
The Role of Women
in International Economic Relations

SUMMARY OF INSTRAW SERIES
OF STUDIES
ON THE ROLE OF WOMEN
IN INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC RELATIONS



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

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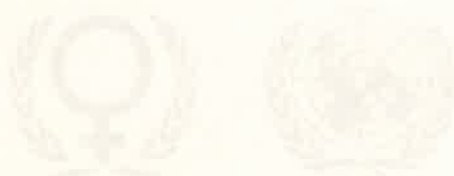
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United Nations International Research
and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women

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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 a 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, and 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 on 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 '84 of the authors of the studies and experts in international economic relations to review and finalize the studies.

The following publication is the summary of the series of research studies to be submitted to the 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. The research studies have been published separately by the Institute and the consolidated report will be published at a later stage.

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Part 1

The Changing Role of Women in International Economic Relations *

Introduction

As the conceptual framework for the INSTRAW series of research studies on the role of women in international economic relations this study describes the determinants of the world economy and women's situation appraises the present situation of women in international economic relations and suggests directions for future changes.

The ultimate purpose of the series of research studies is to ensure that the full potential of women as agents and beneficiaries of the development process be promoted, thus both improving the status of women and assisting the total development effort. In this respect, the present study, as the conceptual framework for the series, starts with the premise that the role of women in international economic relations is primarily not a question of feminism, or even equality between human beings, but a question of dire economic necessity.

Therefore, consideration of women's issues must be part and parcel of the consideration of general development issues as has been underlined in the Declaration of Mexico on the equality of women and their 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". In this respect, the World Plan of Action for the implementation of the objectives of the International Women's Year also underlines "the loss represented by the under-utilization of the potentialities of approximately 50 per cent of the world's adult population". In other words, women are central —not marginal— to the development process, and, therefore, women have to be active —not passive— in this process.

Part I: THE DETERMINANTS OF THE WORLD ECONOMY AND WOMEN'S SITUATION

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

The study of the interlinkages between the macro and micro economy and their consequent impact on the role and status of women requires an examination of both the traditional and emerging international economic structures.

Thus the classical international division of labour based on classical economic theory of comparative costs, and later, on the neoclassical theory of the endowment of production factors, assigned developing countries a very precise specialization: namely, the extraction and production of raw materials and base products, and the agricultural production of exotic products. The developed countries maintained for themselves manufacture and industrial production.

The theoretical premises of international specialization, such as the hypothesis of perfect concurrence and the hypothesis of the immobility of production factors in time and space have been disproved on the practical level; for, far from ensuring the harmonious development of all,

*) This study was prepared by Dr. Brigitte Stern, University of Paris X, following the terms of reference of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW.

as it was supposed to do, the international specialization of labour revealed itself most unfavorable to developing countries. In fact, they were losing at all levels, in that the volume of industrial production was increasing more rapidly than that of extracted raw materials. In addition, the economic law of increasing returns has applied only to the industrial sector and not to the agricultural sector or the extraction of raw materials, both of which experienced decreasing returns. Finally, the terms of exchange of agricultural and mineral base products deteriorated vis-à-vis industrial products.

Thus the classical international division of labour aggravated the gap between the rich and the poor countries and, in this respect, the call for a new international division of labour seeks to remedy the lack of balance of the former situation. The industrialization of developing countries is one of the central elements of this redistribution of tasks at the world level, and, therefore, developing countries can no longer be accurately typified as mainly primary commodity exporters.

However, there are different types of industrialization strategies. If it is admitted that the most desirable 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 equipment goods, then it must be stated that these are not the kind of industries that have recently shifted to developing countries in the framing of the new international division of labour. It is mostly consumption industries with low technological and high labour content which exist in developing countries, and recently in a few regions—the newly industrialized countries—high technology industries which are also labour intensive.

Although the high technological content of the latter type of industrialization can be highly beneficial to developing countries, its method of implementation through an offshore assembly policy, encouraged by the legislation of several developed countries, has resulted in the concentration of the benefits of the industrial process in the developed countries. In other words, and mainly under the auspices of multinational corporations, this type of industrialization has resulted in a situation where basic industries and most of the high technology industries are found in the developed countries, while the traditional manufacturers of transformation are found in the developing countries.

The strong focus on export promotion has led to a concentration on the industrial sector and agro-industries at the expense of agricultural production geared to national consumption requirements. Consequently, many developing countries are presently not self-sufficient in terms of food production.

The Crisis Opens the Way to Change

Since any development process implies deep structural transformations, particularly in periods of crisis, the present world-wide economic crisis might be more favourable for the starting of a new cycle of economic change. The Declaration of Mexico on the equality of women and their contribution to development and peace states that "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 NIEO. This conclusion is based on recent developments such as the slow down in world trade flows and protectionist attitudes from the developed countries towards agricultural commodities that are traditionally exported by developing countries (i.e. sugar and cotton), or manufactured goods in which some newly developed countries have become competitive. These developments are of great importance to developing countries since 70% of their trade is with the developed countries. Moreover, due to the present recessionary and inflationist climate, the terms of exchange of the developing countries' products have greatly deteriorated, and most developing countries are facing a serious "debt crisis".

Women: The Necessity and the Possibility of a Change

In looking at the status of women throughout history, a number of observations can be made which are pertinent to the understanding of their changing role in international economic relations. The first is that in all communities there exists a sexual division of labour only partially based on women's exclusive capacity to give birth since it only explains why men have been excluded from certain tasks.

The second observation is that the above division of labour has, in most cases, been in favour of men. In this respect the Declaration of Mexico on the equality of women states that "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".

In order to explain this unequal status of women relative to men, the measurement of this inequality is required followed by an explanation for it. Thus, the measurement is linked to a division of labour between the sexes where the either same quantity of work is not involved on both sides, the quality of the performed work is different, or where there is no correlation between the quantity of work performed and the social power gained through it.

All of the existing theoretical explanations for the unequal status of women may be linked with either an explanation based on "nature" and the natural inferiority of women, or an explanation based on "culture" explaining the will of men to dominate women. In this respect, "nature" is unchanging, while "culture" can and does change. With reference to the cultural explanation, men may have dominated women, through physical force in primitive societies, while ideological and legal factors were used for the same purpose later. Moreover, physical force no longer accepted as a legitimate mean to impose one's power, money plays that role today. Thus, women function primarily outside the monetized sector of the economy, relegated mainly to reproductive functions, or in the subsistence sector of the economy which is rarely accounted for in GNP.

A fourth observation about the historical sexual division of labour is that it is and has been quite diverse across regions, countries and through time. Thus there is no single key factor explaining the differences in women's position in diverse contexts. A bundle of significant factors is likely to be a more efficient tool of analysis, which include socioeconomic, demographic, technical, and formative factors, the latter encompassing cultural, ideological, mythological and legal factors.

The above factors are referred to in the World Plan of Action for the implementation of the objectives of International Women's year which states 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". Moreover, a dialectical relationship exists between all of these factors, whereby a change in one or more factors invariably involves changes in others. Moreover, the status of women is both a determinant and a consequence of these various factors.

In addition to the above horizontal stratification of factors influencing women's status, women also operate in a vertical structure. Thus, any woman is in the center of a series of concentric circles representing the family, community, state and international market. Their position is determined by the interlinkages of all these levels and the horizontal factors play a role at each level. In other words, at any given time, the different settings in which women operate are defined by socio-economic, demographic and normative factors, while women's status is defined by the interaction of the different levels. Sex related differentiation, therefore, resulted from structures at the micro-economic level of the family and community, as well as at the macro-economic level of the state and international economic relations.

Moreover, the role of women must be placed in a time perspective both at the micro and macro levels. At the micro level, women's life cycle is quite important, for example, the age at which a woman has her first child is her effective integration in the development process. At the macro level, women's role must be placed in the context of economic transformation processes.

The fourth observation that can be made about women's situation is that the recent development of birth control technology has enabled women to gain control over their reproductive functions with far-reaching direct and indirect consequences at the micro-economic level of women's lives, as well as the macro-economic level of the world economy.

Thus the macro-micro interlinkages are demonstrated first by the fact that on the macro level, demography has a direct impact on the economy, and that women's control over the number of births and their spacing indirectly affects the economy through a better participation of women in economic activities outside the house. Secondly, women's lives are directly affected by their control over their reproductive functions on the micro level, while changes in the overall economy can have an indirect boomerang affect on her economic situation, which, in turn, enables her to contribute economically, etc.

Part II:

APPRAISAL OF THE PRESENT SITUATION OF WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Theoretical Approach to Interlinkages Between Macro and Micro Economic Analysis and the Consequent Impact on Women

The various factors influencing the status of women at the different levels of analysis and during various time periods, point to the difficulty of isolating the economic factor from the bundle of significant factors influencing the status of women. Moreover, problems also exist in attempts to relate the different scales of analysis; that is, it is difficult to clearly and easily highlight the interlinkages between the macro (international) and micro (national) levels of the economy, as they do not follow a strict determination and, therefore, it is difficult to highlight their impact of these interlinkages on the role and status of women.

A third difficulty that must be kept in mind in determining the impact on women of the interlinkages between the macro and micro levels of the economy, is that it is difficult to ascertain the direction of these causal links. First, although it is evident that macro level policies have an impact on micro level policies, one must determine if micro level events affect the macro level. Secondly, if one were to assume that the causal relationship can go either way, one must also consider the possible "boomerang effects" of any modifications in a given situation. Moreover, it is also important to bear in mind that the analysis of all these "boomerang effects" of any modifications in a given situation. Moreover, it is also important to bear in mind that the analysis of all these "boomerang effects" must be undertaken at a time of growing interdependence between national economies, and a process of internationalization of the means of production, the latter portrayed by phenomenon such as migration of labour, capital flows, eurodollars, multinational corporations and transfer of technology, as well as the internationalization of production and markets.

Lastly in analysing the consequent impact of macro-micro economic linkages on women, it is difficult to establish the differential impact of these linkage on men and women. In this respect, very seldom is the distinction made between the general effects of economic changes, and their specific impact on women.

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

The study of the impact of the interlinkages between the macro and micro levels of the

economy on women necessitates that women's role be analyzed within the context of an international economic system which is undergoing a process of dynamic transformation. For this purpose, two crucial historical periods are significant: namely, the transition from domestic economy to merchant capitalist economy, and the transition from the classical international division of labour to the "new international division of labour".

Taking the African case as an example, the impact on women of the transition from the domestic economy to the merchant capitalist economy which reflected the new relations between the developed and developing countries, can be summarized as follows:

- i) Relegation to the domestic, non-monetized sector.
- ii) Double, triple burden of taking care of the family and farm since men often had to emigrate for paid employment on plantations or mines.
- iii) Loss of some traditional prerogatives such as their customary right to some parcels of land through the privatization of land.
- iv) Loss of economic value of their productive work through the introduction of the cash economy, and technological innovations and mass production.

The impact on women of the present transition from the old to the new international division of labour can be ascertained by examining action taken to achieve formal equality, and the actual results of this action.

A survey of resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly shows that the consciousness of the impact of the international economy on women is a recent phenomenon; thus, the first explicit reference to the integration of women in development, although quite broad, is found in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade adopted by the General Assembly in Resolution 2626 (xx) of October 24, 1970.

More specific international action was launched thereafter, with the 1975 World Conference of International Women's Year which elaborated a World Plan of Action for the implementation of the objectives of International Women's Year and declared the period 1975-1985 the United Nations Decade for Women.

The primary goal of the World Plan of Action was 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".

The above changes can be achieved first through national plans and strategies respecting the sovereignty of states. Moreover, it is 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", thus promoting both general and specific action.

The World Plan of Action also indicates some specific issue that should be given priority by Member States. These are as follows: ensure the political participation of women in the various branches of government; give women a 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 is concerned; provide for health services and good nutrition; and ensure for the dignity, equality and security of each family member, especially through a sound demographic policy, improved housing and related facilities as well as the neighborhood and social services which would benefit women.

It was also recommended by the World Plan of Action that the above national level action

Lastly, other international strategies geared to total population and not only women, such as the strategy of health for all by the year 2000 and the UNCTAD Strategy for the Technological Transformation of Developing Countries, also address women's role in the development process.

In terms of international conventions, the convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which has been in force since September 1981, makes a link between the establishment of the NIEO and the promotion of equality between men and women; the full and complete development of a country which requires, among other things, the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men; and the important role of women in rural development.

Growth strategies as portrayed in the International Development Strategy for the first United Nations Development Decade adopted by the General Assembly in Resolutions 1710 and 1715 of December 16, 1961 emphasized quantitative goals, like a growth of the percentage of national income which would eventually "trickle down" and benefit all members of society". These strategies were only concerned with the economy at the macro level, disregarding distributive measures and differences among states and people. Moreover, their proposals were based on *given* situations, thus overlooking the fact that change cannot be based on precisely those determining factors which themselves require change.

Distribution strategies, as portrayed by the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, sought to achieve growth along with distribution among macro economic entities as represented by the different nations. Moreover, these strategies also recognized the need for development strategies to conform with the specific socio-economic, political and cultural characteristics of each country. However, the concern for equity related only to a better distribution of resources between the developing and the developed countries, but left the unequitable distribution of resources within countries unchanged.

A new approach to development concerned with fulfilling the basic needs of populations appeared following dissatisfaction with distribution strategies. The appearance of this approach coincided with the adoption of the Declaration on the Implementation of the NIEO by the General Assembly in resolution 3201 of May 1, 1974. Placing primary importance on the development of human resources, this development strategy seeks to fulfill basic needs of entire populations, such as adequate food, shelter, clothing, certain household effects, safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, health, and educational facilities.

Although seemingly appropriate for the fulfillment of the needs of developing countries, at least on the theoretical level, the basic needs strategy does not appear to have been used on a broad scale or for an extended period of time. Even when it has been used, the expected results did not occur. One reason for this is that quite often the basic needs of the targeted communities were determined from the outside and those whose basic needs were to be met were not consulted on their needs and priorities. Thus there appears to be a shift back to growth or distribution strategies at the present time.

Far From Real Equality

As can be seen from the former presentation, a variety of resolutions, conventions and norms of international bodies, as well as development strategies espoused have sought to address the development needs of developing countries and the problems that women as 50% of the population confront therein. However, all of these actions seem to have come short of effectively resolving development problems, in general, and the problems that women confront therein, in particular.

The development strategy of developing countries, whether based on import-substitution or export-oriented strategies resulting from the new international division of labour, has had far-

reaching consequences for women in developing countries in both the agricultural and industrialized sectors.

Taking Africa as an example of a region where women have traditionally been the backbone of agriculture and food farming, one can see that women have been directly affected by the stagnation, negative growth and deterioration in the food and agricultural sector experienced by the African National economies over the past two decades. In some respects, one can see a direct link between the lack of recognition of women's important role, particularly in subsistence farming, and the decline experienced by the African agricultural sector. Thus, agrarian reform, the green revolution and technological innovations as they have been introduced up to this point, overlooked women's role in agricultural production.

In the industrial sector, the productivity gap of men as opposed to that of women has widened to the benefit of men in that the structure of the new international division of labour has enabled men to be in a better position to benefit from industrial employment opportunities. Yet, in terms of the absolute number of jobs in certain limited sectors and specific geographic areas, women appear to have benefited just as much as men, if not more. This refers specifically to off-shore industries in the newly industrialized countries established under the principle of comparative advantage of using cheap female labour.

However, the conditions of work of women in these jobs are generally much less favourable than that of men in terms of wages, job security, promotion, and job content. Moreover, the present world-wide crisis highlights the vulnerability of women's future employment prospects.

Other consequences of the new international division of labour on women in developing countries include the emergence of a technological gap between men and women due to women's unequal access to educational and training opportunities as compared to men, and the breakdown of rural families as a result of male rural-urban migration, as well as male migration to developed countries in search of employment. Due to the latter phenomenon, one-third of rural households are presently headed by women.

The impact of the new international division of labour on women in developed countries includes a decrease in employment in sectors which have been transferred to the developing countries and whose labour force was traditionally almost completely female, and the low position and wages of women in the newly developed industries, as well as a decrease in their employment due to the centralization occurring with further developments in the information industry.

In addition to the negative impact that the new international division of labour has had on women world-wide it appears that international development programmes do not adequately address women's concerns in their formulation and implementation.

Part III:

THE SEARCH TOWARDS FUTURE CHANGES

The attempt to highlight actions in order to direct future changes to better serve women has a number of prerequisites. First, it is necessary to delineate women's economic contributions. This includes their hidden contribution resulting directly from their reproductive role, as well as their productive activities that lie outside of the market.

It is also necessary to have a clear knowledge of the existing sexual division of labour in a community before any development project is launched, if one is to avoid the negative impact that international development programmes have often had on women.

A third prerequisite is the determination of the desired goal, both as far as the desired form

of international economic order and the role and status of women. As far as the international economic order, a new development strategy is required which would integrate all levels of development and aim to benefit and utilize the potential of all available human resources. Moreover, and as stated in the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, national self-reliance is an important component and goal of any new development strategy, along with growth and equity.

As far as the desired goals pertaining to the status of women, it is clear that the integration of women in development is both a necessity for women in their quest for equality, and a necessity for development.

Women as Agents of Development: What can Women Bring to the NIEO?

The Declaration of Mexico on the equality of women stated that a "greater and equal participation of women at all levels of decision-making shall decisively contribute to accelerating the pace of development". This implies that women must participate in the international and national development debate.

Consequently, there is a need to increase the proportion of women in high-ranking positions in both national and international organizations to create specific institutional mechanisms concerned with women's issues.

As agents of development, women's participation in economic processes should be both recognized and increased. Thus, women's household work should be evaluated properly. Women should also participate in the development of appropriate technologies for household work to alleviate their task and enable them to participate in economic work outside of the household.

Increasing women's participation in economic activities outside of the household requires heavy investments in their education and technical training in both the agricultural and industrial sectors.

Women as Beneficiaries of Development What can a NIEO Bring to Women?

There is no automatic fall out on women from development processes, for only if the requirements and participation of women are taken into consideration will development benefit all people.

In trying to ascertain the benefits that a new form of international economic relations can bring to women and analogy can be made between male-female relations and the North-South debate. Thus at the root of the latter debate is a challenge of classical economic theory which maintained that international trade based on the theory of comparative costs would benefit both rich and poor countries.

However, while all countries benefited, they did not benefit equally. As a result of this uneven distribution of benefits, one of the basic concepts of the North-South dialogue is that one cannot treat unequal situations equally, and thus if one is to rectify inequality, one has to apply different criteria to each country, depending on its development context.

The above can also be used in reference to women's unequal status with respect to that of men. For example, in ascertaining why agricultural development has undermined women's authority, it can be claimed that classical development models emphasized comparative advantage based on specialization, and overlooked distribution. Therefore, the main reason why women failed to benefit from agricultural development relates to unequal exchange flowing from disparities in labour productivity, economic power, institutional power and political power.

As a result of the above analogy, it is possible to use the concepts developed to address the inequality inherent in North-South relations to modify the inequality in male-female relations. In this respect, the idea of not treating equally unequal situations has two consequences: the first is that it can be used to correct existing inequalities, examples of this, with respect to the implementation of the N.I.E.O. are the Generalized System of Preferences, stabex, special rules of the law of the sea, etc.); and the second is that it allows the delineation of differences in situations so that the appropriate rules can be applied.

Thus, with reference to women, compensatory measures can be applied to rectify the historic discrimination that they have experienced. However, compensatory measures will only be adopted if the victims of the unequal situation have enough bargaining power to influence their adoption. The development of birth control technology is providing women with this essential bargaining power to reserve the existing trends and press for the adoption of rules adapted to their situation.

In discussing the type of rules which would be appropriate for women, it is important to first ascertain whether separate rules and compensatory measures for women are advisable.

Many views insist that there is a need for a direct focus on women through separate institutional arrangements and women-specific projects, while other views warn against this approach because it would perpetuate the marginalization of women's issues. However, while it is certainly true that measures which are concerned exclusively with women are unlikely to bring about real development and a real improvement in women's situation, it is also true that development policies are not likely to reverse the historical discrimination against women. In fact, not only is the modification of development strategies necessary for an improvement in the situation of women, but even this modification is insufficient if issues specific to women are not given due consideration.

With the above argument in mind, it appears that the pertinent questions are the extent to which women as a group should be considered separately from men, and the distinctions that ought to be made between different groups of women.

With respect to the desirability to institute compensatory measures to improve the situation of women, some views advocate these measures as a transitional means while others point to the indignity of these measures. These two views can be reconciled by distinguishing between preferential treatment for opportunities and for skills which seem acceptable and necessary, and preferential treatment for rights or privileges which are difficult to justified.

be supported by action at the international and regional levels, especially through international programmes and international conventions addressing the potentials and needs of women.

The 1980 mid-decade conference of International Women's Year also adopted resolutions of specific interest to women. Of special importance to the linking between the micro and macro levels of the economy and the consequent impact on women is the resolution on family planning which stresses the impact of this practice on the possibilities for women to take advantage of educational and employment opportunities and the one that calls for the implementation of the objectives of the U.N. Decade for Women in line with the efforts made by the U.N. towards the establishment of the NIEO. The latter emphasizes 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 the global development".

The impact of the international economic situation on the role and status of women is further elaborated on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade which was adopted by the General Assembly in Resolution 35/36. Here, reference is made to women in terms of human dignity, equal participation both as agents and beneficiaries of the development process, industrialization, science and technology, agriculture, etc.

Part 2

Women and International Development Co-operation: Trade and Investment *

Introduction

The study covers the impact on women of certain key trends in investment, production and trade in the developing countries. In this respect, although perhaps most visible change has been the economic and political ascendancy of the oil-producing developing countries since the oil price like of 1973 and more recently the debt servicing crisis of many developing countries in the wake of the 1980-1982 global recession have riveted attention on their role in the international financial system, however of as much significance in the long run, is the emergence of a growing number of developing countries as important industrial producers and exporters, the technological "revolution taking place in agricultural production in developing countries, and the growing importance of transnational corporations and intra-firm trade in international economic relations.

These and other changes have had powerful impact on women and men living in the developing and developed countries. While women have obviously been affected in many of the same ways as the rest of their societies, it is becoming apparent that they frequently have not benefited from economic development to the same extent as men. In some cases there is evidence that women's situation is actually becoming worse and that they have experienced a disproportionate share of the dislocation that usually accompanies economic change and development.

In looking at contemporary trade and development trends, one can see that although the majority of people in developing countries continue to depend upon agriculture for their livelihood, agriculture accounts for a diminishing share of gross domestic product (GDP) in the developing countries and a declining share of female and male employment as well. As with the developed countries and the global economy more generally, the industrial and service sectors have taken on increased relative economic importance in developing economies. In particular, there has been a dramatic increase in manufacturing production in many developing countries.

As a result of these trends, the developing countries can also no longer be accurately typified as mainly primary commodity exporters. Some developing countries have become predominately manufactured exporters and many others export a significant proportion of industrial goods.

Before assessing the specific impact that these trends have had on women's work, it is important to review the scope, nature and origins of these trends. Thus it is important to note that agricultural and industrial development are complementary activities in that an essential component of the economic development process is increased agricultural productivity so that resources can be directed toward higher productivity economic activities in the industrial and service sectors. As the economy grows, a declining percentage of the population and GDP are accounted for by the agricultural sector.

A major achievement of the past quarter century has been the expansion of food production in the developing world in line with population growth. This trend has occurred in all regions of the Third World except sub-Saharan Africa. However, despite this growth in food production, the number of people without adequate food has risen to an estimated 750 million, most of whom are in low-income developing countries where the majority of the population works on the land. The central problem therefore remains to augment *production*, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, and to improve food *distribution* within developing countries. The problem can be linked

*) This study has been prepared by the North-South Institute following the terms of reference of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW.

to three main factors: inadequate attention to and investment in food crops; low, administered food prices; and skewed land tenure patterns.

The significant increase in food production in the developing countries has come about as governments have paid more attention to the agricultural sector and major new technological innovations have been introduced in the "Green Revolution" resulting in vastly improved yields of major grain crops as well as an increase of paid employment for agricultural labourers as a group.

Another important feature of many developing countries is the important role of agricultural exports as a key source of foreign exchange.

In the past 30 years, developing countries have been major world suppliers of certain primary agricultural commodities such as coffee, tea, sugar, cotton and cocoa, although rubber, bananas and certain tropical fruits have also been significant trade items.

However, in the last 30 years, there has also been an overall trend towards a fall in price in real terms for agricultural products. This has resulted in a significant decline in the purchasing power per unit of many developing countries' exports. Many agricultural commodities such as sugar, coffee and cocoa are also subject to serious supply and price fluctuations. This often results in instability in export earnings with concomitant difficulties for domestic development planning.

A major concern of most developing countries is the improvement of their foreign exchange earnings and the expansion of employment by increasing the degree of processing which their primary agricultural products undergo. Although some progress has been made in this area, a number of constraints exist on their ability to do this which include "collating" tariff structures in developed country markets since tariff rates generally rise as the degree of processing increases.

Since many developing countries continue to depend on the export of agricultural commodities to earn foreign exchange, these problems have a strong impact on their potential for development. Moreover, as these products can rely heavily upon female labour means that women can be directly affected by changes in this sector.

For both low and middle income developing countries alike, however, the share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) accounted for by agriculture has decreased considerably over the past two decades and the industrial sector's share of GDP has grown rapidly. Moreover, a slightly smaller shift toward services industry has also been taking place as activities such as transport, finance and communications have grown in tandem with industrial and agricultural development. The growth of education and health services has also contributed to this trend, as has the increase of petty trading and domestic service.

Manufacturing has been the keystone of structural change and economic growth for many developing countries. Manufactured output has grown almost three times as fast as agricultural output in developing countries, and has far surpassed the growth of manufacturing production in the developed countries (bearing in mind that growth in the developing countries started from a much smaller base). This aggregate picture marks the fact that much of this growth has been concentrated in a small handful of developing countries.

Within the group of newly industrializing countries (NICs) in the developing world, manufactured exports have also shown an impressive amount of growth, with average annual growth rates that have greatly outpaced both non-fuel primary commodity exports in terms of value and volume, and fuel exports in volume terms. When compared to global trends it can be seen that the manufactured exports of developing countries have expanded very rapidly. Moreover, manufactures have come to equal non-fuel primary commodities in the export baskets of the oil-importing DCs, whereas in the early 1960s they were only one fifth as important.

Mostly NICs, but other developing countries have also been diversifying their output and exports as well of manufactures as their level of overall development has advanced. While the production of consumer goods still dominates in even the most industrially advanced developing countries, a substantial share of manufacturing production is taken up by intermediate and even capital goods. While the industrial exports of developing countries continue to be heavily concentrated in traditional, labour-intensive manufactures, they have grown to include electronic components and consumer goods, as well as more capital-intensive goods such as synthetic fibres, machines and tools and appliances.

The amount of employment generated by manufacturing in developing countries has also increased in both absolute and relative terms.

Questions have been raised, however, as to whether it will be possible for this rapid expansion and diversification of industrial production and exports in the developing world to continue in the recessionary economic climate of the 1980s. Growth in world trade faltered in the early 1980s as a consequence of prolonged global recession and the developing countries have share fully in this slump. Reduced demand combines with deteriorating terms of trade following the 1929-80 oil price rise and high interest rates have resulted in a sharp deterioration in the payments position of developing countries. The problem is not confined to the debt-servicing and rescheduling problems of a few middle income developing countries vis-à-vis the private commercial banks but also includes the protracted, debilitating financial crisis affecting many of the least developed countries.

Already the developing countries as a whole have seen their aggregate growth rate cut by more than half. Many of them have experienced negative growth and when the high inflation and continued rapid population growth found in many of these countries is taken into account, it becomes clear that the well-being of many women and men living in the developing world has significantly deteriorated in recent years. The domestic adjustments which developing countries are having to undertake, often as a condition of IMF financing, will be felt for many years to come. Moreover, the burden of these adjustments is frequently not distributed equally, and often it is the disadvantaged and the dispossessed, many of whom are women, who are least able to protect themselves.

Meanwhile the upsurge in protectionism in the advanced developed countries has seriously aggravated the economic situation of many developing countries, particularly in key labour intensive industries employing large numbers of women.

Women in Third World Economies and Current Trends

The Uncounted Contribution

An examination of the current trends in the work of women in developing countries requires going beyond the narrow confines of traditional work definitions and statistics and capture some of the realities that are at the core of Third World societies. There are a number of problems in this attempt to get a global perspective on women's work, the first of which is the "invisibility" of women's work since much of the work women do is performed within the confines of the home and the domestic sphere, it is not officially counted as work for statistical purposes, "economically active" persons are often defined by the countries collecting data as "any person producing significant amounts of economic (i.e. marketable) goods or visible income", thus effectively excluding women and men who work on their own account. The contribution which women make to the economy has been defined as "social" and is either not counted or is viewed as secondary to other economic activities, thus excluding women from economic planning and programming.

As a further statistical distortion, women of working age are often arbitrarily placed in the

miscellaneous category of "dependents", along with children, the elderly, the sick and the handicapped, thus ignoring the fact that many women are heads of households.

Despite the above caveats, available international statistics on women's work point to massive, and rapidly changing, contributions. The total of *officially* economically active women rose from 344 million to 576 million between 1950 and 1975, suggesting that at present 35 percent of the world's women are in the official global labour force. However, these figures are conservative estimates because of the restrictive definition of "economic activity" which is commonly used.

As with labour force trends in general, and consistent with the structural adjustments which generally accompany economic changes and development, female employment in the developing world has been shifting somewhat from the agricultural sector to formal sector activities in industry and services. However, two-thirds of female workers in developing countries were still employed in the agricultural sectors as of 1980 while the remaining third was divided almost equally between industry and services. A much smaller percentage of women than men in the developing world are employed in industry and services.

In terms of the kinds of occupations and positions held by women in the developing world, one-half of all female workers are unpaid family workers, one-third conduct their own business or firms and one-fifth are wage earners or salaried employees (only 4 percent of which are in professional and administrative positions).

Of even greater importance is the fact that over the past two decades job opportunities for women have not kept pace with the numbers of women seeking employment in developing countries, with the resultant dramatic increase of female unemployment characterized by the fact that "open" unemployment affects women two or three times more than men. However, the seasonal nature of the jobs taken by many women, as well as women's propensity to fall back on subsistence farming or their families for support, have contributed to female unemployment going unregistered.

Employment Trends in Agriculture

The majority of the world's farmers are women, and, therefore, their contribution to world food production is obviously a critical one.

The most common perception of women in the agricultural sector in developing countries is one of subsistence producers, operating on a very small scale to produce primarily for family consumption, with limited surpluses going into local trade through farmers' markets, etc. Although the aggregate volumes of such produce traded in this way are, very large, the picture of women as subsistence producers is still a fairly accurate one. However, even before the advent of large-scale commercialization of agriculture, a large percentage of women in developing countries worked at least part of the year as paid agricultural labourers.

For a number of reasons, the heavy dependence of women in developing countries on agricultural employment now makes them extremely vulnerable to disruptive change and sometimes to the loss of the small measure of economic power they had built up through this work.

The underlying dynamics in these situations include the fact that developing countries are generally experiencing the same historical trend as that undergone earlier in the developed world, in which the overall share of employment in the agricultural sector steadily decreases. In addition to this long-term inter-sectoral shift of labour, there are two factors which tend to mean that the costs for women will be disproportionately high and the benefits low, in relation to men. The first is the "commercialization" of the agricultural and related industries and the second is the way in which technological innovation has tended to affect women in this sector.

The trend toward increasing individual male ownership of land is also restricting women's agricultural opportunities. In many developing countries, land was traditionally a communal possession and farmers (male or female) generally had user's rights. Often, beginning with colonial rule, pressure has grown on communities to divide up the communal land and adapt the principle of individual ownership.

Women frequently lose their traditional access to land in this process. One reason is that development and other government officials fail to register women's traditional assets or usufruct rights and so rest ownership in men. Another is that women generally lack access to cash or credit which would enable them to buy the land when it is divided up.

Women have also experienced a progressive loss of control over land with the introduction of new legislation and land tenure systems that supplant matrilineal or bilateral patterns of inheritance and replace them with patrilineal systems.

The loss of control over the land they work has meant that women have had little incentive or opportunity to improve their crops, this being cited as one of the reasons for the productivity of African forms. These low productivity rates also have been used to justify the concentration on cash (and consequently on men's) crops.

Furthermore, since women tend to be concentrated in the subsistence sector it is extremely difficult for them to obtain enough cash or credit to be able to buy new equipment. When they work on cash crops, their labour is often unpaid, and women generally do not formally hold land which they could offer as collateral.

Paradoxically, while some traditional opportunities for a measure of economic independence for women through agricultural work are being lost, the work load on women is often increasing, because such factors as male migration to the cities, and the pressure for more intensive cultivation, with a consequent increase in "female" tasks, such as weeding and transplanting.

Women may also experience adverse effects when new technologies and changes in the production and marketing processes are introduced. This has occurred in most Asian countries, where the attempt to rationalize production, and the use of new seed and fertilizer technologies have led to a reduction in the number of women employed in agriculture. The Green Revolution played a significant role in this process, as farmers looked for ways to minimize their labour costs at harvest times so as to offset the higher costs of seeds and fertilizers.

Meanwhile, on the benefit side of the technological ledger, women in agriculture fairly consistently come up short. While many men gain access to the knowledge, skills and technical innovations of the new agrarian technology, women become entrenched in the non-wage subsistence sector, where agricultural techniques remain primitive relative to the changes in the rest of the economy.

Because of the policy and investment focus on cash crops in most developing countries, the technologies introduced (as well as the credit schemes) are often most applicable to the men's area of responsibility, i.e. tractors brought in for ploughing which traditionally is a male task. Moreover, when women's tasks are mechanized and especially when such mechanization increases the income to be earned from that task, women are often pushed out of their job by male labourers, i.e., when rice mills are introduced, although traditionally it is women who husk rice, men will operate the new mills. As a result, there is a greater net displacement of female agricultural workers than there is of male workers.

Because of experiences such as these, rural women may resist or be wary of supporting agricultural schemes which attempt to introduce new technology, on the assumption that it is not to their advantage to support programmes which benefit only the men in their communities or

which increase their own workload and/or reduce their opportunities to earn an income themselves.

There are some areas of the "modernized" and large scale agricultural sectors in developing countries where women have been able to maintain, or sometimes even increase, the numbers of job opportunities available to them, but one common characteristic of these jobs is that they tend to be at the bottom of the scale in terms of pay, stability and working conditions.

Managers of farms producing for export often choose to hire young, single, migrant women to avoid paying a more substantial wage to older men or women with families. Short-term or temporary contracts, exposure to occupational hazards such as pesticides and long-working hours also characterize female employment in agribusiness world-wide.

Employment Trends in the Formal Sector

The formal sector of most developing countries is at present only able to absorb a small proportion of the available labour force and even smaller share of the total female labour force. Even in terms of the understated numbers of women officially registered as economically active, only 33 percent of women in developing countries are employed in this sector and present a common profile: most are unskilled or semi-skilled with very little education, young, unmarried, often migrants and generally with no union-membership. Although on average for all developing countries, women in the formal sector tend to be equally distributed between industry and services, this is not necessarily the case for all regions of the developing world. Within the service sector, a large proportion of women are employed in commercial and tertiary activities and within industry, an overwhelming majority of women work in "traditional" industries such as textiles and clothing, footwear and food processing, all of which are extensions of women's traditional work in the home.

There is some controversy about whether women's employment opportunities in industry are increasing or decreasing at a global level. If one looks specifically at manufacturing, some studies point to an increase in female employment, while others point to a decrease in such employment. The reason for this apparent difference in findings may lie in the different time frames used. It has been observed that during the early periods of industrialization, women's employment opportunities in manufacturing tend to decline with the shift from production in the home (i.e. cottage industries) to production in the factory. Factories established in the cities to produce household and other goods formerly made by women in their homes or in the village generally do not employ women workers because of their limited educational backgrounds, biases regarding women and technology, and the belief that women are only secondary earners and not stable or committed workers. Many women have no option but to turn to the service sector within the informal labour market, where they occupy low-level jobs with unpredictable earnings.

As a country becomes more industrialized, employment opportunities may expand again as there is a higher demand for cheap un-skilled or semi-skilled labour. This has certainly been the trend in Asia where the economic performance of newly industrialized countries (NICs) has attracted much attention. These countries have experienced a dramatic increase in female employment in manufacturing with the average percentage increase for the region during the decade of the 1990s being 3.7 percent. While the experience of the Asian NICs cannot necessarily be taken as an indication of future employment patterns for Asian women in general, they serve as an illustration of the changes that may accompany the development paths which the NICs have followed.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, manufacturing has not been a major source of new employment opportunities for women in that there appears to have been no change in the percentage of women employed in manufacturing in the low-income countries of the region, and an increase of 1.7 percent in the middle income countries between 1970 and 1980. For Africa, although detailed data is not available, some tabulations show that there has been a average

increase of 2.0 percent in the proportion of African Women employed in manufacturing, starting from a very low base. It should be noted that when there is an increase in manufacturing, there is a corresponding and generally higher growth of the service sector as a result of the spin-off effect of industrial growth.

Where there are increases in the numbers of skilled and educated women in a particular economic sector, it is generally the result of a shift in occupational structure. In Africa, for example, simple clerical jobs initially were filled by men. In many instances, women now hold these positions at lower rates of pay. The men who used to have these jobs have moved up the occupational ladder to better-paid jobs such as assistant bookkeeping, which offers improved opportunities for advancement. However, because of discrimination, educated women generally experience higher levels of unemployment than men with equivalent qualifications.

Nevertheless, there has been a steady growth in women's employment in commercial services over the past 20 years such as bank tellers in insurance companies, and as clerical and accounting staff. However, female employment in community, social and personal services has declined slightly over the same period.

Another significant source of the increase in employment for women in formal enterprises although at the lower end of the economic scale and often of a temporary nature has been in those industries which are dependent upon a foreign market for their survival. Expansion within the international tourism industry, for example, has been rapid and many developing countries see its promotion as an effective means of generating both employment and foreign exchange. However, many question this policy citing the social costs of international tourism, particularly in terms of the disruption of traditional values and the promotion of consumerism.

Female employment has also increased in certain export-oriented industries, many of which are located in the special export processing zones established by developing country governments to attract foreign investment. While women's employment in the EPZs is highly visible and there has been a dramatic growth in their numbers, it is important to keep these numbers in perspective. In terms of overall employment, export manufacturing both outside and within the EPZs accounts for roughly 1.5 percent of total employment in developing countries, although again it must be noted that growth in this sectors has led to spin-off growth in services.

Working Conditions. Laws and Unions

As a general rule, the working conditions of women in formal enterprises in developing countries are poor, by any standard. Their work is frequently of a repetitive nature, requires low skill levels and offers little job satisfaction. It is also often done in small enterprises which do not make adequate provisions for safety, health or hygiene. Women's wages are also generally quite low.

The substantial savings made possible when industries hire women are represented by the fact that the average wages for men and women world-wide show a difference of 27 percent and in some countries and branches of industry the difference is more than 50 percent. The low value placed on work performed by women is perhaps most apparent by the fact that even within the same industry, men continue to enjoy greater financial rewards than do their female counterparts.

In theory, women who work in the formal enterprises usually have the same legal protection as male workers. However, loop-holes often exist through which employers "informalize" work and evade legislative attempts to provide workers with protective regulations. Women are often targets of these kinds of practices. Such practices include the "putting out system" particularly favoured by export-oriented industries, where women work in their homes on a piece-rate basis enabling employers to avoid paying minimum wages, as well as allowing their work to be "invisible", thus making difficult the enforcement of laws that affect them. Another method

used to circumvent labour legislation involves breaking the workplace into numerous, "functionally separate" sub-units sufficiently small not to warrant the reputations imposed on large enterprises. Consequently, the working conditions and pay in these units are frequently for worse than in larger factories.

Despite the obvious needs for protective legislation for women workers, some types of legislation may have the ironic effect of discouraging employers from hiring women. Notably, laws designed to protect women's health, reproductive function or sometimes even their morality have had mixed results for women. The adoption by over 40 developing countries of several ILO conventions prohibiting women in industry from performing night and holiday shifts, as well as underground work, has served to limit the kinds of jobs women can get, the number of hours they work and the wages they make.

Thus protective legislation frequently poses a dilemma both for women workers and policy makers. While there is an urgent need to improve women's working conditions, it appears that some labour laws are used to disguise the fact that women are being kept out of particular economic sectors. In many cases men are exposed to similar conditions—whether underground work or exposure to radiation—and yet are not prohibited from working in these circumstances to the same degree as women. In other cases, the cost to the employer of implementing the protective measures increases the cost of female labour and leads to hiring preferences being given to men. Protective legislation may also act to reinforce the sexual division of labour within the workforce, as women are refused entry to jobs considered inappropriate for females. Generally, such jobs often higher wages than those attached to "female" tasks. In many cases, protective measures are being used to preserve a system in which better-paying positions are held for men, while women continue to form a reserve or secondary labour force.

Other problems related to protective legislation arise when attempts are made to accommodate women's child bearing and child care roles. Because of the costs involved in these programmes, industrial employers tend to give preference to hiring single or childless women. Other employers may continue to hire female employees with families, but find ways to circumvent the legislation which requires child care facilities in enterprises above a certain size or with more than a certain number of female employees. Another obstacle related to the attainment of sexual equality in the work force in the continued definition of women primarily through marriage and motherhood and men's power over women in these realms thus supporting a belief in the secondary position of women's role in the paid labour force and less value to women's work than to men's work.

It is interesting to note that there is a tendency for special protective legislation to be waived when there is a need for female labour in specific sectors such as nursing, where shift work is required, and thus are exempt from restrictions on night work.

Given the nature of the market economy, policy makers must be careful to ensure that their protective legislation does not hurt women's interests. At the same time, they need to develop effective enforcement measures combined with incentives to balance the extra costs of providing safe working conditions for women workers. When protective legislation is enacted, the question of who is paying for it must be considered in that the responsibility for the problem needs to be traced back to its source, rather than depriving its victims of their livelihood by restricting their access to paid work.

Although women comprise a significant component of the labour force in a few industries, they rarely have much representation or influence in labour associations, for example in Latin America where the work force is mixed, women tend to be dramatically underrepresented in unions. Since women have dealt with this situation by creating cross occupational labour organizations to which women only may gain entry. This type of organization is generally more effective at being heard than attempts made by individual union members in male-dominated

organizations, although it does not seem to have exerted much influence in the formulation of rational development plans.

In parts of Asia, women are much more active in terms of their union representation. Union membership in itself, however is not sufficient to guarantee improved working conditions for women. They also need to participate actively in the union structure and to have their needs taken seriously by male members.

In the past, male union members have put pressure on union leadership in order to convince management to define certain skilled jobs as "men's" work, and to assign the female workers the lower paying jobs. Male union members still tend to safeguard the more attractive work for themselves by actively resisting women's participation in trade unions and other labour organizations.

The fact that so few women join unions has as much to do with the socioeconomic conditions which force them into the labour market as with the discrimination they encounter within such strongly male-dominated structures. Most fear losing their jobs if they join a union and they have few alternatives for finding new employment. Furthermore, women in many countries have been taught to accept rather than challenge poor work situations. Thus, it is evident that women's consciousness of their situation needs to be increased as well as their active participation in organization.

Employment Trends in the Informal Sector

The informal sector which tends to function outside official regulation and at the margin of the modern urban economy is growing faster than the formal sector and has come to rival or surpass formal enterprises as a source of jobs, particularly for women. The rapid growth of the informal sector is attributable to several factors linked to modernization and industrialization. These include changes in the rural areas leading to the displacement of paid agricultural labour, the deepening of rural poverty and rural-urban migration; changes in the nature of industrial production leading to the displacement of cottage and handicraft industries; and the limited capacity of formal enterprises to absorb rural migrants and new entrants in the labour force.

The amount of employment generated by the informal sector is evident from the fact that in many African cities it employs between 50 and 60 percent of the labour force. A disproportionate number of informal sector workers throughout the world are women. Women's work in this sector are often extensions of their traditional tasks. Their work is generally in small scale handicraft production, food processing and vending, petty trading, prostitution and various other kinds of personal services which either have flexible hours or can be conducted from or close to the home. This allows the women to maintain their child care and other household duties at the same time as earning an income. Domestic work is sometimes also included in informal sector employment because it is so marginalized in terms of wages and since the work is frequently not covered by government labour regulations.

Women's lack of access to credit is another factor restricting them to informal sector employment which requires little capital investment. Women also turn to self-employment in the informal sector because of very low earnings of new and rising inflation.

Men who make their living through the informal sector tend to occupy the more attractive jobs and are more likely than women to find modern sector employment eventually. As in other economic sectors, women's position in the informal sector is at the lower end of the scale and it is precisely because of the women's weak economic position elsewhere that they have been forced to seek this kind of work in such great number.

In general, women's informal sector employment is in areas with less potential for growth.

Thus they find it difficult to build up the capital required to expand their businesses. This is one of the reasons women experience greater difficulties moving out of the informal sector.

Women in Third World Industries

The paper concludes with two case-studies on women's employment in the formal sector, namely the electronics and textile industries.

Part 3

Impact of Monetary and Financial Policies Upon Women*

The widespread use of money as a medium of exchange is a characteristic of the modern monetary economic systems dominated by the production of markets. Money, although unproductive in itself, imparts economic power, political power and social prestige to its owners. Monetary policies therefore have a significant impact upon individuals linked to products and resources through money. Women as consumers and as producers are also subjected to the forces of the monetary systems, and, therefore to monetary policies.

Women's productive role is still undergoing changes and more women are shifting from unpaid domestic production to the paid market production. What role have money and monetary policies played in this transition?

Different historical periods brought fundamental changes in male-female relations and monetary policies have had a different impact on them. In the pre-industrial age, traditions and non-monetary criteria formed the basis of the division of the agricultural surplus, while accountability, economic efficiency and profits were yet unknown concepts. In the post-agricultural age, the diffused sex-based division of labour became well-defined and separated into domains where men earn a living, while women are treated as unproductive consumers. Women's role has been primarily in the human reproductive spheres of child-bearing, child-rearing, house-keeping, while production has become an exclusive domain of the wage earners, mostly men.

In spite of carrying a much greater burden of household responsibilities than their counterpart of the pre-industrial age, modern women in their traditional role have become economically inferior to the modern men. Forced by the circumstances of poverty or of rising expectations, women all over the world, in increasing numbers, have taken additional burden of work and joined the formal or informal labour markets. Between 1950-1975 the official count of the world's economically active women rose from 344 million to 576 million. Regardless of their large and increasing numbers, a vast majority of women are employed in particular occupations classified as "female" occupations. These jobs are not only low-paid, unchallenging, non-unionized, but also lack job security and are easily automated. In the market sectors women suffer from wage inequalities and upward occupational mobility.

The impact of monetary relations upon women has two aspects: money and the monetary policies. The impact of the first stems from the nature of the monetary systems, and the impact of the second stems from their directional effects.

The impact of the economic monetization upon women has been positive, as well as, negative. The benefits of the scientific and technological progress promoted by the monetary systems, especially within the last fifty years, are mostly visible in the technologically advanced countries, and include an increased life span, social mobility, international mobility, ready access to the accumulated human knowledge. These developments have had an impact on women as persons, as home-makers, as mothers and as paid workers. The higher level of education has prepared women to face many challenges outside of their home-base, while the system has also made women economically dependant upon money and upon the markets for their survival.

The monetary system has brought structural changes in women's household production patterns. Not only has it changed the composition of the home production, but also the process of production. The modernization of household production depends, to a large extent, upon the stage of a nation's economic modernization and, to some extent, upon an ability to pay for the modern household production equipment.

*) This study was prepared by Dr. Sushila Gidwani, Manhattan College, following the terms of reference of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW.

In the developed countries, the modern automated gadgets and the modern-child care conveniences have given women much more flexibility in the management of their time. The modern school systems being highly organized and designed to prepare future workers in large numbers and in a variety of skills more suited to the needs of markets, have relieved women from on-the-job skill-training duties. Thus the modern monetary system has enabled women to enjoy less arduous and more flexible life.

In the less technologically advanced countries, the benefits of modernization reaped by women vary greatly according to the stage of development: affluent women in the modern sector of the developing world enjoy the luxury of modern gadgetry as well as, the leisure provided by the servant class; middle class women either perform their traditional duties with the aid of affordable gadgets and products or enter in the labour markets; and, women of the poor classes struggle under the double burden of outside work and household duties. In spite of the enormous surplus created through the modernization of the means of production, the modern toil-free living styles still remain out-of-reach for a vast majority of women in the world.

The impact of monetary policies upon women and their response to the engendered changes depends upon the strength of women's linkages to the markets. As the monetary policies have evolved, women's linkages to the markets have also evolved. Each policy has had a different impact upon women. The most significant impact of these monetary policies upon women in the industrial world was to pull majority of them out of their agrarian household and place them in the expanding industrial urban setting, where privileged class women received an education and modern employment; middle class women managed their families and homes hoping to imitate the upper classes; and, the working class women, driven by their economic necessity, not only managed their homes and families, but also worked outside their homes at low-paid and low skilled jobs. With the spread of education, the middle-class women found a new path to upward mobility and employment, but long hours of labour, widespread economic abuse of children, dangerous working conditions, and filthy slums were the facts of life for women of the working class. The spread of industrialization and urbanization subjected even more and more people to the hazards of unemployment.

Women of the developing world are subjected to the influence of different monetary and financial policies, such as:

- i) the International Monetary Fund policies, whose goal since the inception of the system has been to promote international trade and to bring the non-industrialized economies into the orbit of the international trade and urban markets. The goal of the World Bank lending has been to provide the developing countries with a development infrastructure and an economic climate conducive to foreign capital inflows for the establishment of the new industries and economic diversification;
- ii) the economic growth promoting national policies of the industrial countries aimed at achieving reduced inflation rates and high employment rates; and
- iii) the financial policies of the global corporations aimed at maximizing the rates of return on their capital regardless of their impacts upon the host nations.

The interaction of these policies has succeeded in creating an economic environment which is common to most of developing countries, and which has affected the position of women in economic and social areas. The commonality of the development elements lies in the fact that most of the developing nations have experienced international dependencies and not inter-dependencies, increasing externalizations, unpredictable export earnings, inflexible impact needs, etc. Although differing in magnitude among nations, rising expectations, high inflation rates, weak exchange rates, high domestic interest rates, high unemployment rates, and in some cases, political unrest have been persistent problems of the developing countries even before the emergence of the present debt crisis.

Women in developing countries fall within the same pattern of social stratification as women from industrialized countries. The elite and upper class urban women in developing countries receive the best globally available educational resources, enjoy the highest standards of living, and are increasingly becoming a part of the rising global elite. The young highly educated women compete for highly skilled, mentally satisfying and emotionally challenging vocations. These women occupy the majority of professional and administrative jobs available to women and constitute a part of the policy-makers. Increasing numbers of them are also engaged in the specialized entrepreneurial activities. Being affluent, they not only depend heavily upon markets but, also, are the net savers. Hence, directly and indirectly, inflation, rising interest rates and exchange rates play a significant role in their patterns of income allocation and asset management.

Women from the urban middle classes have been the largest beneficiaries of the public expenditures on education, on maintaining the purchasing power of the middle classes and other equalitarian public policies. It is mostly the middle class women who have benefitted from the employment generating impact of the expanding public bureaucracies and private sectors. The rising expectation and the rapid multiplicity of the wants among the middle classes have sent young women to the formal labour markets in search of financial security and economic independence. In most cases, like the middle classes of the industrialized countries, the qualified married women seek out fulltime jobs in the labour market. They compete for and fill the rising number of the low-wage, clerical, sales and service positions offered by the formal sector. The non-working middle class women constantly exist under threat of declining standards of living. But, as the inflationary pressures rise beyond a tolerable limit more women are pushed out of the homes into the markets. Unlike their counterpart in the industrial countries, the majority of the middle class women cannot afford the luxury of the modern gadgetry to lighten their heavy load of home management. Hence, the average working mothers have much less flexibility of time and struggle under a great burden of the household on the one hand, and the increasing responsibilities of the outside job on the other.

The lower-income urban women constituting the bulk of unskilled and semi-skilled urban female population have benefitted the least from the international and national development policies. The congested urban living, health hazards, illiteracy or low literacy and very low income levels insufficient to satisfy the barest of necessities of urban living are part of their economic lot. They serve at the bottom level positions such as waitresses, kitchen and room maids, sweepers, etc., of the service sectors or provide services to the rising "hospitality" industry. Also, they serve as domestics and provide the much desired domestic services to the middle and the upper class women of their societies. Forced by their economic circumstances, many of the young women of this class become an integral part of the growing sex-related trade. Faced with constant battle with inflation, they have to increasingly sacrifice leisure for paid work.

Women in the agricultural sectors are also stratified according to income classes and have shared in the agricultural prosperity resulting from the economic development policies parallel to their families economic power. Unlike their working urban counterpart, upper-class rural women do not work and derive satisfaction from their husbands' and their children's achievements. Being dependent upon income derived mostly from agribusiness, inflation and interest rates indirectly affect their life styles.

The rural middle class women have also benefitted from increased educational services, from rural entrepreneurial activities such as rice mills and oil pressers and from increased contact with urban areas, even though not as much as their urban counterparts. The young and single women from these classes tend to migrate to urban areas in search of work to help support their family needs, and, most likely, become a part of the growing low-income formal or informal urban economic sectors. Their material needs being basic, self-financing and with minor import content, major impact of inflation, interest rates and exchange rates results from the cost impacts upon the products of their consumption.

The rural poor women, like the urban poor women, bear the most burden of the economic

transition. The emphasis of the national governments upon producing the "green revolution" (land), the "White Revolution" (milk) and upon the development of the rural commerce and industry have increased rural women's dependence upon markets, reduced their economic independence and decreased employment opportunities for female labour. Similar trends have also been observed in fisheries. Since women in general and rural women in particular have less exposure to monetary management and lack entrepreneurial savy, the benefits of the rural development, rural financial aid or of any monetary income derived through women's marketable activities seem to accrue mostly men. Similarly, the poor rural women have been the last beneficiaries of the public educational policies and, the widespread illiteracy among poor rural women have limited their access to the new employment opportunities requiring, at least, minimum educational and skill levels. Their immobility contributes to the low wages in their traditional labour markets.

Forced by the circumstances of increased monetization inflation and modernization of agriculture, rural women participate in other income generating activities which vary according to the women's particular cultural and social norms and with the available economic opportunities. In any case, the poor rural women, like their urban counterpart bear an unavoidable double burden of work.

The industrial countries' monetary policies in the 1970's and the 1980's, namely, trade protection, fiscal conservatism and free market promotion—especially those of the United States (lower inflation rates, high interest rates and high budgetary deficits)—in response to the two oil crisis of the 1970's and the world wide recession of the mid-1970's and early 1980's have had an impact on women both in developed and developing countries. In this respect, the two oil crisis resulted in a simultaneous generation of inflation, unemployment and the substitution of expensive domestic products for cheaper imports in the U.S. The combined impact of unemployment and inflation, by putting pressures upon household budgets on the one hand, pushed even more women into the labour market, and, on the other hand, forced them into lower standards of living. Women in the developing world were affected by this reduction in the American aggregate demand and the rising oil prices in that both contributed to the on-set of world-wide recession in the mid-1970's and early 1980's. Moreover, to the extent that the currently strong dollar has reduced the cost of imports for American consumers, and the primary commodity supplier nations are experiencing lower per unit income, the American women are benefitting at the expense of women in developing countries.

The current monetary policies of the developed countries are also encouraging an internationalization of production processes and heightened international competition, thereby resulting in global shifts in the labour market and structural unemployment. In the U.S. labour market, the U.S. exchange rates have produced unemployment in the export and import substitution sectors where a majority of the labour force is female. Most of the jobs performed by women have either been shifted regionally or internationally and are being performed by women in developing countries in export and export-related industries, or have been automated. In turn, developing countries are experiencing high domestic industrial unemployment.

In summary, while the impact of the monetary policies in the 1950's and the 1960's was to enable middle class women world-wide to seek their economic independence and better social power, the policies of the 1970's and 1980's have had influences which seem to penalize the middle-classes: inflation is constantly eroding their purchasing power; the rising internationalization of production processes and the financial markets constantly posing threats of unemployment; and the rising technological competition and rapidly changing technology. An essential mode of survival in the modern competitive economies has produced the new phenomenon of human obsolescence which renders skills and education obsolete even before their owners recover their monetary investment. The economic societies seem to progress towards dual economic class societies: one, highly educated, trained in the latest skills, highly paid, two-wage income families and, the other, low skilled, low-paid working class, in control of operating buttons of the automated production processes, mostly handled by women.

A strategy aimed to rectify the above impact of monetary and financial policies upon women and empower women economically includes compensating women financially for their traditional work until they are both equally represented with men in the work force and receive equal pay for equal work; regulating export-oriented industries in order to provide proper working conditions for the female employees which constitute the majority of the labour force of these industries; improving the working conditions of women in the informal sector; establishing, where possible, and especially in the informal and agricultural sectors of developing countries, small-scale regional co-operatives with equal male-female representation for the production of basic goods for the regional markets, using mostly local talents and resources; training women in management and financial skills; increasing the representation of women in decision-making posts; incorporating the "women" factor in the financial feasibility analyses of publicly and privately sponsored development projects; and establishing a system of rotating unemployment to address the problem of unemployment which often accompanies technological progress.

The establishment of a financial base is an important component of a strategy seeking to empower women economically. At the national level, this financial base can be built up through various tax schemes and at the international level, "automacity" in international public finance can be used to generate additional financial resources for women.

Part 4

Women, Technology and Sexual Divisions*

Introduction

The systematically inferior economic position of women inside and outside the household in most societies has been the subject of a good deal of recent research.

Being a man or a woman is but one of many identities that everyone has in life and, in certain contexts and for particular issues, class, nationality or even age may be more decisive. One category of problems in which sex differences play a central role, however, relates to the systematically inferior position of women in productive activities both inside and outside the household. The theme of this study —that the asymmetrical impact of technological changes on women has its origins in the factors determining sexual divisions in the household— has implication for decisions on the package of policies to be applied in order to increase women's share in the gains from such changes both in poor and rich societies. Three premises can be taken as a starting-point for this analysis. First, it is argued that problems of sex bias have to be seen as exercises in 'co-operative conflicts' in intra-family relations, a general category of problems of which the so-called bargaining problems form a special sub-category. Co-operation among members of the household has the aim of adding to the prosperity or availabilities accruing to the household as a whole. Conflict arises in the division of the total availabilities among the different members of the family. Social arrangements regarding who does what, who consumes what, and who takes what decisions, can be seen as responses to this combined problem of co-operation and conflict. Secondly, conflicts of interest in family matters are associated with absence of clarity, illusions and differences in perception involving (i) systematic failures to recognize certain intrafamily inequalities, and (ii) the tendency to view extraordinary asymmetries as normal and legitimate. Thirdly, the issues dealt with in this study require us to take a broad view of technology which goes beyond mechanical or chemical processes for making goods to embrace the social arrangements, including sexual divisions, that permit the productive process to be carried out.

Technology and sexual divisions

Many social scientists have stressed the social content of technology. In the present context, the inclusion of sexual divisions as part of the operations and processes that make up "ways of doing things" —that is, technology— assists in clarifying a range of important problems surrounding the unequal status of women in productive activities, in which technology is a central element. For example, in the spheres of production and technology, household activities have typically been viewed in ways that are contradictory. Whereas it is accepted that to exist and be part of the labour force, the activities that give rise to or support that sustenance, survival or reproduction are usually not regarded as contributing to output. Indeed, it is only recently that serious attention has been given to the task of valuation of these activities and also of reflecting them in national income and consumption estimates. What is central for present purposes is not the accounting aspect but the need to take an integrated view of the pattern of activities both outside and inside the home that together make up the production processes in traditional as well as in modern societies.

Thus, taking the broader view of technology and production has some far-reaching effects. It brings out the necessity of penetrating beyond the stereotyped social perceptions obscuring the productive contributions that are in fact made by labour devoted to activities which do not constitute "production" in the narrow sense. It draws attention to the entrenchment and survival of inequitable social arrangements in general, and the deeply asymmetric sexual division of labour by which women, for example, do the cooking and are able to take on outside work only in se-

*) This study has been prepared by Dr. Amartya Sen, Oxford, following the terms of reference of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW and UNCTAD.

far as this can be combined with continuing as the cook. In such a setting, the division between paid and unpaid work can be seen as imparting systematic biases in the perception of who is "producing" and/or "earning" —biases that help to explain the inferior economic position of women, not only in traditional but also in modern societies. Most importantly, the specific pattern of sexual divisions and specialization of women in particular economic activities —event outside the household— can be seen as a reflection, in part, of the traditional intra-household relations and separation of tasks which put women at a comparative disadvantage in acquiring skills, especially new or "non-traditional" skills. In sum, the existing household arrangements have to be clearly identified and analysed in order to understand the inferior economic position of women inside and outside the household in most societies and to see how their situation can be improved.

Co-operative Conflicts and Bargaining

The formal properties underlying the dynamics of household arrangements have the features of what social scientists writing on the subjects of collective decision theory and game theory have characterized as the "bargaining problem". In the simplest case, this can be visualized as the problem of comparing the outcomes facing two persons, where each outcome has associated with it a pair of numerical values — one for each person. The two persons can either co-operate or collude to improve the position of each one or fail to co-operate. The outcome for each when they fail to collude is called his or her *fall-back position*.

If, in a particular situation, there is only one collusive possibility that is better for both persons (e.g. offering a higher value for each) than the fall-back position, then there is no bargaining problem since both persons would choose that outcome. The opportunity for conflict and bargaining arises when there exists a whole set of co-operative outcomes, superior for both persons to all other outcomes, including the fall-back position, but ranked by each person in exactly opposite ways — for example, co-operative outcomes x and y , such that one person ranks x better than y and the other person ranks y better than x . The choice between either x or y as opposed to the fall-back position is a matter of co-operation, since either of the former is better, for both persons, than the latter.

It is this explicit mixture of co-operative and conflicting aspects in the bargaining problem that makes the analysis of that problem valuable in understanding household arrangements which also involve a mixture of this kind. In assessing the interests and advantages of the different parties in co-operative conflicts, particularly in developing countries, it is expedient to focus on the capabilities of a person — what he or she can *do* or *be*. This includes such parameters as longevity, nutrition, avoidance of morbidity and educational achievements.

The solution that emerges to the bargaining problem depends on a number of influences, including the bargaining power of both sides. Although the ambiguity and imprecision of individuals' perceptions of their advantages practically foreclose the possibility of predicting precise solutions in co-operative conflicts, the insights from bargaining problems do help in indicating the directions of such outcomes. Three propositions can be made regarding the direction of the outcomes. They refer to a) breakdown response, b) threat response, and c) perceived contribution response.

a) *Breakdown responses*: If the fall-back position of one person worsens, then the chosen collusive solution will become less favourable to his or her interest.

A person's fall-back position has much to do with his or her strength in "bargaining". If it becomes apparent that, in the event of a breakdown (i.e. failure to reach a co-operative outcome), one of the persons is going to end up in worse circumstances than was thought previously, this will undermine that person's ability to secure a favourable outcome. The notion of bargaining power can be extended to bring in the element of "threat" — that is, one person threatening the other with some harmful action if the bargaining is to fail. The threat of adverse

action can make the threatened party's fall-back position worse than he would otherwise have perceived it.

b) *Threat response*: If a person can more severely threaten the other —explicitly or implicitly— with possible dire consequences, then the chosen collusive solution will become less favourable to the interest of the threatened person.

Whoever contributes the most to overall material well-being has a strong say in how the benefits of co-operation are shared. In actual fact, it may be difficult to determine with any great clarity who actually contributes the most, and what is more decisive in determining the legitimacy of enjoying a bigger share of the gains from co-operation is the perceived contribution.

c) *Perceived contribution response*: If a person is perceived as making a larger contribution to the overall prosperity of the group, then the chosen collusive solution will become more favourable to that person.

The three responses relating, respectively, to breakdown, threat and perceived contribution throw light on the way that relationships between the sexes tend to be biased. The pattern of many of the disadvantages of women has varied over time —i.e. in olden times as opposed to the current situation— and according to the nature of the community. Thus the disadvantages of women in terms of "breakdown response" would have tended to relate much more to physical factors in a hunting community than in a modern urban community. On the other hand, some disadvantages of women apply in many different situations. For example, frequent pregnancy and consequently many years of child-rearing (as is the case in many modern communities and most of the traditional ones) must make the outcome of co-operative conflicts less favourable to women through worse fall-back position, greater vulnerability to threats and lower ability to make a perceived contribution to the economic fortunes of the family.

The relation between co-operative conflicts in one period and those in the next is of the greatest importance in the sense that the person with the best outcome in one round is better situated (and has enhanced bargaining power) in the next. For example, better education contributes not only to immediate well-being but also to a better fall-back position in the future. The transmission can also work from one generation or even epoch to the next, as the "typical" patterns of employment and education for men get enshrined vis-à-vis those for women.

Outside Earnings and Technological Change

A woman's opportunity to get paid employment outside the household is one of the crucial variables affecting her status. This can happen in two distinct ways, corresponding respectively to the "co-operative" and "conflicting" features discussed earlier in the "co-operative conflict" formulation of sexual divisions. First, such employment would enhance the overall prosperity of the household. Secondly, it would increase the woman's own share in the overall prosperity of the household by giving her (i) a better fall-back position, (ii) a better ability to resist threats (and indeed to use threats), and (iii) a higher "perceived contribution" to the family's economic position. The empirical basis of the positive link between status and outside earnings is confirmed both by aggregate research and by a number of case studies dealing with women's work, such as a recent study of women workers in a *beedi* (crude cigarette) factory in Allahabad, India, which found that:

A greater economic role for women definitely improves their status within the family. A majority of them have more money to spend, and even more importantly, have a greater say in the decisions to spend money. Most women claim to be better treated as a result of their contribution to the household income. ...A substantial proportion of women feel that they should have a recognized economic role and an independent source of income. ...Their

*attitudes evidence a clear perception of the significance of their work to family welfare and their own status within the family*¹.

The impact of outside earning of women depends also on the form of that earning. It has been noted for instance that certain types of "spare-time" activity by women in their own households, even where the product is marketed in the world market, produce little benefit for them because they are unable to perceive this activity as other than non-work, as a more adjunct or supplement to their husband's work, and are hence unable to bargain for fair remuneration from their employers. The low bargaining power of women workers in comparison with employers depresses both the earnings of the household as a whole and, via the three responses, the women's status and share of benefits that go to them within the household.

Although market forces have affected women's job opportunities in different ways in particular sectors and parts of the world, there are certain distinct patterns that can be observed over broad regions. One pattern noted in the pioneering work of Ester Boserup in 1970 and by a succession of writers since then appears to involve considerable displacement of women as a concomitant of technological modernization². It has been rightly argued that the onus of the problem is not on technical innovation *per se*, since what is inappropriate is not the technology but rather the socio-political context in which it is applied. Nevertheless it remains true that the economic position of women has been hurt in many cases and the question that arises is why innovations have gone in these directions rather than others.

In actual fact, it is somewhat paradoxical that women are more often displaced than men. Women's remuneration rates are typically lower than those of men, and, from the point of view of economic return, it is, other things being equal, more profitable to displace male labour than female labour. Where then is the economic rationale from the standpoint of profitability? The answer may not be far to seek. Women, especially rural women, figure in disproportionately large numbers in jobs that involve simple and repetitive work. And mechanical jobs are often the easiest to mechanize. Thus, even though there might have been more money-saving in replacing men's rather than women's work, the lower cost of innovations that economize on mechanical operations tends by and large to push technological change in directions that harm women's job opportunities more.

The really interesting question with respect to technology and women's status, therefore, is not why does technological modernization take this apparently "antiwoman" form, but why does the traditional division of labour, which continues into the modern period, tend to relegate women to these repetitive, boring, mechanical and mechanizable tasks. The associated question is why, when machinery is introduced to perform these tasks, do men rather than women become the machinery and equipment operators.

This is where the particular problem under discussion links up with the general analysis of "co-operative conflicts" presented earlier. The inferior deals that women tend to get in sexual divisions of work and reward (related to the various "responses" that were identified) predispose women in their traditional "productive" role to inferior deals when elementary mechanization takes place. These take the form of job loss for women whose tasks are mechanized activities. Technological changes —of the most basic kind— have made rural women subject to these asymmetries in developing countries in recent years largely because of positions they have inherited

1. Z. Bhatti, "Economic role and status of women: a case study of women in the *beedi* industry in Allahabad", ILO Working Paper, 1980. See also: L. Beneria, ed., *Women and development: The sexual division of labour in rural societies*, anthology prepared for the ILO World Employment Programme, (Praeger, New York, 1982); E. Croll, *Women in rural development: The People's Republic of China* (ILO, Geneva, 1979); C.D. Deere and M.L. de Leal, *Women in Andean agriculture* (ILO, Geneva, 1982); ILO, *Rural development and women in Asia* (ILO, Geneva, 1982); R. Kurian, *Women workers in the Sri Lanka plantation sector* (ILO, Geneva, 1982); M.F. Loutfi, *Rural women: unequal partners in development* (ILO, Geneva, 1980); M. Mies, *The lace makers of Indian housewives produce for the world market*. Study prepared for the ILO World Employment Programme (Zed Press, London, 1982); P. Phongpaichit, *From peasant girls to Bangkok masseuses* (ILO, Geneva, 1982); G. Standing and G. Sheehan, eds., *Labour force participation in low-income countries* (ILO, Geneva, 1978).

2. E. Boserup, *Woman's role in economic development* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1970).

from the past. It is tradition that has tended to make modernization somewhat of an "enemy" of women. This is a general point of some strategic relevance, since it is inappropriate to chastise "modernization", when the blame would seem to lie, ultimately, on "tradition". And that calls for change, and indeed also for the right type of "modernization" as the redeemer.

Selected Policy Issues

Creating job opportunities for women is important both for the sake of enhancing over-all economic prosperity, and for reducing inequalities in economic well-being, through influencing the outcomes of "co-operative conflicts". The general policy implications that follow from this are clear enough, though particular policy packages would have to be specifically derived with respect to the economic and social conditions of each country or region respectively. A few of the more general strategy issues of policy which need to be studied in detail may call for brief comments, in line with the analyses presented earlier in this study.

First, it is important not to count success in terms just of the number of additional jobs created, but also to pay particular attention to the nature of the created jobs and the effects that they may have on the outcomes of "co-operative conflicts". For example "dole-like employment", created on government command, to give some women a simple source of income may not have at all the same effect as more "productive" work in transforming traditional relations.

Second, the advantages of job creation have to be balanced against the potential alternatives. For example, while "enclave type" foreign investment in developing countries using cheap female labour may well do something to improve the position of local women (and also create some over-all income for the families), such policies have to be assessed in terms of comparison with alternative production policies that can be pursued. Neither uncritical applause of the "achievement" of the number of female jobs created in these enclaves (without checking what the alternatives were), nor simple denunciation of these arrangements as "exploitative" (without offering any alternative employment opportunity), can stand economic scrutiny. Such issues can only be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

Third, the impact of economic policy on perception issues is hard to predict but is not unimportant for that reason. As was discussed earlier, the nature of co-operative conflicts involves ambiguities of perception of respective interests, on the one hand, and of respective contributions, on the other. Employment opportunities for women have to be judged not merely in terms of the earnings created, important though they are, but also in the context of whether the employment will be seen as "value-producing work". There is, in fact, some evidence that even the widespread and crucial help that women provide in staple agriculture, which may sometimes exceed the contribution of men in terms of effort, may not get its due recognition, being treated as purely supplementary to the husband's work. The policy of job creation has to be assessed in a wider social context, involving both the nature of the work involved, and also the social recognition of the productive contributions that are being made, which affects the rewards of men and women.

Fourth, women's concentration on less skilful jobs that are repetitive and mechanical relates, to a great extent, to disadvantages in education, training and skill formation, and these disparities themselves are best seen as results of the outcomes of co-operative conflicts and of feed-back transmission. Any far-reaching policy response must involve operating on these instruments of job acquisition (in addition to removing straightforward discrimination and "unequal pay for equal work"). Educational and training programmes, including retraining, need to be reviewed with the object of mitigating these disadvantages. In particular, programmes have to be designed to increase the mobility of women from lower—to higher—skilled jobs within given economic sectors and from declining or stagnant sectors to those that are growing more rapidly.

Fifth, reproduction is a central co-operative aspect of human life, valued from many perspectives, not just from that of reproducing the labour force. But at the same time, as was

discussed earlier, the differential roles of men and women in this process have a profound effect on the "bargaining" outcome, making the resolution of the conflicting aspects inequitable. The negative effects of and the ability to make "perceived contributions" to economic production and prosperity, tend to affect the nature of the social divisions. While this is obviously not a problem that can be easily resolved, it is important to emphasize the role that family planning can play as one type of technological modernization that would tend to help rather than harm the interests of women in terms of the conflicting as well as the co-operative aspects of household arrangement.

Sixth, no policy analysis in this area can be complete without taking up the question of political education and understanding. Public discussion and debate have a significant role to play in an area in which social illusions co-exist closely with reality, and appalling inequities are cloaked in perceived legitimacy. The importance of information and analysis in breaking the grip of traditional arrangements is hard to exaggerate. The technology of mass communication offers great opportunities as well as powerful resistance, as illustrated by the experiences of several countries in utilizing the media to promote awareness of the need for limiting family size.

Finally, the preceding discussion has brought out the nature of the very strong inter-connections between the status of women and access to technology through productive employment. On the grounds of justice, removal of existing sexual inequalities demands that technical change benefit both men and women. But the participation of women in the benefits of technical change is also of primary importance in stimulating over-all economic development. Better access for women in general to new skills and production methods would dramatically expand the opportunities for increasing aggregate productivity and for accelerating economic growth, particularly in those societies where productivity is currently the lowest. How this access could be improved is a matter requiring detailed consideration both by development planners and those concerned more specifically with women's welfare.

The implications of characterizing sexual divisions as co-operative conflicts with certain powerful qualitative "responses" and viewing the distribution of income and other benefits as incorporating, *inter alia*, conventional notions of action — whether at the national or international level that aims at the advancement of women would have to identify and critically evaluate the specific kinds of programmes and decisions required.

Part 5

Women and Technology in Developing Countries: Technological Change and Women's Capabilities and Bargaining Positions*

The study supplies empirical evidence to the women and technology issue with the working hypothesis that it is only when women's socially defined roles and bargaining positions are traced vis-à-vis the prevailing patterns of production and human reproduction and that the inter-relationship between demography and technology is highlighted, that the issue of women and technology can be understood holistically. Thus the study sets out to consider women with respect to technology in its wider sense, i.e., objects, techniques, skills and processes which facilitate human activity in terms of: first, reducing human energy expenditure, second, reducing labour time, third, improving spatial mobility and fourth, alleviating material uncertainty. It discusses four social institutions—household, community, market and state—as they exert social constraints which mediate women's relationship to technology. Lastly, it considers women's relationship to technology with respect to its adoption, maintenance and control, and invention in the process of deagrarianization, industrialization and urbanization.

The issue of how and why over the past century the experience of technological change has been sexually differentiated, is first examined within the context of the world market and the nation-state, looking at how developing countries have both imported and developed new technologies at an accelerating rate during the 20th century. In this respect, there have been tremendous structural changes in developing countries through, first, a process of deagrarianization. Whereas, this process is not new, the rate at which it is taking place in developing countries far exceeds that of 18th and 19th century Europe. Moreover, deagrarianization in developing countries is happening at a time when the process of de-industrialization is being experienced in the developed countries with consequences for developing countries' choice of technology. Competitive forces of the world market, foreign aid packages and demonstration effect of the developed countries have usually led developing countries into adopting capital-intensive production techniques. Consequently, labour absorption capacities of industries in developing countries are far less than what prevailed in Europe a century ago.

A consensus exists in available literature on women and technology perceiving technological change is seen to be having the effect of displacing women in the labour market, both in agriculture and industry. Moreover, most authors agree that rural women do not have access to one or the other of the following: (i) knowledge of available technology, (ii) purchasing power or credit to obtain it, (iii) skill to use it, and/or (iv) decision-making power over proceeds derived from its use. On the whole, the existing women and technology literature is quite limited in that it deals mostly with the issue of technology adoption and does not provide adequate coverage of technological invention and its maintenance and operational control. Only the "appropriate technology" segment of the literature has given these aspects any consideration. Moreover, there are huge gaps in coverage: between the landless women in Bangladesh whose wage labour opportunities are displaced by "Green Revolution" technology and the young girl working in the clothing factory in Mexico or a micro-electronics firm in Singapore, there are countless aspects of the issue that remain undocumented. The literature is largely limited by the way "technology" is defined, namely as discrete technical hardware or mechanized techniques of production, rather than a definition which considers the industrialization/deagrarianization process as a whole. Only rarely is there any consideration of technology in a non-production context.

The authors generally agree that it is not technology per se that is causing women's declining

*) This study was prepared by Deborah Bryceson, Oxford University, following the terms of reference of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW and UNCTAD.

status, but rather the impact of male domination on technology usage which is at the root of the problem. However, male domination in its cultural and institutional sense is treated as an historical given. The literature identifies the extent and incidence of the edge that men have over women in the acquisition and control of technology, but rarely offers an in-depth dissection of its nature, nor is there an explanation of its ubiquity throughout the world regardless of variations in cultures and economic and social institutions. Furthermore, few venture to predict future tendencies or possible consequences if the gap between the sexes' technology usage continues to widen. Consequently, and on the whole, the literature to date is primarily descriptive, thereby not providing as sufficient explanation of the interrelationship between technology and women's social and economic status.

An understanding of the interrelationship between technology and women's social and economic status entails a broad view of technology as being objects, techniques and processes which have arisen from the application of human understanding and knowledge of matter and that serve to enhance human capabilities. In this respect, human capabilities are defined as not only an individual's physical and mental capacities, but also the social freedom for pursuing one's capacities. An individual's bargaining position is the relative strength of the individual in exerting control in social decision-making and self-determination, and, therefore, is a measure of one's social freedom. A good bargaining position is usually a precondition for realizing the potentiality of one's human capacities to a level of personal fulfillment.

The realms of human capabilities which are enhanced by technology are not only production, but also, human reproduction exploration and destruction. Technology's effects on human capabilities are objective in nature and yield objective benefits and costs. It is social forces who determine who uses technology and who benefits from it. In this respect, it is the unequal bargaining position between men and women which leads to technology's differential effects on each sex. At the root of these unequal bargaining positions is the delineation of female and male spheres of human capabilities.

Thus the realms of human capabilities reproduction, production, exploration and destruction are sexually asymmetric. Women figure disproportionately in human reproduction (child-bearing, child rearing, and physical and emotional maintenance of human life) as opposed to male predominance in production. Women's role in production is generally limited to shouldering all of the "transformation work" — domestic labour. Other than this "transformation" work, women's involvement in production varies greatly throughout the developing world, but is generally in subsistence food production, cash crop production, crafts, trade and informal self-employment. As for exploration and destruction activities women are virtually absent, while men predominate in these activities.

Broad tendencies exist reflecting a changing pattern of women's participation in production and reproduction. However, these tendencies are mediated by the specific form and content of the particular cultural configurations of the household, market and state.

Within the household category, three main types of households can be outlined which could represent the most common difference between households based on rural/urban residence and household endowments of land and labour, although they are abstract from the complexity of different household characteristics found in developing countries. The first, rural asset-holding households are the most comprehensive in their functions in that they serve as units of production, transformation work, human reproduction, consumption, recreation, investment and social security. Women's activities in these households center around human reproduction, production and transformation work. Appropriate technologies such as grinders, improved stoves, solar cookers, low-cost refrigeration, pumps, hand carts and wheel barrows aiming to reduce women's burden in these labour-intensive activities have had limited success because of limited dissemination, limited access of poor design. The failure to disseminate the existing suitable technology is largely attributable to male domination of agricultural extension services, resulting in a situation whereby women are rarely involved in the maintenance and control of technology. However,

technology in the area of human reproduction has perhaps made the most profound impact on women in that there has been a decline in infant mortality rates, a greater utilization of modern birth control techniques and improved health facilities.

Technological change experienced by women in rural asset-holding households has been quite rapid. However there has been a lack of concurrent and conducive social change for women. Whereas, some of women's endowments, i.e. their property and their children's labour power, is declining, their household responsibilities are not being redefined by the community. In contrast male endowments are being enhanced and their perceptions of their responsibility to the household are changing the activity of the market and state. Thus severe strains are felt in the household. In the event of a marital break-up, a woman usually has few claims on property and her full-back position can be very unattractive. Nonetheless, the persistence of the extended family and her relative proximity to it, does give her some full-back security however socially demeaning.

A second category of households is the traditional informal sector household which reflects an amalgam of different tendencies in the transition from rural to urban residence and employment. As a residual category, it represents those households which are neither materially secure in a rural or an urban setting having insufficient land or capital with the main and often only endowment being the labour power of its members. It is usually a unit of human reproduction, consumption and transformation work, but not always a coherent unit of production, and rarely a unit of accumulation and investment activities because of its existence on the border of mere survival.

Economic pressures often affect the stability of this household as a residential unit. Thus marital break-up and female-headed household are usually a more common occurrence in this household category than in the other two categories. Moreover, female-headed households are heavily weighted in the lowest income brackets. These women's fall back position is non-existent in that they are separated from their natal family by distance or by the family's own economic hardship.

Moreover, technological change often has not enhanced informal sector women's income-generating activities which are already limited in scope and in economic return. Thus, in trading activities, mainly the selling of home-made snacks or handicrafts, these women face increasing competition from manufactured goods. In putting out systems, notably in textiles which are more easily amenable to technical improvements in the labour process than trading, these women have least access to any knowledge about or purchasing power with which to invest in new technological aids. These enterprises are labour-intensive, and the women receive such low wages that employers can refrain from investing in more productive, capital intensive technology.

In terms of technological usage, while many technology designs are potentially useful to women in the informal sector, the purchasing power with which to buy them is frequently lacking. Moreover government and official channels of technology dissemination may not reach these households because they often occupy geographical pockets of official neglect, e.g., urban squatter settlements.

The third major household is the urban formal sector household which is characterized by its dissassociation from agriculture, the rural-extended family and familial forms of social security. It derives its livelihood from either wage employment or self-employment in the industrial and service sectors and is recipient to a "family wage" through the income-earning of the head of household almost always a male. This household is usually a unit of human reproduction, consumption and transformation, but not a unit of production. Women's capabilities are socially perceived as being home-centered reproduction and transformation work, but not to the total

exclusion of female productive activity outside the home in the event of women's training in a particular skill or profession.

Up until recent times, women in these households relied solely on maids, representing cheap labour from the informal sector, as a means of lightening their transformation work. However, at the present time there is a growing reliance amongst these women on domestic appliances for household transformation work as developing countries develop their consumer durable industries. This trend will most probably cause a displacement of hired domestic labour.

Formal sector women working outside the household will also be facing labour displacement. It seems likely that the clerical and lower managerial positions that these women occupy will be subject to automation in the future. Therefore future female employment in the formal sector will depend on whether daughters are being educated on a par with sons in skills needed in the future job market.

Women in the formal sector households, more than either of the two preceding household categories, have benefitted from human reproduction technology. Infant mortality rates are exceedingly low, and the women tend to use modern forms of birth control and desire fewer children. Moreover, children's education is often treated as something akin to household investment.

Although rapid technological change has not engendered a material cause for the instability of formal sector households as it has in the other household categories, a social upheaval is being experienced by these households similar to that of the other households. Thus, notions of male patriarchal duty in household provisioning coupled with female subordination which originated in the material conditions of rural peasant societies are bound to be questioned by both men and women, albeit from different perspectives, in the process of de-agrarianization. In this respect, questions of children and intergenerational responsibility are fundamental to further definitions of male and female social roles.

Market, Technology and Women

One of the factors governing women's position in the interaction between the market and technology is the choice between labour and capital intensive production technology. This choice lies within the debate about international technology transfer where-by developing countries are requesting more sophisticated, non-labour absorbing technology.

Such a request points to the importance of having policies that integrate choice of technology with measures that influence demographic growth. This integration would call for a proportional increase rather than a decrease in female formal employment as non-labour absorbing technology is introduced. Government encouragement to female formal employment could both provide a deterrent to high fertility and further the egalitarian goals of equal opportunities for men and women, as well as avail women with forms of economic livelihood social fulfillment and other than motherhood.

Women's employment prospects in the industrial and service sectors are also an area pertinent to the study of the impact on women of the interaction between the market and technological change. In both developing and developed countries, female industrial labour force participation is quite low — 29% of the industrial work force in developing countries is female while the proportion recorded for developed countries is 28%. Among the reasons governing this low female participation, is the fact that men are considered to be the main family breadwinners, the belief that women's reproductive role makes them less committed to their jobs than men while also ensuring expenses to the employer in those countries where maternal benefits are mandatory, and other reasons such as women being less flexible, being subject to ILO conventions on the prohibitions of female participation in night shifts, women being less educated and have less marketable skills.

On average, women receive lower pay than men in industry largely because of their relegation to the most menial tasks in factory production. However, in many cases women also receive less pay than men for equal work.

Moreover, the degree to which women are hired in industry depends largely on the amount of unskilled, labour-intensive hand work required either in industries with low levels of technology or industries which have high capital intensity and sophisticated technology, but nonetheless demand labour intensive work, notably the microelectronics industry. When advanced technology requiring skill up-grading on the part of the work force is introduced women workers are usually phased out of their jobs.

The tendency for employment in the industrial sector to shrink relative to the service sector as technological developments lead to increased industrial productivity has become pronounced in the 20th century in the developed world and has affected the pattern of sectoral growth in the developing countries. Bearing in mind that female employment in the services is greater than in industry, this hints at more positive prospects for women's future employment prospects in the services. However, it is likely that vast numbers of women working in the informal sector will be displaced in the process of growing commercialization and formalization of the economy.

In examining women's employment prospects in the agricultural sector in light of the type of interactions that technological change has had with the market, it is important to note that capitalized agriculture and agribusiness firms where they are most developed, namely in Latin America and Asia, have brought about agricultural labour displacement on a large scale. With respect to women, labour-saving "Green Revolution" technology has in many cases created massive female labour redundancy. Most authors while deploring this loss of jobs by the most needy in the rural society, nonetheless, see the solution as one of not denying further technological developments, but rather one of introducing alternative forms of livelihood and lifestyles as the new technology is adopted.

In general, the present type of interaction between technological change and the market has a negative impact on women's welfare as labour participants. In this respect, women's bargaining positions in the labour market are weak, for they tend to have less marketable skills than men and generally have to surmount public opinion, cultural dictates and labour market hiring practices to acquire full-time jobs with decent pay and promotion prospects. Moreover, the formal labour market offers women the role of indirect recipients of a family wage. It is interesting to note that in those economies where the male breadwinner wage is not operative, like in certain areas in the Caribbean, sexual dualism in the labour market is less pronounced.

In an aggregate sense, women's primary role as mothers and the continuation of relatively high fertility rates results in a surplus population that cannot be productively absorbed given prevailing levels of technology. Yet, policies do not address the source of the surplus labour problem except in the technicist terms of the need for family planning programmes to bring about birth control. These programmes are repressive and often self-deflectory in the absence of wider structural change in the society's allocation of sexual roles vis-à-vis the labour market. Unemployment policies geared to giving priority for employment to men are simplistic as they attempt to solve a fundamental problem with a temporary measure. These policies also do not consider the long-term disadvantages of a purely male orientation that relegates women as 50% of the population to a secondary position, thereby perpetuating all the factors that create rapid population growth, i.e. lack of economic opportunities, detrimental attitudes, etc. These, in turn, perpetuate poverty and unemployment.

The State, Technology and Women

The impact on women of the interaction between the state and technological change is important in that secular forces, notably those marshalled by governments are increasingly instrumental in the social designation of roles and female activities and capabilities. In this respect,

contradictory forces are at work and the boundaries demarcating women's spheres of activity are widening in many areas and contracting in others. The latter contraction arises not so much from conscious efforts to isolate women from the benefits of technological and social change, but rather through deeply rooted male bias that is embedded in the philosophical roots of the modern state and prevalent notions of civil rights.

A delineation can be made of the policies that affect women's relationship to technology vis-à-vis the four realms of human capability, namely production, reproduction, exploration and destruction. These policies that affect women's relationship to production technology in developing countries include both customary and statutory law, the latter often having been imposed by the colonial "mother" country. Both laws existed side by side with the expectation that customary law would be mainly rural-based and would lose its applicability over time.

Statutory laws regulating labour and property were most decisive in the evolution of women's social position in relation to technological change. Woman's access to land has been undermined in developing countries by the introduction of laws that implicitly assure male hegemony in property ownership. Female labour protection laws, the prohibition of night work, the provision of maternity leave, breastfeeding breaks, etc., emphasize a woman's maternal role often at the expense of her role in the labour market. Whereas these laws may have been wise at the time of their passage in late 19th and early 20th century Europe, and appear beneficial to women during pregnancy and lactation, it is debatable whether legislation in its present form is always helpful to a working-class woman in a developing country when the welfare of her entire family, not just her infant, is at stake.

Another policy affecting women's relationship to production technology is the family wage. This type of policy tends to raise the cost and reduce the flexibility of female labour relative to male labour and causes employers to prefer hiring men. In fact, a great deal of urban bias in many developing countries has to do with the wage differentials between rural and urban areas arising from the urban family wage system. The alternative scenario could be: urban households with both male and female adults in wage employment, a consequent decrease in the dependency ratio, a decline in the fertility rate as women wage earners find frequent child-bearing incompatible with their jobs and gain social recognition through employment as well as motherhood. If, in addition, existing urban residents are given preference in hiring over new migrants, the probable net effect of all this would be a slowdown in urban growth nexus to manageable proportions.

Lastly, state policies and legislation also affect women's relatively lower level of education and skill attainment which restricts their job opportunities to the most unskilled.

State policies also affect women's relationship to reproduction technology. Thus most African and Arab countries are pronatalist and often go to the extent of banning the import of birth control technologies. In Latin America, the higher incidence of urbanization has led to changing attitudes on the part of parents who come to feel that "quality not quantity" of children is important. Moreover, this attitude is reflected in government policies. In Asia where population densities are high, government are often vociferous in their attempts at limiting population growth—not only are all forms of birth control made available, but they are often imposed with force or material incentives.

In general, government family planning programmes and birth control campaigns have taken the stance that women have to be motivated to use contraceptives which is normally not the case. It is typically men, not women, who offer the most resistance to government family planning programmes perceiving that as an affront to their virility and/or as a means through which they lose control over women. Women, on the other hand, are quick to recognize the beneficial impact of family planning in terms of better health and economic welfare.

As far as women's relationship to scientific exploration, government policies in the area of

science education are instrumental in denying or providing women with opportunities to become scientists. Women are educationally disadvantaged in the sciences, especially in engineering. However, sexual asymmetry in science education extends still further: throughout the world, girl science students perform less well than boys. While girl's socialisation and role ascription could explain the existence of a difference between men and women, it is difficult to explain such a constant gap with respect to each particular science subject by socialization factors alone.

A more likely explanatory factor is sexual dimorphism whereby sexual differences exist in visuo-spatial abilities, leading men to be more apt at the sciences and women to be more apt at the arts and social sciences. However, this does not mean that women should avoid scientific training anymore than men should disengage from the arts and the social sciences. Biological predispositions are only a small part of the determination of cognitive abilities, for if they were decisive, the world's politicians and literary giants would have been women. The most important impediment to women's poorer performance in science is the socially-fostered dichotomy between behavioral motivations on the part of men and women, for social responsibility and individual creativity, both indisputably valid motivations for human behaviour have implicit sexual connotations.

In looking at policies which affect women's relationship to destruction technology, it is important to note that war is one of the strongest motivational force for invention and technology transfer in the world today. Just as the state is a primarily male institution, war is a male activity. In this respect, sex difference in aggressive behaviour have a neuro-endocrine basis for androgens give men a biological predisposition for aggressive behaviour. Thus, in terms of human survival instincts, one can attribute aggression to men and motherhood to women.

However, both men and women are also capable of adapting their behaviour to changing circumstances. In this respect, human adaptive behaviour gives rise to and mutually interacts with technological development. Since through technological development humankind changes its material circumstances, it may well be argued that a stage has been reached whereby technological development has made pronounced sexual dimorphic behaviour, i.e. frequent child-bearing on the part of women and war activity on the part of men, selectively disadvantageous to the species. None the less, high birth rates and wars of aggression continue to be a feature of today's world. Thus high population rates exert a pressure on natural resources and wars often happen as a result of unfulfilled material aspirations of national populations who are experiencing rapid demographic and economic change.

Women and Future Technology

The impact of the emergence over the past decade of labour-saving technology, mostly microelectronics, is only beginning to become evident in developed countries and has scarcely touched much of the developing world. However, the developed countries' experiences hint at possible outcomes for developed countries. Thus this new technology will serve to hasten labour displacement in both the agricultural and industrial sectors, causing these two sector's employment to contract relative to services. In industry, the tendency is for the unskilled and the semi-skilled categories of jobs, these representing most of the jobs women hold in industry, to be hardest hit by the labour-displacing effects of the new technology. This does not auger well for women's future job prospects in industry. Moreover, it is the industries where women have been hired in large numbers, i.e. microelectronics, textiles and clothing industries and food processing which may be subject to greater automation in the future.

In the service sector, the situation is complex. While in the developed countries there has been trade-off between purchased services and domestic appliances because of the relatively high cost of purchased services, in the developing countries this tendency has been far less pronounced because purchased services have been very cheap due to the existence of the informal labour market. Therefore, it is an open question whether the informal labour market will be competitive with automated services and domestic appliances produce more automated production.

A growing economic sector is the information sector. In developing countries, many with large bureaucracies, the information sector is a substantial employer. Although labour redundancy is a serious prospect for clerical and lower level management, the application of microelectronics in the information sector has often led to an expansion of employment in new information services made possible by the information processing capabilities of microelectronics. There is also a controversy over whether or not the use of computers in office work has led to deskilling or upgrading of secretarial work. Thus it is difficult to establish the net result of microelectronics on women's employment in clerical and other information jobs. What is clear, however, is that the avoidance of labour redundancy on the part of women will depend on their technical knowledge and conceptual skills.

The application of new technology in the developed countries will likely result in shorter working hours. This along with the possibility of doing more work at home as a result of information technology, will lead people in urban areas to spend more time at home. However, "homeworking" employment can be a source of super-exploitation of female labour when it is not subject to enough labour regulation, as is usually the case in the clothing and electronics industries at the present time.

In looking at women's position under rapid technological change, one can see that there is often no balance between technical and cultural development. Thus there seems to be a reaffirmation of male superiority over women as a compensatory measure of unskilled men. This puts strains on the women who are loaded with their traditional household responsibilities, but have less and less capacity to fulfill them. The rising incidence of female-headed households in the developing countries gives some quantification of this strain. Thus, it is necessary that technical change be accompanied by conducive social change with respect to women.

Policies should, therefore, be formulated to ensure woman's access to new technology at a par with men. Granting credit schemes and targeting other policy measures are often not enough because they can be undermined by male hegemony in the household and community. Much wider comprehensive measures which are supportive of women in the wider social sense are required in government policy.

In the urban areas, the immediate labour displacement affects experienced by women are severely exacerbated by the legal and social conversion of the male "breadwinner" earning a family wage. As long as the notion of the family wage prevails, women's employment will always be secondary to man's and they will always be the first to lose her job with the introduction of new technology.

In the rural areas, new information technology will permeate households and generate new ideas and social values within the household to a degree that previously would not have been experienced. Moreover, as youth will not be migrating as urban job opportunities contract, agrarian patriarchal values will be increasingly challenged. The input of new attitudes together with new reduction in fertility resulting from the wider provisioning of rural family planning services can provide a conducive context for changes in women's social status.

However, in both rural and urban areas, the gradual dissolution of traditional social constraints on women's productive role in the community and market, important though it is, will not be enough to ensure women's access to technology. Girls' science and technical education will be vital if women are to gain a better bargaining position for pursuing their capabilities in the household, market and state in the 21st century.

Part 6

Technology and Women's Status*

It stresses the importance of women's effective participation in the implementation of a strategy for the technological transformation of developing countries and, therefore, the need to see the women-technology relationship within a dynamic development perspective. Women's current involvement in the technology field takes the form of either (a) participation in the employment market with high capital and technology requirements and high labour intensity or (b) employment characterized by low technology and capital requirements, as well as low productivity. The paper concentrates on the latter sector which includes a majority of women on small farm-holdings, often without titles, cottage industries, semi-artisanal processing, petty trade and small, family-run manufacturing activities.

The problems encountered in the informal sector and the technology supply side relate to: (i) imports – current technology transfer did not consider the specific needs in that sector; (ii) domestic capital goods sector – existing potentialities in developing countries were not fully exploited largely owing to a number of technological constraints, such as policies (i.e. tariffs, exchange rates) favouring capital goods imports; size of markets; lack of skills; and most particularly, design abilities; (iii) technological research and development often characterized by its theoretical nature and lack of effective contact between the capital goods producers and users, i.e. the women largely active in that sector.

Among the technology problems faced on the demand side are internal constraints to the access and use of technology; including factors such as motivation and ability to adapt, as well as organizational and other technical skills largely absent in the informal sector. Factors considered as "external constraints" include access to markets which tend to be dominated by demand created by the larger firms, access to credit, essential to capital investments (and in which women clearly find themselves in a disadvantageous position) and access to inputs, including raw materials. Government policies often ignore or do not give adequate recognition to the role of the informal sectors at the national economy level, appearing therefore as biased towards enterprises in the modern sector. Information cost and risk has to be further added to the actual constraints experienced in that sector, and therefore by the large population of women active in it.

A wide range of policy interventions are possible for bringing about technological change in that sector, including direct and indirect measures, general public policy interventions (i.e. investment and transfer of technology policies) and technology-specific measures (i.e. support to priority research and development). The development of the domestic goods capital sector, for example, as the single most important source of innovations for small-scale technology users, would require changes in macro-economic policies, such as tariffs, to enhance the attractiveness of domestically produced machinery and equipment more adequate to the needs of the informal sector.

Reorientation of ongoing technological research and development would be called for us to suit the female users, including introduction of extension services and demonstration centres, which could be useful in presenting the effectiveness of different techniques. Technology transfer policies in general might require critical reappraisal and, in that connection, new priorities might improve the domestic market prospects for goods produced in the traditional sector. Policy measures to facilitate access to credit and production inputs would be of crucial importance in strengthening the sector's and women's productive and technological capabilities. Particular

*) This report has been prepared by UNCTAD Secretariat following the terms of reference of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW.

emphasis can be placed on the fact that policies have to be accompanied by complementary measures beyond a strict definition of technology, not only to stimulate technological change in those segments of society where a sex-biased division of labour is more pronounced, but to offset the disadvantages to which women are currently subject and which keep them in a dependent position *vis-à-vis* family, economy and society as a whole.

Part 7

Toward Strategies for Strengthening the Position of Women in Food Production: An Overview and Proposals on Africa *

The paper first provides an overview on key analytical issues and constraints on the role of African women in food and agriculture, women being the backbone of African agriculture and food farming, focusing on the idea that insufficient attention has been paid to this role in the search for solutions to Africa's food problems.

The stagnation or weakening of women's agricultural productivity over the years through key transformative forces on women's role in agriculture is shown to be at the root of the present decline in African agricultural and food production.

Key Analytical Issues and Constraints

The division of labour by sex in agriculture is presented as one of the key analytic issues in the analysis of the role of women in agriculture which has imposed a number of constraints on women's role in agricultural development. In pre-market Africa, men's participation in agricultural production was quite low, being engaged mainly in warrior occupations, hunting, animal herding and deep-sea fishing. All these tasks which took men away from the home and from agriculture set the pace for the colonial economy to siphon off male labour to cash crop farming, mining and plantation agriculture as an essential labour force once men's traditional occupations were undermined by changing circumstances.

Thus the author perceives the colonial legacy as accounting perhaps for the single most far-reaching distortions of the African economies of which they have not fully recovered up to this day. Forced male labour for the plantation-mining nexus curtailed male contribution in food agriculture. In addition, a focus on agricultural export undermined women's role by relegating food production to a subordinate status vis-à-vis cash crop production.

Constraints have also been imposed on women's agricultural production through their increasing landlessness which has forced them to remain in small sub-economic plots of land where they are exploited because they have limited opportunities for wage employment.

Land consolidation has also imposed constraints on women's agricultural productivity by stripping the community of its legal vetoes to protect women's land rights. However, it has also been advantageous to women in that it reduces the distance women have to walk from one field to another under shifting cultivation.

Another important constraint on women's agricultural productivity is their limited access to incentives for agricultural expansion, such as credit, farm inputs and possibilities for land development.

Lastly, women participate only to a very limited extent in rural institutions, particularly agricultural co-operatives, as the prerequisites for membership in these co-operatives are land titles or salary, both of which women normally lack.

Key Transformative Market Forces

Over the past century African women's agricultural productivity has increasingly stagnated

*) This study has been prepared by Dr. Achola Pala Okeyo, University of Nairobi following the terms of reference of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW.

under the influence of key transformative market forces. Available information suggest that, in agriculture and related industries, certain technological innovations may lead to greater differentiation between men and women by undermining women's earning capacity, greater access to skills and mastery over new machines.

Thus in most cases it seems that technological changes have led to a concentration of women in domestic roles such as subsistence food production, household maintenance and children, non-market activities and non-market productive work. Moreover, when subsistence economies are incorporated in a market economy and working operations become mechanized, men seem to assume control of the new machinery. For women, this results in the loss of control over the means of machinery. For women, this results in the loss of control over the means of production and economic resources, and reduced opportunities to provide food and adequate care for their families, as well as harder work for longer hours.

Women workers may also be displaced by the introduction of new technologies in the area of commercial agriculture (i.e. coffee or tea plantations where they are employed as seasonal labourers, as opposed to men who are employed on a permanent basis. The sex bias in the use of new technologies also affects women's opportunities for technical training in agriculture as this type of training is given mostly to men, with the view that it is only men who are able to use new implements. Moreover, there is a tendency to introduce technological innovations to traditionally male tasks, while tasks usually performed by women are still done by hand. For example, the plough and tractor are being widely used for tilling and sowing, both of which are male tasks; whereas tasks normally performed by women such as weeding, harvesting and processing of the farm products are still done by hand.

Commercial agriculture and high yielding varieties (HYVs) of grain have been shown to benefit the richer, more progressive farmers. The preferential treatment given to men in commercial agriculture resulted in an increase in women's workload as they had to work on commercial agriculture, in addition to subsistence plots and household chores. Commercial agriculture also resulted in increase male labour migration which further increased women's workload, as well as an increase in female landlessness and larger income differentials between men and women in seeking paid work, since women are usually disadvantaged due to their relatively low level of modern education.

Agricultural pricing and marketing policies are also an important transformative force in that they can affect the production of food crops. In this respect government encouragement of cash crops through the increase of producer prices has often induced grower to allocated more land, labour and capital to cash crops rather than food crops, and, therefore, has resulted in serious food shortages.

Policy Options and Strategies

A number of policy options and strategies are presented which, by aiming to rectify the negative impact which agricultural policies up until now have had on women's role in agriculture and food production, also seek to redress the stagnation, negative growth and deterioration experienced by the African economies over the past two decades in their food and agricultural sector. This stagnation has led a number of countries in the region to grow dependent on commercial food imports, food aid and external funding to offset prevailing food deficits.

A region-wide recognition of the continent's inadequate food and agriculture situation on the political level is available in the Lagos Plan of Action of the Economic Development of Africa 1980-2000 which seeks to eliminate the basic weakness in African agriculture, namely, low production, productivity and inadequate technological capacity to improve agriculture. In this respect, the declaration acknowledges the need to reorient national development priorities by giving preferential attention to the food and agricultural sector both in funding and in the improvement of human resource capabilities within countries. Moreover, the declaration calls for

a restructuring and expansion of intra-African trade and exchange of resources for development, as well as a commitment toward self-reliant development strategies favouring endogenous development alternatives up to the year 2000 and beyond.

Following the spirit of the Lagos Plan of Action, a major objective of development policy in Africa at present and in the near future is to meet an ever increasing demand for food, stemming from shortfalls in food production and a rapidly expanding population. The agricultural sector must, therefore, continue to play the leading role in the continent's development and nearly all the continent's food requirements will need to be met from its production if Africa is to pursue the path to self-reliant economic and social development.

A realistic agricultural development strategy must therefore be aimed at the continued expansion of productive investment, with the primary objective of ensuring food self-sufficiency and alleviation of poverty through growth in agricultural output. For this reason, a policy is needed to ensure steady increase in the supply of improved varieties of seeds and keep prices to the farmers at a minimum and within every farmer's reach. Attention should be given to the continued search for more improved productive crop varieties and livestock breeds that are directed towards varieties suitable for arid and semi-arid areas of Africa in order for food production to rise.

One policy alternative that is increasingly being adopted by African countries is the concept of national food strategy. A food strategy may be designed to support rural development and agrarian reforms, co-operative forms of production and other measures and initiatives aimed at strengthening the food and agriculture sector along the lines of conclusions and recommendations contained in the Declaration of Principles and the Programme of Action adopted at the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development held in Rome in 1979, and endorsed by the General Assembly at its 34th session and by the World Food Council in 1979.

In specific terms a national food strategy is seen to offer a more comprehensive approach to food and hunger problems and differs from previous approaches in several ways:

- it links more directly consumption needs to production objectives as a basis for meeting these needs;
- it emphasizes the integration of policies and project activities and avoids fragmentation of efforts;
- as a continuing process designed to sustain adequate priority for the food sector, it includes provisions for strengthening the institutions necessary for its implementation;
- it facilitates national decisions over time covering the whole range of activities affecting food;
- equally, it facilitates the increased and coordinated international assistance needed for its implementation.

En 1974 WCARRD proposed specific recommendations for action necessary for the full participation of women in rural development and agrarian reform. It concluded that:

recognition of the vital role of women in socio-economic life in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities, in accordance with the goals of the United Nations Decade for Women is a pre-requisite for successful rural development planning and programme implementation. Rural development based on growth with equity will require full integration of women, including equitable access to land, water, other natural resources, inputs and services and equal opportunity to develop and employ their skills. There is also an urgent need to expand knowledge and statistical data on all aspects of women's roles in rural

activities and to disseminate this information in order to promote greater awareness of women's role in society (WCARRD Rep. 1979).

All these recommendations are fully pertinent to concerns towards strengthening the food sector.

The food strategy concept provides a framework for the widest possible understanding and incorporation of the key role of women in food production and rural transformation as a whole. This is one of the few opportunities in which a national policy option is being discussed at a time when enough evidence exists to show that women are key agricultural producers though often neglected and frequently disadvantaged by technological innovations in agriculture. It is an opportunity to "integrate" women in agricultural development policy.

Other policy areas requiring positive changes for women are land policies which have up until now neglected women. It is therefore necessary to design policies that enable women to own land or at least have clearly stipulated rights over land commensurate with their producer role.

Agricultural and technical training policies also need to address women's role in agricultural production since lack of attention to women farmers' training needs, lack of fair distribution of farm inputs and lack of credit and finance in agricultural activities hinders the progressive development and increased productivity of agriculture as a whole.

Moreover, more attention needs to be given to appropriate and labour-saving technology. Alternative sources of cooking fuel, improved food storage methods, refrigeration, effective farming tools and low cost day care would reduce the pressure of work on women with tangible benefits for their farm work. It would help alleviate the double work load of house and field.

A further strategy is the mobilization of women in the area of cooperative development where women should be encouraged and helped in joining benefitting by receiving proper training in management and financial matters.

It is also important for policies to aim at strengthening the role of women in post harvest conservation strategies since farmers should be trained in the correct use of pest control measures such as constructing pest proof granaries, use of pesticides, insecticides and fungicides. *There is need for specific policies on the prevention of health hazards of agricultural chemical while subsidizing farmers to purchase them.* This information is an important aspect of consumer protection. In addition to food preservation and storage which takes into account the seasonal food distribution factor, it is important to consider transportation of food from the farms to storage places, usually within the farmer's home.

Moreover, there is a need for an improved data base on women. Recently, some progress has been made to accumulate statistical information on women and to prepare baseline data for development planning and project evaluation. However, there has not been sufficient progress in long-range, basic research on women in development, even with improved research methods on general problems of development. The "invisibility" of women's roles in the production and distribution of goods and services remains a problem both for analysis and planners of national and international development. This "invisibility" is, to a great extent, the result of biased concepts and analytical models used in social research and data collection which exclude many of women's actual and vital roles in the economy and society.

Lastly, long range basic research can correct biases in the assessment of changing women's roles and status and the manner in which these changes affect their productive role.

Part 8

Industrialization, Trade and Female Employment in Developing Countries: Experiences of the 1970's and After*

Industry, being the most productive economic activity, is at the core of the structural transformations that constitute economic development.

Women have played an important role in the industrialization of developing countries over the past 20 years. Women's labour force being cheaper than that of men, has had characteristics which —whiles less than favourable to themselves— have had the probable macro-economic benefit of facilitating national economic growth.

There have, however, been limits on women's role in industrialization, that lie in the sexual division present in all societies. In the labour market these divisions channel female labour into a sub-set of industries and into a particular type of occupations, i.e. industries producing light consumer goods, and electronics. These industries absorb most of the female labour force and leave women to be poorly represented in other industries. This pattern is reinforced by links between markets and education and training.

These light industries have proved to have new strategic value to low income countries. The low income countries which have grown fastest in the post-war period have been those that gave early prominence to setting up large export industrial sectors, and the reliance of these industries on female labour is not slackening, but on the contrary, is increasing.

The pattern of sexual divisions in industrial employment has implications for the division of rewards and benefits from industrialization between men and women. There are two types of consequences: First, this crowding of women into light industrial jobs has helped to keep female wages even lower than the relatively unskilled nature of the work warrants. Secondly, it makes it possible that changes in international market conditions in recent years have a differential impact on "male" and "female" industries.

There are three issues here: 1) How the predominantly female-labour using export zones have coped with the upheavals in the international economy, compared to other industries. 2) As those fast growing countries move into a subsequent phase of industrialization, does the pattern of occupational segregation by sex evolve? 3) How much of an impact has the technological revolution in microelectronics had on the actual and prospective efficiency of cheap labour based industrial production in low-income countries relative to other regions? We will examine these issues with respect to the two industries which are the most important source of export earnings from DC's, textiles and garments and electronics.

The emphasis on female employment in this paper follows not only from the fact that it is the most quantifiable index of women's participation in industrialisation, but also from the premise that access to wage employment is the precondition, though not the guarantor, for improvements in women's social position and related generally beneficial changes. Though it is a complex matter to assess the effect of earnings on women's social status, there are grounds for supposing that reduction in sexual inequality is directly and systematically correlated with women's participation in production markets.

The Growth of Industry in Developing Countries

Industrial output has grown much faster than agricultural output in almost all DC's during

*) This study was prepared by Susan P. Joeke, University of Sussex, following the terms of references of the programme upon the request of INSTRAW.

the past 25 years, marking the same historical shift that had occurred earlier in the presently developed countries. This shift in output composition has been reflected in the changing disposition of the labour force in DC's; just as with the labour force as a whole female labour has been moving out of agriculture into services and industry, but at a faster rate than male labour. The character of industrial development in this period has been drawing greater numbers of women into industrial employment for the distinctive features of female labour have made women particularly sought after by employers.

The Structure of Industrial Production and Female Employment Composition of Output and the Distribution and Total Share of Female Employment in Industry

Although women workers now constitute more than one quarter of the industrial labour force in DC's, there is not an even spread of female labour force in the various branches of industry. In a pattern similar to that of industrialized countries, female workers are concentrated in light industrial production, particularly in textiles, clothing, food processing, rubber and plastics goods and electronics, and are greatly under-represented elsewhere.

The light consumer industries have a number of distinctive economic features relevant to employment which help to explain why they particularly demand female labour, i.e. use of low capital in relation to labour, low technology (with the exception of electronics), and relatively repetitive, low-skilled and non-career promotion jobs.

Differences Between Male and Female Labour

Women's earnings are lower than men's, partly as a consequence of the occupational distribution, even though it is increasingly recognized that women's earnings are lower than men's even in the same occupation and for the same job. At the macro-economic level there are no factors which can explain this differential, apart from men's longer and more continuous time in employment because of women's absences for childbearing and childcare. But micro-studies suggest that employment practices that make sense only as instances of gender discrimination are the real cause.

Marital status has a definitive influence on wages — a positive increment for males and a negative one for females. The belief that women's absentee rates are higher derives from the ideological stereotype of the female role, while reality shows that often female absentee rates are lower than men's.

Secondly, women tend to be less educated than men, according to the bias in educational provisions in DC's, and to occupy more unskilled positions in employment. Again, micro-studies put into question whether the differences are large enough to fully explain the distribution of male and female labour by occupational level and the problem is to identify the conditions under which one or other tendency applies.

The Role of Transnational Corporations

In different industries many production activities break down into a number of steps which need not be adjacent to each other, as is the case in many light industrial processes. Some production stages may be heavily capital intensive while others can be highly labour intensive. Despite its high technology and capital intensity, electronics falls into discrete segments and its operations sited in DC's are highly labour intensive. It is not surprising that transnational electronics corporations choose to locate much of their production in developing countries and to use predominantly cheaper female labour, as do the light industrial processes, taking advantage of the "export processing zones" set up by developing countries in increasing numbers as an enticement to foreign capital, precisely for the production of manufactured goods for export. These

activities are the purest form of the internationalization of production in accordance to factor cost, and it is not surprising to find that the labour force employed in EPZs is overwhelmingly female. The availability of male labour in many of these countries affirms that there is a systematic preference amongst transnationals for female labour.

The Growth of Trade in Manufactures

The recession that started in 1980 resulted in the first absolute fall in world trade in manufactures in decades. Unless industrialised countries' international competitiveness and capacity to generate employment improve, trade from developing countries is likely to be inhibited for political reasons. There is evidence of creeping neo-protectionism in the 1980s and although DC's account for only about one quarter of total world exports, they face more barriers on their exporters to industrial countries than do industrial countries trading with each other.

With respect to the composition of manufactured exports, labour intensively produced, light industrial products figure even more prominently in the exports of DCs than they do in total industrial output. Trade thus takes place particularly in goods whose production uses mostly female labour.

International Economic Changes over the Past Ten Years

The growth of trade, particularly in manufactures, and the spread of transnational corporations' activities have signalled the increasing interdependence of national economies, as well as its vulnerability. Economic events in one part of the world can now have widespread international ramifications, and some of the DCs have been the main economic victims.

The two world recessions have had a polarising effect among the three developing country regions. The Latin American countries' predicament lies primarily in their high level of debt. In retrospect, their response to the first oil price increase was a costly mistake, but its impact has been magnified by the international repercussions of subsequent industrialised country (mainly U.S.) policy. The African countries' problems lie partly in debt and partly in a much more weakened potential for earning foreign currency, all this compounded by high rates of population growth. They are largely dependent for their export earnings on primary commodities and their prices have rapidly fallen in recent years. The African countries have experienced a more severe deterioration in their terms of trade than any other group over the past 10 years.

The Asian countries is the group that has been least damaged by recession and achieved economic growth most successfully. There are cases in which the real skill levels of "female" jobs are clearly higher than those of more highly paid male jobs. All such cases can be explained by reference to the prevailing wage differential by sex resting on discriminatory social gender relations.

Economic Characteristics of Industrial Production and the Demand for Female Labour

There is a rough correlation between the end-use characteristics and the methods of production of a product, in terms of its relative use of the two main factors of production —capital and labour. This explains why, with the relative lack of capital and abundance of labour, the light industries have greater weight in the structure of DC's manufacturing industry.

Here wages are proportionally much more important as a cost factor in production than the cost of capital and thus, the option of using cheap female labour is an obvious solution further emphasized by the widely remarked greater docility of female than male labour.

Secondly, heavy industry, uses expensive equipment that needs to be worked out as much as possible to defray the fixed cost it represents, as opposed to light consumer industries where the

protective prohibition on night shift work by women is not of great relevance since they can afford not to work at night.

Another characteristic of light industrial production lies in the repetitive, short cycle, relatively quickly learned tasks it demands, for which thorough technical knowledge of the production process is unnecessary.

Finally there is the role of technological change in relation to the character of industrial production. It has often been argued that technological changes lead to the "deskilling" of occupations, and given the concentration of women into unskilled jobs, the argument amounts to a theory of the "feminization" of jobs. This hypothesis does not always fit the facts, since there are many instances of the displacement rather than new use of female labour with industrial development. The "masculinisation" of the industrial processes is an equally plausible hypothesis during this period, most notably in their continued expansion of exports of manufactures. The region now probably accounts for an even larger proportion of DCs total exports than 10 years ago. But their success is not, in an accounting sense, unrelated to the Latin American and African countries' difficulties. In view of the restrictions on access of DC's imports to industrialised country markets, it is arithmetically true that success on the part of the Asian exporters entailed a squeezing out failure of the remaining DCs.

The growth of female industrial employment in the DCs has roughly paralleled the differing international fortunes of these three regional country groupings. Female industrial employment has grown absolutely in all regions, but it has grown fastest in Asia and slowest in Latin America, matching the regions' respective performance. Part of the reason for the strong growth of female employment in industry in Asia lies in the strong general growth in demand for all industrial labour, which cannot be met by male labour alone. Women have, therefore, to some extent been drawn into employment in industry as a reserve to increase total labour supply, but also get expelled from the labour force when there is any reversal. As employment conditions tighten women are squeezed out of industrial jobs.

Annex 1

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CORRIGENDUM TO:

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS - Summary of INSTRAW
Series of Studies on the Role of Women in International Economic Relations

Page 7. Paragraph 5. Lines 1 & 2 - "Thus the classical international division of labour based on classical economic theory of comparative costs, and later, on the neoclassical theory of the endowment of production..."

Page 9. Paragraph 6. Line 7 - "...invariably involves changes in others. Moreover, the status of women is both a determinant and a..."

Page 10. Paragraph 1. Line 3 - "...which a woman has her first child is of utmost significance for her educational achievements, and, in turn, to her effective integration in the development process. At the..."

Page 10. Paragraph 4. Line 6 - "...the impact of these interlinkages on the role and status of women."

Page 11. Paragraph 1. Line 4 - "...economy to merchant capitalist economy, and the transition from the classical international..."

Page 11. Paragraph 8. Line 2 - "...Member States. These are as follows: ensure the political participation of women in the various..."

Page 11. Paragraph 9 - (continued on page 16).

Page 12. Paragraph 6. Line 5 - "...were determined from the outside and those whose basic needs were to be met were not..."

Page 12. Paragraph 7. Line 4 - "...population confront therein. However, all these actions seem to have come short of effectively..."

Page 14. Paragraph 8. Line 2 - "...bring to women an analogy can be made between male-female relations and the North-South..."

Page 15. Paragraph 2. Line 5 - "...bargaining power to reverse the existing trends and press for the adoption of rules adapted to..."

Page 15. Paragraph 6. Line 5 - "...ential treatment for rights or privileges which are difficult to justify..."

Page 16. (DELETE).

Page 17. Paragraph 1. Line 2 - "...trade in the developing countries. In this respect, although perhaps the most visible change has been..."

Page 17. Paragraph 1. Line 4 - "...price hike of 1973 and more recently to the debt servicing crisis of many developing countries in the..."

Page 17. Paragraph 2. Line 1 - "These and other changes have had a powerful impact on women and men living in the..."

Page 17. Paragraph 3. Line 3 - "...hood, agriculture accounts for a diminishing share of gross domestic product (GDP) in the..."

Page 18. Paragraph 1. Line 2 - "...food prices; and skewed land tenure patterns."

Page 18. Paragraph 7. Line 3 - "...ment. Moreover, as these products can rely heavily upon female labour it means that women can be..."

Page 19. Paragraph 1. Line 7 - "...ponents and consumer goods, as well as more capital-intensive goods such as synthetic fibres..."

Page 19. Paragraph 2. Line 5 - "...have shared in this slump. Reduced demand combined with deteriorating terms of trade..."

Page 21. Paragraph 7. Line 3 - "...where the attempt to rationalize production, and the use of new seed and fertilizer technologies..."

Page 24. Paragraph 1. Lines 2 § 3 - "...ally separate" sub-units sufficiently small not to warrant the loads imposed on large enterprises. Consequently, the working conditions and pay in these units are frequently far worse than..."

Page 24. Paragraph 3. Line 10 - "...such jobs offer higher wages than those attached to "female" tasks. In many cases..."

Page 24. Paragraph 4. Line 7 - "...equality in the work force is the continued definition of women primarily through marriage and..."

Page 24. Paragraph 7. Line 4 - "...unions. Women have dealt with this situation by creating cross occupational labour organi-..."

Page 25. Paragraph 7. Line 3 - "...informal sector because of very low earnings and new and rising inflation."

Page 28. Paragraph 2. Line 6 - "...struggle under the double burden of outside work and household duties. In spite of the enormous..."

Page 28. Paragraph 3. Line 5 - "...industrial world was to pull the majority of them out of their agrarian household and place them in..."

Page 30. Paragraph 4. Line 2 - "...tionalization of production processes and heightened international competition, thereby resulting in..."

Page 33. Paragraph 2. Line 19 - "Thirdly, the issue dealt with in this study requires us to take a broad view of technology which..."

Page 36. Paragraph 2. Line 4 - "...them because they are unable to perceive this activity as other than non-work, as mere adjunct..."

Page 36. Paragraph 5. Line 3 - "...does the traditional division of labour, which continues into the modern period, tend to relegate..."

Page 36. Footnote 1. Line 7 - "1980); M. Mies, The Lace Makers of Narsapur: Indian Housewives Produce for the World Market. Study prepared for the ILO World..."

Page 37. Paragraph 5. Line 8 - "...sometimes exceed the contribution of men in terms of effort, may not get its due recognition,..."

Page 37. Paragraph 6. Line 5 - "...ments of job acquisition (in addition to removing straightforward discrimination and "unequal-..."

Page 38. Paragraph 2. Line 5 - "...of traditional arrangements is hard to exaggerate. The technology of mass communication offers..."

Page 38. Paragraph 3. Line 4 - "...change benefit both men and women. But the participation of women in the benefits of technical..."

Page 38. Paragraph 3. Line 10 - "...concerned more specifically with women's welfare."

Page 39. Paragraph 3. Line 2 - "...change as having the effect of displacing women in the labour market, both in..."

Page 40. Paragraph 1. Line 3 - "...cal given. The literature identifies the extent and incidence of the edge that men have over..."

Page 40. Paragraph 2. Line 1 - "An understanding of the interrelationship between technology and women's social and eco-..."

Page 40. Paragraph 6. Line 11 - "...tion, limited access or poor design. The failure to disseminate the existing suitable technology is..."

Page 41. Paragraph 2. Line 9 - "...family and her relative proximity to it, does give her some fall-back security however socially..."

Page 41. Paragraph 4. Line 2 - "...marital break-up and female-headed household are usually a more common occurrence in this..."

Page 43. Paragraph 5. Line 7 - "...note that in those economies where the male breadwinner wage is not operative, like in certain..."

Page 45. Paragraph 3. Line 2 - "...important to note that war is one of the strongest motivational forces for invention and technolo-..."

Page 45. Paragraph 4. Line 3 - "...technological development. Since through technical development humankind changes its..."

Page 46. Paragraph 5. Line 2 - "...severely exacerbated by the legal and social convention of the male "breadwinner" earning a..."

Page 47. Paragraph 1. Line 5 - "...employment market with high capital and technology requirements and high labour intensity or..."

PART 7 - Title - "Towards Strategies for Strengthening the Position of Women in Food Production: An Overview and Proposals on Africa".

Page 49. Paragraph 2. Line 2. - "...key transformative forces on women's role in agriculture is shown to be at the root of the present..."

Page 49. Paragraph 4. Line 4 - "...agriculture. In addition, a focus on agricultural export undermined women's role by relegating..."

Page 49. Paragraph 7. Line 2 - "...incentives for agricultural expansion, such as credit, farm inputs and possibilities for land develop-..."

Page 50. Paragraph 2. Lines 5 & 6 - "...men seem to assume control of the new machinery. For women, this results in the loss of control over the means of..."

Page 50. Paragraph 5. Line 3 - "...cash crops through the increase of producer prices has often induced growers to allocate more..."

Page 52. Paragraph 2. Line 5 - "...neglected and frequently disadvantaged by technological innovations in agriculture. It is an..."

Page 55. Paragraph 2. Line 6 - "...e ports to industrial countries than do industrial countries trading with each other."

Page 56. Paragraph 3. Line 12 - "...a squeezing out failure of the remaining DCs."

Page 56. Paragraph 4. Line 1 - "The growth of female industrial employment in the DCs has roughly paralleled the differing..."

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