Framework of Research Studies

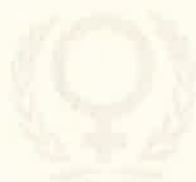
Study prepared by Brigitte Stern
at the request of INSTRAW



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and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
(INSTRAW)**

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Conceptual Framework of Research Studies



INSTRAW'S Headquarters:

Avenida César Nicolás Penson 102-A
P.O. Box 21747
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
Telex: RCA 9264280 WRA SA
Phone: (809) 685-2111

Preface

The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) aims to promote through research, training and information activities, the full participation of women in the development process. This requires that the Institute monitor closely the current debate on development and international economic relations, and participate in the ongoing search for meaningful ways to address development issues in order to contribute through its work to the fulfillment of the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

Pursuant to the search for solutions to development problems arising from the present world economic situation, it has been found necessary to study the impact of this situation on the role of women in the development process focusing on the interdependence between the international and national levels of the economy, thereby helping in taking into account women's participation and requirements in development processes.

In the course of developing this idea, INSTRAW undertook numerous activities, including a brainstorming session, which was organized at United Nations Headquarters on 25 July 1982 to solicit views of the specialists on the subject from within and outside the United Nations and a review of United Nations resolutions and decisions relevant to the status of women and their role in development, particularly, those adopted by the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on the Status of Women, in order to determine the areas which needed further in-depth study.

As result of surveying the area of women and development, it was found that the aspects to be further developed are: a) to review and analyze the present model of development and different approaches and concepts so far used in these development strategies; b) to identify the economic dimension of actual development theories and approaches especially where they merge into the social perception of the work and life of women; c) to assess the benefits and losses to women that derive from the economic and social changes in present-day society; d) to examine the linkage between the international and national dimensions, taking into consideration the economic, social and cultural aspects as they relate to women; e) and to examine problems emerging from the world economy and influencing national economic and social policies which affect the role, status and well-being of women.

The Board of Trustees of INSTRAW at its Third Session in January 1983 decided that the Institute should conduct a series of research studies on the role of women in international economic relations, concentrating particularly on the analysis of the interlinkages between the macro and micro economy and their impact on the role and status of women.

In this respect, the United Nations General Assembly requested that the Institute's activities continue to contribute to the full integration of women in the mainstream of development and that due attention be given to the interdependence of the micro and macro levels of the economy and its impact on women's role in the development process.

This programme has, therefore, been carried out by the Institute in two successive phases. The first phase consisted of the preparation of a series of research studies on industry, trade, agriculture, technology and money and finance, examining the interlinkages between the macro and micro economy and their consequent impact on women in collaboration with a number of internationally renowned academic and research institutions. The second phase consists of a number of meetings including a high-level meeting of eminent personalities to review the studies and to consolidate them into a publication of women in international economic relations.

In preparing these studies, the Institute drafted jointly with the collaborating institutions and individuals the outline of the studies, reviewed the various drafts of the studies and convened a consultative meeting in September 1984 of the authors of the studies and experts in international economic relations to review and finalize the studies.

This study entitled, "The Changing Role of Women in International Economic Relations" provides the conceptual framework for the series of research studies prepared under this sub-programme. It aims to suggest a number of theoretical concepts which would analyze the interrelationship between the changes affecting the role of women and the evolution of international economic relations in order to direct the future towards better development and a better situation for women. It begins with some general reflections on the specificity of women's position in society, and the interrelationship between all the factors underlying the historical division of labour at both the macro and micro levels of the economy which determine women's position. In a second part, it appraises women's position in the two transitional periods of international economic relations: from domestic economy to merchant capitalist economy, and from the classical international division of labour to the new international division of labour.

The views expressed in this study are those of the author Dr. Brigitte Stern, University of Paris X, who worked in close collaboration with the Institute in the preparation of the study and to whom the Institute wishes to express its gratitude.

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Introduction

The goal of these series of research studies is to analyse the interrelations between the changes affecting the role of women and the evolution of international economic relations in order to foster a *better type of development and a better situation for women*¹. Therefore, the ultimate purpose of our work is to promote women's full potential as agents and beneficiaries of the development process, thus improving the status of women and simultaneously assisting the total development effort.

What must be stressed, at the outset, is that the role of women in international economic relations and development co-operation is not a question of feminism, or even of equality between human beings, but a question of *deep economic necessity*². It is not a question of ethics, but a question of economic interest.

That means that women's issues cannot be considered apart from the general issues of world-wide development. This has been underlined, for example, in the Declaration of Mexico on Women's Equality and Contribution to Development and Peace (1975), which states that "The problems of women, who constitute half of the world's population, are the problems of society as a whole"³. The World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year underlines, as well, "the loss represented by the underutilization of the potentialities of approximately 50 per cent of the world's adult population"⁴.

Thus, women's issues cannot be considered as specific issues to be solved in addition to and/or after other general economic issues that are deemed more urgent and important. Women's problems cannot be solved through a welfare approach, which although attempted with good intentions has little insight into the main issue for a variety of reasons. Welfare activities in education, housing, health and more generally in social areas, are not the right approach. Women must not be treated as a specific, underprivileged group, but as a part —and in fact a major part— of the world's population.

"The fact is that the solution to the question of women's rights is linked to a permanent transformation in the present socioeconomic system"⁵.

Women are part of the population and there can be no improvement in the situation of women if there is no improvement in the international economic situation. But, women should not wait passively for that improvement and real development; they should foster it: "Women's problems can be resolved only by their own struggles in consonance with people's struggles for a more productive and just social order"⁶. In other words, *women are central —and not marginal— in the development process; women have to be active, not passive, in the development process*. This explains the theoretical as well as practical importance of this study on the role of women in international economic relations.

A very precise conceptual framework is needed for a study on such a broad and complex subject to be meaningful. As a matter of fact, when dealing with the subject area of women and economic relations, the authors most often concentrate on more specific topics such as rural women in Africa, the impact of microelectronics on women's employment, unpaid household work, women in Latin American cities, the sufferings of black women under the apartheid regime in South Africa, and women and fertility, which are assumed to be illustrative of the general situation of women and the economy.

My purpose here is to describe the determinants of the world economy and of women's situation (Part I), before attempting to give an appraisal of the present situation of women in international economic relations (Part II), these two steps being a prerequisite in the search for future changes (Part III).

Part 1

The Determinants of World Economy and Women's Situation

I. The World Economy: The Necessity and the Possibility of a Change

What are today the key trends in the world economy? What evolution is there in production, that is, in agriculture and industry? What is the third sector's place? What are the changes in technology? What are the characteristics of international exchange currents, whether they concern capital flows or trade of goods or transfer of technology?

To study the interlinkages between women's role and international economic relations, one must first give a picture of these international economic structures: from the classical to the new international division of labour.

The classical international division of labour based on Ricardo's classical economic theory of comparative costs and advantage, and later on, Heckscher, Ohlin and Samuelson's neo-classical theory of the endowment of production factors, assigned a very precise specialization —the extraction and production of raw materials and base products, mineral and energetic, and the agricultural production of exotic products— while the Western countries kept for themselves the manufactures and industries.

This international specialization was based on some wrong theoretical premises, like the hypothesis of perfect concurrence and the hypothesis of the immobility of production factors in space as well as in time. On the concrete level, it was contradicted by the facts; far from ensuring harmonious development for all, the international specialization of labour revealed itself most unfavourable to the developing countries. In fact, they were losing at all levels: the volume of the industrial production was growing much quicker than the volume of extraction of raw materials, or of agricultural production; the economic law of increasing returns applied only to industries, while agriculture and extraction were submitted to decreasing returns; finally, the value and prices of mineral and agricultural base products diminished as compared to the value of manufactured goods. This is the well-known phenomenon of the deterioration of the terms of exchange. This classical international division of labour, thus increased the gap between the rich and the poor countries.

*This is why today everyone speaks about a *new international division of labour* which should remedy the imbalance of the former situation. The industrialization of the developing countries is one of the central elements of this global redistribution of tasks. Therefore, it is clear that "the developing countries can no longer be accurately typified as mainly primary commodity exporters"⁷.

However —and there is where the problem lies— not any kind of industrialization is appropriate. If one admits that the most "interesting" industries —from the point of view of their added value to the economy— are those which have a high capitalist degree, use a high technology and are in the field of equipments goods, then one must concede that these are not the kind of industries that have been recently shifted to the developing countries. In framing the new international division of labour, most labour intensive consumption goods industries using low-level technology (and recently in a few areas high technology labour-intensive industries) have been established in the developing countries.

In fact, "the production of consumer goods still dominates in even the most industrially advanced developing countries", but at the same time, "a substantial share of manufacturing production is taken up by intermediate and even capital goods", in a limited number of countries. In fact, eight newly industrialized countries account for eighty per cent of the total of this new industrialization⁸.

This new industrialization must, however, be replaced in the general process of internationalization of production. In fact, very often multinational corporations, which control the whole productive process, carry out the labour-intensive parts of the production in developing countries and then bring the imports or assembled final products back to their home countries. In the developing countries, these corporations benefit from a less expensive labour force than they would in developed countries. This offshore assembly policy has been encouraged by the legislation of several developed countries, and results in concentrating the benefits of the industrial process in the developed countries.

In other words, today one can find the basic industries and most of the high technology industries in developed countries while the developing countries receive the traditional manufacturers of transformation. As Samir Amin says, "the next step will be that of an accelerated industrialization of the periphery of "classical" industries (pollutant) and concentration in the center of new industries which will be the basis for a renewed model of accumulation: atomic energy, solar industries, space industries, synthetic food production and so on⁹.

The type of industrialization of the developing countries which is mainly in the hands of large multinational Corporations can only perpetuate, at a higher level, the old international division of labour: "The goods, produced by the traditional industries, that the developing countries will sell to the international market will, in terms of exchange, play exactly, or almost the same role, when compared to the goods produced by the new industries, as the one played by raw material when compared with industrial goods¹⁰.

Apart from the limited positive aspects, the new international division of labour has some other negative aspects: while the focus was laid on industrialization, *agriculture* was neglected. As a result of this neglect, many of the developing countries today are not self-sufficient as far as food production is concerned. This can be explained by the exigencies of *international trade*: in part through the replacement of food cultures by export cultures and in part by the exportation of food cultures. For example, in the Sahel region, very often food producing cultures were replaced by tobacco, cultivated for exportation. Also, sometimes some products that can be used as food on the local market are exported to the North for the sake of cattle breeding. A striking example also related to the Sahel region can be given. It has been said that, during the peak of the food shortages in Sahel, the years 1971-1973, the eight countries mostly concerned —Mali, Niger, Ethiopia, Upper Volta, Mauritania, Senegal, Sudan and Chad— were exporting two to five times more proteins (in the form of oil cakes prepared in their arachis oil factories) than they were importing (in the form of cereals). Therefore, if these countries had stopped their arachis oil extraction factories and their exports of cattle feed for the North, they would have ended up with more than what they got from the international food aid¹¹.

It cannot be then denied that integration in the international market system has some negative consequences on developing countries: it drives these countries into industrialization on the one hand, and deagrarianization or agro-industries on the other hand. Regardless of the final choice, the result is always a stagnation or deterioration in the food system.

In fact, depending on the various state policies, the consequences of the industrial drive have been either a neglect of agriculture in general, or a concern for, and development of cash crop industries and large scale agricultural production by multinational corporations. The side effect has been a willing allocation of a subordinate status to traditional food production, as well as what Achola Pala Okeyo states in her report, "The truth of the matter is that commercial farming

could only really thrive if production in African areas did not increase to the point of becoming a major competition in the local market and export trade¹².

Thus, the subsistence sector eventually appeared as a sector to be maintained, in order to ensure that some of the "reproduction of the labour force" costs of the productive agro-industrial sector remain low. But it was, by no means, seen as a sector to be developed or modernized, or improved through research or investments.

1. The Crisis Opens the Way to Change (The Conjuncture)

Any development process implies deep structural transformation. Therefore, a period where the structures are under crisis might be more favourable for the starting of a new cycle of economic change.

This is exactly the present situation of the world economy, which is characterized by a general recession and a complete overthrow of the international monetary system.

Because of recession, there is a slow-down in world trade flows and even some protectionist attitudes from the developed countries towards either agricultural commodities that are traditionally exported by developing countries (sugar, cotton), or manufactured goods in which some newly industrialized countries have become competitive (Multifiber agreement). This is not without significance for the developing countries, as 70% of the trade of the developing countries involves the developed countries.

Because of inflation and disorder in the international monetary system, the terms of exchange have greatly deteriorated, as far as price levels and revenue stability are concerned.

This recessionary and inflationist climate of the present world situation is at the root of the very worrying "debt crisis" faced by most of the developing countries, and not only the least developed among them.

In short, whether we look at the structure or at the present conjunctural crisis situation of the world economic system the conclusion is the same and can be borrowed from the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace: "The present state of international economic relations poses serious obstacles to a more efficient utilization of all human and material potential for accelerated development... It is therefore essential to establish and implement with urgency the New International Economic Order"¹³.

There is a general agreement nowadays on the need to implement a new international economic order, especially since the world crisis, based on the fact that the present form of international relations is not working and that changes in the world economic order are urgently needed. As pointed out by the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, "The charge against that order in the past is that it worked well for the affluent and against the poor. It cannot now even be said to work well for the rich. This is an... incentive for evolving a New International Economic Order".

It seems that today the necessity of the emergence of a New International Economic Order is felt by all the states, although they have different images of what that order should be; the position of developing countries, and the position of developed countries, whether having a market economy or a planned economy, are in fact quite irreconcilable.

For the developing countries which launched the idea of a New International Economic Order, it was the "new frontier" towards which the international community was to strive. At the beginning, the concept is quite clear: it should incorporate all the changes wished by the developing countries —Developing Countries, Group 77 Non-aligned—, it should be an economic system taking into account the interests of all developed as well as developing countries, and

from which the "unequal exchange" should be banned. But, in fact, this concept, while being recuperated in the international debate, was somehow blurred even in the policies of some developing countries. As far as the developed capitalist countries are concerned, it is striking that they started to commit themselves to a New International Economic Order after the first petroleum crisis of 1973 — which can be considered as the real start, even if certainly not the dominant causal factor of the present world economic crisis. Concerning finally the developed planned economies, while paying lip service to the emergence of a New International Economic Order, they consider themselves as outside the development dialectic, as they consider underdevelopment to be a by-product of capitalism and colonialism, and thus, of no concern to them.

Whatever the goals of one or another of these groups ultimately are, it is evident that a world redistribution of international economic power is now going on. It is absolutely essential that women voice their needs in order not to be left out in this world wide economic redistribution.

II. Women: The Necessity and the Possibility of a Change

If one looks at the situation of women over history, some reflexions can be made on four points that seem beyond challenge: first, there has always been a sexual division of labour; second, this division is always in favour of men; third, this sexual division of labour is very diversified; fourth, the time has come, with the mastering of reproduction, where deep changes can occur in the situation of women.

1. There Exists a Sexual Division of Labour in all Communities

This is true in the more primitive stages of a domestic community's autarchy, true in the period when a differentiation started to exist between the unit of reproduction and the unit of production, and is still true today.

The question is how this universality can be explained. Only one approach can give the answer; is it to determine what is common to all women? The answer is self evident: it is their exclusive capacity to give birth.

Thus, a biological feature, given by nature, is at the very root of the existence of a necessary minimal sexual division of labour. It means that whatever the evolution of socio-economic conditions —including the progress of genetic manipulations or medical knowledge— women will always be entrusted with a task of utmost importance, the work of reproduction. This, of course, only explains why men have been excluded from certain tasks, but does not explain why or justify that women have been excluded from some activities that are not reproductive or closely linked with them. Especially, all contentions that women's situation in society is "natural" fall short of explanation. As stressed by C. Meillassoux, "The situation of women is not natural but results from changing historical circumstances always tied to their reproductive role"¹⁴.

In fact, very often a shift was made between reproduction in the physical sense —which is necessarily entrusted to women— and reproduction in a more general sense — social reproduction, reproduction of the labour force, which does not necessarily rest with women, although it often has¹⁵.

2. This Division of Labour is Always in Favour of Men

It is not challenged that in almost all communities known throughout history, patriarchal structures have been dominant, with the exception of a few rare matriarchal systems, patriarchy being "a familial, social, ideological, political system by which men, by force, direct pressure or through ritual tradition, law and language, customs, etiquette, education and the division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play"¹⁶. That means that in almost all

societies until the present day, the position of women in society is in one way or another "inferior" to the position of men, all things being equal.

As put in the Declaration of Mexico on the equality of women, "Women of the entire world, whatever differences exist between them, share the painful experience of receiving or having received unequal treatment, and as their awareness of this phenomenon increases, they will become natural allies in the struggle against any form of oppression"¹⁷.

The question then arises: why are women almost always "the second sex", using Simone de Beauvoir's expression; why are women almost always in a worse situation, collectively speaking than men?

Two questions must be raised here: the first concerns the real meaning of an "unfair" sexual division of labour, the second refers to the explanation of that inequality.

- The measurement of the unequal share of women.

What does it mean when it is said that the division of labour is in favour of men and detrimental to women? This can be partly answered by some distinctions made by Mrs. Deere and Leon de Leal¹⁸: in fact one must distinguish the sexual division of labour, the sexual division in access to means of production, the sexual division in decision-making power and the sexual division in distribution. The sexual division of labour, strictly speaking, measures the ratio between women and men's contribution in work: this division can be considered to be "unfair" because the same quantity of work is not involved on both sides, or because the quality of the work performed is different or only when the work is not equitably linked with social power.

Most generally, reference is made to the last meaning in their study on woman in Andean agriculture, the two aforesaid mentioned authors have demonstrated that there is no necessary relation between the quantity of work performed, and the social power gained through it (access to means of production, decision, goods to be consumed).

The sexual division in access to means of production translates the reciprocal social power of women and men. One could think that the relevant factor is the household's access to means of production: although this concept is important in the analysis of the place of woman in a household, it must be refined in order to see if there is a differential access of women to means of production than that of men in the same social situation. Some examples can be given, like the fact that women in traditional agricultural communities in Africa were not the real owners of land (this factor however must be analysed in view of the fact that they usually had customary rights on the land which was guaranteed by her community, and not only in western orientated legal terms¹⁹; or the fact that they have often difficult access to credit compared to men (N.B., the recent creation of one of the only banks in the world managed by women for women, the Kenya Women's Trust Ltd., which opened in 1983 in Nairobi); or the fact that a woman-headed household may not have access to male labour work, in many places, for cultural reasons. This last remark takes its full meaning when it is remembered that today three families out of ten in the developing countries are headed by women.

The sexual division in decision making power is rarely distributed in line with the contribution in work. The control over the productive process is often then control of men. In the quoted study on Andean agriculture, it was shown that the more the household has a good access to means of production, that is, the higher it is in social hierarchy, the less the woman has power in decision making.

It is also interesting to notice, and this is of great relevance to our subject, that it has been shown²⁰ that women's power in decision making decreases with the integration of the household production in commodity relations — that is, in the world market. This evolution has been perfectly described by Margaret Mead: "Over the years, decisions about the allocation of food and marketing, and about the allotment of fertilizers and pesticides for growing subsistence or

cash crops was transferred first from the village to the provincial city, then to the capital city, and finally to the international marketplace. These decisions therefore increasingly became removed from the daily input of women. Aspects of food production which were traditionally the province of women have progressively become a component of global agricultural transaction, and food today is treated as a commodity in large-scale production or as a weapon in economic negotiations. Its use at the local level as the main means of freeing people from hunger, is being neglected"²¹.

The sexual division in distribution gives the picture of what women and men respectively get out of the products of their work: it appears that men often get more than they contribute (for example in what Ester Boserup calls the "female agriculture system"); and also that women are frequently the last served, especially in periods of shortages: "in a context of scarcity it is always women and little girls that are disfavoured, it is the "second sex" which suffers more privations relating to food, hygiene, education and health"²².

- The explanation of the unequal share of women²³.

The answer to the question of the unequal share of women is not an easy one and numerous general theoretical explanations, biological, anthropological, psycho-analytical, socio-economical, and so on... have been attempted.

Some indications on these general theories can be given here. It is ironical to point out that in order to explain women's generally inferior position in society, some take as a starting point women's "natural inferiority", while others take as a starting point women's "natural superiority" residing in her power to give birth, power that men *had to* control. This shows that explanations can always be constructed to justify existing power situations.

In fact, all the existing theories can be linked with one of the two following lines of reasoning: either an explanation based on "nature" and the natural inferiority of women; or an explanation based on "culture" that is on socio-economic factors, explaining the will of men to dominate women. It must be noticed that if nature is a definite "given", socio-economic factors are accessible to change; which means that the theories of the second category leave the door open to change²⁴.

Among the theories based on natural explanations, we find the *biological theories* on the one hand, which rest on the assumption of a physical inferiority of women, and their basic reasoning is quite well known: some scientists show the differences either in muscles or in the relative development of certain parts of the brain, or any other feature, and conclude from that, quite often, an inferiority of women. Of course closely linked to that approach, are all the theories justifying women's second rank in society by their biological function of reproduction.

The *psychoanalytical theories*, on the other hand, rest also on the physical differences between men's and women's morphology. Freud starts from a biological comparison between the sex of man and woman, and analyzes the woman as a human being lacking a phallus. All his theories are based on that assumption of a biological superiority of men. Never does Freud attempt to take into account cultural factors that have an impact on the sexual differentiation. This goes even deeper and is more negative for women than the usual theories explaining the secondary status of women through their reproductive role²⁵. Because it cannot be denied that even if today women have control over their reproductive role, they do not have the power to shape their sexual organs.

Other theories are based on *socio-economic explanations*. In general, they all rest on the assumption that men had to assert their power on women in order to maintain the existence of a certain social order, that is to meet the requirements of a given process of social regulation or a given process of growth and accumulation. In other words, men, in order to ensure the reproduc-

tion of the social structure, had to control women's power of reproduction: that means they had to contain the tremendous power of women inherent in their power to give life.

According to some *anthropologists*, men controlled women's power of reproduction in primitive domestic societies in order to be able to control the "exchange of wives", an institution ruling relations between several communities of production in order to enable them to control the timing of their reproductive activities²⁶.

The *Marxists*, after Marx²⁷ and Engels²⁸, contend that men's control over women is explained by the need to control the access to means of production and therefore control progeniture. Engels explains that the subordinate position of women is related to the introduction of private property: whenever private property exists, it has to be transmitted, which means that one must be able to identify its descendance, which in turn implies a control of men over women's reproductive activities.

The same reasoning has been extended when, not private property, but skills are to be transmitted. More generally, it exists whenever there is an individualized access to resources²⁹.

Engels' assumption was also that the emancipation of women will result from the abolition of private property³⁰.

How do men dominate women? Through physical force in primitive societies, the use of that force being especially easy when the woman was pregnant; through ideological and legal factors later, which taken together with the fact that women are entrusted with the work of reproduction gives man a better bargaining position than women³¹.

One can also claim that physical force being no longer accepted as a legitimate means of imposing one's power, money plays that role today. This could explain why, when the monetary economy was introduced in places where the non-monetary economy prevailed, women have in general been relegated to the unit of reproduction, in the production of use value, thus remaining out of the monetary exchanges, and have little access to the world of monetary economy production. It might also explain why women's production in the subsistence economy has never been evaluated in monetary terms (N.B., the present propositions to pay a salary to women staying at home to rear a family in many developed countries). A question which is linked with that, although a little different, is why the work of production accomplished by women in the reproduction unit, has been submitted to a general underevaluation. Besides the fact that it has not given rise to any monetary compensation, as just mentioned, it has always been underestimated objectively, as well as subjectively³². It means that the work of production of women in the non-monetary sector has never been computed for example in the G.N.P.³³ It is also usually considered as second rate work, and even not as work at all; in other words, the importance of women's tasks are often not reflected by their social valuation³⁴.

3. A Great Variety Exists in the Sexual Division of Labour

That is, in the participation of women in productive activities and social relations, across regions, countries and through time. This in itself rejects all the "unidimensional" explanations of women's situation, resting on a single factor of explanation.

One might ask here what is so different in the situation of women, beyond their common characterisation, to explain that on the same "given", very different patterns of sexual division of labour have been built? It is their integration in a specific system of relations that exercises pressure on them in different ways. The challenging question, then, is to try to understand what these ways are: that is, what are the relevant factors explaining along which lines this division of labour is established.

The description of the situation of women requires a new tool of formalization taking into

account factors relevant to several disciplines, and thus necessitates a multidisciplinary approach. Therefore, it is necessary to build up an instrument of measure of a sufficient degree of abstraction to enable us —and others— to describe the situation of women in different parts of the world, today and throughout the ages.

The factors we will select should help us to give content to the “generalized non-preference” for women, that is to trace precisely the different kinds of unequal treatment of women, that are not necessarily the same in different societies.

More and more, the research scholars insist on the fact that a great complexity prevails over the determination of women’s position in society. Here we can refer to White’s work³⁵, in which he makes a scrutiny of the relative situation of women and men in almost a hundred pre-industrial societies. In doing so, he resorts to not less than 52 variables, and demonstrates that the statistical link between them is weak: that is, that a privileged position in one sector does not imply a privileged position in others. The necessary conclusion of such a type of findings is that there is *no key indicator*³⁶, which in itself is sufficient to explain the differences in women’s positions in diverse surroundings. On the other hand, the question is raised —and it can be one of the aims of this reflexion— whether it is possible to determine a *bundle of significant factors* that would be an efficient tool of analysis.

- The determinant factors.

— The fact that *no single criterion of explanation* is possible has consequences on the validity of some theoretical presentations of women’s position, relying exclusively on the explanatory factor. There seems to exist a great infatuation nowadays for purely economic explanations³⁷. Although they often bring deep insights on the existing mechanisms of societies, in so far as they throw light on one of their mains aspects, economic factors do not exclusively determine the status of women in society. However, economic factors do intervene, and probably in a very extensive way. Consequently, they must be kept in mind as one of the several relevant factors of explanation.

Of course this conclusion makes our inquiry more difficult, as it will always be necessary to distinguish, in the situation of women, what is relevant to economic relations and what is relevant to other factors.

— In the search of a *bundle of significant factors*, some remarks can be made.

In traditional agricultural communities, it is now generally admitted, after the contribution of Ester Boseup in *Women’s Role in Economic Development*³⁸, that the differentiation in the type of cultivation (hoe versus plough cultivation) has a determining effect on the differentiations according to gender. In this respect, she points to the importance of *technical factors* in the establishment of the sexual division of labour. However, this division can undergo some changes over time, under the influence of other factors like changes in population density, in other words, of *demographic factors*, and also under the influence of modifications in the *socio-economic factors*, like changes in access to land, work, means of production, for example³⁹. A question that can be raised here is whether a distinction should be made between economic and social factors, even if many predetermined links exist between them, or if they should be treated as one single causal factor.

Many recent studies have laid emphasis on socio-economic factors, and demonstrated the fact that there is an heterogeneity in the sexual division of labour among families having a different position in class relations. In their study on “Women in Andean Agriculture”, Carmen Dien Deere and Magdalena Leon de Leal⁴⁰ distinguish four different classes, according to the access of their members to land: the landless households, the small households, the middle peasant households, the rich peasant households. After a through examination of the situation in three Andes regions, they conclude⁴¹: “The data support the proposition that there is a differ-

ence in the agricultural division of labour by sex by strata of the peasantry. Not only do women from near landless and small households provide a large share of the family labour employed on the farm plot, but women from these strata participate in a wider variety of agricultural tasks. Women from the middle and rich peasantry only dedicate more time to cooking because more non-family labour is utilised in the production process, but these women do not consider it proper for women to participate in a good number of agricultural tasks. The use of agricultural implements provides the crearest boundary of the type of agricultural work which is considered "right and proper" for women to do".

The last point leads to a final type of factors that intervene in the determination of the sexual division of tasks: namely, the *normative factors*, including cultural, ideological, mythological and legal factors. The cultural factor includes education and levels of instruction of men and women; the ideological factor accounts for the place of women in the collective consciousness; the mythological factor is relevant to the image of women⁴²; and the legal factor concerns all regulations related to women's rights and obligations, whether at the national level (state) or the international level (world community, international organisations, international conventions).

It might be worthwhile to notice that most of the factors that we have attempted to select here as the most significant ones, have been referred to in the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year, in which it is stated that, "There are significant differences in the status of women in different countries and regions of the world, which are rooted in the political, economic and social structure, the cultural framework and the level of development of each country, and in the social category of women within a given country"⁴³.

As we see, there is a great variety of factors at work in any society, and it is certainly not an easy task to isolate the economic factors in order to study their influence on women and women's influence on them, as is the goal of the study.

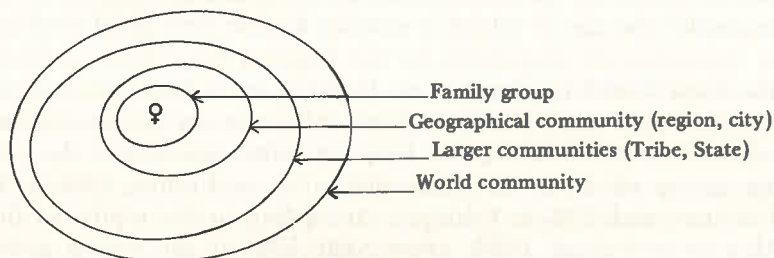
As is emphasized, for example, in the World Plan of Action of Mexico⁴⁴, "Social, economic and demographic factors are closely interrelated and changes in one or more invariably involves changes in others. The status of women is both a determinant and a consequence of these various factors".

We must keep this dialectical relationship in mind, in order to avoid a too simplistic approach to the relations between women and the international economic order.

However, if this enumeration of relevant factors gives us a kind of horizontal stratification of issues, we must also try to understand how women place themselves in the vertical structures.

- The levels of analysis.

Thus, any woman is in the centre of a series of concentric groups, whose determining factors, as pointed out above, will have an influence on her place in and outside the household, according to the following scheme⁴⁵.



The position of women will be determined by the interaction of all these levels, and the different factors mentioned play a role at each level.

In other words, at a given time, the different communities in which a woman is included are defined by the interaction of socio-economic, technical, demographic and normative factors, and the place of women by the interaction of the different levels. Sex related differentiations also result from the structures at the micro-economic level —family, personal relationships among the family, neighbourhood, village, city's quarter— and at the macro-economic level — economic and socio-political structures of the State and of international economic relations.

It can be underlined that each of the series of factors seen in a vertical perspective can be "homogeneous" or "heterogeneous", in some segments.

A factor is homogeneous if the factors of the community go in the same direction. For example, the situation of a woman in a rich family in a rich region of a rich state is explained by the "multiplier effect" of the economic factor of richness at all levels. It must be underlined here that the multiplier effect can of course be positive or negative, depending on the value of the factor; and of course a woman's situation in a poor family in a poor region of a poor country can be analyzed as the result of the negative multiplier effect of the economic factor of poverty.

On the other hand, a factor is heterogeneous if the factors of the different communities are pushing in contrary directions; for example, a rich family in a poor region in a poor state, or a Muslim family in a Catholic region of a non-religious state.

These definitions being made, the great complexity of the determinants of the sexual division of labour appears, since it is the result of the interaction of a certain number of factors at different levels — defining the general structure of relations in which a woman is involved, with the basic universal data on the reproductive capacity of women.

In fact the existence of a relationship between two factors does not end all difficulties, as the direction of the causal link has to be ascertained.

A good example related to women and the economy is the relation between fertility rates and women's activities outside the household. Although it cannot be denied that there is a link between these two phenomena, some authors feel that fertility rates condition women's participation in the economy, that is, in productive activities outside the house⁴⁶, while some others feel that the fertility rates are, on the contrary, conditioned by the economic activities of women⁴⁷. Therefore, it can be argued that a dialectical relation might exist between the two and that any change in the fertility rates probably has an influence on women's participation in economic activities; and in the same way, any changes in women's productive activities, probably have an influence on the fertility rates. However, the existence of such dialectical causal relations does not simplify the analysis of the relation between women and the economy.

- The time dimension.

Moreover, the role of women must be placed in a time perspective at both the micro and macro levels. At the micro level, the woman's life cycle must certainly be taken into account: for example, the age at which a woman has her first child is of utmost importance in her integration in economic development. In this respect, the report on World Population adopted in 1974 by the First World Conference on Population in Bucarest, states that the age of a woman when she has her first child has a decisive influence on her studies and, therefore, her possibilities for advancement. Some figures here are quite significant: the proportion of married women in the age group of 15 to 19 years old is 5% in France, 12% in Tunisia, 28% in Guatemala, 31% in Pakistan, and 53% in Ethiopia. According to the report of the Second World Conference held in Mexico in August 1984, every year 10% of the young girls between the ages of 15 and 19 in Africa and Latin America, have a baby. This means that they have to leave school, and conse-

quently later on, without a proper education, will be unable to find a job, and participate in the development process. Thus "in any society, to delay the first birth is the most important step to reduce natality"⁴⁸.

At the macro level, an analysis of women's role today can certainly not be made without placing them in the perspective of a system of economic relations in the process of transformation, as was mentioned previously.

Another transformation, which is quite recent and which must be considered, is woman's control over her reproductive activities.

4. The Mastering of Reproduction Opens the Way to Change

The enormous change that improvement in control over these activities has brought to women, cannot be over-emphasized.

Here we clearly see how a change in once of the factors shaping women's position has far-reaching consequences —both direct and indirect— at the micro-economic level of women's lives as well as at the macro-economic level of the world economy.

On the macro-economic level it is clear that demography has a *direct* impact on the economy. But, it must also be noticed that the change in women's position due to change in their reproductive functions can also have an *indirect* impact on the economy: for example, through a better participation of women in economic activities outside the home. On the micro-economic level, it is needless to say that women's life is *directly* and completely changed by her newly acquired power to master reproduction. In addition, changes in the general economy can have an *indirect* boomerang effect on her economic situation, which in turn makes her more able to contribute to the general well-being of the economy. This example illustrates the interaction between the macro and micro levels of analysis, and the benefits of examining this interaction.

This being said, it is evident that there is a crucial link between demography and development. It is generally admitted today that "It is no longer possible to speak seriously about problems of population, resources, environment and development by considering them separately"⁴⁹. Industrialization and development were always accompanied by a decrease in the birth rate in developed countries; while in developing countries demographic growth often hinders the development efforts⁵⁰.

According to an UNCTAD study, during the sixties for example, which was a period of stability and general economic growth, the annual average rate of growth of the G.N.P. was only 4.9 per cent in the developed countries as compared to 6 per cent in the developing countries. However, because of the higher rate of demographic growth, the growth per capita was lower in developing countries — 3.3 per cent — than in developed countries — 3.8 per cent⁵¹.

Another figure is quite impressive; according to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), 77 per cent of the growth of food demand in Africa during the period 1962-1984 was due to demographic growth, rather than to a higher consumption resulting from an elevation of the standards of living⁵².

Therefore, there is a general consensus that population growth should be mastered. However, two schools of thought advise two different ways to deal with the issue. Firstly, large families are the cause of under-development or slow development, therefore action should be oriented towards birth control and family planning. Secondly, large families are a consequence of underdevelopment or slow development; the priority then is development, which appears as "the best contraceptive". This controversy once more shows the difficulty to ascertain the direction of the causal sequences in any relation between women and the economy.

In fact, the two points of view, quite opposed during the First World Conference on Population, came together during the Second World Conference. It is usually admitted today that family planning is not sufficient, if it is not accompanied by other measures improving the status of women, health, education⁵³ ; that is, with other measures oriented towards development. Yet, it is also admitted that development does not automatically solve the demographic problems, unless campaigns of information on birth control are launched⁵⁴.

However much the potential for women to control their reproduction is significant, it must be noticed that reality greatly differs along the North-South lines: for example, today 70% of the couples of reproductive age use some contraceptive method in the developed countries, against 20% in the developing countries⁵⁵. So there is still some work to be done in order for all women in the world to have the possibility of mastering their reproductive activities.

Part 2

Appraisal of the Present Situation of Women in International Economic Relations

I. The Theoretical Approach to Interlinkages Between Macro and Micro Economic Analysis and the Consequent impact on Women

1. • The Difficulty of Isolating and Analyzing the Economic Factor

Referring to some former remarks on the complexity of the network in which women are involved, i.e. the different factors having an influence on the status of women at different levels of analysis, and on the different time periods to be taken into account, it does not seem possible to link analytically, in a determinist way, women and the economy, as the economic factor is only one among several factors relevant to women's situation. Thus, it is quite difficult to single out the influence of the economic factor on women and conceptualize that influence. It can, in fact, be noticed that in general studies concerned in one way or another with women and the economy, choose a descriptive approach.

Besides the difficulty of isolating the economic factor from the group of significant factors, there is another, resulting from the difficulty of building a general economic theory of explanation of the world economy, which is quite well known.

• The difficulty of relating the different scales of analysis

In other words, even if we assume that the first difficulty has been overcome, i.e. that it is possible to analyse separately the influence of the economic factor, it remains that the relations between the international economic level and the micro level of economic life are not so easy to ascertain — therefore the focal point of the whole study, which is precisely the analysis of the interlinkages between the macro and micro levels of the economy and their consequent impact on women, seems to raise some methodological difficulties, as has been brilliantly underlined by Professor Hamburger in his book, "La raison et la passion"⁵⁶.

"Tout se passe comme si l'analyse des micro faits et l'analyse du macro fait, n'utilisant pas les memes méthodes, ne pouvaient être parfaitement mises bout à bout; les deux analyses sont aussi rigoureuses l'une que l'autre, mais elles font preuve d'une certaine autonomie; leurs résultats ne sont nullement contradictoires, les ponts existent entre les deux familles de résultats, mais le nombre infini des facteurs dans le déterminisme du macroscopique rend illusoire l'espérance d'une formule univoque permettant de passer sans heurt d'un domaine à l'autre. (Appendix III-A).

In other words, the interlinkages between the macro and micro analysis of the economy do not follow a strict determinism, which, of course, is a limit to be kept in mind as far as our study is concerned. But, even if some relationship can be established between some macro economic and some micro economic aspects, this doesn't end our difficulties since the direction of the causal link still has to be determined.

• The difficulty to ascertain the causality direction

If it is quite evident that the macro economic events certainly have an influence at the micro

economic level⁵⁷. One might question whether changes at the micro economic level can have a determining effect on a macro economic scale. This question is not purely theoretical and has, of course, far-reaching consequences, especially as far as action is concerned.

If we assume that the causal relationship can go one way or another, we must, of course, also bear in mind the possible "boomerang effects" of any modification in a given situation — whether it concerns primarily the economy of women. Furthermore, the analysis of all these "boomerang effects" is done at a time of growing interdependence between national economies and of increased internationalization of the means of production (migration of labour, capital flows, eurodollars, multinational corporations, and transfer of technology, are all symptoms of this internationalization), as well as internationalization of production and the markets. It results from this, that any change at one point of the network is "echoed" in the whole system: any change at a micro economic level in one point of the globe can have far reaching consequences in quite another point.

Even when one analyzes the consequences of a given economic event on women, a last well hidden difficulty appears.

- **The difficulty of distinguishing the differential consequences on men and women**

It is striking, when one starts to read the abundant literature dealing with the impact of such changes in the economic sector, or such programmes on women, to see that a distinction is very seldom made between the general effects of these changes or programmes and the specific effects on women. Nevertheless, the distinction seems quite important from an analytical point of view, although women themselves do not make the distinction, as the two effects mingle to shape their situation.

Thus the following should be considered separately: first, the effects —positive or negative— of the development strategies on the "viver economica", effects which are more or less the same as those on men, eventually with a kind of differential effect due to previous inequalities; second, the effects on women that go in a different direction than those on men. An example would be a strategy having some positive effects on men, and only negative effects on women. As underlined by L. Beneria⁵⁸, "There is therefore a dimension in the process of economic growth and accumulation which has to do with how it can affect women differently from men — this dimension must be analyzed in *addition* (emphasis hers) to the effects that this process has on both sexes. Capitalist penetration in subsistence economies, the privatization of land and the introduction of new products for the international market generates a deepening of class societies, the proletarianization of a part of the peasant population, and new forms of surplus appropriation. At the general level, the changes affect both sexes — starting at the very basis of households. How these changes affect women depends upon each specific historical development".

All these difficulties having been pointed out, it does not mean that this is the end of our inquiry. It seems that a good way out of all these theoretical obstacles, would be to take the unequal situation of women, as it appears, in the different sectors of economy; that is take it as a *fact*, that must be described as carefully as possible.

II. The Descriptive Presentation of the Interlinkages Between the World Situation and the Role of Women

An analysis of women's role must be placed within the context of a process of dynamic transformation of the economic system at the international level. Thus, for our study of the dialectical relation between the international economic system and the role of women, it seems interesting to focus on two crucial time-periods: first, the transition from domestic economy to merchant capitalist economy; second, the transition from the classical international division of labour to the "new international division of labour".

The transition from the subsistence economy to merchant capitalist economy has already been studied extensively. Therefore, it will be only briefly mentioned and illustrated by a summary of its impact on women in Africa. In this respect, it seems that the introduction of capitalistic relations in the African subsistence economy⁵⁹ have completely modified the respective situation of men and women.

Consequences on women:

- Relegation to the non-monetary sector, the domestic sector that is in charge of the reproduction of the labour force. So women were in charge of use value, men alone being able to produce goods that could generate something else: money. I think that the remaining difficulties of women to enter the monetary economy must be traced to that period.

- Isolation in their domestic sphere, since men often had to emigrate to go to work in mines and on plantations.

- Loss of some of their traditional prerogatives: like their customary right to use some parcels of land, through the privatization of land. The disappearance of communal land tenure rights diminished the control women had in productive agricultural activities.

- Loss of value of their traditional contributions in kind, as agricultural products could be bought by the husband's cash, as well as the mass-produced tools and implements.

- Loss of possibilities of their traditional contributions in cash, as the little market trade and women's handicrafts often disappeared because of competition from the capitalist sector.

Consequences on men:

- Acquisition of the possibility to contribute in cash, through their work in the capitalist sector.

- Acquisition of a kind of exclusivity for cash transactions.

- Acquisition of some mechanical skills, through apprenticeship, in using modern agricultural equipment which was almost only directed towards men, although women traditionally worked more in agriculture than men. This had the effect of increasing men's productivity as compared to women's productivity.

- Acquisition of legal title to land, through the registration with the colonial authorities.

All these micro economical changes were consequences of the establishment of new relations between capitalist industrial countries and underdeveloped parts of the world, which is a macro economical phenomenon. However, these relations have undergone some changes in recent years, which we will focus on.

The consciousness of the link between the international economy and women, as complete division of labour will be analyzed more thoroughly. The women-economy relationship will be analyzed in a dynamic development perspective, but whatever the moves towards a *New International Economic Order* are, one must not forget the fundamental contradiction between the logic of the world market economy, on the one hand, and development needs and welfare requirements on the other.

1. Towards a Formal Equality

● Taking Women Into Account in International Documents

A great number of international documents —treaties, resolutions— have shown some

concern, in recent years, about taking into account women's specific needs, especially in the frame of development schemes.

— Resolutions of International Bodies

The consciousness of the link between the international economy and women, as complete human beings, is quite recent⁶⁰.

For example, in the First United Nations Development Decade, adopted in Resolution 1710 (XVI) of the General Assembly on December 19, 1961⁶¹, no mention of women as such was even made.

General Assembly Resolution 2542 (XXIV)⁶² of December 11, 1959 on Social Progress and Development, still considered women mainly as mothers, playing an important reproductive role.

The first explicit reference to the integration of women in development can be found in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted by the General Assembly in Resolution 2626 (XXV) of October 24, 1970⁶³. Among the goals and objectives of the International Development Strategy, we find that "the full integration of women in the total development efforts should be encouraged". Let us mention however that it is the very last goal mentioned, and that it is quite broad and not very explicit.

Thereafter, some specific international action was launched at the level of the United Nations: the Third World Conference of the International Women's Year was convened in Mexico, in 1975, which elaborated a World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year and declared the period 1975-1985 the United Nations Decade for Women.

The objectives pursued by the World Plan are quite ambitious: the goal is that "changes in social and economic structures should be promoted which would make possible the full equality of women and their free access to all types of development, without discrimination of any kind, and to all types of education and employment"⁶⁴.

The vocabulary is quite strong and expressive: full equality, free access, all types of development, all types of education, all types of employment. And, of course, all these results can be achieved only if some structural changes occur. Changing women's position in society is not a question of slight modifications of certain imbalances, it implies a complete overthrow of the existing social structures.

This has to be done first through national plans and strategies. This means that each state is fully sovereign to adopt such policies to implement the World Plan of Action. It is also mentioned that "while integrated programmes for the benefit of all members of society should be the basis for action... special measures on behalf of women... will be necessary"⁶⁵. General actions as well as specific action seems thus to be advisable.

The World Plan of Action points to some specific issues that should be of priority concern to states: ensure the political participation of women in the various branches of government; give women better access to education and training; ensure that women workers have equality of opportunity and treatment as far as conditions of work, advancement and equal pay are concerned; provide for health services and good nutrition, as well as ensure the dignity, equality and security of each member of the family, especially through a sound demographic policy, improvement of the house, its related facilities and its neighbourhood, as well as the development of social services helpful to women.

These actions at the national level should of course be backed by action at the international

and regional levels, especially through the launching of international programmes, the preparation of international conventions dealing with the rights of women and so on.

At the mid-turn of the Decade another conference which adopted many resolutions on specific issues of interest to women was held in Copenhagen. Among the resolutions adopted by the Copenhagen Conference, it can be mentioned that the first one was on family planning, which stresses the importance of that issue which has a decisive impact on the possibilities for women to take advantage of education and employment⁶⁶, and the last one⁶⁷, on the Implementation of the Objectives of the United Nations Decade for Women, in line with the efforts made by the United Nations towards the establishment of a New International Economic Order, insists on the fact that "women's problems are also the problems of the whole society and are closely linked to the degree, the structure and the pace of global development"⁶⁸.

And finally, shortly after the Copenhagen Conference, on December 5, 1980⁶⁹, the Third United Nations Development Decade was adopted in Resolution 35/36 of the General Assembly, which illustrates how much has been achieved since the First Decade. While women were not even mentioned and were just referred to in a very general way in the Second Decade, the Third Decade asserts the link between development and the improvement of women's situation. Women are specifically referred to in several articles: article 8 concerned with the furthering of human dignity stresses the necessity of a "substantial improvement in the status of women"; article 51 calls for all countries to eliminate the structural imbalances which compound and perpetuate women's disadvantage, to "pursue the objective of securing women's equal participation both as agents and as beneficiaries" of the development process; article 95 calls for "better integration of women in all stages of the production process; article 122 calls for an "equal access for men and women to scientific and technological training", and article 168 refers generally to all the objectives of the World Plan of Action of Mexico (1975) and the Programme of Action adopted in Copenhagen (1980).

It seems that now the strategy for women's advancement constitutes an integral part of the general international development process and strategy, as is exemplified by the autonomous efforts directed towards women which are integrated in all recent international strategies, like the Strategy of Health for All by the Year 2000⁷⁰ and the UNCTAD Strategy for the Technological Transformation of Developing Countries⁷¹.

— International Conventions and Norms

At the Copenhagen Conference, a very important international legal document, namely the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, was opened for signature and ratification. It has been in force since September 1981. In this convention, the link between the macro-economic world level of the establishment of a New International Economic Order and the micro-economic level of women was stressed. Also, the link between the macro-economic national level of the country's development and the micro-economic level of the maximum and full participation of women in that development was emphasized.

After a definition of what "discrimination against women" means (art. 1), the convention condemns any such form of discrimination (art. 2): in order to *eliminate such discrimination*, the states pledge to inscribe the principle of equality between men and women in their constitution: to adopt appropriate legislation, to ensure the court's protection of the rights of women, abstain from any discriminatory practice by public authorities, especially in the state's political life (art. 7), as well as in its international representation (art. 8), and to take all measures in order to eliminate discrimination by private bodies. It is worth noticing that all kinds of discrimination are covered and that all state authorities —legislative power, jurisdictional power, executive power— are concerned, as well as any discrimination by private persons, that the state authorities can help to eliminate.

The states also agree, besides fighting public and private discrimination, to take *positive*

action in order to ensure "the full development and progress of women (art. 3), to modify the socio-cultural behaviour (art. 5) and to punish the traffic of women (art. 6).

All measures are to be taken in order that women enjoy equality with men as far as the law relating to nationality (art. 9), education and professional training (art. 10), employment (art. 11), health services (art. 12), and all other fields of economic and social life (art. 13).

It is interesting to notice that a special article (art. 14) is devoted to rural women. This is explained by the fact that they are on the one hand the majority of the women in the world, and on the other hand, in general, among the less favored; one often speaks of rural women as the "poorest of the poor".

The fourth part is devoted to legal equality between men and women as far as their civil and familial capacities are concerned (art. 15 et 16).

Article 4 is also worth mentioning as it delimits the scope of acceptable compensatory discrimination for women; special temporary measures aimed at accelerating the implementation of real equality between men and women are acceptable according to the convention, but of course should not imply the establishment of permanent discriminatory norms or even distinct norms; the special temporary measures have to be abrogated as soon as the equality of opportunity and treatment that they were pursuing are established.

How will this convention be translated into reality? Article 17 as well as other subsequent articles, provide for some mechanism of control; in order to examine the progress made in the application of the provisions of the convention, a Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women was instituted. This committee is composed of 18 to 23 experts of high morality and competence, elected by the member states, according to a fair geographic representation. Every state agrees to submit to the Committee all the measures it adopted in order to enforce the convention, to begin the first year after its ratification by that state and then every fourth year.

This mechanism of control is quite similar to the one adopted in the I.L.O., and is based on the idea of the efficiency of what was called "the mobilization of shame". In the I.L.O. it worked quite well and many international rules concerning labour regulations were enforced at the state's level in that way.

It is not without interest that I.L.O. was a pioneer not only in the field of international control but also as far as women's rights were concerned. The principle of equality of treatment for women workers can be found in the I.L.O. Charter (1919) and has been reaffirmed by the Declaration of Philadelphia (1944).

Of course, besides that general convention, in specific fields, there exists a great variety of legal norms. Let us mention for example, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and Promotion of Equality of Opportunities and Treatment for them in Employment and Related Matters (1958)⁷²; or the E.C.C. "directives" 75/115 and 76/207⁷³ for the defence and development of equality of opportunity, especially as far as remunerations and salaries are concerned.

With all these documents, we are however in the realm of what has been called earlier the normative factors. We must now analyze how the principles stated in these texts were followed in action-oriented strategies.

- **The Taking Into Account of Women in Development Strategies' Concepts**

Development does not result from the mere interplay of private interest. (If it were so, we would no longer speak about the necessity of development). Therefore, faced with the situation

of generalized inequalities at all levels, the international community, especially through its general or specialized international organizations, tried to elaborate a voluntarist strategy oriented towards development.

I will here try to study the development strategies successively shaped by the international community in the past three decades, in order to examine if the concepts on which they were based were attentive to the needs of women.

What was the situation of the world after World War II? I think it was characterized by tremendous inequalities at all levels: at the international economic level, there was a totally unequal situation between what is known today as the North and the South, at the macro economic national level, in most countries there existed an unequal situation between classes, and at the micro economic family level, an unequal division between men and women.

After having carefully analyzed the different successive strategies adopted by the world community, in application of the ideology of development rooted in the United Nations Charter, I believe that there has been a gradual shift from the macro to the micro economic level: from the growth strategies at the macro economic level of the world community to the strategies oriented towards the states, and finally, to the basic needs strategies mostly concerned with individuals, that is the micro economic level.

— The Growth Strategies: The Macro Economic World's Level

At the beginning, the development strategies adopted focused on the *general growth* of the world economy, that is, of the different states composing the international community. In the first United Nations Development Decade adopted on Dec. 16, 1961 by General Assembly Resolutions 1710 and 1715, the emphasis was still on quantitative goals, like the growth of the percentage of national income, which was fixed at an annual rate of 5%. The approach was quite simplistic: the growth of economic quantitative indicators can only bring about a general improvement in the situation of everybody. If the whole is in a better material situation, the parts should necessarily all benefit from it. No specific concern for any part was necessary in such an approach, which explains that neither the different States, nor the different individuals and especially women were taken explicitly into account in the first strategies, centered on growth of the world economy.

The international actions pursuant to this approach were not very successful. But even if they were, they could not bring about any "real" development effects, as the unique concern was global quantitative variables, and the goal too international and general.

What was forgotten in this growth approach, was that the different participants in that global growth will never benefit from it on the same footing if they are in a different situation from the beginning: some will still be in a different situation at the end, a little better off maybe, but still behind. And of course by participants, we mean the states (developed and developing) as well as the individuals (men and women). The analysis is the same at all levels. But growth strategies were only concerned with the world economy, the macro level, without any concern for distribution among states, and even less for distribution among people.

Thus, besides the limited general effects of growth —as it does not necessarily imply development—, the eventual growth of a family's income does not always imply an improvement of woman's well being since "the well being of women can even "progress" in a different direction than the well being of the family as an entity"⁷⁴.

Another criticism along with the previously mentioned one of growth strategies, namely that they are not concerned with distribution, is also that they are based on a *given* situation. This starting point is incorrect, for a situation cannot be changed if the strategies elaborated to do so rest on precisely those factors which require change.

Just as it can be noticed that many analyses of the international division of labour, based on the consideration of existing conditions —factors of production endowment— draw consequences on what could be the optimal situation, whereas they should be based on the assumption that these conditions should be changed in order to promote a better international division of labour, it must be emphasized that the analysis of the sexual division of labour “takes as given the very conditions that need to be changed in order not to perpetuate a division of labour which places women in conditions of inequality with men”⁷⁵.

The globalization of the growth strategies did not take into account the specific situation of developing countries, not to speak of the specific situation of women. Therefore the myth of the “benefit for all” of a general growth of the world economy no longer prevailed and some concerns about distribution appeared.

— The Distribution Strategies: The Macro Economic State Level

A new orientation of the development strategies could be observed: after having focused on the international level, they turned more towards diversified development of the different states. Therefore, the goal was growth with distribution among the macro economic entities that constitute the different states. The quantitative approach still remained, but corrected by a distribution of the quantities that were supposed to result from the development process. But the concern was only distribution among states. That is, it was a global distribution, not an individualized one. The shift towards this distribution approach, this growth with equity —among states— can be situated around the adoption of the United Nations Second Development Decade, adopted on Oct. 24, 1970 by General Assembly Resolution 2626⁷⁶. It can be also noticed that some qualitative concerns started to be taken into account, but still in a secondary way.

Again, the development process did not really follow the expectations, as the gap has increased between the developed states and the developing states; but again, even if it had, it would not have had an impact on women’s unequal situation with regards to men.

The concern about distribution, was a concern about a better distribution of growth between the North and the South, between the developing countries and the developed countries, but left the situation inside the states unchanged.

This was very well expressed by the Club of Rome’s Report, R.I.O.⁷⁷, in which it is stated that “there is a close link between the reform of the international order and those of national orders: if the national economies of states go on ignoring the needs of their own poor and if development strategies go on to benefit a few privileged ones, the legitimate demands towards a transformation of the international order will only have a weak effect, in so far as the main benefits of this transformation would be retired by the privileged ones, the legitimate demands towards a transformation of the international order will only have a weak effect, in so far as the main benefits of this transformation would be retired by the privileged elites”.

Therefore the concern was at the macro economic state’s level, and still not close enough to the needs of the underprivileged and women.

— The Basic Needs Strategy: The Micro Economic Level

Finally, some development strategies have been discussed which seem to be concerned with what really matters, that is the beneficiaries of the development strategies. The appearance of this new approach coincides more or less with the adoption of the Declaration on the Implementation of a New International Economic Order, in General Assembly Resolution 3201 (S.V.I.), adopted on May 1, 1974; it was also discussed at length at the I.L.O. World Employment Conference in June 1976. The focus now is on the human being, which is at the beginning —as the human resource element of development— and at the end —as the beneficiary of development— of any

development process. The essential needs include "adequate food, shelter, clothing, certain household effects, safe drinking-water, sanitation, public transport, and health and educational facilities"⁷⁸.

This approach has been discussed at length in many forums, especially at the June 1976 I.L.O. World Employment Conference, but it does not seem to have really pervaded the United Nations system.

The concept of basic needs at the root of development strategies seems to meet all the requirements for a well-oriented development process taking into account the needs of each individual, man or woman. But what is strange is that these basic needs strategy, which seems theoretically quite appropriate to meet the needs of underdevelopment and to fill in the gaps, does not seem to have been used either on a very broad scale or for a very long period.

It seems first that this strategy has been more a subject of discussion than a real "going and working" concept. The reason might be that when you discuss the basic needs of people, of men and women, you overlook the state's sovereignty: this probably explains the modest success of the basic needs theories, which ultimately can appear as a danger to the state's political as well as economic sovereignty. Also, it seems that a shift back to growth or distribution strategies can be observed today.

Even when it has been used, it seems that the basic needs strategy did not have the expected results —one of the explanations could be that too often the basic needs had been determined from outside the communities towards which the development strategies were aimed: the men —and even less the women— whose basic needs were not satisfied, were not consulted on their priorities and their desires or needs.

Thus the strategies which are more relied on do not seem very satisfactory either from the development point of view or that of the advancement of women, while the strategy which seems more satisfactory from these two points of view, is little used and quite set aside today.

This is way the present world situation has given rise to calls for changes in the basic concepts: our study tries to participate in that quest (see Part III).

2. Far From Real Equality

Women today are still quite underprivileged. Of 800 million illiterate people in the world, 600 million are women; women and their children constitute 75% of the undernourished⁷⁹.

- **Impact of the New International Division of Labour on Women**
- **On women in developing countries.**

The industrialization of the developing countries (import-substitution industries, export industries) resulting from the new international division of labour had far reaching consequences for women in the developing countries.

The main results are:

- + A catastrophic decline in agriculture.

As stated in Achola Pala Okeyo's Study: "During the past two decades, African national economies have experienced stagnation, negative growth and even deterioration in their food and agricultural sector"⁸⁰.

In fact, the situation of rural women seems to have been aggravated in two ways: in a

general way —as affected the population as a whole; in a specific way, first because it is obvious, as most African countries traditionally had a female farming system, that women were the first to be concerned as the main providers of subsistence goods; second, because very often agrarians reforms, or green revolutions have not paid attention to women, which explains why their situation has worsened in relation to that of men⁸¹. For example, very often, when land was distributed it was given to men, thus depriving women from some of their traditional control on agriculture⁸². The introduction of technology was also often oriented towards men: "One major aspect of "development", as it is commonly understood, that needs to be carefully assessed because of its mixed and sometimes damaging impact on women, is the erosion of their base in agricultural employment, compounded by biased impacts from the way technological innovations are often introduced and the creation of some new low-wage ghettos in agribusiness in the developing countries⁸³.

- + Aggravation of the differential of productivity of men and women in the industrial sector.

While it seems that women have been left behind in the process of modernization of agriculture, as a result of the interference of the new technologies and the old sexual division of labour in agriculture, their situation as regards their integration into the industrialization process is more difficult to analyze.

It seems first that in the present period of transition from agrarian to industrial social structures with the market and the state gaining importance relative to the household, men are, in general, in a better position to seize new opportunities.

It seems however, that women have benefited as much —and maybe even more than men, in absolute terms of number of jobs created in certain limited sectors, and certain limited geographical areas, from the pattern of recent industrial development. This is explained by the fact that the "delocalisation" of certain industries in the developing countries was based on the comparative advantage of using very cheap female labour.

But it must be remembered that this is true only in the newly industrialized countries, especially in East Asia; and also that conditions of work of women seem in general much less favourable than those of men — (wages, job security, security of employment, promotion possibilities, interest of the work done which is often repetitive⁸⁴). In addition, it is evident that in a period of crisis as the current one, the trends do not seem to sustain the creation of jobs for women, and, on the contrary, make apparent the vulnerability of women's future employment prospects⁸⁵.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that industrialization, meaning development of a new sector of activity, appears as a powerful instrument of economic as well as social change: especially as there is no traditional sexual division of labour that has been shaped through a long lasting customary usage, which means that the traditional mode of behaviour in other sectors is not necessarily adopted in the industrial sector. However, many characteristics of women's situation can still have a negative influence on their full integration in the industrialization process, if no corrective affirmative action is taken.

The undermining of the rural family structure occurs because of male migration in search for employment in the local industries, and also in the Northern countries' industries (issue of immigrant workers). As a result this, 1/3 of rural households in developing countries are women-headed⁸⁶.

Women in developing countries seem to have suffered especially from the change resulting from the new international division of labour; however, it cannot be contended that men in developing countries really have benefitted from it. So the effects on women go in the same direction as the effects on men —only they seem even more disruptive⁸⁷. In general, it seems that

most of the transformations of the family structure due to development, have been detrimental to women.

- On women in developed countries.

The new international division of labour has negatively affected women in developed countries in that their employment has contracted in industries which have been transferred to the developing countries, and which traditionally employed a quasitotality of female labour, like the textile industries.

Women occupy a second rank position in the newly developed industries, namely the information sector. Women participate with difficulty in the technological revolution in that their employment diminishes as new centralized information systems are used in office work and their conditions of work change⁸⁸.

In a report on the "New technologies and women's employment"⁸⁹, Mrs. Antoinette Spaack spells out a severe warning: "si des efforts particuliers ne sont pas faits pour aider les femmes a prendre leur place dans cette revolution technologique, le risque d'une régression de leur place dans la société est inévitable. Ce nouveau défi survenant après tant d'autres doit etre relevé sous peine de voir les femmes etre encore plus retrogradées en ce qui concerne la qualité de leurs emplois"⁹⁰.

This warning issued at the European level, was also made at the French level. Mrs. Yvette Roudy, the French Minister for Women's Rights, insisted on the necessity for women to enter the technological revolution, instead of suffering from it.

*"On s'étonnera peut-etre que, depuis quelques mois, je mene une offensive aussi vive pour que les femmes participent a la révolution technologique: électronique, informatique, biotechniques. On s'étonnera moins en voyant les chiffres qui sanctionnent la part effective qu'elles y prennent. Chiffres éloquentes et qui portent en eux un risque d'exclusion du marché du travail, pour les femmes. En effect: 1.5% de femmes ingénieurs en électronique, 1.6% de techniciennes de maintenance en électricité-electronique, automatisme, 0.6% d'agentes de maitrise ou installatrices de matériel électronique, électrique, mécanique. Dans les stages de formation professionnelle aux nouvelles technologies, une participation faible de femmes, variant de 1 a 14% en électronique, de moins de 20% en informatique. Un espoir cependant: en 1983, on trouve 50% e femmes de 18 a 21 ans dans certains stages"*⁹⁰.

- + General second rank position in all sectors as far as wages are concerned.

The new international division of labour does not seem to have brought about any changes in this traditional inequality between men's and women's salaries. According to an OCDE report⁹¹, in the European countries, men still earn 25% to 50% more than women, for equal work!

- Impact of International Development Programmes

Here we can quickly present two case studies to see how insufficiently women's concerns are considered in the elaboration and the implementation of international organization programmes of co-operation.

- Programmes of technical co-operation of the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.).

An inquiry was made, on the basis of a questionnaire, during the first quarter of 1982 on the impact on women of the technical co-operation activities under the auspices of the I.L.O.⁹² The results-based on 141 answers — can be summarized as follows:

— Of the 141 projects analyzed, only 7 had a women's component, and 10 were strictly women-oriented; only in 61 cases did the promoters of the project have some contact with women working in ministries or administrations; only 19 women were directing projects; and only 3 women were among the 14 associated experts. In fact these figures require further modification since women essentially played a role in women-oriented projects, with their intervention being quite minimal in other projects.

The total amount of financial resources allotted to women's projects was only 4.5 per cent of the total amount of money involved. Furthermore, the experts could not mention a single activity in the projects which could benefit women in 70 out of the 124 projects not explicitly directed partly or fully towards women.

It results from these facts that technical co-operation activities do not benefit women the same way they do men and that the elaboration and implementation of international programmes are far from ensuring equality to women.

But, what is even worse, is that there is a kind of "vicious circle", resulting from the reduced involvement of women in development projects — at all stages, formulation, implementation, benefits; consequently, "le fossé qui existe dans leurs connaissances et leurs qualifications et ceux des hommes, loin d'être comblé par l'assistance internationale, risque d'être perpétué, si ce n'est aggravé"⁹³.^D

— Programmes of industrial co-operation of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization⁹⁴.

U.N.I.D.O. has used two types of actions simultaneously in order to operationalize the integration of women in development: first, the organization has favoured some general projects which have a decisive influence on women's work and employment; second, the organization has also selected specific projects aimed solely at a better integration of women in the economic process.

Among the general projects for 1982-1983, are projects in industries where the workforce is predominately female, such as the textile industry and salt production (Ghana). Among the specific projects, some are aimed at industrialization based on small units of production of ceramics in rural areas (Tanzania), others on the initiation of women in industrial sewing techniques (Seychelles), and some consist of seminars aimed at heads of units of production.

U.N.I.D.O.'s efforts towards women are however still insufficient: only 11% of women take part in the general training programmes set up by U.N.I.D.O.

Thus, in the formerly mentioned report, the Executive Director set the objectives for the future action of U.N.I.D.O.:

"En général l'action en faveur d'une mobilisation plus intense et plus efficace de la force économique que représente la main d'oeuvre féminine doit avoir pour assise:

- a) l'élimination antérieure des contraintes imposées par les valeurs traditionnelles et les préjugés contre le travail des femmes en dehors du foyer,
- b) l'adoption d'un code du Travail et mise en place de services et d'installations essentiels, permettant à la femme d'exercer ses activités.
- c) l'égalisation des chances et l'adoption de mesures d'encouragement en ce qui concerne l'acquisition et le développement des compétences"⁹⁵.^E

The limited awareness of the international organizations seems quite general, with a possible

very recent shift towards more awareness. It can be mentioned here that a recent case study of a World Bank's programme in Malawi showed that the international body was openly promoting change from the matrilineal pattern of landholding to the direct passage of registered land to the man's sons after his death⁹⁶. This illustrates the fact that things change very slowly as far as the situation of women in the economy is concerned.

The question, then, must be asked, what can be done in order to improve women's situation as well as general economic development?

Part 3

The Search Towards Future Changes

The last step is to point out some possible actions for the future. But to act, one must know where to start from, and what one's aims are. Thus, there are some prerequisites for action.

I. Some Prerequisites

- The knowledge of the contribution of women to the economy.
- the necessity for a general knowledge of women's share.

The hidden contribution of women to the economy through their reproductive activities as well as their reproductive activities outside the market economy (subsistence production, home production) has to be made *visible*⁹⁷.

The general *objective* assessment of women's work⁹⁸ should help to clarify the *subjective* perception of women's work (influence of the cultural and ideological factors).

- The necessity of specific and clear knowledge of the existing sexual division of labour.

There is a necessity for specific and clear knowledge of the existing sexual division of labour in a community before any development project, whether specifically oriented towards women or not, is launched. For example, it is important to know if the local customs permit women to work under the responsibility of a man, what is respectively the women's and the men's degree of qualification, etc.

It is particularly important, in order to escape the negative consequences on women that often result from international programmes, that all projects of international co-operation include a heading where a certain number of points should automatically figure. These are as follows: consideration of the role of women in the sector, information on the sexual division of labour, analysis of the ways women will be affected by the project, as well as all the elements liable to enhance women's association with the project. INSTRAW could campaign together with all international organizations concerned with development projects in order that such a *systematic awareness of women's concern* becomes natural. The contribution of INSTRAW could go even further and include the *establishment of a minimal model-list* (list-type) of the necessary considerations concerning women that should be taken into account by all international organizations.

More generally, the awareness of the specific position of women in a given community should also lend to a general awareness of the structure and needs of that community. International experts often have a tendency to use their own cultural norms when they establish development projects for new activities or new educational systems (a well-known example is that of techniques used for the improvement of agriculture being taught to men, while women were the main agriculturists).

As underlined in the UNCTAD study, "the first step in any initiative designed to reduce sex-biased inequalities in access to modern technology and other inputs used by women in a society, is to get some idea on what lines of production women are commonly engaged, what are their resources and capabilities and what are the chief problems facing them"⁹⁹.

Thus, the attention given to women's needs will necessarily imply a better attention paid to the target-community as a whole, and therefore, a better development.

- The determination of the desirable goals.

— What are the debates on a New International Economic Order?

There is a general agreement nowadays on the fact that the present form of international relations is not working and that changes in the world economic order are urgently needed.

It is certain that a different approach to development seems necessary in view of the failures of old strategies. Such a new approach should integrate *all human needs and human rights*, but also take into account the *sovereignty of states* and the *interests of humanity*.

In other words, the suggested development strategy should integrate all the levels of development: macro-economic level of the world economy, macro-economic level of the state, micro-economic level of the people, men and women.

To go further, some minimal position might be helpful. As this is not the place to frame a general scheme on what the international economic relations should be, on what the desired goals are—as women cannot appear to be monopolizing the debate for a real N.I.E.O. or for new development strategies—we could try to take as granted a *minimal consensus* on which everybody certainly agrees: that a better development implies a better participation of all people and that it should benefit all people.

Some guidance on what the consensus of the world community is on development strategies could be found in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade adopted in 1980. In this text it is asserted that “economic growth, productive employment and social equity are fundamental and invisible elements of development”. Maybe such a definition—at the same time—reconciles all the strategies that were used up until now and adds something new to them: first, *growth* is necessary, but not enough, as was asserted by the growth strategies; second, the reference to *social equity* implies distribution among states, as was asserted by the distribution strategies, as well as social redistribution.

But finally, a new dimension seem to be added to the prior concerns. The Strategy for the United Nations Development Decade mentions “productive employment” as absolutely fundamental. The idea here is that development must be a self-maintained process. This definitively removes the idea of development from the idea of aid and renders development an autonomous self-reliant process.

Growth, equity and self-reliance could thus characterize what the new international development strategies should aim at.

— What are the debates on the role of women?

Many questions could be raised here: should women fight for legal equality or for real equality? What does real equality mean? Is it an equal situation for women or an equitable situation taking into account their difference? ¹⁰⁰ . Is a “special” organization of women's work—like part-time work or work at home, especially with electronic systems linked with a central unit—advisable or not? Finally, what would a fair sexual division of labour be? A mere proportion between social power and work, equal shares of work, equitable shares of work? Is the idea of an integration of women's reproductive activities in the mercantile economy—through a salary for women at home for example—a good idea, moving towards a better situation for women and the economy?

Whatever the open questions on the N.I.E.O. and on the desirable status of women are, it is

clear that the integration of women in development is both a necessity for women in their quest for an equal status with men, and a necessity for development, which needs to mobilize all energies, and especially all men and women, as human beings represent the central resources towards development, while also being its ultimate beneficiaries.

It is time now to analyze more precisely the dialectical relation between the action and the situation of women and the new international relations that are presently being shaped under our eyes, whether they are called a N.I.E.O. or not. It can be recalled here that the strategy for the Third Development Decade declares that "all countries will pursue the objective of securing women's equal participation both as *agents and as beneficiaries* in all sectors and at all levels of the development process (art. 51). It is this double quality of women as agents (II) and beneficiaries (III) of the development process that we shall now examine.

II. Women as Agents of Development: What can Women Bring to a New International Economic Order (N.I.E.O.)?

"Greater and equal participation of women at all levels of decision-making shall decisively contribute to accelerating the pace of development"¹⁰¹.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that women participate in the international debate, as well as in national economy, and this through formal participation in the decision-making bodies, as well as by contributing to the content of the ongoing economic debate and to the concrete working of the economic process.

1. Active and equal participation in the *international* debate so as to orient development strategies in a better direction.

The active and equal participation of women in the international development strategies debates implies, first of all, that they should hold more positions in international bodies.

● More Institutional and Formal Participation

Resolution 31/26 (1978) of the General Assembly asked to augment the proportion of women in high ranking positions in all international bodies.

Resolution 33/143 (1980) of the General Assembly, had set as a goal for 1982 that 25% of the positions of administrators under geographic repartition should be occupied by women. In Copenhagen, Resolution 24 was adopted, on Women in the Secretariat of the United Nations¹⁰² in which it was mentioned that the United Nations Organization cannot lead the movement in favour of the full participation of women if the example is not given by the organization itself in its different organs.

In fact, there can be two ways to render international organizations more aware of women's needs: a broader general participation of women in the staff and direction of these organizations, and a creation of specific positions —or institutional bodies— concerned with women's role. To this, the improvement of a mechanism designed to render the international community more aware of women's needs and of the ways in which their rights are respected, must be added.

— Increase of positions held by women.

A great imbalance in favour of men characterizes the United Nations employment scheme, and the situation seems to evolve very slowly¹⁰³. A few figures are quite significant: it seems that the proportion of women never exceeds 25% among the administrators¹⁰⁴.

In the United Nations as a whole, 17.7% of the administrators were women in 1976, and 19.6% in 1981; that means that the situation improves only slowly: during the year 1979, for

example, only one woman, against 32 men, was nominated for an executive position, and in fact this happened only after a strong campaign of a pressure group in favour of equal treatment of men and women¹⁰⁵.

In the World Bank Annual Report of 1984, the Bank's efforts to foster women's employment are stressed: 47% of the candidates retained under the Programme for Young Managers were women¹⁰⁶, but their present representation is still not very satisfactory.

The same situation prevails in regional international organizations, even if they are composed of developed countries, where the situation of women seems less dramatic than in developing countries.

Thus, for example, in the European Economic Community, while 50% of the staff is composed of women, the repartition by categories gives a less egalitarian image: only 10% of the grade A position are held by women¹⁰⁷.

Thus, it seems important to remind and reaffirm as often as possible, the necessity to go on with strong and steady efforts to have women participate to a greater extent in international organizations.

- Creation of specific positions related to women's issues.

Another way to make international organizations more aware of women's needs is to create specific positions concerned with the place of women; this has been done for example at the World Bank, where a position of "Council for the role of women in development" was created in 1977¹⁰⁸, on specific institutional mechanisms: for example, an ad hoc commission for the rights of women was created in 1979 and a committee on the role of women in development policies in 1983 in the framework of the A.C.P.—C.E.F. institutions (Lomé Conventions).

Among the specific mechanisms concerned with women, one plays a very special place and thus should be of specific concern to INSTRAW:

- Improvement of the working of the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women.

Some positive suggestions could be made by INSTRAW concerning the procedures for the enforcement of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women: it is to strengthen the control mechanism of the enforcement of the convention by asking the states to send a report every two years —and not, as presently, every four years— to the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women — which was instituted for that purpose. It should be mentioned here that reports were issued every year in the I.L.O. system, which proved to be very satisfactory¹⁰⁹.

An objection could be that such a change would imply a renegotiation and a modification of the Convention, and therefore be too complicated. But in fact, this objection does not hold, as article 18 providing for a report every four years, provides also for an obligation to report at "the Committee's request".

Thus, action could be directed by INSTRAW towards that Committee, in order to start a new practice of asking for a report from the states every two years.

- More Contribution to Substance

If women have a say in the shaping of new development strategies, they will be able to help the framing of a truly autonomous concept of development that would take into account all aspects of life; in other words, women could help the emergence of a *concept of development less econocentric and more qualitative*.

More precisely, the *specific* contribution of women to the shaping of that desired goal, can be outlined. Women's specific contribution to the ongoing debate on a N.I.E.O., should take into account their specific experience of life and female perspective: insistence on *basic needs*; better shaping of basic needs; insistence on *self-reliance* —which so many women experience in their daily life—; insistence on the *human resource*, as women are in charge of the reproduction of that resource; insistence on the *value of human life*, for example, the need to turn armament spending aimed at destruction into development spending aimed at bettering human life; and, insistence on the *principle of reality*, as women are the first to be in charge of real life.

But of course, many aspects of the possible contribution of women cannot be described here, as they will appear in the process of their participation itself; just as "walk is proved by walking", women's participation in the shaping of new development strategies will bring about new concepts resulting from that participation. The depth of women's imagination must not be overlooked: the door will be held open on future changes by their increased participation. In other words, besides the present and foreseeable contribution, there is also an unknown potential contribution of women to development.

2. Active and equal participation in the *national* economy, which is needed for an accelerated development.

The present situation of women results in "misuse of human resources as well as injustice. Since achieving increased growth in production depends as much on women as on men, progress towards more just societies must include greater equality for women"¹¹⁰.

- **More Institutional Participation in Decision Making Bodies**

Today women's place in governmental and state decision making institutions is still limited. Some examples can be given as far as developed countries are concerned, where the situation of women is generally more advanced than in developing countries, even if many problems remain.

Mrs. Macciochi, in a report on the place of women in the European decision-making centres¹¹¹ shows that this place is still too modest: women, for example, only have 8% of the titles of University Professors in England: only 2.77% of the Ministers of the governments of the ten European countries are women; the percentage of women in the central management of the political parties never exceeds 17.5%¹¹² and in the central management of the trade-unions never 11.8%. Almost no women have diplomatic careers: if one considers all state representatives in other states or in international organizations, there are only 14 female diplomatic representatives for the 10 European countries.

- **More Concrete Participation in the Economic Process**

Women should ask for better valuation of their household work, and more opportunities to participate in the general economic process: both these demands, if they are satisfied, should bring about a better development and thus render the international economy closer to a New International Economic Order as it is seen by developing countries.

- Household work.

- Women should insist that their household work be no longer *under-valuated*, and that it be taken into account in economic statistics.

- Women could also, in their daily life, promote and develop *appropriate technologies* and local products: for example, they could fight towards a revaluation of local products in daily consumption, rather than try to obtain foreign products. This would enhance the taking into consideration of true cultural values and life styles. It can be remembered that in this field,

women's participation is limited: if they represent 90% of the users of technology in the informal sector, women represent only 10% of the producers of technology.

In fact, this situation has started to change in recent years. Many examples can be given where women have been able to develop appropriate technologies to improve their situation: to help save fuel, recycle garbage, sun dryers, appropriate field ovens¹¹³, new techniques for drying fish.

It is important that the states become aware of the necessity to encourage this development of grass-root technologies, as they are often much better adapted to the natural as well as the social environment. One must not forget that "what may appear to be chaotic management methods and insufficient long-term planning, may very well be a rational way of doing things"¹¹⁴.

Of course, we must not overestimate these appropriate technologies. In a world of economic competition always seeking more sophisticated technologies, it is clear that the possibilities of "intermediate technologies" are limited. However, they can play a role in a community's economic balance and in the satisfaction of some basic needs.

- Women must also insist on the necessity for them to have more time away from the household, in order to increase their participation in productive work outside of the household. A sharing of household activities has to be accepted by men.

The World Plan of Action of the World Conference of the International Women's Year incorporated this objective of sharing of tasks in a clear form: "The achievement of equality between men and women implies that they should have equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities to enable them to develop their talents and capabilities for their own personal fulfilment and the benefit of society. To that end, a *reassessment of the functions and roles* traditionally allotted to each sex within the family and the community at large is essential. The necessity of a change in the traditional role of men as well as that of women must be recognized. In order to allow for women's equal participation in all society's activities, men must accept shared responsibility for home and children"¹¹⁵.

— Outside work.

First of all, of course, women must be given the opportunity to gain more qualifications.

- Education and technological training.

Education, training, and technical formation are of utmost importance for the advancement of women. Much remains to be done in these fields, as is shown in the two tables (Pag. 40). This cannot be too strongly emphasized.

As the annual report of the World Bank of 1984 underlines¹¹⁷, "some indications show that girls' education might be the best investment that a country can make to ensure its growth and future progress". This is even more true as it has been proven that there is a close correlation between the level of education and the fertility rates of women.

Education in fact has to be multidimensional: what is meant here is that not only is the acquisition of technical or scientific knowledge important, but also the ideological and mythological framing of the mind. Thus, education should be aimed towards the improvement of self perception as well as towards the mastering of women's bodies and minds.

In this respect, women's poor performance very often results from their lack of confidence in themselves. In a study entitled "Bright Girls, Mathematics and Fear of Success", it is shown that "not only do considerably more boys than girl perform well in mathematics, but girls, far

***SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RATE IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES, BY SEX**

Region and Country	Year	Primary school attendance rate		High-school attendance rate	
		Total ^a	Girls ^b	Total ^a	Girls ^b
Africa					
Cameroun	1979	104.0	94.0	18.0	12.0
Ghana	1979	69.0	60.0	36.0	27.0
Morocco	1980	76.0	58.0	24.0	18.0
Tanzania	1979	100.0	93.0	4.0	3.0
Latin America					
Brazil	1978	92.0	91.0	32.0	35.0
Chile	1980	117.0	116.0	58.0	59.0
Colombia	1980	128.0	130.0	46.0	49.0
Costa Rica	1981	108.0	106.0	48.0	51.0
Mexico	1981	118.0	115.0	51.0	49.0
Asia					
Korea, Republic of	1981	107.0	105.0	85.0	80.0
India	1980	72.0	57.0	30.0	20.0
Indonesia	1980	112.0	14.0	28.0	22.0
Nepal	1980	91.0	53.0	21.0	9.0
Thailand	1977	83.0	80.0	28.0	26.0

*) School attendance of people of all ages within the school age population percentage. (Usually 6 to 11 years for primary school, and 12 to 17 years for High-School). School attendance of women of all ages within the feminine school-age population percentage.

**ILLITERAY PERCENTAGES, AGES 15 AND MORE,
IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES BY SEX**

Region and country	Year	Illiteracy Percentages		
		Total	Men	Women
Africa				
Ghana	1970	69.8	56.9	81.6
Morocco	1971	78.6	66.4	90.2
Latin America				
Brazil	1978	23.9	22.0	25.7
Chile	1970	11.0	10.1	11.8
Colombia	1973	19.2	18.0	20.2
Costa Rica	1973	11.6	11.4	11.8
Mexico	1980	17.3	—	—
Asia				
Korea, Republic of	1970	12.4	5.6	19.0
India	1971	65.9	52.3	80.6
Indonesia	1971	43.4	30.5	55.4
Nepal	1975	80.8	66.6	96.0
Thailand	1970	21.4	12.8	29.7

Source: UNESCO (Paris: UNESCO, 1983), Table 1.3.

more frequently than boys, choose not to take intensive mathematics courses once they are no longer compulsory"¹¹⁸. In explaining this fact, the author emphasizes the environmental pressures leading to an unwillingness on the part of girls to contravene cultural norms concerning role expectations and behaviour of the two sexes. Especially, it is underlined that "for many females, attainment of success produced anxiety, particularly in areas likely to be considered by society as being less appropriate for females and this anxiety is likely to have adverse effects on performance"¹¹⁹.

Thus, education must aim to give women confidence in themselves, in their minds, as well as their bodies. What is meant here is that it is of course of fundamental importance that women be also educated in order to be able to master their reproduction, that they accept the idea of it, and know how to proceed.

More and better education is the basis of any future improvement in women's role:

"If given better technical and social training, they could make a greater contribution both to agricultural and rural development, as well as to the development of society in general"¹²⁰.

- **Agriculture**

Agriculture still being —from a world-wide point of view— women's main activity, they must insist that a definite effort be made towards finding a way to put an end to starvation and hunger. It is certain that women are probably in the best place to help to find solutions for food problems. As reminded by an author, "it is now therefore the moment for African governments to view the deterioration in the African food situation as a symptom of decreasing productivity of women brought about by the promotion of commercial production at the expense of food farming and low investments in the food sector. Furthermore, it is time now to take the bold step of investing in the improvement of the position of women in agriculture as an integral part of the strategy to improve food production throughout the continent"¹²¹.

- **Industry**

Women of course need, as mentioned above, technical qualifications to enter into the industrial process in a good position; many women were put out of their traditional roles but without other alternative work opportunities, as men benefitted first from the new jobs and opportunities.

Therefore, women must ask for equality in employment — that is in opportunities to get employment as well as equality in wages. Everybody knows that in all these areas there is still a long way to go. This request of women must be translated into a legal framework as well as practical ways to enforce it.

If women bring about all these positive changes in the economy, it is evident that their participation and contribution to it will increase and that the emergence of a N.I.E.O. will be closer: a process of progress —both for women and the economy— will thus be started, and in turn, the better development implicit in the existence of a N.I.E.O. will have positive consequences on women.

III. Women as Beneficiaries of Development: What can a New International Economic Order (N.I.E.O.) Bring to Women?

Of course, if the general economic development of the world improves *and* if the changes asked for by women are taken into account in the shaping of the N.I.E.O., a real improvement of the concrete status of women can result from it.

One must not forget that there is no automatic fall-out on women from economic progress:

only if the requirements and participation of women are taken into consideration while shaping the new structures and norms for development, will it, besides benefitting all people, also benefit women.

Therefore, a development that takes into account women's needs must be willingly pursued and requires government and pressure group action. If they succeed, it is clear that the economic development will improve the material situation of women.

But, for the time being, a New International Economic Order seems still far ahead; so it might be interesting to ask not what it will bring to women, in the future, but if the concept of a N.I.E.O. can bring something —now— to women's struggle for their advancement and a better development.

A first remark can be made to underline —as many scholars have— the similarities between the men-women relations and the North-South relations.

1. + The similarities between the men/women and North/South unequal relations.

In fact, a comparison of women's situation with what happened with North-South relations can be quite enlightening here. During the period of liberalism, it was argued that development would benefit all, rich and poor countries; and as a matter of fact, the development of international trade based on the theory of comparative costs, brought some betterment to all, but more to the rich countries than to the poor countries. Ricard was concerned with the unequal distribution of the total gain. The lesson drawn from this historical period was that one cannot treat unequal situations equally and that if one wants to correct inequality, one has to apply differentiated criteria.

The same reasoning can be applied to women. Asking, why agricultural modernization has undermined women's authority, Ingrid Palmer uses such an analysis: "the classical economic argument for the specialization of labour is that everybody would gain, were they to concentrate on these activities in which they had a *comparative* advantage, even though some did not have an *absolute advantage* (that is, lower production cost than anyone else) in the line of production. The reason for this is that specialization would raise the total production of all goods and that after distribution everybody would be seen to have gained something. Where this theory breaks down, of course, is in the distribution... The main reason why some people fail to benefit from the modernization process can be reduced to the principle of unequal exchange following from disparities in labour productivity, economic power, institutional power and political power"¹²².

Evidently there is a similarity in the mechanisms of the two situations, even if the causal factors are different and work probably quite differently. However, it is tempting to try to use concepts developed to deal with the unequal North-South relation for the modifications of the men/women unequal relationship.

The basic idea of the N.I.E.O. is that *one cannot treat unequal situations equally*. This has two consequences: first, the use of a concept of unequal treatment of unequal situations in order to correct the existing inequalities, which is used towards the implementation of a N.I.E.O. (Generalized preferences system, Stabex, special rules in the law of the sea...); second, a great differentiation in the situation in order to apply the proper rule to each one.

This corresponds to a certain stage of the development of the legal system, which, in turn, corresponds to a *preference for the equity of the rule over this universality*, and it reflects a society in which no specific group has the power. These remarks bring us to some general remarks on the role of the law in a given society.

2. + Some remarks on law faced with unequal relations.

Some general remarks on the role of law can be relevant here. The final aim of the law is to

provide the frame of a given social order considered as desirable; that is why the law is—in any society—a most controversial issue. Depending on the power relations in an unequal society, the goal of the legal rules can be either the strengthening of the existing situation or its continuation or else its change.

— Law can strengthen the existing inequalities.

If law strengthens the existing situation, which means it takes the situation as granted and just sticks to it, it is because inequality is such that those people who take advantage of it, are free to firmly establish their power. In some sense, the law adds its own seal to the prevailing inequality in such a way that inequality becomes harsher, being acknowledged as a part of the normative setting.

A recent good example¹²³ of law reinforcing existing inequalities can be given by the bill enacted in 1974 in Malta in order to fight the rising male unemployment: according to this text of law it was mandatory to give men priority over women for all the tourism jobs that were available.

Sometimes laws designed to protect women have, in fact, also worked against them, and therefore, reinforced the existing inequalities. An example is the I.L.O. Conventions on the illegality of the use of women in night and holiday work, which had negative consequences on the possibilities for women to find employment.

This shows that the manipulation of the legal instrument is a very subtle exercise and requires that the real setting in which it will work is not forgotten.

— Law can perpetuate the existing inequalities.

If the law does not take the situation into account and establishes the same rules for all, notwithstanding the prevailing inequality, it is because those people who suffer from the inequality are getting some power and influence in the social group so that some of their claims are satisfied, at least, as is said now, through a “formalistic” treatment. In this case, law in fact leaves the existing unequal situation unchanged.

More and more often, it is true, women get the same “formal”, legal treatment as men. Many laws or rules apply equally to men and women, but these laws are enforced in an unequal world and thus perpetuate the existing inequalities.

A good example can be given by the very recent discussion in France concerning the “allocation parentale d’éducation”. The idea was discussed in Parliament, for the enactment of a law embodying such “allocation”. The idea is to give a certain amount of money to *one parent* who would stop working for two years to raise the child. The law is formally the same for men and women, as the father as well as the mother can benefit from that “allocation parentale d’éducation”. But of course, considering first the prevailing ideological framework relating to the respective role of men and women in society, secondly, the fact that women are considered—and often are—second rate money earners in the family, and thirdly, the very small amount of money allocated (the equivalent of 100 dollars a month), it is evident that this measure will almost exclusively affect women. Some have even accused such a measure of being a device to prompt women to quit their jobs in a period of high unemployment¹²⁴.

— Law can change the existing inequalities.

Finally, if law induces changes in the existing situation, this is because those who suffer from inequality have gained so much power as to initiate a real change. It is indeed because the aim of the law does not coincide with the continuation of the *statu quo ante*, that it appears to be “progressive”, in this last case.

Nowadays, international law is such, that the developing countries, especially after O.P.E.C.'s actions, can reverse the existing trends and benefit from rules adapted to their situation, creating separate rules and compensatory inequalities in their favour.

3. + Can some concepts of a New International Economic Order (N.I.E.O.) be used in order to correct the unequal situation between men and women?

In other words, should rules be addressed in a distinct way to women, and should they "help" them to overcome their present handicaps?

Is such an approach to men/women's relations, in the first place, desirable, and secondly, possible, considering the state of development of the national societies? The answer to the second question is one of fact, and cannot be answered here, considering the number of states composing the international community.

The point that can however be underlined is that compensatory approaches will only be adopted when the victims of the unequal situation have enough power to have them adopted.

The compensatory rules approach was adopted after the petroleum crisis, when the developing countries gained some *power* in international bargaining. By the same token, the feasibility of our recommendations concerning the adoption of compensatory rules for women seems to result from the present situation, since we have reached the point today where women have gained *power* over their reproductive activities.

More precisely, what we can say here is that in some states women probably already have a much better bargaining position because of their mastering of reproduction, and that this phenomenon will certainly spread all over the world. So it seems that women today are in such a position as to be able to reverse the existing trends and press for the adoption of rules adapted to their situation. Two questions can be discussed here: is the adoption of separate rules for women desirable? If the answer to that first question is positive, a second one can be discussed: is the adoption of compensatory rules for women desirable?

— Are separate rules advisable?

As far as the question of the separate rules is concerned, the discussion exists, for example, on how development projects could be more beneficial for women. Is it when they do not consider women as separate target, or on the contrary when they isolate women as a group?

One side insists on the necessity to put a direct focus on women, through separate institutional arrangements and women-specific projects. The rationale behind this position is that any "sex neutral" approach, whether technological or not, only reinforces existing inequalities between men and women. That means that some oppose women-oriented projects, stating that "target-group-oriented programmes are in the nature of welfare measures for the so-called underprivileged in a socio-economic system which will not allow adequate surpluses in the first place for development itself"¹²⁵.

The other side insists on the equal treatment of men and women in the development process, arguing that any specific treatment for women implies a kind of marginalisation. There is an assumption in the situation of women. "Designing separate women's component may be neither desirable nor effective; it may prevent women participants from benefiting from project components that are not sex specific (generally those that are designed to increase productivity and income)"¹²⁶. And some go on to argue that "separate cannot be equal"¹²⁷.

To me, this shows how abstract logical reasoning can be wrong: women will never be separated from men in the sense it is used in the above reference.

While it is certainly true that measures exclusively concerned with women will never be able to bring about a real development and a general improvement in women's situation in the world, it must not be lost from sight either, that policies exclusively concerned with development are not liable to change the historical bias against women. There is no necessary and linear relation between development and the improvement of women's situation. In fact, improvement in development strategies appears to be a necessary condition for an improvement in the situation of women, but not a sufficient condition, if specific needs of women are not taken into account.

Therefore *separate rules seem quite acceptable*. This is also the position of the Declaration of Mexico of 1975:

"The attainment of economic and social goods, so basic to the realization of the rights of women, does not however, of itself, bring about the full integration of women in development on a basis of equality with men, unless specific measures are undertaken for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against them"¹²⁸.

The question is how far the distinctions should be made: should women perceived as a whole be considered separately from men, or should some distinctions be made even between women; in my opinion, nothing prevents these differential rules from going quite far.

In any case, it appears that a certain differentiation between women already exists in programmes (whether they have a women's component or are completely women-oriented¹²⁹), and also in the way the problems of women are dealt with (see for example, resolutions adopted at the Copenhagen World Conference on Women, concerning women in the United Nations Secretariat, women living in extremely poor conditions, women prostitutes, rural women...). A great diversification is thus introduced, similar to that of international economic relations (developing countries, less developed countries, insular countries and so on...) from which it results that rules can be adapted to specific situations.

Far more difficult to solve is the question of "unequal" rules.

— Are compensatory rules advisable?

The question, then is, whether it is desirable, from an ethical and/or a practical point of view, to ask for rules favouring women, rules providing for a preferential treatment for women. In other words, is unequal treatment like the use of "quotas" for women an acceptable and positive way to improve the status of women?

The answer to that question is difficult. Some think that in a patriarchal structure, separate treatment might be necessary for women to gain experience, before they can be treated on an equal footing with men. Others argue that it is against human dignity to accept "unequal compensatory treatment".

Perhaps a compromise could be found in making a distinction between preferential treatment for opportunities, for potentialities (preferences in education for example, as the pump has to be started somewhere), which seem acceptable and even necessary, and preferential treatment for rights or privileges which don't seem to be justified.

"Giving them equal opportunities, then, means going beyond mere provision of equal rights; it assumes a restructuring of resources between men and women to redress the past imbalances that have been created as a result of development strategies"¹³⁰.

However, even if such compromisory distinction can seem to be acceptable in principle, it is not necessarily easy to translate into reality. A good example of the difficulties which can be encountered here is given by the problems raised in France in 1981-1982, around the question of "quotas" for women on some electoral lists. A new electoral law was adopted in the fall of 1981

providing that no electoral list could include less than 25% o. candidates of a given sex: this was to guarantee a minimal representation to women. This law was submitted to the Constitutional Council to examine its conformity with the constitution, but it was challenged on other grounds than the question of quotas for women. In any case, the Constitutional Council raised the question and said that instituting such a preferential treatment for women was against the constitution because it introduced some discrimination in the voting rights¹³¹.

Thus, we have an example here, where positive discrimination in favour of women was set aside as going against constitutional equality, —formal, legal quality— although it would have been quite a positive step towards real equality.

Even if it does not seem to be contrary to human dignity and ethics that during a transitory period women can benefit from some advantages as far as potentialities are concerned, it must however be remembered that it is not real liberation if it is bestowed, and women will have to fight until they really "hold up more than half the sky".

Can some concepts of a new international economic order be used as a conceptual framework to analyze the role of women in international economic relations?

Having arrived at this point of the analysis, it appears that an idea emerges from the complexity of reality, and especially of women's reality and economic reality: it is that the basic idea of a N.I.E.O. —*that unequal situations shouldn't be treated equally*— along with giving a directive for future action provides a clue for the analysis of the past and present situation of women in world economy. If we keep in mind the idea which is also at the root of the quest for a N.I.E.O. —*that an equal treatment of an unequal situation perpetuates if not aggravates the unequal situation*, everything becomes clear. In the women's issue, this means that a sex neutral approach (in agriculture, in technology, in industry, in trade, in credit regulations and so on...) perpetuates, if not aggravates, the situation.

We have seen earlier that this analysis provides us with clear guidance for the way in which women should approach any economic issue: that is to ask that their specificity be taken into account through automaticity in reference to their problem, as well as through specific financial allowances. As far as their past and present situation is concerned, it explains why women quite often have not benefited from the general development of society.

This very simple idea that equal treatment of unequal situations perpetuates if not aggravates the inequalities, provides a useful and quite efficient conceptual framework for our analysis and can be applied to all the sectorial approaches: agriculture, industry, technology, trade, money and finance. For example, if we look at women's relationship with technology, it might not be easy to understand that very often technological improvement went together with a setback in women's position, but it is easily explained if we remember that "the experience of technological change is sexually differentiated"¹³². As quite well said by an author, "It is tradition that has tended to make modernisation a bit of an enemy of women"¹³³. In other words, modernisation through technological innovation is sex neutral —apart from the technological revolution in birth control—, tradition embodies an unequal situation for women, and therefore, modernisation can only perpetuate that situation if women are treated on the same footing as men.

As perfectly underlined in the report prepared by UNCTAD "the technological change need not be universally favourable to women if it is not accompanied by complementary measures designed to offset the disadvantages to which they are subject"¹³⁴.

A last remark can be made here: it seems to me that the use of the concepts of the N.I.E.O. in addressing women's problems can only have a feed-back on N.I.E.O. concerns: taking into account the cumulative effect of any change, if women's issues are made par of the ongoing North/South dialogue, or at least parallel it, the emergence of new international economic relations can only be fostered.

APPENDIXES

I. SUMMARY OF SUGGESTED ACTIONS

II. FOOTNOTES

III. TRANSLATIONS

Appendix I

Summary of Suggested Actions

At the international level INSTRAW can:

- Pursue the efforts to make women's contribution to the economy visible (statistical work).
- Campaign near all international organizations for a systematic awareness of women's concerns, and established a minimal model-list for that purpose.
- Press for more institutional participation of women in all international bodies.
- Press, when considered useful, for the creation of specific positions or institutions concerned with women's role.
- Ask for an improvement of the working of the Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women by having the states report every two years instead of every four years as is currently done.
- Bring to notice the specific potential contributions of women to the shaping of new development strategies: namely, insistence on real basic need, self-reliance, importance of human resources, value of human life, principle of reality; and also the unknown potential contributions of women to development.

At the national level, INSTRAW can ask the states to:

- Encourage a better participation of women in decision-making bodies.
- Encourage the development of intermediate technologies.
- Encourage a better education for women: on the ideological level, the level of their reproductive function, the general, technical and scientific level.
- Re-orient the economy towards a self-sufficient agricultural system.
- Encourage or set up an adequate social infrastructure and services to help women in household chores and in child rearing activities.
- Establish rules designed to ensure women's equality with men in all sectors (access to means of production and technology, to industrial jobs and to credit).

At a micro level, INSTRAW can:

- Encourage women to participate at all levels of decision-making.
- Encourage women to develop appropriate technologies.
- Encourage men to share responsibilities for home and children.
- Campaign for changes in attitudes.

Appendix II

Footnotes

1. It appears at once that such a research has a scientific part, the analysis of the interlinkages, which need to be elucidated to understand the evolution of human societies and the consequences of action, —and a political part— the framing of action, which rests on individual and collective answers to questions of values and desirability, that cannot be scientifically determined, but whose social implications can be stressed.
2. Cf. Winifred Weekes-Vagliani. *The Integration of Women in Development Projects*, O.C.D.E. Paper, Development Center CD/R (83) 16 (1st Rev.), p. 7: "The inclusion of women in development is not only a question of equality but simply the necessity of the case".
3. World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City 19 June — 2 July 1975. E/CONF 66/34, p. 2 Cf also p6: "Efforts and measures aimed at a more intensified integration of women in development can be successfully implemented only if made an integral part of overall social economic growth".
4. E/CONF 66/34, p. 11.
5. Presentation by Rajani Desai, Salabha Brahme and Sharayu Mhatre, in *Rural development and women in Asia*.
6. Proceedings and Conclusions of the I.L.O. Tripartite Asian Regional Seminar, Mahabaleshwar, Maharashtra India, 6-11 April 1981, I'L.O. Publ. 1982, p. 53.
7. See North-South Institute Study, *Women and International Development Co-operation*, INSTRAW 1985.
8. See North-South Institute, INSTRAW, op. cit. p. 8.
9. In the foreward of *Echanges internationaux et sous developpement* Ga Kwame Amoa et Oscar Braun, Ed. Anthrops 1974.
10. Moises Ikonociff. Les sources privilegies de l'innovation et les nouvelles options industrielles du tiers Monde, Revue Tiers Monde, Tome XII No. 47, juil-sept. 1971.
11. Marcel Marloie. "L'abondance mal geree", Le Donde diplomatique, mail 98.
12. Achola Pala Okeyo. Towards Strategies of Strengthening the Position of Women in Food Production: An Overview and Proposal on Africa, INSTRAW, 1984.
13. E/CONF 66/34, p. 5.
14. Claude Meillassoux, *Femmes, Greniers et Capitaux*, Paris Maspero 1975, p. 116.
15. See Edholm, Harris and Young. *Conceptualising Women, Critique of Anthropology* 9/10, 1977, p. 101. They distinguish clearly the three types of reproduction: social reproduction, reproduction of the labour force and human and biological reproduction.
16. A. Rich, of Woman Born, N.Y., W.W. North & Co, 1976, p. 57.
17. 1p. cit., E/CONF 66/34, p. 3.
18. In *Women in Andean Agriculture* op. cit. This more sophisticated approach to the concept of sexual division of work brings the two authors to a more diversified approach to agricultural systems that the one propagated by E. Boserup, who distinguishes female and male farming systems. Four types are referred to (p. 103): "An equalitarian family farming system represents a farming system where both men and women contribute their labour and where both share the decision making. A Patriarchal Family Farming System constitute a farming system where both men and women provide labour, but where men control the decision-making aspects relevant to production and distribution. A male farming system, just as a female farming system, represents a farming system where only one sex contributes the overwhelming share of the labour as well as controls decision making".
19. See Achola Pala Okeyo Report INSTRAW, op. cit., p. 9-11.

20. in Deere and León de Leal. *Women in Andean Agriculture*, op. cit.
21. Margaret Mead, *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, UNESCO, N.Y., Merton Books, p. 10.
22. Andrée Michel, *Less Femmes et la Nouvelle Division Internationale du Travail*, p. 31, in Andrée Michel, Angnes Fatoumata-Diarra, Hélène Agbessi do Santos, *Femmes et Multinationales*, A.C.C.T., Ed. Kanthala 1981.
23. The most important theories trying to explain sex inequalities have been summarized in Schlegel, *A sexual stratification: A cross-cultural view*, Columbia University Press, 1967.
24. As declared by Lourdes Beneria. "The essence of male domination develops around the need to control reproduction in its different ways". In *Reproduction, Production and the sexual division of labour*. WEP, Research Working Paper 1982, p3; See also Deborah Bryceson Report, *Women and Technology in Developing Countries: technological change and social definitions of women's capability and responsibilities*, INSTRAW, June 1984, p. 93.
25. For a criticism of Freud's phallographic approach, see Luce Irigaray's *Speculum de l'autre femme*, Ed. de Minuit, 1974, Coll. Critique and, *Ce sexe qui n'en est pas un*, Ed. de Minuit, 1977, Coll. Critique.
26. This is very clearly explained in C. Meillassoux, op. cit.; For a critical presentation of these theories, see M. Mackintosh, *Reproduction and Patriarchy: A critique of Meillassoux, Femmes, greniers et capitaux Capital and class*, Summer 77, p. 119-127.
27. See, for ex., Marx, *Capital I*, p. 599.
28. See, for ex., Engels. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, N.Y., International Publishers, 1975.
29. See Reiter (ed). *Towards and Anthropology of Women*, N.Y., 1975, esp. Sacks, *Engels revisited: Women, the Organization of Production and the Private Property*; See also Quick, *The Class Nature of Women's Oppression. The Review of Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 9 No. 3 Fall 1977, p. 42.
30. This analysis seems inadequate, on the concrete level as well as on the theoretical level. On the concrete level it seems that many communist countries exercise the same control of women's reproductive activities as capitalist countries, which may be in order to control ideologically the progeniture. It is emphasised, for example, in a communication on *Rural women in Yugoslavia* by Ruza First-Dilic that both in the remaining private sector, as in the socialist farms "Women are still relegated to a marginal social position, as substitutes for men working off the farm", in *Woman in Rural Development*, Critical issues, I.L.O. Publication 1980; also in a paper on *Women in Rural Development, The People's Republic of China*, by Elisabeth Croll, although she underlines many benefits by women from the rural development process, she has to admit that "despite a high commitment to improving the position of women in China, some problems have continued to inhibit further redefinitions of their position", same publication, p. 38; a last example is given in an article on *Female employment in the U.S.S.R. and its tendencies in Worker Women and Society* (Publication of I.L.O., Preface of Helvi Sipilä) Sretlana Toutchaninova reminds that "to provide equal status for men and women in all economic social and political activities is one of the basic principles of the Soviet regime"; however she underlines the many remaining problems, underqualifications, insufficient rationalization of housework, and so on.
On the theoretical level, many Feminist analyses have pointed out the inadequacy of marxist analysis for an explanation of women's position in the economy. See for ex., Beech, *Some notes on female wage labour in capitalist production, Capital and Class*, Autumn 77, p. 45-66; Edholm, Harris and Young, *Conceptualizing women critique of Anthropology* 9/10, 1977, p. 101-130.
31. For a study of sexual division of labour through the co-operative conflicts and bargaining problems concepts, see the study by Amartya Sen INSTRAW 1985, *Women Technology and Sexual Division*.
32. See Amrtya Sen's study, op. cit., p. 6; Achola Pala Okeyo's study p. 37.
33. On all these questions, see Luisella Goldschmitt-Clermont, *Unpaid Work in the Household*, ILO Publication, *Women Work and Development*, No. 1. In the appendix, can be found the summaries of unpaid work evaluation inquiries from which it can be seen that often unpaid housework values range between 20 to 35 per cent of national income. It has even been contended that this percentage increases to 40-50% in very poor agricultural households.
34. This link between women and money should be kept in mind. For the other aspects of this topic see Sushila Gidwani's study, *Impact of International and National Monetary and Financial Institutions and Their Policies Upon Women*. INSTRAW 1985.

35. *The Status of Women in Pre-industrial Societies*, Princeton University Press 1977; see also *Cross Cultural Codes Dealing with the Relative Status of Women*, *Ethnology*, Vol. XVIII, 1978, No. 2 (April).
36. Cf. Christine Oppong. *A Synopsis of Seven Roles and Status of Women: An Outline of a Conceptual and Methodological Approach*, Working paper No. 94, I.L.O., W.E.P., 2-21/N.P.94, Sept. 1980, p. 6.
37. Especially many Marxist theories, in which the socio-economic feature of control of the means of production explains everything: the evolution of the demographic and ideological factors for example are explained by the variations in the need for a working labour force the economy, which is in the hands of those who own private property over the means of production. Thus a modification in the ideological positions towards the woman workers would be explained by the shifting needs of the capitalist economy.
38. *Women's Role in Economic Development*, London, George Allen and Unwin 1970.
39. See for ex. K. Young, *Modes of Appropriation and the Sexual Division of Labour: a case study from Oaxaca, Mexico*, Unpublished manuscript 1977.
40. I.L.O. publication, *Women, Work and Development No. 4*, 1982.
41. id., p. 87. See also, Deere, *The Development of Capitalism in Agriculture and the Division of Labour by Sex: a Study of the Northern Peruvian Sierra*, Ph.D. Disertation, Berkeley Univ. of California, 1978.
42. Like the myth of the "eternal woman" conveyed through mass media and publicity.
43. E/CONF 66/34, p. 10.
44. Op. cit., p. 28.
45. Of course, this is the most simplified picture and other levels could be introduced, without invalidating the proposed conceptual framework (on the contrary!).
46. Lourdes Beneria, op. cit., p. 8; World Bank Report 1984.
47. Rosenzweig, *Child Investment and Women in Lloyd, Sex, Discrimination and the Division of Labour*, N.Y., Colombia Univ. Press, 1975.
48. Development Forum, June 1984, *The Young Mothers*, Pavel Butorin.
49. R. Anker and G. Faroog. *Demographie et développement socio-économique: une nouvelle perspective*, in *Revue internationale de travail*, mars-avril 1978.
50. Conclusions of an expert group consulted by the Division of population, 1983. Cited in *Population, Resources, Environment and Development: Problems Raised by their Interaction*, Ian Ian Steele, U.N. Publ. Booklet, N.Y. 1984.
51. UNCTAD, United Nations, *Population and International Economic Relations* I.E.S.A./P/L.C.P. 1984/E.G. III/13.
52. E.C.A., United Nations, *Food Production and Population Growth in Africa*, I.E.S.A. P/L.C.P./1984/E.G.III/7.
53. See U.N., *Recommendations of the Expert Group on Fecundity and Family*, E/CONF 76/P.C./6.
54. See for ex. U.N., *Role of Information, Education and Communication in Family Planning Programmes* UNESCO, I.E.S.A./P/L.C.P. 1984/E.G.I./32; also U.N., *Relationships between Fertility and Education: a Comparative Analysis of W.F.S. data for 20 developing countries*, I.E.S.A./P/L.P.C. 1984/E.G.I./18.
55. Development Forum June 1984. *Open the Choice*; See also *Reports on Population and Family Planning*, N.Y., Publ. of the Population Council — Every Year.
56. *La raison et la passion, Réflexions sur les limites de la connaissance*, Seuil, Paris, 1984, p. 48.
57. This is the central assumption of Juan Molina's study "*Efectos de la crisis internacional en la mujer latinoamericana INSTRAW*"; in his study, he shows how women's daily life is conditioned by external policies of the international market, more precisely, how the politics of Latin American states are dictated by the United States.

58. *Reproduction, Production and the Sexual Division of Labour, Rural Employment Policy Research Programme*, I.L.O. Working paper W.E.P. 10/W.P.2, p. 16.
59. See Forex, M. Mies, *Consequences of Capitalist Penetration for Women's Subsistence Reproduction*. Seminar on Underdevelopment and subsistence reproduction in South East Asia, 1978.
60. For resolutions in specific areas, like the equal treatment in employment, i.e. the awareness, came earlier. For Resol. No. 11 of the I.L.O. against discrimination 1958 and more generally resolutions concerning standards and policy statements of special interest to women workers, I.L.O. Publ. 1980. See also the texts annexed in *Les travailleuses et la société*, I.L.O. Publ. 1976, Pref. Helvi Sipilä.
61. B. Stern. *Vers un nouvel ordre économique international? Recueil de textes et documents*, Vol. I. Paris, Economica, 1983, p. 174.
62. B. Stern, op. cit. p. 198.
63. B. Stern op. cit. p. 210.
64. E/CONF 66/34, p. 14.
65. id.
66. A/CONF 94/34/Add i, p. 1.
67. Not taking into account the Resolution which embodied the expression of thanks to the host country.
68. A/CONF 94/34/Add 1, p. 57.
69. B. Stern Un N.O.E.I. ? op. cit. p. 340.
70. Resolution 36/43, 1981, in B. Stern, op. cit. p. 391.
71. UNCTAD VI, Belgrade June 1983, T.D. 277.
72. See *Standards and Policy Statements of Special Interest to Women Workers*. I.L.O. Publ., p. 5.
73. *La situation de la femme en Europe*. Doc. Parl européen. Mai 1984.
74. Zubeida Ahmad, Martha Loufti, *Rural Woman*, B.I.T., Geneve 1981, p. 31.
75. Lourdes Beneria, *Reproduction, Production and the Sexual Division of Labour, Rural Employment Policy Research Programme*, I.L.O. Working Paper, WEP 10/W.P.2 Geneve July 1978, p. 2.
76. B. Stern, op. cit. p. 210.
77. Reshaping International Order. Club de Rome.
78. Ingrid Palmer, *Rural Women and the Basic Needs Approach Development*, Int. Lab. Review, Vol. 115, No. Jan-Feb. 1977, p. 97.
79. *Pax et libertas*, No. 3, July-Sept. 1977.
80. Achola Pala Okeyo :study, INSTRAW, p. 1.
81. "The involuntary effect of the green revolution seems to have increased the inequalities between men and women", Zuleida M. Ahmad, Martha F. Loufti, *Rural women*, I.L.O. Geneve, Jan. 1981, p. 12.
82. Lisa Bennet. *The Legal Status of Rural Women: a review of those aspects of legal status which limited the economic participation of women in rural development*, F.A.O., 1978; see also, Development Forum, Oct. 1984, *Women Without Rights and Lands*.
83. *North South Institute study*, INSTRAW, p. 38-39.
84. See Susan Joeke's Report, *World Trade and Work for Women in Third World Industry: Experience of the downturn in World Trade in the 1970's and beyond*, INSTRAW, 1984.
85. See *North-South Institute's study*, and the conclusions of the two cases studies on women workers in the

Electronics Industries: the case of the Export Processing Zones and women workers in textile and clothing industries, op. cit.

86. Nadie H. Yousef, Carol B. Hetler. *Rural Households Headed by Women, a priority concern for development*, I.L.O., Geneva 1984 (restricted).
87. H. Azzam & D. Shaib. *The Women Left Behind: a Study of the Wives of Lebanese Migrant Workers in the Oil-Rich Countries of the Region, The Middle East Population and Labour Policies*, working paper 3, Beyrouth, 1980.
88. See Diane Werneke. *Microelectronics and Office Jobs. The Impact of the Chip on Women's Employment*, I.L.O. 1983.
89. La situation de la femme en Europe. Document du Parlement européen, Mai 1984, p.
90. Editorial of Mrs. Yvette Roudy, in *Citoyennes a part entiere* No. 32, June 1984 p. 3 (this is the monthly bulleting issued by the Ministry for Women's Rights); see also No. 17 February '83.
91. OCDE, Groupe de travail sur le role des femmes dans l'economie, Note du Secretariat. MAS/WP6 (84) 5; restricted, 18 April, 1984.
92. *Impact on Women of Technical Cooperation Activities*, Marion Janjic, I.L.O., W. 7/1983.
93. Marion Janjic, op. cit., p. 22.
94. See I.D.B./298, Report of the Executive Director of U.N.I.D.O.
95. Op. cit p. 22.
96. Cited in *North-South Institute, INSTRAW*, op. cit. p. 32.
97. See Mayra Buvinic and Isabel Nieves. *Elements of Women's Economic Integration: Project Indicators for the World Bank*, Int. Center for Research on Women, may 1982.
98. Of course, INSTRAW has already worked in that direction. See INSTRAW's documents "Compiling Social Indicators on the Situation of Women" and "Improving Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women".
99. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Women and Technology, Policy Implications*, INSTRAW, Sept. 84, p. 4.
100. Cf. Marielle Righini. *Ecoute ma difference*, Grasset, Paris 1978.
101. *Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women*, E/CONF 66/34, p. 2.
102. A/CONF 94/34/Add 1, p. 29.
103. Note of the Secretary-General A/37/378, August 11, 1982, 16 d 17. See also several Unitar publications: Unitar research report No. 18, *The Situation of Women in the United Nations*, Szalai Alexander, 1973; *Unitar News*, vol. 7 No. 1, *Women and the U.N.*, Nicol Davidson and others, 1975; Unitar 2 volumes (209 p. & 335 p.), New York, *The United Nations and Decision Making: the Role of Women*, Nicol Davidson and Croke Margaret, 1978. See also, Cristini René, *La jurisprudence sur l'égalité des sexes dans la fonction publique internationale*, A.F.D.I. 1973, p. 505.
104. See, *Situation des femmes dans la catégorie des administrateurs et dans les catégories supérieures*, JIU/REP/82/4, Geneva, March 1982, Annex III.
105. See Mario Bettati. *L'avenir de la fonction publique internationale: question introductive*, in *L'avenir des organisations internationales*, Conf. de l'I.N.E.D.I.P., Economica 1984, p. 219.
106. *World Bank Annual Report*, Washington 1984, p. 28.
107. See *Situation des femmes dans les institutions de la Communauté européenne*, Marlene Lenz, in *La situation de la femme en Europe*, Doc. Parl. Européen, Mai 1984.
108. *World Bank Annual Report*, Washington 1984, p. 72.

109. See above, p. 32.
110. *Conclusions Unanimously Adopted by I.L.O. Tripartite Asian Regional Seminar, Mahabaleshwar, Maharashtra, India, 6-11 April 1981, I.L.O. Publ.*
111. In *La situation des Femmes en Europe*. Doc. du Parl. Européen, Mai 1984, p. 133.
112. With the exception of the German F.D.P. (35.7%).
113. For ex. in Guyana. See C.T.P.D. Informations 1983, No 3, p. 11.
114. UNCTAD study, INSTRAW, op. cit. p. 11.
115. U.N. 1975, E/CONF 66/34, p. 5.
116. *Reproduced in World Bank Annual Report 184, p. 72 and 73.*
117. p. 71.
118. Gilan Leder, article published in *Educational Studies in Mathematics II* (1980), p. 411.
119. Op. cit. p. 415. See also K. Simkin. *Sex Differences in Pupil's Commitment to School Success*, in S. Rowleg (ed) *Proceedings of the 1979 Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education*, p. 123-131.
120. Ruza First Dillic, Rural Women in Yugoslavia, in *Women in Rural Development, Critical issues*, I.L.O. 1980.
121. Study by Achola Pala Okeyo, INSTRAW 1985, p. 3.
122. *Rural Women and the Basic-Needs Approach to Development*, I.L. Rev. Vol. 115, Jan-Feb. 1977, p. 102-103.
123. Also historically, the status of women has sometimes been submitted to aggravating rules: special rights for men, differentiation in the punishment of male and female adultery, and so on; also the registration of land rights imposed by the colonial powers seems to have reinforced the existing inequalities.
124. See *Le Monde*, 6 décembre 1984, p. 9.
125. *Presentation of an Alternative Framework*, by Rajani Desai, Salabha Brahme and Sharayu Mhatre in Rural development and women in Asia, op. cit. p. 55.
126. Buvinic, op. cit. p. 40.
127. See Winifred Weakness-Vagliani. *The Integration of Women in Development Projects O.C.D.E., Paris, April 1984, Development Center — C.D./R (83) 16 (1st Rev.) Restricted.*
128. Op. cit. E/CONF 66/34, p. 6.
129. A problem is that often women's projects are turned towards the traditionally female activities like home economics and pottery, and have little development potential.
130. *Women and Development Perspective from South and Southeast Asia*, Ed. R. Jahan & M. Paparek, Bangladesh Inst. of Law and International Affairs, Dacc 1979.
131. See D. Loschak. *Les hommes politiques, le "sages" (?)... et les femmes* (a propos de la décision du Conseil Constitutionnel du 18 novembre 1982), *Droit Social* No. 2, Février 1983. p. 131-137.
132. Deborah Bryceson. *Women and Technology in Developing Countries: Technological Change and Social Definitions of Women's Capabilities and Responsibilities*, INSTRAW Study, 1985, p. 1.
133. Amarthya Sen. *Women, Technology and Sexual Divisions*, INSTRAW Study. p. 38.
134. UNCTAD Study, *Women and Technology: Policy Implications* INSTRAW, 1985.

Appendix III

Translation

- A) Everything evolves as though the analysis of both the micro and the macro realities, which do not use the same methodology, would not be able to match perfectly. One of them is as equally rigorous as the other and they both prove a certain autonomy. However, their results are not contradictory; real linkages exist between both results but the infinite number of factors that involves the macroscopic determination makes the possibility of a simple formula which would allow for an easy transfer from one domain to the other, somewhat unreal.
- B) In the report on the "New Technologies and Women's Employment" (88), Mrs. Antoinette Spaack spells out a severe warning: "If particular efforts are not made to help women take their place in the technological revolution, the risk of a set-back of their role in society is inevitable. This new challenge, which comes after so many others, must be met or we are likely to see women even more degraded with regards to the quality of their employment".
- C) "You are perhaps puzzled by the fact that —after a few months— I am still carrying out such an active offensive in favour of the participation of women in the technological revolution in electronics, information sciences, and biotechniques. However, you will be less puzzled when you look at the figures that sanction the effective role of women in such areas. Figures speak for themselves and convey the risk of exclusion of women from the labour market: in fact, only 1.5% of electronic engineers, 1.6% of maintenance technicians in electricity, electronics and automatism, and 0.6% in the handling or installing electronic components. There is only a weak participation of women in professional training in the new technology. This participation varies from 1 to 14% in electronics, and is less than 20% in information sciences. There is some hope, however: in certain stages, in 1983, we found women from 18 to 21 years old who totaled up to 50%.
- D) "The gap existing between their knowledge and qualifications compared to that of men —far from being satisfied by international assistance— faces the risk of being perpetuated, not to say aggravated".
- E) "In general, the action in favour of a more intense and effective mobilization of the economic force that female labour stands for, must envisage:
- a) the previous elimination of all forms of restraint imposed both by traditional values and prejudices against women's work outside the home.
 - b) the adoption of labour laws as the re-organization of services and essential installations to allow women to practice their activities.
 - c) equal opportunities and the adoption of measures to encourage both competitive hiring and development.

SB-101E

CORRIGENDUM TO:

THE CHANGING ROLE OF WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

INSTRUMENT

Page 6. Line 5. "What Can a New International Economic Order (N:IE:O:) Bring to Women?"

Page 9. Paragraph 3. Lines 1 & 2. "The classical international division of labour based on Ricardo's classical economic theory of comparative costs and advantage, and later on, Heckscher, Ohlin and Samuelson's neo-classical..."

Page 11. Line 5. "...industrial sector remain low. But it was, by no means, seen as a sector to be developed or..."

Page 11. Paragraph 11. Line 4. "...developing countries-Developing Countries, Group 77, Non-aligned-, it should be an economic..."

Page 13. Paragraph 6. Line 1. "Most generally, reference is made to the last meaning. In their study on Women in Andean..."

Page 13. Paragraph 8. Line 2. "...tion in work. The control over the productive process is often the control of men. In the quoted..."

Page 16. Paragraph 7. Line 6. "...peasant households, the rich peasant households. After a thorough examination of the situation in..."

Page 17. Line 7. "...implements provides the clearest boundary of the type of agricultural work which is considered..."

Page 23. Paragraph 12. "The consequences on women of the present transition from the old to the new international division of labour will be analyzed more thoroughly. The women-economy relationship will be analyzed in a dynamic development perspective, but whatever the moves towards a New International Economic Order are, one must not forget the fundamental contradiction between the logic of the world market economy, on the one hand, and development needs and welfare requirements on the other."

Page 25. Paragraph 2. Line 4.

"...which stresses the importance of that issue which has a decisive impact on the possibilities for..."

Page 25. Paragraph 4. Line 1. "It seems that now the strategy for women's advancement constitutes an integral part of the..."

Page 27. Paragraph 5. Line 4. "...Resolutions 1710 and 1715, the emphasis was still on quantitative goals, like the growth of the..."

Page 27. Paragraph 5. Line 8. "...should necessarily all benefit from it. No specific concern for any part was necessary in such an..."

Page 28. Paragraph 8. Line 5. "...on May 1, 1974: it was also discussed at length at the I.L.O. World Employment Conference in ..."

Page 29. Paragraph 2. Line 1. "This approach has been discussed at length in many forums, especially at the June 1976..."

Page 30. Paragraph 4. "It seems however, that women have benefited as much - and maybe even more than men in absolute terms of number of jobs created in certain limited sectors and certain limited geographical areas, from the pattern of recent industrial development. This is explained by the fact that the "delocalisation" of certain industries in the developing countries was based on the comparative advantage of using very cheap female labour."

Page 30. Paragraph 7. Line 2. "...for employment in the local industries, and also in the Northern countries' industries (issue of..."

- Page 35. Paragraph 6. Line 4. "...employment and social equity are fundamental and indivisible elements of development." Maybe..."
- Page 35. Paragraph 7. Line 1. "But finally, a new dimension seems to be added to the prior concerns. The Strategy for the..."
- Page 41. Paragraph 1. Line 6. "...being less appropriate for females and this anxiety is likely to have adverse effects on per-..."
- Page 41. Paragraph 5. Line 1. "Women of course need, as mentioned above, technical qualifications to enter into the indus-..."
- Page 42. Paragraph 5. Line 5. "...to the rich countries than to the poor countries. Ricardo was concerned with the unequal distribu-..."
- Page 44. Paragraph 5. Line 2. "...adopted when the victims of the unequal situation have enough power to have them adopted."
- Page 46. Paragraph 2. Line 2. "...aside as going against constitutional equality - formal, legal equality - although it would have...."
- Page 46. Paragraph 9. Lines 1 to 3. "A last remark can be made here: it seems to me that the use of the concepts of the N.I.E.O. in addressing women's problems can only have a feed-back on N.I.E.O. concerns: taking into account the cumulative effect of any change, if women's issues are made part of the ongoing..."
- Page 48. Appendix I Summary of Suggested Actions - Item 2. "-Campaign near all international organizations for a systematic awareness of women's concerns, and establish a minimal model-list for that purpose."
- Page 49. Appendix II Footnotes - Items 11 and 12. "11. Marcelle Marloie. "L'abondance mal geree", Le Monde Diplomatique, mail 98."
12. Achola Pala Okeyo. Towards Strategies for Strengthening the Position of women in Food Production: An Overview and Proposals on Africa, INSTRAW, 1984."
- Page 52. Appendix II Footnotes - Item 69. "69. B. Stern, Un N.O.E.I.? op cit. p.340"
- Page 52. Appendix II Footnotes - Item 85. "See North-South Institute's study and the conclusions of the two case studies on women workers in the..."
- Page 53. Appendix II Footnotes - Item 86. "86. Nadia H. Yousef, Carol B. Hetler. Rural Households Headed by Women, a priority concern for development, I.L.O., Geneve 1984 (restricted)."
- Page 55. Appendix III Translations - Item C) Lines 1 and 2. "You are perhaps puzzled by the fact that - after a few months - I am still carrying out such an active offensive in favour of the participation of women in the technological revolution in electronics, information..."
- Page 55. Appendix III Translations - Item C) Line 6. "...nicians in electricity, electronics and automatism, and 0.6% in the handling or installing electronic compo-..."
- Page 55. Appendix III Translations - Item E) Line 1. "In general, the action in favour of a more intense and effective mobilization of the economic force that female..."
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