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FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN  
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Proceedings of the Interregional Seminar on  
THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

held in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic  
from 5 to 11 December 1983

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## FOREWORD

The new vision of women in development with women which emerged during the United Nations Decade for Women gave another dimension to efforts needed in order to re-evaluate the existing development concepts, approaches and strategies. How the economic processes relate to women, both as part of the labour force and in their reproductive and household functions is a complex issue. It requires sustained attention of policy makers and planners at national, regional and international levels.

Although women are not an homogenous group, their economic contribution to development is significant. Women's labour tends to concentrate in the service sector in export oriented industries and more particularly in the informal sectors of the economy, mostly subsistence agriculture, household productions and informal services. In view of the organic links which exist between formal and informal sectors of the economy, better knowledge on the role of women would also provide necessary inputs into the currently accepted models of development. These models which have tended to isolate macro from micro trends with purely economic interpretation, generally omit valuable historical, social and cultural analyses. So far programmes and projects for women were concentrated in the area of welfare and income generating activities. The traditional welfare measures are mostly designed to rectify omissions rather than being strategies for the utilization and servicing of disadvantaged groups in society in which women figure significantly. Income generating programmes and projects bring much needed income to many women. However, such projects tend to be small with little marketing potential and are usually based on traditional women's work.

After the adoption of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies till the Year 2,000 it is apparent that measures for women should be integrated into major development priorities and strategies, both globally and sectorally. Appropriate research and training methodologies are needed in order to analyze, monitor and evaluate women's role in development. They should contribute to the elaboration of innovative development strategies with growth, equity, participation and eradication of poverty as main underlying criteria.

Since its inception, INSTRAW has contributed to a search for a methodological framework which would incorporate women's issues into development plans and programmes and thus provide a forum for a dialogue between policy makers, planners, public and private enterprises, non-governmental and women's organizations.

The seminar on the Incorporation of Women Into Development Planning was organized at an early, formative stage of INSTRAW. It provided an opportunity to exchange views on the wide range of action needed in the future. Since then, the Institute has expanded its research and training activities related to women and development planning and programming. This includes the work on gathering statistics and data on women, through generating new concepts and methods of data collection; elaboration and use of guidelines and checklists for formulating programmes and projects benefitting women, as well as organization of training seminars and preparation of multi-media training modules targeted at development officials and women's organizations.

The Institute would like to thank the co-operating institutions and individuals as well as INSTRAW' staff members for their contribution which made this publication possible.

Dunja Pastizzi-Ferencic  
Director/INSTRAW

Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic  
September

1986

## I. ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

1. The overall mandate of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) is to promote, through its activities in research, training and information, the full participation of women, together with men, in the economic, social and political development of each society. The Institute acts catalytically by implementing its programmes through networks of co-operative arrangements with the five regional commissions, non-governmental organizations and women's associations.
2. The Institute's legislative mandate and programme of activities focus on development issues and the problems facing women therein, with the aim of integrating women into the mainstream of development. The Board of Trustees of the Institute therefore decided during its second meeting, to hold a seminar on the topic of development planning and women's issues. In pursuance of this decision, INSTRAW convened an interregional Seminar on the Incorporation of Women into Development Planning, from 5 to 11 December 1983, at its permanent headquarters in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
3. The purpose of the Seminar was to examine the various problems related to women's participation in and integration into development planning and to analyse the reasons for the frequent neglect of women's needs in the development planning process. It was the goal of the Seminar to devise appropriate guidelines for more active participation of women in the development process, both as participants and as beneficiaries, and to make development planning more responsive to the needs of women.
4. The objective of the Seminar was two-fold: on the one hand, to exchange experiences of different countries in the area of planning, to underline the problems encountered and to seek solutions; and, on the other hand, to increase the involvement of women in the planning process through raising awareness and determining the most suitable institutional framework, planning mechanisms and techniques to that end.
5. Thirty-one participants from various regions attended the meeting in their personal capacity. They included a number of representatives of United Nations organs and specialized agencies. The participants represented a tripartite participation scheme of national planning officials, experts on development issues, and experts on issues concerning women and development. (For a list of the participants, see annex I).
6. The Institute prepared a background paper for the meeting entitled "The incorporation of women into development planning". Moreover, each participant was requested to present a background paper addressing the agenda items of the Seminar from his/her national perspective. Nineteen papers were prepared and/or presented to the Seminar. (For a list of the papers, see table of contents).
7. The deliberations of the meeting took place in plenary sessions as well as in three panels. The Seminar thus had eight plenary sessions and six sessions for the three panels during which the participants discussed the subject matter of the Seminar and prepared the final recommendations.
8. The Seminar was officially opened by Mrs. Dunja Pastizzi-Ferencic, the Director of INSTRAW, who welcomed the participants to the first meeting that the Institute had convened at its permanent headquarters and expressed the objectives

of the meeting. Ambassador Juan Jorge, Officer-In-Charge of the Organisms and International Conference Matters Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on behalf of the Government of the Dominican Republic and Ms. Martha Olga García, Director of the Office for the Promotion of Women, on behalf of Mrs. Asela Mera de Jorge Blanco, the First Lady of the Dominican Republic, welcomed the participants.

9. The meeting elected the following as members of the Bureau:

President:	Ms. Maria Augusztinovics (Hungary)
Vice-President:	Mr. Dan Ayayee (Ghana)
Vice-President:	Ms. Achie Sudiarti Luhulima (Indonesia)
Vice-President:	Ms. Blanca Figueroa (Peru)
Rapporteur:	Ms. Helga Hernes (Norway)
10. The main subjects of the provisional agenda were the policy issues in development planning and women, the methodological approaches to development planning and recommended solutions to the problems identified. The agenda, as adopted, was as follows:
  1. Opening of the meeting.
  2. Election of officers.
  3. Adoption of the agenda.
  4. Development planning and women.
    - (a) Policy issues;
      - (i) Socio-economic determinants;
      - (ii) Institutional framework - public, semi-private and private institutions;
      - (iii) Formal and informal sectors of the economy - policy design and planning;
      - (iv) Legal and attitudinal constraints;
    - (b) Assessment of conventional and ongoing approaches:
      - (i) Welfare approach;
      - (ii) Women-specific development programmes and/or projects:
        - a. Income-generating activities;
        - b. Special services programmes;
        - c. Training activities;
    - (c) Proposals for action for the integration of women into development planning:
      - (i) Issues of policy design:
        - a. Socio-economic aspects;
        - b. Institutional structure - role of national and local governmental authorities, women's organizations, labour and professional unions and regional and international organizations;
        - c. Legal and attitudinal requirements;
      - (ii) Methodological approaches to incorporating women into development programmes and/or women-specific development projects;
      - (iii) Research, information, data and training needs;
  5. Adoption of the report of the meeting.

## II. POLICY ISSUES

11. The Director of INSTRAW highlighted the objectives, priorities and methodological framework of the Institute's activities, as well as its mode of operating through networks, in co-operative arrangements with

United Nations, intergovernmental, governmental and non-governmental organizations and bodies. Emphasis was placed on the complexity of issues related to women and development which should enhance recognition of the interdependence of social and economic problems, cast more light on macro-micro interface processes, growth with equity and eradication of poverty and contribute to the debate on people's participation in development. Within this framework the incorporation of issues of relevance to women into development planning and programming required additional efforts in order that national development plans and technical co-operation projects become more responsive to women's participation and requirements. In that respect, she pointed to the role of women in informal, non-monetized sectors of the economy, balance between economic and social considerations and adequate institutional frameworks in order to reach local community and grass-root levels.

12. She stated that the Institute, while fully aware of the work related to the subject carried out within and outside the United Nations system, depended on the views and recommendations of the Seminar to set up a solid basis for the next stage of its activities in this field as it related to further research, training and information needs. That would contribute to the establishment of innovative and flexible methods of co-operation between the United Nations, planning and programming bodies and the academic community.

13. The Chief of Research and Training of INSTRAW underlined that the purpose of the Seminar was to draw conclusions and recommendations on ways and means to ensure the incorporation of women in development planning. She emphasized the need to answer the question of "How to" problems. The Institute was cognizant of the difficulty of the subject. Yet, development planning is an important means of using national resources effectively in order to achieve both economic growth, and social and cultural progress,

14. The Chief of Research and Training asked what were the problems and/or obstacles facing women in the area of development planning. Were they structural, attitudinal, of co-ordination, communication awareness, sensitization, educational, lack of skills and expertise, or all of those factors combined? She hoped that the deliberations of the Seminar would throw some light on these issues and indicate measures to be taken to overcome those obstacles.

15. In introducing the paper prepared by the Institute, the Institute's consultant made the following comments: The documents provided an overview of the issues of women and development planning. In preparing the paper, the Institute had surveyed the literature dealing with guidelines on women and development planning within and outside the United Nations. It was divided into three sections. The first section, or introduction, consisted of a description of the general development debate, including women's role in development and recent United Nations legislation on the topic of the integration of women in development. The agenda of the meeting and the issues for consideration in the incorporation of women into development planning were addressed in the second section of the document.

16. The last section attempted to delineate action taken within the United Nations system to promote women's integration into development processes. Hence, annexes I and II contained summaries of recent programmes and project guidelines seeking to operationalize the integration of women in development, produced by the United Nations organizations and other agencies. Also included were reports on recent meetings on women and development planning convened in different world regions.

17. During the general debate on item 4 (a) and (b), the integration of women into development planning, it was noted that the participants found it difficult to draw a clear line between the two subjects, namely policy issues and methodological approaches, therefore the debate as summarized in chapters II and III reflected that interrelationship and overlapping between the two topics.
18. It is also to be noted that problems of definition and of conceptual ambiguity were discussed, raising several questions: What was development? What was development planning? What did the incorporation of women into development planning mean and entail? Were women perceived as a special group or as a large part of the total population? As such, what technique should be used to account for them in the global development process?
19. The incorporation of women into development planning encompassed both the incorporation of women into the social and political power structure and the decision-making procedure or process, as well as taking women's needs and requirements into consideration in the planning process. In other words, it was interpreted to mean more representation, particularly at the higher level of the decision-making process, and integrating women as beneficiaries of planning.
20. Some participants considered the term incorporation of women into development planning misleading, implying that women were not yet participating in the national economy, whereas in actual fact, women are participants, albeit more often or as often in the non-monetary sphere of society as in the monetary. Thus women's work went largely unrecognized because activities in the non-monetized sector were not included in GNP. Women were in fact in the labour force but they were not in the centre of the decision-making process.
21. A further opinion was expressed that development should not be measured in terms of GNP, but rather in the extent to which it offered more equitable opportunities to men and women, which might require a change in the system. That change might take the form of an integrated approach because the problem arose at all levels and was of concern to both men and women. Those multidimensional characteristics of development had most often been ignored by existing planning methods.
22. The level of integration of women in a particular society was a result or reflection of the interaction of socio-economic factors with policy decision-making. For example, favourable economic capabilities might be a catalyst to the process of integration by facilitating more services, more employment and more participation for women. Integration of women into development planning could be brought about through education and employment opportunities. Therefore, legislative measures should pressure against educational segregation and employment discrimination, in order to help to change attitudinal behaviour.
23. It was stated that a gap existed between knowledge and its practical usage by policy-makers. There was also a knowledge gap between the national, local and community levels in the decision-making process. Equally important was the lack of participation at the grass-roots level.
24. A women's component was necessary in any development programme and/or project. Thus, the incorporation of women in development planning should take into consideration the needs, concerns and requirements of women. For example, if a significant number of agricultural workers were women (the figure varied according to regions), why then were training opportunities generally offered to men?

25. The participants identified and examined various models of planning, indicating that there were an infinite number of planning models adjusted to the special national conditions of each society. It was noted that the planning process was not a question of gender, class or race.
26. Often the present planning system failed to take into consideration the human resources aspects, as well as people's basic needs. In many cases, there was little participation on the part of both men and women in the planning process and at all levels. As an outcome, women's projects were often not linked to mainstream development programmes.
27. Questions were raised as to who formulated development plans and the importance of the roles of national planners in identifying needs. It was stressed that ways and means should be found to involve the local levels in the planning process.
28. The work and activities of women in the informal sectors of the economy should be documented and taken into account in development plans, a fact which would be of great importance for meeting the needs of women. That was not only a theoretical or conceptual exercise, or a matter requiring a necessary change in attitudes; it was in fact vital for very specific and practical plans which were part of agricultural and industrial development programmes such as credit, redistribution of land, extension services, etc.
29. In discussion related to export-oriented industries which employed a great number of women, (flowers, electronics, textiles), views were expressed recognizing the important contribution of those industries in alleviating female unemployment. However, criticisms were expressed of the type of employment opportunities provided by those industries for the following reasons: such industries often recruited only certain age groups of the female labour force, health hazards went unrecorded, and they provided very unstable employment, etc. Yet, it was also maintained that those criticisms could not be seen out of context because it was very important that each individual country formulate its own internal policy in accordance with its stage of development.
30. The similarity in the employment patterns of women in different parts of the world indicated that certain policies were applicable to women as a group, irrespective of cultural differences.
31. It was stressed that gender should not be decisive in the distribution of resources for and participation in policy formulation/decision-making.
32. Differences between sexes were brought about by the existing types of education and association of different occupational activities with women and men, thus influencing attitudes and behaviour which placed women as well as men in particular roles in society. Educational training should be geared towards critical consciousness to create some kind of awareness in women and men to define their own reality and try to define the possible awareness for the solution to their own problems.
33. Often because of economic crises facing countries, Governments were obliged to make budgetary adjustments. It was thus important to identify which sectors of the economy suffered most from the burden of adjustment. Women were often located in those economic sectors which were most hard-hit by these adjustments. Therefore, such identification would be the first step in eliminating the discrimination that women suffered in the labour force.
34. In the design of economic and social policies, efforts should be made to identify mechanisms necessary to disaggregate policies and identify

instruments beneficial to women.

35. In re-examining the institutional machinery for planning to ensure the incorporation of women in the development process, there was not only a need for co-ordinating the existing machineries, but also for strengthening intermediaries for action at the governmental and non-governmental levels. Monitoring was of importance in that process in order to ensure that women were taken into account.
36. Emphasis was also placed on institution-building, based upon local social-cultural norms. Women should be encouraged to participate in civic and community life, professional and business organizations and in political groups.
37. Institution-building was also required in the field of education, including formal and non-formal education, where the school's curriculum should be reviewed. Women's education in the non-traditional areas should be encouraged.
38. Higher levels of education played a major role in bringing women into the hierarchical apparatus of the Government and thus make it possible to increase women's participation in the decision-making process,
39. Co-operation among women's organizations, local, regional or international, would strengthen women. The establishment of new organizations should be encouraged where necessary.
40. Women's machinery should be integrated into the national development planning machinery, and should not be established in isolation. Those organizations should respect the cultural specificities of society.
41. Women's groups with special abilities in training and education should co-operate with other groups to organize seminars and workshops to encourage and enhance women's participation and provide legal services and counselling for women.
42. Training institutes, whether national, regional or international, had a major role to play by providing training opportunities and encouraging more women to increase their skills. The discussions highlighted the role that those institutes could play in encouraging the creation of formal ties at local, regional, national and international levels to provide support for equal opportunities for women.
43. The institutes should:
  - (a) Act as information and reference centres for useful services available for women;
  - (b) Support training and research projects prepared by women for the benefit of women;
  - (c) Sponsor international meetings for women to exchange experiences and evaluate what was most applicable for their situation;
  - (d) Support courses and activities to prepare leaders and train them in management, in administration, and in development programmes;
  - (e) Provide scholarships for the study of women's programmes and post-graduate programmes in non-traditional disciplines.
44. The use of the media was of vital importance in increasing the awareness of the important role women could play in development and encourage their development.

### III. ASSESSMENT OF CONVENTIONAL ONGOING APPROACHES

45. In discussing possible planning methods which would aid in effectively integrating women into the development process, the participants advocated changes in definitions and conceptions of development theory and planning. In that regard, shifts were noted in both economic and sociological theory, from a purely economic stance to a search for new models which would take into account each country's economic, social, political and cultural specificity. It was therefore assumed that the participation of women in national development plans necessitated a broader definition than the limited economic one.
46. Some views were expressed that the Western models of integration of women into development were not necessarily applicable to women in developing countries, in addition to the fact that also in Western countries women were rarely adequately integrated into the development process.
47. The planning process in most countries was seen as a top-down process in that normally high-level planners defined the goals and national objectives, and as a rule women were not included in the planning process. Consequently, women did not participate in defining the national goal.
48. The desired planning framework should entail a top-down, bottom-up approach, whereby the needs of the grass-root level were considered by the decision-makers of the national (institutional) planning hierarchy. That method would provide for ways and means of reaching compromises when setting up national objectives for social and economic development.
49. Within that context, reference was also made to centralized versus decentralized methods of planning.
50. The welfare approach, used so far in many cases in meeting women's needs, was viewed in two different ways. One view associated the welfare approach with charity. Some felt that, even if welfare programmes were intended for beneficial purposes, their outcome would result in the marginalization and isolation of women's issues. Moreover, there was a risk of duplication of work through the creation of parallel institutions alongside the already existing ones in society.
51. It was also thought that, given the economic crisis facing most countries, welfare activities in the social, educational, health and housing areas aimed at women, children and senior citizens, were not to be considered as pure welfare measures, but as means of rectifying the shortcomings and omissions of the economic planning system which limited itself to the formal sector of the economy. The combined efforts of welfare and efficiency measures could have positive results rather than purely negative ones.
52. However, it was generally felt that the welfare approach should not be abandoned, but rather be used as a supplementary method and could also be considered as a transitional strategy in some cases.
53. Different views were expressed with regard to special measures and/or programmes/projects as a means of integrating women into development planning. The first view doubted the merits of the special measures approach which might lead to the isolation and marginalization of women's issues. It might also create an obstacle for the full integration and active participation of women in the mainstream of development.
54. The other view emphasized the need for special measures programmes/

projects to compensate as a transitional measure for past historical discrimination which resulted in what was seen today as the unequal and inferior status of women in many socio-economic sectors, and to strengthen efforts aimed at improving the status of women.

55. The consensus view of the Seminar was that the issue of the integration of women in development was not a question of choosing between the holistic, integrated approach or the specific measures approach when attempting to operationalize integration but was more a question of using both approaches simultaneously, and in conjunction with each other.

56. In that connection, it was stated that women, given the fact that they made up half of the population, should not be perceived as a separate group, but as an integral productive and reproductive force in society. With respect to women's reproductive role, attention was drawn to the reluctance which frequently existed in the private sector as well as in semi-governmental and governmental sectors to engage women because of the fear of the increased overhead costs associated with and stemming from their reproductive role.

57. Aside from the efficiency of a programme/project in reaching its goal, the question of effectiveness was raised. It was stated that in any specific development programme and/or project it was important to reach the target group and therefore adequate monitoring was important.

58. Macro-level measures, such as legislation or industrial policies, could be more effective in the integration of women into the economy, owing to their massive and rapid effects. Yet, there was a danger in emphasizing the macro level only. The importance of specifying the instruments and mechanisms in the design of global economic and social policies should take into account the relationship between the micro and macro levels. It would therefore be important to identify mechanisms for bridging the gap between the two levels.

59. The discussion emphasized the macro-level as related to planning data and programme design on a large scale in the economic, social and political fields, and the micro-level as related not only to projects but also to the concept of participation at that level.

60. It was expressed that the impact of micro-level projects was limited and required long-term implementation to integrate women substantially into the development process. However, a positive aspect of micro-level measures was to provide the direct and remedial participation of a target group. It was, therefore, necessary to create linkages between macro-level and micro-level measures. Moreover, the linkages between non-governmental organizations at the national, regional and international levels should be maintained.

#### IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are the result of panel and plenary discussions of the following topics of the agenda: issues of policy design, methodological approaches to incorporating women into development programmes, research and data collection, training and dissemination of information.

Before considering these recommendations, the following conceptual framework should be taken into account:

(a) The "incorporation of women into development planning" is a comprehensive concept requiring basic changes in how development is viewed;

(b) Women's actual and potential contribution is primordial for any integrative development planning. The incorporation of women into development

planning will require some rethinking at the conceptual level;

(c) Women should be considered as equal partners with men and their equal participation both as economic agents and as beneficiaries in all sectors of the economy and at all levels of the development process should be secured.

1. Issues of policy design

1.1 Socio-economic aspects

1. National development planning should be viewed as a multidimensional process embodying participative economic, social, political and cultural factors.
2. Women are already incorporated into the development process both in their dual role as reproducers and producers (whether statistically visible or invisible) in the gross domestic product, and as beneficiaries as well as reproducers of the labour force in economy, and therefore, in view of this dual role, they affect the development process and are affected by it both positively and negatively.
3. Development planning should take into account the interrelationship between the reproductive and productive roles of women. As the reproductive function is only one of women's major social roles it should not be the basis for exclusion from other activities. Development planning should rather capitalize on women's multi-roles as assets that can enhance development.
4. Appropriate measures should be taken to bring about the necessary social, economic and cultural changes and to correct the existing structural imbalances which have multiplied and perpetrated women's disadvantages. In order to ensure the equal participation of women at all levels, action is required at the macro and micro, local and family levels.
5. Decision-makers and development planners should encourage the participation of women in decisions pertaining to the design, formulation, co-ordination and implementation of economic, social, family planning, population and human resources policies.
6. Necessary steps should be taken to ensure that rural and marginal urban women participate fully as beneficiaries and effective agents in the development process by allowing for their participation as policy workers, organizers and implementators of development programmes through training in leadership and decision-making.
7. Necessary steps should be taken to change attitudinal biases toward traditional roles through awareness programmes addressed to the entire population.

1.2 Institutional framework

8. The necessary institutional measures should be taken to ensure that development planners respond to the needs of all members of society.
9. Development planning should ensure the strengthening and/or creation of at least minimal institutional frameworks to guarantee the access and equal participation of women at all levels of society. Policy-makers and development planners should take special measures to expand participatory planning by women at the grass-roots and higher levels of decision-making and goal-setting.
10. Development plans should provide for greater participation and representation of individual women and socially and economically relevant associations and

institutions concerned in the issues relevant to women. Such organizations and institutions may also assist in monitoring mechanisms for the design, implementation and evaluation of development policies, plans and programmes,

11. Effective institutional links between women's organizations and national planning units should be established. This can be ensured for example, by centrally locating women's affairs units (Office of the Prime Minister, Office of the Minister of Planning) and by creating women's desks at various sectoral levels.
12. Existing plans of action and programmes, as they relate to women, should be taken into consideration in order to ensure co-ordination and compatibility with other similar plans and programmes concerning women adopted and carried out at the international, regional, national and local levels.
13. In national planning processes adequate linkages should be made and/or strengthened in order to ensure the integration of issues related to women into sectoral as well as regional plans and programmes, particularly those related to industrial development, energy, environment, science and technology and similar sectors.
14. Technical co-operation programmes, projects and budget allocations should contain explicit reference to their impact on women; coverage of women's needs; and inclusion of women in formulation and implementation.
15. Planning and programming processes in both public and private sectors should allow for representation of women and women-related issues.

### 1.3 Legal aspects

16. Recognizing the importance of appropriate legislative support which would secure the implementation of policies relevant to women in development, additional legislative measures might be required in order to ensure the protection of women's interests in the planning process.
17. Additional legislative measures should be considered when necessary to abolish all direct and indirect discriminatory consequences of planning to women.
18. Incentives and penalties should be provided in order to facilitate implementation of policies ensuring equal opportunities for women.
19. Policies must be designed to create effective measures where necessary and/or to enforce the implementation of existing laws required for the prevention of sexual violence and harassment.
20. Legal protection must be assured for those working for change through the advancement of women.

### 2. Methodological approaches

- 2.1 Adequate linkages between various levels of policy-making should be established in order to secure the interaction of international, national and subnational levels of decision-making.
21. At the macro level there is a need to:
  - (a) Collect and compare data on existing policies, national plans and legislation and to analyse the extent to which women's issues are incorporated.
  - (b) Collect and analyse existing literature and research findings on women's issues and to establish the linkage between this research and the planning

activity ensuring that such findings are taken into account in the planning process.

22. One of the critical and crucial factors for a political will is to make explicit the breakdown of social objectives and implications by group of economic agents, particularly by sex and age group to account equally, in the same disaggregate manner, for the socio-economic implications on the above groups of the implementation of development policies, plans and programmes.
23. The contributions of marginal urban and rural women to economic and social development should be acknowledged by including women's work in the informal sectors, as well as various forms of self-employment and services, into the measured and accounted for economic activity.
24. Socio-economic policies should be formulated with the explicit purpose of satisfying the material and non-material needs of women in their dual capacity. Necessary measures should be adopted to develop or improve the capacities of the social and physical infrastructure and the services to be provided within the social division of labour that would alleviate women's burden and provide them with the possibility of actively participating at all levels of decision-making in the society (such facilities might be fuel, electricity, water, adequate cooking facilities, nurseries, hospital care, child care, and care of the elderly).
25. At the micro level, the most disadvantaged rural and urban areas should be provided with the ways and means of increasing their access to infrastructure, basic services and appropriate technologies by providing them with the basic services (including services such as clean water supplies and effective sanitation) in order to alleviate the heavy workload necessitated by the demands of their families, including both children and the elderly.
26. Measures to incorporate women in the mainstream of development policies, plans and programmes must not preclude transitional, technical, material and financial resources for women, particularly local rural and urban women so that they have access to nutrition and health services, including maternal/ child care and family planning/education/training, employment and financial resources. Access to these resources will facilitate the ultimate goal of complete and equal incorporation of women into the mainstream of the development process.
27. Measures should be taken to ensure that existing inequalities in the representation of women among the planners - in all sectors of policy and programme formulation - be redressed, through various instruments such as quotas, goals and timetables and any structural modification required.
28. Systematic monitoring and evaluation of plans and programmes and projects at both the micro and macro levels should take place in a manner that would allow for the evaluation of the success in implementing the goals of achieving equal participation, opportunity and benefits to women along with the overall evaluation of the plan.
29. Wherever possible, the United Nations, international and other agencies/ bodies should implement their mandates to formulate and execute their policies and programmes in ways that fully incorporate women at each level of decision making, action and outcome, identifying obstacles and impediments of these procedures, and the means to overcome them.
30. All organizations of the United Nations system should systematically review their proposed programmes and projects with the aim of integrating

the issues of concern to women in all projects, with the dual objective of improving the effectiveness of the project and the status of women. Sufficient resources need to be allocated in order to meet these recommendations. For this purpose, more resources should be channelled into INSTRAW's Trust Fund.

31. All donors should be mobilized to supply the additional financial assistance required for carrying out the programmes and projects concerning women of the various United Nations agencies.

32. Decision-makers and planners should identify and proportionally allocate budgets at different levels to policies, programmes and projects of concern to women.

3. Research and data collection, training and dissemination of information

Data collection, research, training and dissemination of information have an important role in the realization of the incorporation of women into development planning.

3.1 Research and data collection

33. INSTRAW should continue to encourage co-operative efforts among the United Nations and other international and national level organizations to improve the collection and use of data needed for the incorporation of women in development planning.

34. Efforts should be made to monitor the appropriate use of existing data on women's roles in current international and national development projects (including, for example, the planning of technical co-operation, employment opportunities, etc.) which are meant to deal with the total population.

35. INSTRAW's capacity should be strengthened to assist relevant bodies to design and initiate research to illuminate the existing constraints to the implementation of plans to equalize women's and men's training and employment opportunities and to devise appropriate means to overcome them.

36. In support of the recommendations of the INSTRAW/United Nations Statistical Office Expert Meeting on Indicators and Statistics on the Integration of Women in Development (held in New York, April 1983), full encouragement should be given to statistical services for (a) the design, collection and utilization of appropriate indicators to accurately reflect the participation of women in social and economic life (formal and informal sectors), and (b) the disaggregation of appropriate data, as aids to the incorporation of women in development planning. Until new indicators and methodologies are in use, all available quantitative and qualitative data should be fully utilized.

37. INSTRAW, through its regional network, should encourage the study of national plans, including sectoral plans and programmes, to determine the extent to which women's needs have been taken into account.

38. In recognition of the inadequacy of present methods of development planning in incorporating women, results of recent research on women and development should be analysed from a theoretical and practical perspective with the aim of modifying and disaggregating existing planning models, or devising new models.

39. Additional efforts should be aimed at identifying gaps in current research in order to design planning policies linking macro and micro levels of economy.

40. Fully utilizing the support of its regional network, INSTRAW should encourage research and dissemination of its findings on effective examples of planning and programming to benefit women at the local and national levels.
41. In this respect, the importance of the catalytic role of INSTRAW as a clearing-house for information for women and development has been emphasized. The establishment of continuous interaction of the development planning bodies and institutions (within and outside the United Nations system) with INSTRAW is urged.

### 3.2 Training

42. Based on the successful experience of women and development planning in some regions, INSTRAW should make efforts, in co-operation with the regional commissions and other United Nations bodies as well as other regional organizations and development funds, to:
  - (a) Design training modules on women and development planning that can be utilized in planning courses and by institutions;
  - (b) Organize workshops for decision-makers and policy-makers, regardless of sex;
  - (c) Sponsor regional training programmes for planners from central and sectoral planning units on the integration of women in development planning;
  - (d) Sponsor the holding of joint workshops in co-operation with regional commissions so that planners, development workers and representatives of national machineries for men and women can jointly work out the best way to implement plans for the effective incorporation of women into development.
43. INSTRAW, with the support of its network, should offer advisory services to Member States on the incorporation of women into development planning.
44. Encouragement should be given to training of trainers in order to accelerate the process of incorporating women in the planning process and in project design and management.
45. Efforts should be made to secure fellowships for young women in various key disciplines relevant for planning for the future.
46. In its catalytic role, INSTRAW and its regional network should encourage national institutions to sponsor training, utilizing non-formal methods and the community setting, of women in non-traditional fields.
47. To strengthen women's organizational abilities and increase their level of expertise, training programmes, workshops and conferences should be utilized. Emphasis should be given to training women in organizational techniques and managerial skills.
48. Appropriate training should be devised in urban and rural areas to provide women with the possibility of gaining new skills and offering new job opportunities to them.
49. Universities and planning and research institutes should include curricula and training courses relevant to incorporating women into planning processes.
50. Development plans should consider the effective use of mass media as well an alternative means of communication in changing attitudes toward the traditional roles of men and women in the family and society at large.
51. In order to eliminate all obstacles created by the conventional division

of labour between women and men, mass media and other information means, including textbooks and educational material for children, should be used for communicating new images of women.

### 3.3 Information and dissemination

52. Effective communication and information systems should be established at various levels of the planning process in order to secure and strengthen the necessary linkages between the development planning process carried out at various levels.
53. Ways and means should be investigated to bring to the attention of planners the substantial body of research on women and development that has been undertaken world wide.
54. As a clearing-house for information on women and development, INSTRAW should make efforts to include knowledge on women in existing information systems.
55. INSTRAW should investigate ways and means of disseminating information on women and development, employing new communication technologies.
56. Efforts should be made to develop a guide to information sources concerning women and development.
57. INSTRAW should publish a volume of selected papers from this Seminar, with an annex listing books, individuals and institutions concerned with the subject; the annex should be reproduced in the publications of INSTRAW.
58. Efforts should be made to disseminate information on women and development planning to relevant professional publications.

Annex I

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PART II

Papers presented at the Seminar \*

\* The views expressed in the papers of the participants are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily coincide with those of INSTRAW.

Paper 1

THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING  
General Overview

Prepared by INSTRAW

Preface

The International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) aims to promote, through research, training and information activities, the integration of women into mainstream development processes. The Institute is paying particular attention to the incorporation of women's requirements into the development planning process. As the Institute's background document for the interregional Seminar on the Incorporation of Women into Development Planning (Santo Domingo, 5-11 December 1983), this paper is a general overview of women and development planning. The Institute wishes to acknowledge the efforts of Zineb Touini-Benjelloun, the consultant who worked in close collaboration with the Institute in the preparation of this overview.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the light of the development efforts and the results achieved so far in developing countries, in particular over the past 30 years, the emphasis which traditional economic theory places on high productivity rates as the primary levers for successful development has been criticized with regard to meeting the needs of the masses, i.e. problems of poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment, over-population, etc. In the first place, the predicted "trickle down" effect from the productive, monetized sector of the economy, with a general increase in incomes, education, health, etc., did not take place. Secondly, this theory has been criticized for failing to take into account the historical social, cultural, political and economic specificity of different countries as it is based almost entirely on the experience of the nations which started industrializing at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Consequently, and on the whole, the current trends in the ongoing development debate concentrate, inter-alia, on: (a) growth with equity; (b) importance of social problems that should not be neglected, as in the past; and (c) the population component of development which highlights the importance of both (i) human resources, and (ii) popular participation in the development process.

Recent United Nations decisions reflect the current development debate and focus on the importance of taking into consideration the needs of various groups of the population, men and women alike, in the development process through development planning mechanisms. Thus, the approach to development advocated in these decisions is more holistic and integrated.

The first explicit articulation in the United Nations legislations on the integration of women into development processes was made by the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1970.<sup>1/</sup> In this regard, it stated: "The full integration of women in the total development efforts should be encouraged".

<sup>1/</sup> General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV).

The above idea was further developed by the World Plan of Action and the set of resolutions adopted at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico in 1975. <sup>2/</sup>

The General Assembly subsequently adopted principles referring to the necessity of real and effective participation of men and women in all areas of national activity for accelerated development, thus necessitating the integration of women's potential and actual contribution in development planning and an improved world economic equilibrium. Consequently, the improvement of women's status was regarded as a basic element in the development process. Moreover, the role of women in the development process was seen as an integral part of the establishment of the New International Economic Order, since the goals of the United Nations Decade for Women "Equality, Development and Peace" depend upon the establishment of just international economic relations.

The Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women and the resolutions adopted in Copenhagen in 1980 <sup>3/</sup> represented a step towards establishing the linkage between women's role, the international strategy and the new international economic order. Among the main points emphasized were: a) the historical reasons causing the unequal share of women in development as being related to the division of labour between the sexes, the productive systems in world economics and women's work, mass poverty and backwardness as a result of underdevelopment; b) the close relationship between the inequality that the majority of women experience and the problem of underdevelopment resulting from unjust international economic relations; c) the need to improve women's status and their role in development as part of the new international economic order, and d) that any measures for women isolated from the major priorities, strategies and sectors of development cannot result in any substantial progress towards the goals of the decade.

The International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade that was adopted in December 1980, after the Copenhagen Conference, states in its preamble that the development process must promote human dignity. The ultimate aim of development is the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population on the basis of its full participation in the process of development and a fair distribution of the benefits therefrom. In this perspective, economic growth, productive employment and social equity are fundamental and indivisible elements of development. <sup>4/</sup>

The above strategy also indicates the methods by which most of the issues included in the current development debate ought to be addressed. Thus the strategy seeks to reflect the need for the adoption of adequate and appropriate policies, to be defined by each country within the framework of its development plans and priorities for movement towards the realization of its ultimate goal of development. Moreover, it refers to women's role and contributions to society in many parts of the text of the strategy in very specific terms. In this regard, the importance of the integration of women in industrialization, rural development, science and technology and the need to implement the measures to improve the status of women adopted both in Mexico and Copenhagen are mentioned. <sup>5/</sup>

<sup>2/</sup> Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June-2 July 1975 (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.76.IV.1), Chap. II, Sect. A.

<sup>3/</sup> Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14-30 July 1980 (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum), Chap. I, Sect. A.

<sup>4/</sup> Resolution 35/56, annex.

<sup>5/</sup> Ibid.

The last step thus far in the evolution of the legislative mandate that links women's issues and the development process is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, emphasizing the link between the establishment of the New International Economic Order 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. <sup>6/</sup>

## II. WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

As can be assessed from the United Nations legislative mandate concerning women's role in development, the full utilization of women's actual and potential contributions is primordial for the success of any integrated development strategy. Consequently, women's contribution can only be fully utilized if given proper consideration in the development planning process, not only in terms of the benefits to be earmarked to redress women's situation, but, more importantly, as regards their participation in this process based on the assumption that successful development is guided by the principles of the development of human resources and popular participation.

### A. Different impact of development on women

As a starting point for the effective integration of women into development processes both as participants and beneficiaries, a planning system may wish to address the differential impact that development has had on women relative to men. This analysis is useful in highlighting the idea that efforts to promote women are part and parcel of efforts to further the total development process and, consequently, that these efforts must coincide with national development policies on all levels, i.e., ideological, institutional, social, economic, etc., if they are to be effective.

The differential impact that development has had on women relative to men arises from the fact that industrialization generally being the method by which rapid development was initially sought in developing countries led most of the national resources to be concentrated in the public and monetized sphere of society which traditionally was a male domain as opposed to the private sphere - the domestic sphere - which was the female domain. In the traditional order women derived much economic and social power from their predominance in the domestic sphere, as many activities which are primordial for the survival of the family, such as agricultural production, processing of foods and handicraft production, took place within the extended family unit. With the mechanization of agriculture and food processing as well as the introduction of mass production, thus leading to cheap manufactures, women's productive activities were rendered uneconomic. Yet, economic reliance on a husband or another male relative has not been a survival option for the majority of women world-wide.

Industrialization has triggered an upward migration of landless peasants due, in part, to the decline of the agricultural sector, and in part, to its mechanization, leaving a great number of peasants without a viable means of survival. The rural woman has been harmed by this trend because, when the male member of the family migrates she is left to assume a double or triple role, taking care of the household, children and farm. She thus finds herself as the head of the household without the economic means of supporting it, or the skills

<sup>6/</sup> Resolution 34/180 adopted by the Assembly on 18 December 1979.

that would make her agricultural endeavours more productive. If the woman migrates to the city, she, on the one hand, finds herself lacking in the skills necessary for urban work, and, on the other hand, since urbanization has surpassed industrialization in most developing countries, resulting in a high rate of unemployment, finds herself unable to derive economic security from her husband.

The aforementioned material growth approach to development thus not only resulted in two serious problems for women, namely, the assumption of double or triple roles and the lack of appropriate skill for productive employment, but also failed to indicate appropriate strategies for the addressing of women's needs and requirements. As this approach underestimates the impact of the social aspects of development on the economic ones, assuming that economic growth can proceed ahead of social growth, its strategy for meeting of women's needs, namely, welfare programmes, was ineffective.

With the persistence of poverty, illiteracy, overpopulation and malnutrition in most developing countries even in the face of some significant increase in GPN in many cases in the late 1960s, a redefinition of development began, as portrayed in United Nations legislation, whereby the importance of social, political and cultural problems along with the economic ones was raised as being pertinent for the formulation of any viable development strategy. In this regard, the intimate link between the development process and women's position therein was first realized, leading to the call for the integration of women into development. In this context, women-specific development programmes and/or projects have emerged as strategies to overcome the neglect that women have suffered in the development process and meet their needs. The institutional manifestation of this approach is the growth and more active role of women's groups, and/or the emergence of "women's bureaus" in various ministries at the national level and women's departments or offices in international organizations. Included in the activities advocated and organized by these female interest groups are income-generating activities for low-income women along with training activities in areas such as efficient production techniques, management, administration, finance and services programmes in the areas of hygiene, family planning and literacy.

Many of the above women-specific projects and/or programmes seek to address the very immediate and vital issue of survival as experienced by most women in developing countries. Yet, this type of approach to resolving women and development problems may be useful and serve a particular purpose in the immediate future, but it might not be that effective in the long run for a variety of reasons. In the first place, this type of approach does not conform with the call for integrated planning as being the proper strategy for addressing the numerous multisectorial problems that most developing countries confront. In many instances, these projects and/or programmes are isolated from the main institutional framework which guides the development process in a country. What often follows from this type of isolation is a disassociation of the content of the activities undertaken by these groups from national priorities and goals. Consequently, these activities often are in danger of collapse when support is withdrawn by the sponsoring agency.

The above activities are certainly viable if viewed and formulated simply as survival programmes and/or intermediate strategies for the ultimate goal of the complete integration of women in mainstream development processes. This approach may be necessary due to the lag that women in many parts of the world have in terms of education and access to resources arising from their historic

exclusion from national development priorities. Yet, the short-term characteristics of these activities must be borne in mind, particularly in view of - this being the second major long-run weakness of these activities - the nature of stabilization policies espoused in many developing countries in the current recessionary period. The main ingredients of these policies are monetary and fiscal restraints, wage restraints, liberalization of the price of imports and exchange controls, devaluation, promotion of the private sector and opening up of the economy to world markets. Consequently, these policies have been regressive on growth as well as on employment. The creation of new employment opportunities has also slowed down. The gap in income distribution and absolute poverty has increased as subsidies on basic consumer goods and social spendings were reduced. <sup>7/</sup> Although women are not a homogenous group, a great number of them are among the poorest of the poor and are therefore hard-hit by these policies since their needs are most often addressed under the social programmes which are the most negatively affected by stabilization policies.

Another problem with women-specific programmes and/or projects combined with the effects of stabilization policies indicates precisely why a reliance on a survival strategy in addressing women's problems runs counter to the essence of development as being not merely an economic process, but a social, political and cultural one as well. As the female labour force in developing countries is concentrated primarily in the tertiary sector, the informal sector and the export-oriented industries, these being the areas of economic activity which expand under stabilization programmes, <sup>8/</sup> it is often felt that the issue of the integration of women into mainstream development is being effectively addressed. Yet, an examination of the nature of the employment activities provided by these sectors highlights their discrepancy with the presently accepted definition of development, and the existence of most of their activities outside an integrated planning strategy.

Informal sector employment is a source of income mainly for poor unskilled women. This type of employment is characterized by a lack of government regulation, irregularity and the absence of contractual obligations. One type of informal sector work is domestic employment comprised largely of single migrant women. Married, divorced or widowed women with children are engaged in domestic outwork, i.e., finishing and assembling clothing and footwear in their homes. The wages that these women receive are lower than those received by full-time factory workers based on the assumption that, as housewives, these women are dependent on their husband's incomes. Yet, evidence shows that there is a large proportion of female-headed households employed in the informal sector. Thus the earnings generated by women in this sector are basic for the survival of these households. Moreover, even if married, the husbands tend to be from low-income brackets or unemployed, and thus unable to support their families single-handed. <sup>9/</sup>

The export promotion policy of the stabilization programmes stimulates industries which are disassociated from domestic market expansion. It further aggravates the depression of domestic markets through devaluation and export subsidies. <sup>10/</sup> Since the majority of the labour force is located in domestic production, the

<sup>7/</sup> United Nations "Resource Paper on Women in Developing Countries and Monetary and Fiscal Matters in the Context of the International Development Strategy", (Vienna, December 1981) p.13.

<sup>8/</sup> Ibid. p.15.

<sup>9/</sup> Heyzer, Noeleen. Women Subsistence and the Informal Sector: Towards a Framework of Analysis. IDS, Sussex, August 1981.

<sup>10/</sup> United Nations, Vienna, p.23.

rate of national unemployment increases. Thus, for women, only a minority's employment opportunities are enhanced by the export industries. The majority of third-world women continue to remain excluded from the productive sectors of the economy. Furthermore, the characteristics which render a female labour force attractive for export-oriented industries do not contribute to their full inclusion in development as they are employed mainly at the lower echelons of the production process (assembly lines), prohibited from unionizing, confront health hazards in the workplace, and receive lower wages than men doing the same jobs. Lastly, as recession in the developed countries has led them to institute a number of protectionist measures, i.e., tariffs drawn against the exports of developing countries, as well as attempts to revolutionize production in developed countries so as to eliminate the advantage that cheap labour gives to off-shore production of labour-intensive goods, <sup>11/</sup> export-led industrialization is not likely to resolve the latter's balance-of-payment problems. Thus, even the benefits that women can derive from employment in export industries, albeit under inferior working conditions, is endangered by the vulnerability of these industries to world market conditions at this point in time.

B. Towards effective utilization of women's potential and meeting women's needs in development

Officially, women constitute only one-third of the world's labour force; yet, as 50 per cent of the world's population, they perform two-thirds of its work-hours, which includes both the modern type of employment in commerce and services, as well as the unrecorded domestic tasks, unpaid labour on the farm or other family enterprise, and labour done within patron/client relationship. Partly due to this omission of women's work in official statistics and calculation of GNP, women's income tends to be very low - in fact, women receive only 10 per cent of the world's income and own less than 1 per cent of the world's property. <sup>12/</sup>

In the first instance, the above figures not only indicate some of the main sources for the detrimental effects that the actual development strategy has had on women, but also how this strategy has failed to fully utilize women's potential, or provide women with significant benefits. As pointed out earlier, some of these primary sources originate from the objectives of the material outlook of most development strategies espoused over the 30 years. Yet, even though the measurement and analytical methodology employed in the formulation of development plans does not adequately address women's requirements, since the existing data tend to underestimate women's contribution to development, some general world-wide trends and regional variations regarding female labour participation can still be extracted from these data. They show both a substantial female contribution, and the fact that much of women's work is unrecognized and/or under-valued.

The above data tend to indicate a general increase in female labour force participation since the 1960s. There also appears to be a general substantial contribution of women to the economies of their countries, although regional variations do exist as far as the proportion comparing their representation in the labour force with their contribution to GDP. In this regard, data from Asia and the Middle East show a general pattern of women's contribution to GDP

<sup>11/</sup> Elson, Diane and Pearson, Ruth. The Latest Phase of the Internationalization of Capital and Its Implications for Women in the Third World. IDS. Sussex, June 1980.

<sup>12/</sup> UNDP "Women and the New International Economic Order: Impact of Recommendations on Commodities, Industrialization and Technology" Dip for 1980. No.12, p.3.

being proportional to their representation in labour force; data from Latin America show that women's contribution to GDP is greater than their proportional representation in the total labour force; and data from Africa show that women's contribution to GDP is less than their proportional representation in the total labour force. <sup>13/</sup>

Although the above data point to women's increased participation in all sectors of the economy, there is still a general world-wide pattern of a sectoral concentration of the female labour force relative to that of the total labour force. <sup>14/</sup> Yet, there are regional variations regarding the rate of women's participation in agricultural and non-agricultural activities. Women's crude agricultural activities are highest in Africa and Asia and lowest in the Middle East and Africa. <sup>15/</sup>

A significant rise in the number of female-headed households world-wide, as well as an increasing inability of males to financially support their families singlehanded, and therefore the increasing importance of women's contribution to household income is also highlighted by the existing data. <sup>16/</sup>

In this regard, a strong correlation exists between female-headed households and structural poverty which, in many areas, is portrayed by male seasonal and marginal employment. However, other social factors contribute to this phenomenon.

### III. CONCLUSION

The central issue of the women and development planning debate can be related by saying, in the first instance, that women constitute 50 per cent of the human population, they are not an isolated group in society - the well-being of men and children is closely linked and dependent upon their well-being - and the development process has applied a differential to them relative to men. Secondly, as development planning is presently the most widely-used method to allocate scarce resources among the various groups and sectors of society for the promotion of the development process, it is necessary to fully incorporate women's issues into the national development planning process if women are to effectively contribute and benefit from development.

To lay the foundation for the integration of women into development processes, a number of attitudinal changes are desirable. The first one relates to an awareness on the part of women of the necessity of changing their traditional mode of acquiring power and resources; that is, from competition to co-operation in order to organize women's potential from individual to collective action. The second type of requirement on the level of attitudinal change relates to the awareness of the heterogeneity of the female population both within nations and among nations. Subsistence sector, middle-class and upper-class women face different problems; and the needs, priorities and problems of women in developing countries are different and distinct. Thirdly, it is essential to sensitize public opinion, the mass media being the most effective method to do so, concerning the

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<sup>13/</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>14/</sup> International Centre for Research on Women. Keeping Women Out: A Structural Analysis of Women's Employment in Developing Countries. Washington, D.C., April 1980, p. 12.

<sup>15/</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>16/</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

importance of the role of women in development. Lastly, it may be necessary to establish a full awareness of the relationship between women's requirements and the present world socio-economic situation on the national policy and planning levels, leading to the realization that society runs an economic and social cost by not recognizing women's needs and contributions. In other words, if women's needs are met and their contributions effectively utilized, women as well as men and children will benefit.

Finally, and in order to facilitate the incorporation of women's issues into the development planning process, it may be necessary to undertake action on several fronts. In this regard, the receptivity of the national institutional structure to women's issues is important. Furthermore, more research, information and data on women's role in development are necessary as a tool for both planning and consciousness-raising, as well as an assessment of training needs. As regards these training activities, one type could be geared toward planners, and thus relate to the desirability and methodology for the integration of women in development; and another set toward the appropriate groups of women in order to synchronize their skills with national goals and priorities.

## ANNEX I

Summaries of recent United Nations programme and project guidelines for the integration of women in development.

The following are summaries of the recent efforts undertaken within the United Nations system to integrate women into the development process through specific programme and project guidelines.

### 1. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)

Broadly speaking, the basis of the ECLAC guidelines entitled, Women and Development: Guidelines for Programme and Project Planning\* was inter-alia

(a) that development is not "simply a goal, but a process in varying ideological, socio-economic, political and cultural settings"; (b) that equity as well as material growth are important considerations in any development strategy; (c) that the policy of national self-reliance is essential to successful development; (d) and that development planning is primordial for making the best use of scarce resources.

Conceived as guidelines for the planning of programmes and projects for and by women, they present a strategy that proposes to ensure, on the one hand, that women's needs are met, and, on the other hand, that women's contributions to society are increased by linking them to the development process of the community, national, regional and international levels. Recognition is made of the unviability of measures which address the specificity of women's situation and the need for "special programmes by and for them" is strongly emphasized. Furthermore, "equality" and "integration" approaches to existing structures is claimed to be insufficient; for, to have their needs met more effectively, women must transform these structures.

Following the above ideas, the guidelines are divided into programme and project phases providing for the formulation and implementation of development activities for both urban and rural women as well as a constant flow of communication between the programme and project aspects, and between the professionals and target groups in the design and implementation of these programmes/projects.

### 2. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

The UNDP guidelines entitled Programme Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Development\*\* represents a first attempt by the organization to give more specific advice on the issue of the integration of women into development than previous instructions related to the examination of projects and programmes sponsored by the organization from the viewpoint of the integration of women's issues therein.

The formulation of the guidelines was based on the belief that the integration of women into development is generally a question of expanding and adjusting existing development programmes to include women, and, more specifically, a question of incorporating "into the development effort a large number of activities and services that are of special concern to women and that have until now been given short drift".

\* Women and Development: Guidelines for Programme and Project Planning, prepared at the Caribbean Regional Training Workshop in Programme/Project Skills, (Barbados, 14-26 June 1981).

\*\* Programme Guidelines for the Integration of Women in Development by the United Nations Development Programme, Programme Policy and Evaluation Division, New York, 25 February 1977.

These programme outlines draw heavily from United Nations experiences. They are divided into 3 parts: the first part is a general discussion of women's role in development and its implications for technical co-operation; the second part gives a more detailed outline on initiatives and planning; and the last part, through an annotated list of references originating mostly from the United Nations system, gives specific advice on how to integrate women into development.

The guidelines are meant to instigate continuous consultations among all parties concerned with the integration of women in development. Therefore, they are envisaged to be simply indicative of the general problem and modalities for its resolution. Consequently, they are quite general and are meant to be modified through future input from other organizations and additional experience in efforts to increase women's participation in development.

The neglect that women have suffered in development is perceived to derive mainly from the non-recognition of women's role as bread-winners, and being perceived solely as mothers and homemakers. Thus, when past and current projects have addressed women's needs, they have provided such things as certain health services or offered classes in cooking, food preservation and sewing, thus being unrealistic in their assessment of women's role in development. Consequently, the necessity for basic services provided through self-help is advocated. As females are the traditional providers of such services and women with children being amongst the "poorest of the poor", these systems of self-help may be viewed as a modernization of women's general functions as nurturers and educators. Thus, as the means and ends of development, public services should involve women at all levels and stages of work, providing women with income-generating opportunities and management and administrative experience.

In addition, by lightening women's burden, successful public service systems will enable women to pursue training and civic activities. The latter activities are quite important in that women must participate in conceptualizing development programmes and projects if they are to be effectively integrated into the development process.

In terms of initiative and planning, the importance of women playing a prominent role in the planning and design of development activities is stressed. As the number of women involved in public affairs is quite limited, special efforts are deemed necessary to correct this situation. Thus the guidelines suggest that National Women's Commissions, Councils or Committees or Women's Bureaus be established in a central government office and be used as a starting point providing information on women's special interests and priorities. Other sources of such information are non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which are generally used as women's and men's self-help organs. The United Nations development system can help plan for women's increased participation in development through its staff serving in a country. Furthermore, a baseline inventory portraying women's role and position in society should be made as an initial planning tool. Lastly, if no qualified female planners exist, fellowships can be offered to female students. In terms of local training, the possibilities and modalities for technical co-operation ought to be examined in view of women's lack of information on these matters. Assisting women in this manner is considered to be a possible aspect of UNDP's efforts to increase its collaboration with NGOs.

### 3. World Bank

The World Bank paper prepared for a workshop for Women in Development, sponsored by the organization\* presents an analytical framework which would assist in the incorporation of women's issues into development planning.

The analytical framework was formulated on the basis of the idea that development planning has failed to recognize women's contribution to the development process, or the impact of development on women. As a result, the development process itself has suffered.

A new approach is needed in order to address development issues effectively. This new approach must be based on economic growth, project soundness and social justice. In economic terms, women's productive roles have not been recognized, and, therefore, left untapped. In terms of project soundness, if the design of certain projects does not take account of the role of women, it may not be possible to implement them.

Women constitute 50 per cent of the human population, which have suffered from unequal and inferior treatment and their situation must be remedied.

When addressing development issues, the World Bank works primarily through projects. Therefore, the above finds it essential that project analysis take account of the women's dimension. Moreover, it is also recommended, for the purpose of generating basic information on policies, resources and constraints as the elements which are at the foundation of better project design, to integrate women's issues in economic and sector work.

The proposed framework has three basic parts and a concluding section. The first part, which contains an activity analysis, suggests a delineation of the social and economic activities performed by the females and males in the project area. The second part deals with access to and control of resources and benefits. In the third part, a project cycle analysis, the data collected in the first two sections are examined in terms of the feasibility of the project and its impact; that is, if women will be able to contribute to and benefit from the project. The concluding section highlights some questions pertinent to economic and sector work specifying the need to focus on women's issues as part of the task of improving country knowledge, and therefore providing a better information for project design.

### 4. United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)

The formulation of the Interim Guidelines for UNFPA Policies and Programmes in the Field of Women, Population and Development\*\* was motivated by UNFPA's experience in funding development programmes, whereby it proved necessary to take special measures to examine and improve the existing conditions of women within the family and community if women were to benefit from and participate in development programmes.

The Fund's advocacy of a wider definition of concepts related to population activities stems from its perception of women's status as being both a determinant and a consequence of socio-economic variables and demographic factors, thereby being related to both the development process and demographic change. Consequently, the full integration of women into the population and

\* Workshop for Women in Development, a Framework for Analysis. Working paper. World Bank, Washington, D.C. 10-20 January 1983.

\*\* Interim Guidelines for UNFPA Policies and Programmes in the field of Women, Population and Development by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, Women and Youth Section, 3 June 1980.

development process can only proceed if women are given greater access to educational, socio-economic, political, and employment opportunities. This increased opportunity will directly affect the well-being of women, their families, the community, and indirectly influence demographic factors such as fertility, mortality and migration. The latter relation is based on a strong correlation between the status of women and family size; that is, as long as women - as half of human population - continue to accede to educational, socio-economic, political and employment opportunities with great difficulty, the national development process will be delayed and high birth and mortality rates will continue.

With the above consideration in mind, UNFPA seeks to assist developing countries in activities aimed at affecting demographic trends both in a direct and in an indirect manner. Thus the Fund's support for national family planning programmes with demographic targets is in two areas: (1) population projects and (2) women, population and development projects.

In its population projects, UNFPA seeks to integrate the specific needs of women in population projects along with the possibilities for their active participation in all stages of project planning, preparation and implementation. In this regard, it undertakes activities in data collection and analysis, information, education and communication, and fertility regulation and family planning.

In its women, population and development projects, the Fund pursues activities which directly affect factors of socio-economic nature and which indirectly influence demographic factors. In broad terms, projects in this area fall into three categories: (1) status of women, maternal and child health and family planning, with specific focus on needs of women; (2) demographic data collection and research focusing specifically on women; and (3) integrated action projects "to improve the total well-being of women and their families through various channels and strategies, in order to affect fertility behaviour and mortality pattern directly."

ANNEX II

Summaries of recommendations of recent meetings on women and development planning.

1. Africa

(i) Madagascar

The recommendations of the Madagascar Workshop on Project Planning for Francophone Countries\* are based on the belief that women's problems are closely linked to those of development, as well as to Economic and Social Council resolution 2059 (LXII) of 12 May 1977 pertaining to the provision of training for women in the preparation and implementation of projects.

In the area of research, the workshop recommended that an extensive national study be undertaken which would determine the real contribution of women in political, economic, social and cultural development. Secondly, the establishment of a national research and training institute for the advancement of women was also recommended. Thirdly, it was recommended that Member States take adequate measures to encourage women to establish small-scale industries, include in their basic training programmes concepts pertaining to co-operatives and nutrition, and establish national machineries for women in each State.

As regards ECOSOC resolution 2059 (LXII), it was recommended that, as project planning seminars had not been organized in francophone countries, such a seminar should take place in Angola. Another recommendation was that an additional seminar should be organized on the national level in which concepts of project planning are further elaborated. Thirdly, training seminars should be organized on management and female co-operatives in production and marketing, household economy and appropriate technology (concerning female domestic and agricultural work).

(ii) Zimbabwe

Based on the idea of the interdisciplinary character of the development process, as well as the idea that women are not isolated from this process, but are affected by and influence it, the National Workshop on Project Planning and Implementation\*\* convened in Zimbabwe recommended that participants in such workshops should represent "all relevant governmental and non-governmental organizations which would reflect both urban and rural needs". Also based on the idea that women are not an isolated group in society, the workshop recommended that efforts should be made "to include men in training programmes organized by the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs".

The importance of follow-up activities in the form of workshops in project planning was stressed by the recommendations of this Workshop so as to see if recommendations of project planning workshops are being implemented and to remedy any problems encountered.

\* Madagascar Workshop on Project Planning for Francophone Countries, Madagascar, 1982.

\*\* The National Workshop on Women and Project Planning and Implementation, Harare, Zimbabwe, 5-16 July 1982.

(iii) Tanzania

The programme sponsored by the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI) in Tanzania\* sought to train 14 senior officials from 6 countries in the subregion in the issues related to the integration of women in development, as well as provide them with the necessary project planning skills for the effective formulation and implementation of policies and programmes which would provide for such an integration. The participants included senior government officials, leaders of women's organizations, planners and development officers.

For the above purpose, the course was designed to strengthen the theoretical and practical skills of the participants in programme management policy analysis, project planning, project implementation, and project evaluation along with the understanding of the development process so as to expedite the integration of women's issues in national and regional planning at the highest policy levels. This linkage of management, development and women's issues was formulated in order to enhance women's contributions to and benefits from the development process.

As men are generally the policy-makers, the course participants and organizers recommended that more men should be involved in the training in order to be exposed to and sensitized to the issues that the programme presents. Consequently, it may be desirable to change the course title and to eliminate the word "women" with predominance being given to the management dimension of the course.

It was felt that more training materials, including case studies, should be developed.

Feedback on the follow-up activities of the participants was also stressed since the extent to which the participants are able to utilize the concepts and skills learned in the programme constitutes the success of the project.

2. Latin America

The Training Workshop for Representatives of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations\*\* convened in Panama City was an ECLAC workshop which discussed documents presented by the secretariat and analysed the situation of women in Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico and Nicaragua, and the required methodology for training planning assistants responsible for projects and programmes for women.

The recommendations emerging from this workshop were inter alia: (a) that since national and regional mechanisms and centres which dispense information on women are understaffed and under budgeted, the current efforts and resources allotted to strengthening them should be doubled; (b) that the objectives of development can be advanced through the strengthening of women's organizations; (c) that international agencies allocate more resources to governmental and non-governmental organizations in close consultation with the specific national entity, and ensure that

\* Training for Development Planning and Women: An African Perspective. Eastern and Southern Management Institute, Arusha, Tanzania, 5 April - 14 May 1982.

\*\* Training Workshop for Representatives of Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations (Panama City, January 1982).

this support fits in with national policies; and (d) that planning should be a tool that effectively benefits the overall development of a country, ensuring that the needs of all sectors of the population, including women, are taken into account, and that the planning process is not superseded by political interests.

### 3. Western Asia

Twelve studies were discussed at the Workshop on National Planning and the Integration of Women in Development, which was held in Syria\*. This workshop addressed the issue of the integration of women into development in the ECWA region by determining its dimensions, presenting proposals and making recommendations to remedy shortcomings and to increase the participation of women and their integration in the development process.

The above studies were grouped under four categories. The first category viewed the issue of the integration of women in development from its national perspective and its overall dimensions. The second category examined the sectoral aspect of the question in order to determine the requirements of sectoral planning which would influence the afore-mentioned integration. The availability of data and figures is crucial for the determination of these requirements. The third category examined the methods through which the integration of women in development can be advanced, such as including domestic work and family care in calculations of gross national product, raising awareness of the issue and rationalizing imbalanced consumption. The last category, consisting of applied studies, surveyed the existing efforts at increasing the effective participation of women in development.

One study in the first category examined the modalities of national planning from the perspective of investment expenditure and the allocation of development returns in the ECWA region. The following recommendations emerged from the participant's discussion of this topic:

- (a) In-depth studies must be undertaken on modalities and the distributional relationship between commodities and services at the individual level (i.e., men and women, social segments and rural and urban areas).
- (b) The principles of self-reliance and popular participation must guide the development of the ECWA region.
- (c) Women must become economically independent in order to change their status.
- (d) Arab development plans must be re-oriented towards programmes which advance material production and labour-intensive production, rather than relying on programmes of investment expenditure.
- (e) To achieve balanced Arab development, an integrated Arab economy must be sought.
- (f) The Arab development model must be based on the social and political characteristics of the area and must weigh all economic sectors equally.

\* Workshop on National Planning and the Integration of Women in Development, Damascus, 10-23 December 1979.

- (g) The advancement of women and their integration in development is part of an integrated development model.

In the second category of studies, the significance of the statistical aspects of planning for the participation of women in economic development was discussed. Here the participants focused on the following issues:

- (a) The importance for production of an "accomplished, dedicated labour force".
- (b) Economically speaking, there should be no discrimination between men and women if they are both able and willing to work.
- (c) Consumption policy should be linked with income levels and with the policy of allocating production outputs.

An example of the type of topic discussed in the third category of studies was that of assessing the value of domestic work and family care as part of GNP. Among the new ideas emerging from the discussions of this topic was that, in the first instance, women's work was a productive activity which should be evaluated and that it incremented income. Secondly, that increased female participation in work outside of the home would increase the value of the actual income. Lastly, the implementation of new policies which are commensurate with the changes which will result from women's entry into the national labour force (i.e., a demand for an increasing variety of consumer goods) is primordial for the determination of development orientations.

### ANNEX III

List of international, regional and national institutions with activities in the area of women and development planning.

Based on the information provided by the participants in the Seminar, the following is a list of some institutions at the international regional and national levels which carry out activities pertaining to the issue of women and development planning.

#### I. International level

- A. Department of Technical Co-operation for Development (DTCD)  
DC-1, United Nations - New York, N.Y. 10017
- B. International Centre for Public Enterprises (ICPE)  
P.O.Box 92 - 61109 Ljubljana, Yugoslavia
- C. International Labour Organization (ILO)  
(1) Office for Women's Worker's Questions.  
4 Route des Morillons, CH-1211 - Geneva 22, Switzerland
- D. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)  
866 United Nations Plaza, 6th floor - United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017
- E. United Nations Fund for Population Activities  
(1) Women and Youth Section  
220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017-5880
- F. United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)  
P.O.Box 300, Vienna International Centre - A-1400 - Vienna, Austria

#### II. Regional level

- A. African Institute for Economic Development and Planning  
Dakar, Senegal
- B. Asian and Pacific Development Centre  
Pesiaran Duta, P.O.Box 2224 - Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
- C. Eastern and Southern Management Institute (ESAMI)  
P.O.Box 3030, Arusha, Tanzania
- D. Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning  
United Nations - ECLAC - UNDP Latin American and Caribbean Governments  
Casilla 1567 - Santiago, Chile
- E. Pan African Institute for Development  
B.P. 4078 Douala, Cameroon
- F. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa  
(I) African Training and Research Centre for Women  
P.O.Box 3001 - Addis Ababa, Ethiopia  
(II) African Regional Co-ordinating Committee on Women and Development  
(III) Institut pour le Developpement et la Planification  
Dakar, Senegal  
(IV) Subregional Committees on the Integration of Women in Development  
for each African Sub-region.

### III. National level

#### A. India

- (I) Institute for Social Studies Trust  
"Taranga", R.M. Vilas Extension - 10th Cross, Bangalore 560080, India

#### B. Jordan

- (I) Ministry of Social Development - Department of Women
- (II) General Federation of Jordanian Women

#### C. Kenya

- (I) Ministry of Culture and Social Services - Women's Bureau
- (II) Green Belt Movement

#### D. Peru

- (I) Association for Co-operation with Peasant Women (ACOMUC)  
Jr. Washington 1984 piso 15 - Lima, Peru
- (II) Asociación para el Desarrollo e Integración de la Mujer (ADIM)  
Ave. Principal 443, Corpac - San Isidro - Lima, Peru
- (III) Asociación Perú-Mujer  
Ave. Alfonso Ugarte 1428 - Ofic. 904 - Lima, Perú
- (IV) Centre for Community Promotion (CEPROC)
- (V) Centre for Research, Education and Documentation (CIED)  
Proyecto Mujer Nuevo Despertar - Jr. Angaraes 810. Lima, Perú
- (VI) Centre for Research and Popular Promotion (CENDIPP)  
José G. Parades 161 - Lima, Perú
- (VII) Federation of New Town and Popular Housing Tracts (FEDEPJUP) of Lima  
Secretariat for Women's Affairs
- (VIII) National Commission on Minors and the Family - Direction of Family  
Welfare (technical secretariat)
- (IX) National Planning Institute and Popular Co-operation
- (X) Office of Women, General Direction of Justice, Ministry of Justice

#### E. Trinidad and Tobago

- (I) National Commission on the Status of Women  
Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Co-operation  
Riverside Plaza, Port of Spain, Trinidad
- (II) United Nations Commission on the Status of Women - Local Chapter

#### F. Yugoslavia

- (I) Yugoslav Labour Union
- (II) Conference for the Social Activity of Women, Belgrade.

ANNEX IV

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Paper 2

TOWARD A WORLD OF EQUITY AND JUSTICE:

Development planning

and the politics of

dialogue and participation

by

Ricardo Acosta Suarez

"En perseguirme mundo qué intereses?  
En qué te ofendo, cuando solo intento poner bellezas en mi  
entendimiento y no mi entendimiento en las bellezas?  
Teniendo por medio en mis verdades,  
consumir vanidades en la vida que  
consumir la vida en vanidades."

"World, in persecuting me what do you pursue  
How do I offend you  
when I only strive to add beauty  
to my understanding,  
not my understanding to beauty...  
In my conviction beholding it far superior  
to dispel the vanity in life  
than to dispel life in vanities ?

Sor Juana, late 1600s

## I. INTRODUCTION

This paper represents an attempt to understand some important issues on women and development planning. Although some of the issues on women discussed here are not altogether new, they are reviewed considering certain elements that are not treated explicitly in the current literature on women and development planning.

The paper is divided into two main sections. Chapter II of this paper deals with the question of the role of women in society, and the role of women in development. It discusses the problem of inequalities, or asymmetries, as I prefer to call them, between men and women.

The paper argues that the existing asymmetries between men and women are primarily due to the valuation of work which leads to a distinction between intellectual and manual work, private and public spheres, and productive and reproductive activities. The valuation of work and derived dichotomies not only contribute to various inequalities between males and females but to the prevention of liberation and self-actualization of women in both society and life.

The problem of economic asymmetries between men and women is the result of the form of valuation of work in the private and public spheres. Whereas domestic work is valued according to the value-in-use principle, off household work is valued according to the value-in-exchange. In addition, the fact that women are relegated to the realm of the household not only restricts their rewards and opportunities, but puts them at a disadvantage when they enter the market economy because they can only offer their little valued skills of nurturance. But neither the household nor the market is the realm of politics where the individual may exercise the highest human activity, i.e., reason. Hence, the true liberation and self-actualization of women is not simply their "integration" into the market system, for it may mean further marginalization. Chapter II of the paper analyzes the planning process and the role of women in development planning. It is argued that the lack of participation of women in the planning process is primarily due to a centralized, "top-down" planning. The alternative, therefore, is a top-down bottom-up approach to planning. But this process requires participation at all levels of society.

Finally, the strategy of development planning requires the individual's participation, critical consciousness, and a dialogical process between men and women. Development planning, therefore, is a learning process whereby men and women learn about their problems, formulate their solutions and change their form of relationship and reality.

## II. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

### 1. The Role of Women in Society

In analysing the situation of women in the twentieth century, we have to understand the nature of the problem and the many dimensions in which women themselves are involved. Traditionally, most of the social problems confronted by women are non-important or neglected and therefore invisible. They are

neglected mainly because women have been playing a role in society behind the scenes, namely in the domestic sphere. Nevertheless, women have been active in the productive and reproductive activities of society and quite often overburdened by all the tasks derived from the household economy, child-bearing and child-rearing.

Women's efforts in the private domain (or domestic) represent, to a large extent, the foundations for the development of society. That is, without the work and care of women for the family and the household economy, society could not exist and/or evolve. In different times, places and societies, women have provided the essential stability of the household economy and assured the survival and evolution of the human race. Their role in society is therefore of great importance.

The problem, however, is that the effort and contribution of women in the development of society have been taken for granted and never been recognized or acknowledged. Most important, men have never realized that without the work and effort of women in the household economy and family life, the public life of the former would be highly restricted, if not at risk. Hence, to a large extent, the public life of men has been possible only at the expense of the public life of women.

Whether by conscious intent, historical accident, or physiological and biological reasons, the realm of activities for men and women have taken place in different domains and have evolved following different paths, creating social asymmetries between the two. Hence, traditionally, women have played the role of "housewife" in the private domain and men the role of "bread-winner" in the public domain. This division of labour, however, has been somewhat unfair to women. It has been unfair because family care bears an enormous responsibility and at the same time is highly restrictive. That is, the private domain does not offer the rewards and opportunities that the public domain offers to men. Thus, we find that women's access to education is limited and the rewards for their work in the household, in monetary terms, are basically non-existent. Accordingly, women and men share an important social responsibility (survival of the human race) in different spheres, but their relationship, in structural and functional terms, is asymmetrical, i.e., unequal.

As I shall discuss in the following chapter, the asymmetries between men and women are primarily due to the valuation of work which leads to a distinction between intellectual and manual work, private and public spheres, and productive and reproductive activities. All these elements not only contribute to social, political and economic inequalities (which I prefer to call asymmetries) between men and women, but also to the prevention of self-actualization of women in both society and life.

Nevertheless, as I shall argue in this paper, the question of asymmetries between men and women and their self-actualization cannot be viewed only in terms of the contradiction between male ("oppressor") and female ("oppressed"), in terms of women's "liberation" and/or "integration" of women into the economy and society. The oppressor-oppressed relationship may include women

of one social class and women of another social class. "Liberation" of women may also imply oppression of one social group over another. 1/ For example, in countries like Mexico, the liberation of women of upper middle class is normally at the expense of women of lower social status who not only do all the tasks of the household economy but also are underpaid. Hence, the oppressor-oppressed contradiction falls within the same sex. Finally, the idea of "integration" 2/ of women into the economy and society is a misleading concept. It is misleading because the social action apparatus assumes a paternalistic position taking women as "welfare recipients". They are considered as individual marginal cases who deviate from an "organized, good, and just" society. Women, therefore, have to be "integrated", "incorporated" into the healthy and good society.

The truth is , nevertheless, that women are neither "marginals" nor individuals living "outside" society. They have been always a real and active part of society, living inside it. The solution is not to integrate them into the good and organized society, but to transform that structure so that they achieve their own self-actualization and become "beings for themselves".

In any event, the so-called integration of women into society and the development process does not necessarily lead to their true emancipation. As a matter of fact, in a market-centred 3/ society where man himself is already a one-dimensional 4/ entity, it is unlikely that women would be able to find either their liberation or their self-actualization. This is because the present social structure is neither so healthy nor so just. 5/ Thus, the solution to the status of women in society has to be viewed in a multidimensional perspective, bearing in mind that the transformation of society is only possible through the development of critical consciousness, 6/ self-expression and creative work, and a dialogical process between man and woman that allow them to construct a multi-dimensional social fabric where they could achieve their liberation and self-actualization.

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1/ On the question women's liberation see, for example, de Beauvoir, (1974), Daly (1978).

2/ For a critical analysis of this concept see, for example, Boserup (1970) Boulding (1977), and MacIntosh (1981, in Young, *et al.*, eds).

3/ On the concept of market-centred society see Ramos (1981).

4/ On the concept of one dimensional men see Marcuse (1964).

5/ For an excellent critic of the same society see Fromm (1955).

6/ On the concept of critical consciousness see Freire (1970).

## 2. The role of women in development

As we have stated before, the economic asymmetries that exist in society between men and women are primarily due to the valuation of work, which leads to a distinction between intellectual and manual work, private and public spheres, and productive and reproductive activities.

Aristotle was the first to distinguish between value-in-use and value-in-exchange. The former refers to the specific utility of an object to serve a human end or necessity, e.g., this form of value is more related to the intrinsic qualities of an object and its capacity to satisfy human needs or serve human ends. The latter, by contrast, refers to the capacity of an object to be inter-changed, i.e., it is the value-in-use of a good recognized by many but adding the effort (or cost) that its production implies.

The question is, however, why is it so important to understand the concept of value to explain the asymmetries between men and women? Simply because the form of valuation of work defines the nature of the social and economic relationships between individuals. Thus, most of the activities that have survival value to an individual have value-in use but little value-in-exchange. That is, these activities only satisfy specific needs and serve specific human ends. Child-rearing, for example, from the point of view of the household economy, has low cost and high value for the family but lacks market value. In a general sense, most of the work done in the household by either females or males, such as "do it yourself" activities, are highly important for the satisfaction of the household needs but are not part of the market economy. In short, most of the household work is valued for its value-in-use but not for its value-in-exchange.

From this point of view, we can understand why women's work in the household has never been considered as making an important contribution to social and economic development. That is, since household work has great value-in-use and little market value, it does not represent an important part of the cash economy. Hence, activities such as domestic tasks, child-rearing, child socialization and enculturation are neither quantified nor valued in monetary terms in the market economy. Whereas men's labour in the market economy is recorded in most statistics and represents an important point of the GNP, women's labour in the domestic sphere is hardly recorded and is not included in the GNP because it has no market value and no market price. Consequently, women's contribution to social development and the national economy appears to be almost nil.<sup>7/</sup>

By social convention, work within and outside the household is valued according to different principles. But, from the point of view of human and social development, the distinction between private and public activities does not constitute the essential basis for defining the importance, worth and merit of human labour. That is, human work, regardless of the place where it is performed, is equally important to social and economic development: we cannot say that extra-household activities are more important than household tasks since they are both essential to human existence. Nonetheless, the main issue is that off-household work has been greatly appreciated and rewarded and the work and effort of women in the household, which incidentally is the essential

<sup>7/</sup> See, for example, Boserup (1970), and Boulding (1977).

basis for any kind of development, has been taken for granted.

The problem with the valuation of work, is that the value itself is a relative concept and it depends upon the individual's subjective appreciation and objective social agreement. For instance, goods such as air and water, which have high value-in-use, have basically no market value because they exist in unlimited quantities. Paradoxically, goods such as diamonds, are, contradictio in temis, a "value without value". By the same token, women's work has been valued by society according to the value-in-use principle simply because it is available in more or less unlimited quantities and does not represent any real cost to society. As a matter of fact, because household work does not require any investment in education or in technical skills, it is considered as non-productive and having little or no market value.

Women's relegation to the realm of the household not only restricts their rewards and opportunities (e.g., in work and education), but puts them at a disadvantage when they enter the market economy because the only thing they can offer is their little-valued skills of nurturance. Women in the household are reduced to one-dimensional beings because their work and effort is centred on ensuring the reproduction and survival of the human race, i.e., they act as purely social and economic entities. This one-dimensional realm does not offer the possibility for women's self-actualization, for human self-actualization requires a multidimensional society.<sup>8/</sup> But neither the household nor the market is the realm of politics where the individual may exercise the highest human activity, i.e., reason. Hence, the true liberation and self-actualization of women is not simply their "integration" into the market system, for, as Boulding has observed, it may mean further marginalization. Thus, she states:

"Integration (of women) has meant systematic marginalization, accomplished so effectively that the majority of first-world women must enter the paid labour force to maintain their households according to the standards of modernization has taught them to think of as required. The only work available to them is low-paid, low-status work. Only upper-middle-class men can command:."

(Boulding, 1980).

Clearly, the combination of lack of skills, education, and the fact that society has placed greater value on intellectual and productive activities than on manual and reproductive, puts women in a social trap that is difficult to escape.

It is however erroneous to believe that such a distinction between intellectual and manual labour and productive and reproductive activities is real. In a world where the organization of society and human life itself depends on both the intelligence and the work of individuals, to give more importance and value to the former than the latter is sheer nonsense. Intellectual activity is important to society insofar as it provides the know-how, the development of industrial tools and the necessary organizations

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<sup>8/</sup> On human self-actualization in a multidimensional society see Ramos (1981).

to economic development. But social and economic development cannot be achieved without reproduction of society and a labour force. Hence, the distinction between intellectual and manual work and productive and reproductive activities, in a development context, are fallacious concepts. They are fallacious because they assume that manual work and reproduction have no value to human existence.

### III. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND WOMEN

#### 1. The planning process and development

The concept of planning is closely related to the concept of development. The latter, in a conventional sense, refers to a general improvement in the material and social well-being of society as a whole. While this general improvement incorporates high income per capita, it also requires reforms in the institutional or quasi-economic framework, such as wider access to educational, health and welfare facilities, greater political participation in the national decision-making process, and a more equitable distribution of the benefits of progress achieved through economic planning. The former, by contrast, refers to a selection of a specific set of activities to attain a goal. From a macroeconomic viewpoint, planning implies the optimal allocation of resources, particularly capital investment, among the various sectors of the economy so as to promote development.

However, the problem is that conventional development and planning strategies have done little to improve the status of women in society. Indeed, women have not accrued the benefits of development primarily because the planning process has not incorporated strategies and policies that truly change women's roles. Further, developmental national goals, as a rule, do not include specific objectives to transform the position of women. At best, they include policies for women's integration into economic activity. But as Boulding (1980) and Pala (1977) have rightly asked: "Integration of women into what development?" In the planning process, formulation of national goals, or any other kind of social and economic policy-making, women's interests and needs are rarely considered. In fact, women have been excluded from the development process in a technical and political sense. They have neither participated in the establishment of national goals nor in the decisions that affect both men and women. Thus, a planning activity that does not include and reflect the needs and demands of society at large does not lead to a true social and economic development.

Several issues should be observed in analysing the planning process and development planning. First, the planning process itself, in most countries, makes little room for an active participation of both sexes in the formulation and establishment of national goals and objectives. That is, the planning process is a "top-down" process where goals and objectives are set up by either technocrats and/or politicians. These goals quite often do not correspond to the needs at the grass-roots level, or do not reflect the reality of the problem. Most important in this process, however, is to ask, What is the aim of these goals? Who receives the real benefit? G.K. Galbraith (1973) has noted that in industrial society the power of decision-making and goal-

establishment rests on the technostructure (or planning system) whose principal objective is to protect its interests. There is a very close connection between the establishment of goals, policy-formulation and power. Hence, goals and objectives serve definite aims and definite purposes: those of the ruling elite.

Second, peculiar attitudes and behaviour result from the top-down planning process, namely a paternalistic government position. For example, government tends to view the question of women as an "integration" issue, as a question of "supplemental" income, or as a question of "assistance" or welfare issues. In the first case, this view assumes that women are a marginalized, backward sector of society that needs to be "integrated" in order to be "developed" and modernized". In the second case, it is assumed that man is the "head of the household" and employment programmes are introduced for women to earn "supplemental" income. In the last instance, planners assume that women depend on men and introduce a welfare programme "assist" women. These not only are false but patronizing views which cannot be the basis for development policies.

Third, the top-down planning process does not transform the asymmetrical relationships between men and women, and increases the gap between intellectual and manual work, private and public spheres, and productive and reproductive activities. As a rule, most development policies tend to promote development via employment and capital investments. The formula is thus to increase the reward system in the market place and transform the productive system into a highly capital-intensive process: "Market" activities receive wages, "non-market" activities do not. This formula has two effects. On the one hand, the process requires further division of labour, specialization, and development of technical skills: on the other it is labour-displacing due to capital-intensive productive processes. Accordingly, women's position in the development process does not change because they neither have the skills nor the education and "bargaining" power to transform their situation.

Fourth, the traditional top-down planning process is one-dimensional because it assumes that the liberation of women only consists in changing the workplace from the household to the market. But, as we have noted earlier, the integration of women into the market system may mean systematic marginalization, or dehumanization due to increasing bureaucratization of human work. As Boulding has noted:

"The bureaucratization of the world as men have surrounded themselves with logistical networks of ever greater complexity to deal with the craving for authority. The consequences for everyone are alienation, loneliness and insecurity. The only domain left in which alienation, loneliness and insecurity are faced directly is the family. Dealing with that loneliness and insecurity is in the hands of the powerless: women."

Boulding, (1980:54).

Clearly, the emancipation and self-actualization of women is not found solely in the market economy, for men themselves are already existing in a one dimensional society responding only to the forces of production and consumption.

Fifth, development planning is not simply the process whereby governments seek to advance the growth and distribution of available sources; it is also an agenda for the enhancement of the goodness of human beings and society. That is, development planning should not result in further increasing the asymmetries between men and women, creating the double burden of combining housework with wage labour, or promoting the liberation of upper-class women at the expense of the subordination of lower-class women as domestic servants. The relationship between sex and class workplace and abilities as modes of allocating social and economic rewards remains a challenge to the intelligence and creativity of development planners. But the asymmetries that exist between men and women cannot disappear unless the former learns to walk with the shoes of the latter, and the latter with those of the former. Life is neither easy for men nor for women, but it can be more pleasant if it is confronted with responsibility, mutual respect, mutual support, and affection. Only by walking hand in hand, will men and women be able to solve the problem of freedom, for the liberation of one is also the liberation of the other.

## 2. The strategy of development planning

There are three requisite conditions to transform the position of women in society. First, a decline in the top-down, one-way process of policy design and implementation is required. As a matter of fact, the strategy of development planning should be a top-down bottom-up approach where women are technically and politically included. This means that the needs and interests of women become an important component of the national development goals.

The question of asymmetries cannot be solved by simply issuing general policies that would seem to reduce the asymmetries derived from the market system. For example, general employment policies may not necessarily lead to a more just relationship between men and women or a more equitable reward system, e.g., income distribution. The reduction of economic asymmetries does not automatically solve the asymmetries in other domains. Men and women may enjoy the same economic rewards but an asymmetrical relationship may still exist in the household, i.e., by one of them being responsible for most of the housework.

The solution to economic inequalities between men and women are of primary importance, but the planning activity must be a multidimensional process where both man and woman are active participants in the formulation and solution of their problems. Hence, a bottom-up approach to problem-solving allows the possibility of solving more specific issues. In any event, development planning should be a dynamic process where the strategies for problem-solving are envisaged at both levels, general and specific.

Second, the transformation of the present social structure requires individual participation, critical consciousness, and a dialogical process between men and women. Of course, this implies sensitization and politization of both men and women in order to change their own reality. For example, if we consider the relationship between men and women as an oppressor-oppressed relation, the situation cannot change unless both individuals become aware of this contradiction and critically transform their reality through a dialogical process. Thus, Freire states:

"The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to efface this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility.

Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Freedom is not an ideal located outside men; nor is it an ideal which becomes a myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion.

To surmount the situation of oppression, men must critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity...

Liberation is thus a childbirth, and a painful one. The man who emerges is a new man, viable only as the oppressor-oppressed contradiction is superseded by humanization of all men. Or to put it another way, the solution of this contradiction is born in the labour which brings into the world this new man: no longer oppressor nor longer oppressed, but man in the process of achieving freedom."

(Freire, 1970:31-34).

It is clear, therefore, that women's liberation requires the liberation of men as well, for the asymmetries between the two cannot change unless they change their form of relationship. The transformation of the social status of women requires critical consciousness of the social reality, active participation in the transformation process, and, most important, the encounter between men and women, mediated by the world, in order to name the world, i.e., a dialogical process. A dialogue between men and women is an existential necessity and an act of creation. But dialogue cannot exist without profound love for the world and for human beings. Love is both the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself. The real problem of human asymmetries therefore is within the heart and mind of human beings. That is, unless men and women themselves change their view of the world, attitudes, beliefs, and state of mind, liberation and self-actualization of these beings cannot take place. Hence, no matter how radical we are in our revolutions, how much we fight against an oppressor, if actions do not reflect our true feelings, our true convictions, and if we do not realize that the tension of existing is the same for both men and women, any idea of liberation becomes naive theorizing, and any action futile praxis.

Third, to use development planning as a tool to change conservative systems, we must learn to develop learning systems.

Development planning as a learning system can be stated in the following terms: How can we, as members of society, learn to identify, formulate, analyse and solve our problems?

Learning is the capacity to understand and gain knowledge regarding an unknown situation. Through learning, an individual discovers how changes in his environment affect the prospects for obtaining desired outcomes, and thus

adjusts or considers new courses of action that we appropriate to the changed conditions. It is likely that, when a change occurs in the environment, the individual will have to reconsider his means and ends. However, learning does not presuppose a passive attitude in which the individual merely accepts the changes that takes place in the environment and adjusts his behaviour accordingly. Learning is a dynamic process whereby the individual assumes a definite position and responsibility for his actions. The individual not only learns from his environment but also may attempt to challenge it. The learning process in the individual depends entirely on his capacity to understand, and on the availability and quality of information.

From this point of view, development planning as a learning process represents a continuous search for an understanding of all social problems and the formulation of the possible alternatives for their solution. That is, once problems are known, goals and objectives defined, the only thing that remains to achieve social and economic transformation is a little bit of courage and political will. This process, however, requires the participation of individuals, a critical assessment of their reality, and rational deliberations on the status of both men and women.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

The question of asymmetries between men and women and their self-actualization cannot be viewed, as a one-dimensional issue. i.e. as simply and economic problem. Accordingly, the liberation of women does not consist only in their integration into the market economy, for the increasing bureaucratization of market-centred societies is in fact oppressing. The solution to women's position in society goes beyond the pure economic problem. This solution, however, is within the heart and mind of human beings. Thus, unless men and women themselves change their view of world attitudes, beliefs, and state of mind, the liberation and self-actualization cannot occur.

The transformation of the structure of contemporary society is a prerequisite for the change of the status of women in this society. Development planning can be an effective instrument to achieve this change if the planning process follows a top-down bottom-up approach. This means that the planning activity itself is dynamic in nature and problem-solving is formulated at both levels, general and specific.

Nevertheless, development planning, if it is going to be an instrument for social and economic change, requires that women become active participants in the planning process. Most important is the fact that women themselves should develop a critical consciousness and establish a dialogical process with both men and nature in order to transform their own position in society.

The dialogical process is an existential necessity and a fundamental condition for human liberation; but dialogue can only be possible with profound love for the world and for humanity. Love is both the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself. Hence, no matter how radical we are in our thoughts, how much we fight against our social problems, if actions do not

reflect our true feelings and convictions, and if we do not realize that the tension of existing is the same for both men and women, any idea of liberation is naive theorizing, and any action futile praxis. The relationship between sex and class and abilities as modes of allocating social and economic rewards remains a challenge to the creativity of development planners; but the foundations for a world of equity and justice is found in our most inner-selves.

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Paper 3

ECONOMICS AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

by Maria Augusztinovics x/

I. The market and beyond

Economics has always been fascinated by the market. Rightly so, since the market is the most amazing product of human economic activity. It has become a power beyond and above human will, it has made the economy the master and the human being its servant. It helped to create the modern nation and it is now creating a supranational, although not truly international, system of forces beyond and above national will. However, there are many different ways of looking at the market.

You may remain obsessed with the market place, watching as individual agents go about their various transactions there and wondering what they think they are doing.<sup>1/</sup> You may assume that they all have perfect information, they are all perfectly competitive, they all behave perfectly rationally in their own well-known interests, and you will postulate that this brings about the most perfect well-being for all concerned. And, naturally, this has been going on since time immemorial and will have to go on forever. This kind of approach, with due respect and apologies to the more sophisticated formulations of the theory, is the called "neo-classical economics", "general equilibrium economics", "microeconomics", "mainstream" or "mainline economics", etc. In spite of all that has already been said and written against it, this approach is amazingly persistent. Partly because it is convenient to maintain innocence: what you do not know about society and social power cannot hurt you; partly because it has incorporated a huge vested interest by first-rate mathematical brains. This, for its part, lends a poor economic theory such elegance, such intellectual rigour<sup>2/</sup> which is certainly attractive to the demanding student.

You may take a broader, and therefore more convincing, view of the market. You may realize that, no matter what individual agents think they are doing, it is the aggregate output, the aggregate supply and demand that count. You may also realize that in the world of "exchangeables" there are such distinguished things as money and labour, that a society has to worry about growth and recession, about inflation and employment, that the market alone does not take care of everything

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x/ The first part of this paper is a brief summary of the views discussed in detail in various papers and articles by the author. The second part was written specifically for the INSTRAW Seminar on "The Incorporation of Women into Development Planning", Santo Domingo, December 1983.

1/ This obsession may be as far-fetched and exclusive as to define "...the economy as that segment of the total social system which deals primarily with exchange and the institutions of exchange, and, by extension, with exchangeables... I do not regard the economy as being bound primarily by the activities of production and consumption of exchangeables, even though these activities are clearly relevant". (Boulding, pp. 17-18). Well, at least some relevance of production and consumption is not denied.

2/ "... rigor, but alas, also mortis..." says one of the most comprehensive critics of the irrelevance of the theory. Heilbroner 1970, pp. 487.

but that some purposeful social intervention is required, whether you like it or not. This approach is then called "macroeconomics", or "Keynesian economics"; it has often been called the "Keynesian revolution". Contemporary theory belonging to or originating from this school, called "neo-Keynesian" or "post-Keynesian" economics, has made further important steps towards economic realities - it is a pity that eminent representatives of it are so emotionally anti-mathematical, as if mathematical tools would be responsible for nonsense in economics. <sup>3/</sup>

Or you may be looking at the market and trying to discover what is going on beyond it, to understand its historically determined place and function within the economy as a whole, within the economy defined as the mode of interaction between man and nature. Then you will realize that the market is an important link in the circular chain of production-distribution-consumption, in the process of reproduction. It is the part of the system that makes interaction and thus division of labour possible among socio-economic units that are separated by ownership. In other words, it is the ingenious device that turns individual work into work for others and increasingly for the whole society under the conditions of private property. Division of labour then provides for increasing productivity, leads to the accumulation and concentration of the means of production, of wealth and social power. This kind of approach to the market was adopted by what is called "classical economics" or "political economy"; in its last and most consistent form, the "Marxian economics". There is probably no need now to say that the author of this paper finds this approach more enlightening and therefore superior to the others.

The classical, and particularly the Marxian approach, has been ignored or neglected, laid ad acta or buried so many times by so many over the past hundred years that one should be surprised how very alive it is. Moreover, the approach - maybe with some of the specific notions, with different conclusions and dressed in different language - is being increasingly adopted as a starting point by economists who do not consider themselves Marxists but who seriously attempt to understand the realities of economy and society.

Nevertheless, there is no reason for celebration in this camp either. Ignoring the arrogant remarks made by the ignorant people who never took the trouble of reading Marx or never got beyond the first volume of Das Kapital, one has to admit that much of the serious and honest critique is justified: relatively little has been achieved in bringing Marxian economics over from the late 19th century economic reality to the late 20th century economic reality.

The reasons are numerous<sup>4/</sup>, as are the new phenomena not properly investigated and explained by contemporary Marxian economics. There is only one point to be made here, a point where unfortunately contemporary Marxism is as negligent as any other school of economic thought. Namely, no matter what approach we adopt when looking at the market, we usually do not look at those layers of human economic activity that have not been - so far, or will never be - absorbed by the market.

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<sup>3/</sup> For a bird's eye view of post-Keynesian economics, see, for example, Heilbroner 1980.

<sup>4/</sup> See, for example, Sweezy 1974.

For neo-classical economics the market has always existed. For the classical economist and for Marx, the market was a historical achievement. Observing the rapid penetration into the traditional subsistence economy, they took it for granted that this process will once be fully completed, that the economy will soon be transformed into a pure capitalist market economy. For them subsistence of the pre-market economy was a matter of the past, a matter of ancient or Asian modes of production.

The assumption of the pure capitalist market economy directly leads to the assumption of pure socialism. Since the historic task of the capitalist market has been performed, if the whole reproduction process has reached the ultimate level of concentration and centralization based on social distribution of labour, then only one brave revolutionary action is needed: to abolish private property that has become obsolete and to replace the market, that has lost its historic function, by purposeful social control of the economy. Much - maybe even most - of the problems of existing socialist societies can be traced back to this assumption that was applied in circumstances where the historic task of the capitalist market was far from being completed.

In fact, economic activity has not been completely absorbed by the market, at least not until the end of the 20th century. While it still remains the main trend for the market to expand, to penetrate deeper and deeper into traditionally subsistence layers of the economy, powerful reverse tendencies can also be observed for various economic and social reasons. The existence of non-market economic activity is a fact in industrialized capitalist and socialist economies, not to speak of the developing world. It is also a fact ignored by all major schools of economic theory.

What may be worse is that non-market economic activity is also neglected, with some inconsistent compromises, in the empirical evidence available. The System of National Accounts, a remarkable achievement of recent decades, has accepted the theoretical assumptions and the division of economic units into "firms" and "households", a division which goes with the underlying theoretical assumption and which is a trap. Firms are supposed to do business on the market and households are not supposed to do anything but consume and pay taxes. Some of the consequences are well-known and much discussed. Let us mention two examples of great significance.

Example 1: production of goods and services within the households, with all its economic and social implications. J.K.Galbraith says, "The common reality is that modern household involves a simple but highly important division of labour. ...The servant-wife is available, democratically, to almost the entire present male population. Were the workers so employed subject to pecuniary compensation, they would be by far the largest single category in the labour force." (Galbraith 1973, pp. 33, 35).

Example 2: the subsistence sector in developing countries. For instance, it is highly important for a country to be identified as "least developed" by the United Nations since this category is entitled to preferential treatment in various matters, e.g., in the distribution of official development aid. The major criteria applied for such identification is an upper limit of per capita GDP. Recently, a United Nations study pointed out that the limit cannot be applied to particular cases since the economy of a few countries is entirely monetized, which accounts for a higher nominal per capita GDP than in countries which have large subsistence sectors, insofar as in these countries income generated in the subsistence sector is not fully reflected in monetary GDP.

To know what we are ignorant of is better than not even to know that, but it certainly does not provide the required knowledge. The feedback from National Accounts to economic theory and practice should not be underestimated. One cannot analyse the unknown quantity and cannot enlighten theory without analysis. The bulk of quantitative macroeconomic research - not to mention forecasts - is based on National Accounts data in each country.

Here it is important to note that non-market activity should not be identified or mixed up with what is usually called the "second" or "black" or "underground" economy. The latter is market-activity, only it is tax evading and therefore, sometimes also for other reasons, illegal. Non-market economic activity, for its part, is performed within the socio-economic units: it does not enter the inter-unit, social division of labour either legally or illegally.

On the other hand, the market is more than just the place where things are exchanged. Throughout this paper the term "market economy" is used in the broad sense, including monetary and financial superstructure, income redistribution through national and local budgets (called the "grant-economy" by K.E. Boulding): briefly speaking it includes everything that goes with the modern market which created modern money.

Western economic literature of the past 5-10 years seems to be so much aware of and so concerned about the unsatisfactory performance of the theory that it could justly be called the "crisis-literature". A few titles speak for themselves: "The Sad State of Orthodox Economics" (Sherman 1974), "What's Wrong With Economics?" (Gruchy et al. 1980). "The Crisis in Economic Theory" (Bell 1981).

The profession appears to be as divided along as many lines as it has ever been, but this at least gives the reader the advantage of having the critique of every school by almost every other school. It is indeed difficult to think of any aspect, any shortcoming or failure that has not been mentioned in the discussion. One even gets the discouraging impression that economists spend more time thinking about other economists than about economies.

However, an encouraging main stream is becoming evident: a common, almost general, wish to let in some fresh air, to enlarge the scope of the theory. In some cases, this is just about making room for something that should have always been there trivially, for example, making room for money in economic theory (!), or for the interaction between distribution and efficiency. In many cases, it is about returning to matters that were once there, in the classical tradition, but were forgotten or neglected for a long time, matters like the distribution of income, wealth and power in society; that is, returning to political economy from the would-be "value-free" economics. Some speak explicitly of political economy (Franklin 1980, Jalladeau 1980, Stone 1980), but we also find "institutional economics", "instrumental economics", "interpretative theory", "social economics", "economic sociology", even "integrated social science". The trend seems to be clear, although a name is yet to be found.

There are also attempts to bring in something that has never been there, to enlarge the scope of economics as such, not just the scope of this or other school. In most cases these attempts point to the same direction: to social issues beyond the political superstructure, to the human aspects of economies.

Within this stream there is even a world turned upside down: one can find serious attempts to explain love and hatred in terms of marginal utility. Naturally, most of the stream works the other way around: for example, to explain consumer behaviour in terms of human psychology is certainly a much more promising

idea. <sup>5/</sup> Nevertheless, one need not to go as far as psychology to look for territories that at present lie outside the frontiers of conventional economics which will have to be incorporated into the main body of a future, more meaningful economic theory.

History, demography, human anthropology, and sociology have much to offer. They already cover a good part of the borderline territories, they provide a vast amount of raw material for economic interpretation.<sup>6/</sup> On the other hand, there is an increasing number of methodological and empirical studies by economists who are determined to investigate facts and find themselves limited by the narrow concepts of conventional economics. It is not surprising that most of this type of activity is linked in one way or another to practical use of National Accounts or to building quantitative, analytical models for practical purposes.<sup>7/</sup>

Some economic thinking and formal model building have already started to penetrate the economic aspects of human life. The term "human capital" had already gained some respect in better times when society was busy educating more and more young people at higher levels. Recently, with the increasing number of elderly people and with permanent inflation, the social security system has become the first issue where the historically unprecedented interdependency between the human life-cycle and the financial superstructure cannot be neglected any more. <sup>8/</sup>

Indeed there is so much of these various promising beginnings around that one is inclined to wonder: has not the time come for a new synthesis? The right answer would probably be "no, not yet". Before then, at least two fields of outstanding significance would have to be covered systematically. One of them is the non-market economy, be it the household, the own-account production and consumption in farms, the subsistence sector in developing countries, or anything else. The other is the human life-path, more precisely, its economic implications, including the need for children's care, education, health services, etc. Even the broadest economic theory in the conventional sense would be narrow and open-ended at two points: at one end, human labour appears from nowhere, at the other end, human consumption disappears to nowhere. These two ends should now be conceptionally connected through the human life-path, which is the source and the purpose of human economy itself.

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<sup>5/</sup> This is what T. Scitovsky does in his very joyful "The Joyless Economy". (Scitovsky 1976).

<sup>6/</sup> See, for example, Polanyi 1944, Helleiner 1956, Douglas 1978, Littlejohn 1977.

<sup>7/</sup> A few references: Stone 1977, Mallmann 1977, Richter 1977, Hibbert 1977, Lecomber 1978, Eckaus 1980.

<sup>8/</sup> Chamley 1981, Kyfitz 1981.

These two fields are interrelated in many ways. Obviously, people live in some kind of socio-economic unit - family household or tribal village - that was traditionally the scene of economic activity, of production and consumption too. No matter how much of this activity has entered the inter-unit division of labour through the market, much of it has remained within the unit. Non-market economic activity, in other words, intra-unit economic activity is mostly, although not exclusively, connected with facts and needs of human life. Vice versa, most services required for sustaining human life, for example, the care of children, the sick and old people, are mainly provided within those units rather than through the market.

This interrelation is one of the reasons why the economic aspect of the human life-path has to be incorporated into economics. Another reason is the fact that with increasing life-expectancy the human being is more and more becoming the longest lasting economic asset - and surely one of the most expensive ones. A human life-span of 70-80 years or even longer, is certainly becoming the major carrier of long-term economic dynamics.

Performance provided and consumption absorbed are not distributed in a parallel manner along the life-path. If we include non-market performance, the distinction between "active" and "non-active" ages will not be that rigid as it seems to be now, but it will still remain true that in the first and in the last period of life a person absorbs more of labour-goods and services/ provided by other members of society than he himself provides. In between, he has to make it more than even. More than even, since if the average human being provided exactly as much as he consumed during his whole lifetime, we would still be living before the neolithicum. Before it and not in it, since already the first piece of stone polished into a tool required human performance not consumed, required accumulation or saving, whichever side of the same process one prefers to stress. What are the proportions between those periods of life, the proportions between performance and consumption within each period, the proportions between the corresponding ratios of various classes and other social groups? How will they change and how should they change for society to be able to maintain balanced survival and progress when life expectancy increases and the age distribution of the population is in permanent transformation?

These are not psychological or moral or emotional problems; they are hard economic questions. It is impossible to answer them without extending economic theory into the economic aspects of human life. Of course, we shall have to be careful. While economics will have to consider the cumulated lifetime performance and consumption by human beings, it will have to make it absolutely clear that this is not a basis in itself for social values or moral judgments. Neither a high, nor a low performance per consumption ratio in itself makes a person more valuable or more respectable to the society.

It is also clear that these and similar questions cannot be answered by picking a few phenomena and constructing "human-life economy" models: similarly the non-market economy cannot be understood without its interaction with the market. They all have to go together and, before their interrelation will be understood, they will have to be properly described. This would bring us to the problems of methodology in economics. Here, however, we rather turn to women's issues.

## II. The status of women

Besides and beneath the social distribution of labour transmitted by the market there exists a basic biological distribution of labour between the two sexes: women and only women give birth to new human beings. This basic fact in itself does not need to determine the social status of women in any way and indeed their status varies greatly from time to time, from place to place, from society. For various historical reasons that cannot be discussed here, however, the social implications of this simple and natural fact have been pushed far beyond its biological nature.

Women not only give birth to and breast-feed babies, they feed, dress and protect children in general, they teach them the elementary human and social functions, the basics of civilization. Furthermore, in most societies, it is the business of women to take care of the sick and elderly, to nurse and feed and clean them. Generally speaking, mostly women are providing the services that are directly connected with human life; women are the major "producers" of human life not only in the limited sense of originating the new "product" but also by performing functions that would be called "maintenance" and "repair" were we talking about some marketed commodity. This extension of the specialization is not biological, it is entirely social.

This kind of distribution of labour is of course reflected and idealized in various cultures. Women are expected to accept motherhood and duties in human services not just as a simple necessity but as the ultimate reason and goal of their life and to be satisfied with it. Here, however, we are concerned with economic facts rather than social values.

This kind of specialization within social units has far-reaching consequences in the interaction among social units. While not saving women from hard physical work in the production - and again - repair and maintenance of material goods, it ties them to productive activities that can be reconciled with the human services to be rendered. In other words, it ties them to the home, to the village, it makes them immobile in the spatial, geographical sense.

Men, free from such duties, are more mobile. They can go to find jobs or to sell their products elsewhere, they can at least spend many hours a day far from home. Thus men become the major actors in the social division of labour, on commodity and labour markets, in the monetarized segments of economy. Men carry the interaction among social units while women mostly stay within them.

Increasing productivity, diversified technology, specialized professional skills and scientific knowledge, income, wealth and power originate in this interaction, in the social division of labour mediated by the market. So does, for that matter, the notion and existence of a modern nation with its political superstructure reflecting the economic and social power structure. This has long been a man's world and the exclusion of women from the power structure - among others from one of its manyfold functions, development planning - is deeply rooted not in "male chauvinism" but in the nature of

intra-unit and inter-unit division of labour. Equally, the way out is not some silly war between sexes but the changing of these patterns.

What should women do and what should be done for them? The turnpike to economic and social equality is doubtlessly for them to get incorporated into the inter-unit division of labour. In present societies this is the only way that leads to knowledge, to education, to the proper share in economic and social power.

The fight for equal rights and its more or less complete success in most industrialized countries has already been a reflection of changing patterns brought about by the economy itself. Expanding commodity production has required the cheaper, less skilled female labour in the factories, shops and offices. Women are continuously being pulled into the market economy by elementary economic forces, whether the individual man or woman likes it or not. This in itself has helped women to electoral rights and today their voting power cannot be neglected at least in pre-election rhetoric. However, the process by which the market economy penetrates into traditionally subsistence layers of economic activity and thereby pulls women into the labour market, if left alone, is a slow and painful process. It has taken a few centuries in Europe and it may take more in very poor, handicapped developing countries.

Also, equal rights are one thing and equal chances are another. Some of the human services traditionally provided by women within the social units have already been socialized: today we have hospitals, schools, even a few nurseries and kindergartens. Some, but not all. The bulk of it has been left with the individual household with the result that the "working" woman works double shifts: one at the job and one at home. She has to stay at home when the children or the old grandparents are sick. Obviously her chances to learn, to know what she is talking about in her profession or skill, in general to perform in the job, are less than equal.

This is the women's issue today in my country, Hungary, and as far as I know in many East European socialist countries. In these countries women have full political rights and equal access to higher education. Rapid industrialization created more jobs that would have been filled, there is no unemployment; to the contrary, there is a labour shortage in various fields. Women have equal wages in each kind of job and position and much has been done in order to improve their chances. Still, the average wage of women in every larger category of jobs is lower than that of men because fewer women get ahead into the higher paid positions that require full attention, responsibility and authority. Women are also notoriously under-represented - relative to their share in the population - at all levels of social and political decision-making, notwithstanding the official efforts to increase their participation. The reasons are simple. A woman is less reliable because she has to be off-duty rather often and unexpectedly; she cannot easily work overtime or stay for a meeting after hours since she has to run home or pick up the children at various nurseries, kindergartens and schools, then prepare the meals, do the dishes, etc. Briefly speaking, the same performance requires double effort from a woman and few are able or willing to pay the double price for the same item.

The conclusion to be drawn is that the integration of women into the economic interaction among social units, into the social - as distinguished

from intra-unit-division of labour is necessary but not sufficient. It provides women with equal rights but not with equal chances. For the latter, social division of labour will have to penetrate further into the traditionally subsistence activities connected with "human life producing" services.

Very probably, there are cultural and moral objections to this. It is not my intention to discuss them in the present paper. However, the major economic obstacle has to be pointed out: human services, if properly organized, are extremely capital-intensive. Capital accumulation is also necessary to create employment for women although this usually happens first in less capital-intensive sectors. (This is the reason why East European socialist countries have already managed to incorporate women into the social distribution of labour but not yet to fully relieve them of the double burden). How to provide for the fast domestic capital accumulation required for these purposes in poor countries where capital is scarce anyway, or how to ingeniously devise some less capital-intensive, more adequate ways to achieve the same purpose - this, I believe, is the real issue for development strategies if they are to aim at a better life for both men and women.

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Paper 4

THE CHANGING ROLE OF SINGAPORE WOMEN IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

When Sir Stamford Raffles founded Singapore in 1819, the island's population consisted of less than 200, comprising mostly Malay fishermen. the population rose steeply in the following years, reaching 16,000 by 1830, due primarily to Chinese male immigrants. To bring about a more balanced sex ratio, legislation restricting the flow of male migrants was passed in 1933. Subsequently, more female Chinese immigrants arrived and gradually Singapore's population growth arose more from indigenous births than from the inflow of migrants.

Women in those days remained mainly at home, preoccupied with housework. There were few opportunities for work outside the home and even these were restricted to activities that were related to women's traditional reproductive role, such as teaching and nursing. Women with little or no education were employed as domestic help or unpaid family workers in small enterprises in retailing or servicing sectors.

But after the Second World War with the advent of free primary education for all students aged 6-12 years and the expansion of educational facilities, followed by rapid economic development and social modernization, more women took up wage employment. The changing economic role of women in Singapore's development is reflected in the pattern and structure of the female labour force which has undergone tremendous changes in the past two and a half decades.

I. FEMALE LABOUR FORCE

In 1957, less than one-fifth of the female population aged ten years and over were economically active, that is in the labour force, as against slightly over three-quarters among the male population. <sup>1/</sup> However, the female labour force participation rate rose to nearly one-quarter in 1970 and two-fifths in 1980. Correspondingly, the proportion of females in the

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<sup>1/</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all data given in the paper are taken from the population censuses of 1957, 1970 and 1980. Table 1 presents some major statistics on the female labour force in Singapore.

labour force increased from 18 per cent in 1957 to 26 per cent in 1970 and 35 per cent in 1980, giving an average annual growth rate of 6.1 per cent in the 1960s and 7.5 per cent in the 1970s. Accompanying the expansion of the female labour force was a higher level of literacy among females. Though still lower than that for males, the female literacy rate has more than doubled to 76 per cent in 1980 from the 1957 level.

Except for widowed females, the labour force participation rate of each group of females by marital status rose over the period 1957-1980, with larger increases occurring in the 1970s. Percentage-wise, many more Malay and Indian females have entered the labour force during the last two decades than Chinese females. By 1980, the female labour force participation rates by ethnic groups were roughly similar, indicating that racial differences influencing economic status in the earlier years have diminished in importance. In terms of age cohorts, the highest labour force participation rate of 78 per cent in 1980 was among females in the age group 20-24 years. By contrast, the highest rate in 1957 was 30 per cent and was in the 45-49 age group. Moreover, the age-specific labour force participation profile of females has changed from a bi-modal in 1957 to a uni-modal pattern by 1970 (Diagram 1).

As a result of higher educational attainment, there was a continuous large expansion of female clerical workers, which multiplied almost five-fold between 1957 and 1970 and nearly three times between 1970 and 1980. Reflecting the entry of young females into the electronics assembly and textile and garments industries was the steeply rising proportion of working females employed as production workers. By 1980, female production workers far outnumbered those in the services sector which in 1957 was the largest female employment sector. Over the two decades, both domestic service workers and farm workers have declined in absolute terms.<sup>2/</sup>

## II. MAJOR FACTORS OF CHANGE

Undoubtedly, Singapore's successful industrialization programme has contributed to the employment and upgrading of the female labour force. The establishment of industries requiring skills which could easily be acquired by females with some basic education with a short training period provided the job opportunities for wage employment previously absent prior to the early 1960s. Facilitating the entry of women into the labour force was the siting of factories in housing estates. The clean working conditions, good pay and modern management practices, including social programmes of multinational corporations have attracted young females into industrial employment. Moreover, the expansion of the financial and business sector in the early 1970s has created much female employment in white-collar jobs.

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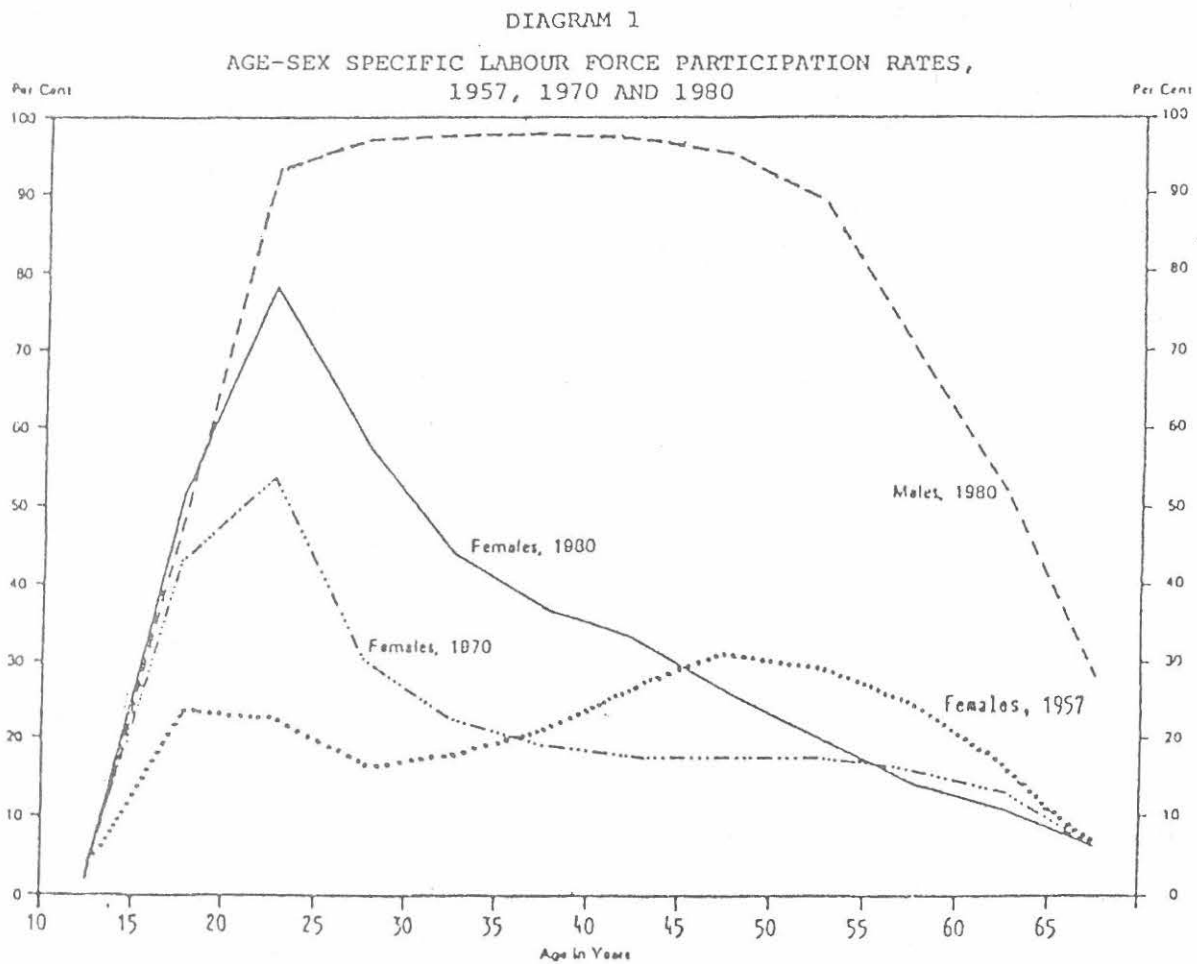
<sup>2/</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the female labour force structure see Linda Y.C. Lim. "Women in the Singapore Economy", ERC Occasional Paper Series No.4, 1981.

TABLE 1  
PROFILE OF SINGAPORE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE

		%		
Year		1957	1970	1980
1.	Proportion of labour force	18.0	25.8	34.5
2.	Literacy rate	33.6	60.1	76.2
3.	Labour force participation rate	19.3	24.6	39.3
	By race			
	Chinese	21.8	27.0	39.7
	Malays	6.3	14.3	38.3
	Indians	7.1	16.0	38.2
	Others	...	23.9	31.1
	By marital status			
	Single	24.8	35.6	53.1
	Married	14.0	14.7	29.8
	Widowed	25.8	15.5	16.1
	Divorced	46.5	47.6	61.7
4.	Occupational distribution			
	Professional and technical	9.9	14.2	10.0
	Administrative and managerial	0.3	0.7	2.2
	Clerical	6.7	16.9	27.4
	Sales	10.2	10.6	10.2
	Services	35.7	23.2	13.5
	Agricultural	11.9	3.2	1.0
	Production	25.1	30.9	34.7
	Not classifiable	0.2	0.3	1.0

SOURCES: Singapore, Department of Statistics, Report on the Census of Population 1970, Volume 1; and Census of Population 1980 Singapore, Release No. 4.

NOTE: ... Not available.



SOURCES: 1980 Census, op. cit., Chart 3, p. 265; 1970 Census, op. cit., Table 10.4, p. 138.

The more sophisticated Singapore economy in the 1970s has also given rise to a great number of females occupying professional, administrative and managerial positions. <sup>3/</sup>

Demand factors alone would not have contributed to this drastic structural change in female employment. The greatly expanded supply of educated females is attributable to the provision of equal education opportunities to both boys and girls, and an effective family planning programme. The focus of the family planning programme on a two-child family has weakened the strong preference accorded to boys in traditional Asian families and has helped to change the conservative social attitude regarding girls' education as of secondary importance. Hence, with free primary education, substantially subsidized secondary and tertiary education, and easy access to scholarships, bursaries and study loans, girls have an almost equal chance as boys to acquire higher education.

Demographic factors too have influenced a more active role of women in economic activities. The population sex ratio has fallen from 1.12 males for each female in 1957 to 1.04 in 1980. In a tight labour market where a relatively buoyant economy exists but where the domestic labour force is growing at a decreasing rate due to lower birth rates, increasing attention has been drawn to tapping a growing potential pool of female labour. Hence, other measures to encourage women to enter and remain in the workforce have been introduced and they include expansion of child-care facilities, flexible working hours, liberalization of legislative restriction on night shift work for women, extended maternity leave, and tax deductions for working mothers with dependent children.

### III. BARRIERS TO FEMALE EMPLOYMENT

Though Singapore women have made many inroads into the economic sphere, a few strong barriers remain to a greater participation of women in the labour force. Rapid urbanization and modernization have hastened the formation of nuclear families. Combined with the scarcity of domestic help, married women face immense difficulties in satisfactorily handling the demands of both wage employment and family, i.e., their productive and reproductive roles. The government has tried to alleviate this and other social problems arising from the break-up or weakening of family ties, by allowing parents and their married children the choice of adjacent or close-by flats in its public housing programme.

Secondly, to a majority of economically inactive females, the relative cost of non-participation in the labour force is low. In 1980, nearly 60 per cent of the females who stayed at home had less than a primary education qualification. These "home houseworkers" were mostly young (two-thirds were between 20 and 49 years) and married (over four-fifths). Conceivably, with rising wage levels and in the longer-term higher educational or skill

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<sup>3/</sup> Non-citizen female workers constituted 9.5 per cent of the female labour force in 1980. A majority of these possessed primary or lower educational qualification. Hence it is not necessary to analyse separately local and foreign females.

attainment, the opportunity cost of staying out of the labour force will increase. If the number of home houseworkers below 50 years of age in 1980 were drawn into the labour force, the size of the female labour force would have increased by almost 70 per cent.<sup>4/</sup>

Thirdly, the traditional view that women's primary role is the reproductive role still persists among many employers and husbands and even among some women themselves. Whenever and wherever the productive role of women is accorded a lower priority, women's career development receives a setback. This prevents women from being integrated into the development process and from becoming equal partners in the nation's economic, social and political development.

#### IV. CURRENT STATUS OF WOMEN

That women, despite their dramatic progress in the workforce, lag behind men in occupational status is partially reflected in the proportion of 12.7 per cent women holding professional, technical, administrative and managerial positions in 1982, against that of 15.3 per cent for men.<sup>5/</sup> This disparity is notably evident in the civil service where women in the top hierarchical posts of superscale and Division I constituted 9 per cent of the female civil service workforce in 1981, whereas men at similar levels accounted for nearly 15 per cent of male employment in the government.<sup>6/</sup> Because of the relatively short history of easier access of females to education, the average level of educational attainment among females is significantly below that among males. Moreover, the female labour force is relatively young, as indicated by the lower median age of females compared to that of males in each division of the civil service. This is a major factor explaining the higher average earnings of males in each divisional group.<sup>7/</sup>

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<sup>4/</sup> A sample survey recently conducted by the Times Organisation, Singapore, provides some information on factors that would attract housewives to re-enter the labour force. The survey findings were briefly reported in "It's Children and Home First", The Straits Times, November 17, 1983.

<sup>5/</sup> Singapore, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Economic Survey of Singapore 1982, Table 6.3, p. 123.

<sup>6/</sup> Singapore, Department of Statistics, Report on Civil Service Statistics 1981, Table 3, p. 8.

<sup>7/</sup> The median length of service of females in the civil service is also shorter than that of men - 7 years in 1981 compared to 12 years for men. Ibid., Table 1.05, p. 31.

In the field of policy-making at the highest levels and in development planning, women's representation is extremely low. There are no women cabinet ministers nor parliamentary members. None of the officers above the assistant director level in the Ministry of Trade and Industry, where economic and manpower planning is undertaken, is a woman.<sup>8/</sup>

In Singapore's public sector - government departments and statutory boards - new recruits with similar qualifications are paid the same salary irrespective of sex.<sup>9/</sup> Starting salaries in the private sectors, however, differ and market forces as well as other factors contribute to the income disparity between males and females. In particular, a wider gap between the average starting pay for men and women in the finance sector has been observed in recent years.<sup>10/</sup> Subtle forms of sex discrimination, closed shop practices in certain jobs traditionally demarcated for men, and shortages of qualified males have been identified as major causes for the larger pay differential between sexes.

#### V. MEASURES FOR INCREASING FEMALE PARTICIPATION

Apart from the economy as a whole benefitting from greater female participation in productive activities, women themselves would gain from employment. Through higher purchasing power, increased independence, and more social interaction, women could lead a more interesting life and take a deeper interest in matters outside the home. They could become more vocal and demanding of better services and goods, thereby forming a vehicle for continuous quality improvement. They could also hasten the attitudinal change in men who regard women's duty to the family as the prime role of women and who do not believe in the equality of sexes.

Singapore's experience demonstrates the crucial importance of education and family planning in drawing women into the development process. To further enhance the economic role of women, Singapore would now need to devise specific measures or schemes to facilitate women's participation in the workforce. The following are some suggestions that the Government could consider:

(i) Lightening the workload in the productive role by, for instance:

(a) Establishing more outlets for convenience and ready-to-cook

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<sup>8/</sup> Singapore, Ministry of Culture, Information Division, Singapore Government Directory, April 1982.

<sup>9/</sup> With the exception that males who have completed their national service are paid a premium.

<sup>10/</sup> Singapore, The Straits Times, "The Great Gap in Incomes" November 5, 1983.

food, which should be carefully monitored for its nutritional value, proper preparation and price increases. The location of these outlets along daily travelling routes is of prime importance. The mass rapid transit (MRT) system, the construction of which is to commence soon, should incorporate these outlets in its stations.

- (b) Encouraging, expanding and maintaining an efficient network of child-care centres. The training of personnel for these child-care centres should be developed and institutionalised.
  - (c) Providing more facilities in schools for students to pursue their hobbies so that parents can opt for longer school hours without a heavier study-load for their children.
- (ii) Offer shorter working hours per day or shorter working week.
  - (iii) Set an example as a fair employer, giving equal opportunities to women for career development.
  - (iv) Provide financial assistance to women who would like to be self-employed.

Women, for their part, should continue to strive to succeed in both their productive and reproductive roles and to strike a practical balance between the responsibilities of the two roles.

Paper 5

A NOTE ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

By Eve Dorfzaun UN/DTCD

The opportunities for women to participate in the development process vary in scope and degree according to country. The extent of participation as well as specific activities will continue to be determined in large measure by such factors as the existing social, political and economic status of women, their education levels, prevailing cultural and religious mores, etc., all of which are to a greater or lesser extent interrelated. Nevertheless, in almost all instances there are great opportunities for improving women's participation. However, if these opportunities are to be enhanced and extended, modifications in the determinants of women's status, such as the parameters mentioned above, will need to take place.

The chances for success of programmes appear greater where in the short run goals are established which are relatively modest and designed to fully take into account the absorptive capacity of the participating individuals and institutions. Overly ambitious programmes based on immediate radical transformations are more likely to result in confrontation and failure. A study on community development projects undertaken a few years ago, found, for example, that the basic elements which successful community projects shared were a high degree of meshing or fit between programme design, beneficiary needs and the capacities of the assisting and executing bodies. <sup>1/</sup> It seems highly likely that the design of programmes aimed at enhancing women's role in development would benefit by giving due consideration to the aforesaid elements.

Individual country and area profiles regarding basic parameters affecting women's status and participatory role should be an essential ingredient for the formulation of projects and programmes designed to incorporate women in the development process. These profiles should include official and popular attitudes regarding women's roles and particular problems confronted by different segments of the female population, as well as an identification of their basic needs and goals. The views of the women in question should form the basis of these profiles and the nucleus of programme design and execution.

The role of women in the formal development planning process can take place at a number of levels i.e. the national level, the regional level and the local community level and can take the form of direct participation and/or training. The latter will lay the foundation for extending participation.

At the national level, in order to have the women's perspective fully taken into account, attempts should be made to have women represented at the highest level in decision-making bodies such as the National Planning Commission, the Office of the Prime Minister, etc. In addition to the

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<sup>1/</sup> See David C. Korten "Community Organization and Rural Development: A Learning Process Approach," Public Administration Review, No.5 Sept/Oct. 1980, pp. 480-511.

placement of women in the Ministry of Planning, it is extremely important that they be placed in the sectoral ministries which are often more powerful than the planning ministry and are usually responsible for project identification, formulation and implementation. It is interesting to note that in far too many developing countries, development plans are mainly prepared by expatriate experts. Sectoral priorities are often not spelled out in detail, and project identification, formulation and evaluation is for the most part left to the bilateral and multilateral agencies who actually decide the type and specifics of projects they will finance. These projects may or may not correspond to national priorities. Too often the inter-relationship of projects is neglected.

From the national perspective therefore, not only from the women's perspective, it is essential that national capability is developed at both the macro and micro level. In order for women to take full part in the development planning exercise it is essential that they be included in the national training effort in this field. There is at present such a dearth of well-qualified individuals in the planning and sectoral ministries that, if qualified women candidates did apply for posts, there would be a good chance that in many cases they would be accepted and given positions of responsibility. In the meantime, both bilateral and multilateral agencies should be urged to take into account the interests of women and their potential for contribution at every level as far as national policies and project design are concerned. These agencies might also be asked to give special attention to women in the training programmes they sponsor in this area.

Equally as important as training women for participation at the national level, training needs to be organized at the regional and community level. Training here will need to be multi-faceted, focussing on consciousness-raising as regards women's roles, potential contribution, as well as familiarization with ways to make their voices heard. The training should aim at developing leadership qualities. In addition, technical training is required to assist in identifying income-generating activities for women to enable them to undertake the tasks these activities require.

Another important area in which women need to be trained is in the field of community development and self-help activities. With respect to agricultural extension and local credit institutions, women should receive the necessary training so as to fully participate in these activities at every level. There is a lot of good work being done in community development and knowledgeable individuals can be called in to assist in the formulation of good projects.

As far as possible, use should be made of existing institutions and local organizations. In the training field, for example, trainers are known to be a scarce resource in developing countries; therefore, technical training should be undertaken in coeducational facilities. Even for training specifically geared to women, local institutions such as universities could be called upon to organize special training. Necessary provision should be made to ensure that women are adequately represented in all training programmes.

In order to ensure that the power of progressive local organizations is enhanced rather than diluted, attempts should be made at avoiding the further proliferation of organizations. Local women's and community organizations, co-operatives, etc . should be strengthened and new bodies created only where absolutely necessary.

In many of the above areas, international and bilateral organizations can be called upon to render assistance. To make assistance effective all attempts should be made to co-ordinate these activities.

Paper 6

THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

THE NEED FOR QUALITATIVE DATA

by

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Introduction

Since the International Women's Year in 1975 and the beginning of the Decade for Women, there has been a growing awareness of the critical role played by social and cultural factors in the success of development planning. Unanticipated difficulties in the development process have resulted in a gradual shift from a narrow focus on GNP as the only measure of growth, to less easily measured but equally important aspects of the process. These aspects, which include the domestic domain and the informal economy, are often in the hands of women and came into sharper focus as a result of the international attention given to women. And, in 1976, the World Employment Congress broadened the basis of discussion even further by focusing for the first time on the need to fulfill "basic needs". <sup>1/</sup> Although this shift in focus heralded the need for a new kind of data and data-gathering procedures, the development and utilization of appropriate research methods and models is still only in its incipient stage.

The need to develop cross-culturally reliable measures for domains not easily accessible to quantification has been recognized by some, but that a reliable data base for planning requires qualitative information as well as quantitative data is as yet far from being accepted. Quantification can, however, only be meaningful if it is based on an understanding of the social and cultural fabric of the country concerned. Such understanding requires methods very different from those of survey research, and careful consideration need be given to how other methods might effectively be incorporated into existing data collection procedures. <sup>2/</sup>

Research methods and tools for collecting data of a qualitative nature have been developed by the social sciences, specifically anthropology, which

<sup>1/</sup> United Nations. International Labour Office. 1977. Employment, Growth, and Basic Needs: A One-World Problem. New York: Praeger

<sup>2/</sup> For an excellent discussion of the problems involved see Christine Oppong (198C, 1982).

designed its methods precisely in order to address problems of cross-cultural research. Increasingly these methods are being used by sociologists working in non-western contexts. The methods are essentially ethnographic and entail:

- 1) Participant-observation, that is living and participating in the society so as to develop an understanding of the perspective of the population involved so as to be able to describe in detail and analyse its institutions, both formal and informal;
- 2) A holistic approach which involves looking at the society as a whole and the interrelationship of its parts rather than domains, pre-defined and predetermined by our own culture-bound perspective and concerns; and
- 3) A contextual approach that requires placing the behaviour and beliefs of people in their social and cultural context.

The need for qualitative data and in-depth research methods is particularly clear as regards three major foci of development efforts that promise to carry us well beyond the end of the Decade for Women.

First: a growing recognition of the need for data on women for an accurate assessment of women's present and potential contribution to their societies.

Second: the need to increase the productivity of women in order to develop individual and collective self-reliance.

Third: the call for a grass-roots approach, the need to plan from the bottom-up, entailing the development of participatory research and training activities in which women themselves can take an active role.

#### 1. Data on Women

As development planners have had to deal more directly with issues of concern to women, the inadequacy of existing census and survey data has become apparent. Not only is there a lack of women-specific data, but bias in the questions and categories employed creates distortion in the data as a whole. The result has been a call for more data specifically on women and on issues of relevance to women and, in addition, the disaggregation of data by gender. The discussion has for the most part accepted an economic frame of reference and addressed itself to problems of accurate measurement and quantifiability. But recent focus on a "basic needs approach" has broadened the discussion to include a range of factors not included in the traditional economic approach. This has significant implications for the sorts of data to be gathered.

Criticism of existing census and survey data has focused primarily on its inadequacy in calculating women's economic activity and women's productive contribution to the economies of their countries. This inadequacy has largely stemmed from the fact that women's activities tend to be in the non-market sector - the informal "hidden" economy or the domestic domain - the importance of which was underestimated by economists in the past. The

frequent placement of women's work into such exclusionary categories as "unpaid family work" has led to systematic undercounting and undervaluation of women's activities. Furthermore, there is the definitional bias inherent in such concepts as "household head" (generally assumed to be male) resulting in the underestimation of female-headed households, and the host of problems associated with the use of the household as the unit of analysis (Anker, et al 1982 Introduction; Oppong 1980, 1982).

The major question raised has been, then, how to make the "invisible" visible. What is it that planners should be looking at to assess women's productive capacity and how can planners deal with non-market and non-monetized activities within an economic framework rooted in a monetary system of exchange? Although efforts have been made to move indices of development away from what has been a narrow concern exclusively with GNP, nevertheless, discussion continues to centre around the question of measurement. This question appears increasingly problematic because of the difficulty, highlighted by a now broader focus, to determine cross-culturally equivalent units.

Other critics have gone further, questioning the adequacy of merely bringing to the fore what was previously hidden. They point out that the two economies - hidden and visible - are related, that it is the relationship between the domestic and market sectors, between reproduction and production that must be understood, relationships to which women's roles are critical (Beneria and Sen 1980; Meillassoux 1977). This suggests a need to go beyond a concern merely with measureable units, to the relationship between arenas and linkages between micro and macro processes.

As Boulding (\*1983) has recently pointed out, the move to a discussion of fulfillment of "basic needs" has sharply highlighted the shortcomings of existing data collection. At the 1976 World Employment Conference "basic needs" were defined to include not only "...meeting the minimum requirements of a family for personal consumption: food, shelter, clothing ....access to essential services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, transport, health and educationing..." but to imply also the satisfaction of needs of a more qualitative nature: a healthy, humane and satisfying environment, and popular participation in the making of decisions that affect the lives and livelihood of the people and individual freedoms (IILC 1977).

The question is, how do we determine what these needs are? How do people perceive these needs? And how might they be fulfilled in social and cultural contexts very different from the ones we are familiar with?

What goes into the definition of basic needs varies from society to society. And, similarly, how they are fulfilled varies as well. What appear superficially to be similar institutions and activities across cultures, may fulfill very different needs and have very different meanings. Conversely, what appear to be different institutions and activities may serve similar needs or functions across societies. The social and cultural context is therefore, critical both to establishing need priorities that reflect the realities of people's lives and appropriate means to fulfill them.

For example, the household, based on a western model, has until recently been considered primarily as a unit of consumption; only recently has it been recognized as a productive unit in many societies around the world. It also serves socialization, educational, political, emotional and any number of other ends as well as different times and places. But these same needs may alternatively be fulfilled by other domestic arrangements, work groups, religious groups, communes, etc. at different times and places. Understanding the local definition of needs and the existing institutions, both formal and informal, as they work to fulfil - or not fulfil - those needs, is critical in order to plan effectively. Given the non-formal nature of many such co-operative forms, especially where women are concerned, the unobtrusive methods of participant-observation are particularly appropriate.

Only through methods that seek to reveal the network of interrelated roles and institutions, and their meaning to the people involved, can information be gathered that will enable women's integration into development.

## 2. Increasing the productivity of women for self-reliance

Increasing the productivity of women has been considered a way to tap what is perceived as a large pool of potential labour power for economic productivity, and to develop women's self-reliance. As a result, attention has been focused on developing income-generating activities, and training women in skills for greater labour force participation.

With regard to income-generating activities, it is now widely recognized that these activities have tended to be in areas defined in western terms as women's activities, that is extensions of family life and domestic skills (i.e. sewing, cooking, childcare, etc.) This policy not only imposed external (western) notions of appropriate gender roles, but often sharpened the division of labour by gender. More importantly still, in many parts of the world this policy has taken women away from formerly productive activities in which they played the major role, such as agriculture or activities otherwise essential to the fulfillment of their "basic needs".

The failure to fully understand the existing division of labour and the implications of changes in it has been responsible for resistance met within the community and what has frequently been an inability to keep a project going once started. Existing arrangements may, for example, fulfil certain social and emotional needs which must be considered if the new income-generating schemes are to be successful. This does not mean that changes in role allocation should not take place, but rather that the implications of such changes need to be understood in the course of planning.

Other constraints, and potentials, such as the regular supply of raw materials, marketability, and just how such income-generating schemes fit - or do not fit - in with broader development plans and economic policies at the national and international levels, all need to be analyzed. Increasingly women's labour-force participation has been the other important thrust of efforts aimed at developing women's productivity. Again, however, a shift in emphasis away from development simply in terms of economic measures has raised the issue of the impact of such participation on the provision of human needs other than simply monetary needs and turned attention to the implication for

such areas as health and child care. The often negative effects of a changeable, undependable labour market on the lives of women has begun to be documented, particularly with regard to the policy of multi-nationals (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Safe 1978), pointing to the need for analyses to combine macro-level quantitative data with micro-level qualitative material.

Planning both for income-generating activities and for participation in the formal labour market, then, needs to be done both in the light of local conditions and requirements and national and international economic policies. It requires more than the collection of women-specific data, and more than disaggregation of data for quantitative purposes, necessary though that may be. By utilizing research methods that are at once contextual and holistic it is possible to look at the interrelationship between roles and institutions at the local level and their relationship with broader economic processes. In this way planning for increased productivity and self-reliance can build upon the potential presented by local forms of organization and existing institutional relationships, formal and informal. These may then provide the basis for pre-co-operatives and co-operatives, of new productive enterprises for income-generation and of training activities for skill development that will permit greater labour force participation.

### 3. The grass-roots and participatory approach

It has become increasingly clear over the years that without the co-operation of the population involved, planning for effective change is impossible and, co-operation requires involvement and participation. The term "participatory", which has recently gained currency, has a somewhat different meaning to different people in the areas of project development, training, and research.

For project planners generally it has meant that women, to varying degrees, play an active role in the articulation of project goals and working towards means to achieve them. Recently attention has been placed for example, on the potential "ripple effect" of training projects, in which an initial input with a few women will permit them to train others and they in turn yet others. It is hoped that such projects will make the women themselves the effective agents of change.

In the area of training, "participatory" has become synonymous with non-formal, learner-centred methods of education, based on the assumption that learning is more than a one-way flow of information. Such methods aim at eliciting critical and productive responses from the trainee through such techniques as role playing and presentation of case studies. This allows participants to articulate goals and to develop means of achieving them in a simulated environment. Some methods are more psychologically oriented, aimed at fostering self awareness and modes of expression (Srinivasan 1977), others at developing a "critical consciousness" (Freire 1970, 1973), reflection, critical appraisal and interpretive skills.

A related but somewhat different use of the term "participatory training" centres on the use of local cultural forms for the transmission of information. Use has been made of village or folk drama for educational purposes, while

locally based theatre groups have played an active role in motivating participation in literacy, health and agricultural campaigns. The potential use of such informal arrangements as story-telling, traditionally passed down from grandmother to grandchild, or local apprenticeship arrangements for training have been understood. It has been recognized that linking new ideas and skills to the dynamics of local social and cultural patterns can be a most effective means of training. Finally, women have begun to be trained in media skills so that they can develop training materials for their own communities.

"Participatory" research activities are also being developed. This has entailed giving women a role in the data-collection process, whether it be for basic research or for monitoring and evaluation. For some projects it has meant providing local women with the tools to gather answers to predetermined questions regarding their own and/or other peoples' activities (Mencher, et al 1979). For others it entails involving local women in the formulation of the goals that this is not only a more reliable form of data collection, but that such participation can itself potentially transform the women involved, for it provides a new perspective on their situations and opens up possibilities for change.

Participatory forms of training and research have met with variable success. Sometimes this is due to the class and ethnic differences of those who introduce them, the local material or political situations which constrain participation, or the cultural attitudes and values of the local population which are insufficiently understood.

For any one of these and other reasons the activities initiated by a person or organization often cease upon departure of the outsider who has taken the initiative.

In order for a participatory approach to be successful it is necessary to assess what participation might mean in a given context, and how participation can take place if women are to be successfully mobilized. The constraints and potentials of the situation will vary depending on social, cultural and political factors. Again, such understanding requires a qualitative research methodology, one that seeks to unravel not only formal, but informal organizational forms and networks of communication. Such forms and networks can provide the vehicle to mobilize women for participation. This requires consideration by planners of how their activities might be integrated into existing ones and, just as critically, the complex web of values and attitudes that will be central to the willingness and ability of local women to participate.

### Conclusion

The shift in emphasis away from simply economic productivity as a measure of economic growth, and a growing concern with "basic needs", means that social and cultural factors must figure ever more centrally in any development plan. Not only is it necessary to determine how people perceive their needs, but to consider the social and culturally appropriate methods for their fulfillment. Such approach seeks to build upon local institutions and mechanism for the fulfillment of needs rather than the imposition of external institutions. In turn, this requires a research strategy that is concerned with developing a

sensitivity to and understanding of existing social and cultural forms. It has been suggested that for each of the three foci of development efforts - increasing data on women, increasing the productivity of women, and a grass-roots and participatory approach - a research methodology that places emphasis on the kind of information that can form the basis for effective programme planning and implementation.

The research methodology required is one that is based on ethnographic methods. It relies on participant-observation in order to learn the perspective of the people involved, their local institutions - formal and informal - and how these fulfil or fail to fulfil their needs. The approach is contextual, in that it looks to the interrelationship of roles and institutions and their meaning in specific situational contexts. Within the framework of a basic-needs approach, any attempt at planning for increased productivity of women requires that various needs be weighed and balanced, and that analyses be holistic, looking to the implications of economic and political policies at the national and international levels for the local level.

Finally, the successful design of "participatory" approaches to project design, training, and research, rests on knowing the constraints and potentials of the local situation on women's participation in the way of political, economic, social and attitudinal factors.

Such a research strategy, one that entails analysis based on qualitative material, made available through participant-observation, promises not only greater success in terms of meeting planning and programming objectives, but entails in its very method a respect for the people involved.

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Paper 7

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Part III of the "Study of the situation of women in the political process". Preliminary study submitted to the Council of Europe, Steering Committee of Human Rights (CDDH), December 1982

by

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INTRODUCTION

The role of women in European political development is determined by two different processes of change:

(1) changes in women's participation rates - their extent as well as their mode - which in turn are embedded in national organization contexts - (2) the expansion of governmental tasks and the inclusion of new areas under public control, a fact which also has affected non-governmental organizations. These two processes are of course related to each other, and both - mobilization from below and incorporation from above - are essential for an analysis of women's future roles and possibilities in political and organizational life.

Modern welfare States have incorporated an increasing number of tasks and activities which formerly were regulated and handled either by the market or by the family, in other words, in privately controlled settings (Baumol 1965, Hernes 1982 a and b).<sup>\*</sup> The process of incorporation of market-related activities into the public realm has affected men's public world, while the incorporation of family-related activities into the public realm has affected women's private and public worlds. Both processes are closely related to different types of organizational development. The two transition processes differ from one another in several ways and that fact helps to explain in part women's relative absence from political life as well as their powerlessness in the political system compared to men.

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<sup>\*</sup> The notes in parentheses refer to the bibliography.

Women's traditional activities have been incorporated into the political system later than men's, less completely than men's and under different political conditions from men's. Women's relative absence and powerlessness can only to a limited degree be related to their role as "latecomers" into the system. Other groups that have come late, for example workers, have been absorbed and represented relatively quickly. More important is the fact that the less complete absorption of the private world of family-related activities into the public realm has left women with a double burden and a dual life leading to the fact that women's lives are fragmented and basically out of tune with the demands of public life as it is organized in most countries. These factors are analysed in part I of this report (Weber *et al.*) and are only referred to indirectly here. (See also Balbo 1980, 1982). Most important for our topic is the fact that men have come into political life via organizations which have aggregated and articulated their interests nationally and collectively for them, as, for instance, labour unions. Women have practically no institutional support from these powerful organizations and their own organizations are most often not considered politically relevant. Conversely, it can be said that the three factors mentioned have contributed to the general politization of women which has been observed in the last decade. Women have not always come into politics through the most traditional and established channels and this fact will be discussed at some length below. Women's historical absence from politics and their political powerlessness as well as the potential for their political future will be analysed here in these organizational terms. This paper will explore three aspects of women's representation and participation in voluntary non-governmental associations:

- (1) the relevance of corporatism for women's representation in political life,
- (2) political aspects of women's role in voluntary, non-governmental organizations and activities,
- (3) political aspects of the new women's movement.

A short concluding section will relate these to each other.

#### Technical problems

A few remarks on the technical problems in drawing up this research report are in order. In order to describe women's role as citizens within the European organizational contexts, two types of literature and data would have been necessary: (1) Studies of how and to what extent interest organizations and voluntary organizations are recognized within the State and how this contact between organizations and central authorities including data on the participation and representation of women within this corporate system of representation; (2) studies of and data on the considerable and growing activities of voluntary associations, community action groups and self-help groups on the local level and the important role of women within these partly conventional, partly unconventional types of political action and association. A comprehensive search of the literature (including computer-based searches of several international data banks) and contact with several large European data banks have rendered few results when it comes to comprehensive surveys on this topic.

This is not so surprising when it comes to studies of women per se, who have after all never before been of central interest to political scientists. Women's own pattern of organizing and mobilization have not been considered relevant by political scientists even though we know from some studies that women have indeed been active in many different types of organizations, especially in Northern Europe. In most existing studies it has not been a matter of research routine to divide data on individuals' organizational membership and political participation in general by sex. There are some excellent studies on corporatism as a political phenomenon. I mention especially the volumes by Schmitter et al. (1979), Berger et al. (1981) and Lehmbruch et al. (1982), but there have been no international surveys on such central aspects of political development in Western Europe as the increasing importance of interest organizations, on the one hand, and the increase in activities on the grass-root level, on the other hand. Barnes and Kaase (1979) is an exception, but they have no data on individual organizational affiliation which would have been important to describe the parameters of political action. There have, of course, been exceptions mostly in terms of national, monographic studies on citizens' activities, and my report is largely based on them. But information on the democratic aspects of organizational life, especially taking into account women's influence on powerful organizations is practically non-existent. The literature on corporatism is macro-oriented and largely ignores the inner life of organizations, and even data on the macro level are not yet so complete that one can say precisely which organizations in each State are recognized as political actors (Schmitter in Berger 1981, 296). Studies of non-conventional political action have, on the other hand, not analysed the organizational setting within which many of these activities occur (Barnes and Kaase, 1979). There are, however, case studies from some countries to draw upon. Very few of these consider the role of women within the associations. This short paper presents thus, rather a framework for analyses on the basis of the existing literature and of limited factual information and underlines the need for future research into this important area of political life.

## I. THE RELEVANCE OF CORPORATISM FOR WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION

Corporatism as a phenomenon describes and includes various forms of interface and co-operation between interest organizations (especially economic) and central bureaucracies. Countries differ according to which non-governmental organizations have access to the political system more or less directly. The reason for scholars growing attention to corporatist patterns of State-society relationships is that these patterns compete with more traditional, liberal patterns of democratic, pluralist politics and territorial representation (which are the subject of part II of this report by Lavau and Sineaul). Corporatism has taken on many different forms in Western or Southern Europe but its pattern is basically determined by those organizations which exercise most power in a particular country and by the degree and amount of governmental control over various policy areas. It is thus both a mode of interest intermediation and a mode of policy formation (Lehmbruch et al. 1982, Schmitter 1979, Olsen 1978, Berger et al. 1981, Harrison 1980, Diamant 1981). Despite national variations and differences the phenomenon is unified enough to make some general observations of its

nature in terms of women's representation and women's interest. After that, we will present some regional and national variations.

From a power perspective, it is important to mention that this political-administrative system, which consists of civil servants, organizational leaders, bureaucrats and technical experts, defines an increasing part of the "public interest" especially with regard to economic policies, and that women are not among the "Mandarins of Western Europe" (Dogan 1975). As a matter of fact, organizations and professions have very clear gender profiles which helps to explain in part women's small chances of getting into the political power network. Powerful institutions rather than voters are the central gatekeepers in the modern State system and have not been in focus in the same manner as political parties in terms of their willingness to recruit women or take up women's issues. Of all the channels of access to the political decision-making centres the corporative one is the least "participative", the most hierarchical and oligarchical and the most elitist (Harrison 1980, 187). The relative absence of women from positions of authority and power is of course related to their absence from those fora where candidates for office get recruited. Their lack of institutional support is well known, while mechanisms by which this happens vary from organization to organization and from country to country (Coser and Epstein 1981, Lovenduski and Hills 1981, Hernes 1982 c). In part this has to do with women's subordination and their lack of formal qualifications, especially in countries where women's general educational level is low (e.g. Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal). In part, it is also true that women's typical professions (nursing and teaching) are defined as "semi-professions" and thus not autonomous in relation to the professions dominated by men. Women are thus often not in the "pool of eligibles". But also those women who meet formal criteria in terms of seniority, educational characteristics and professional background find it difficult to win the institutional support necessary for obtaining positions of power. Female civil servants advance, for example, much more slowly than male civil servants and female managers rarely come above the middle-management level. In some countries public recognition of this fact has led to policy measures to change the situation, especially in the Scandinavian countries and in Austria, where corporatism is most legitimate (Hernes 1982 a, Edwards and Halsaa 1982).

If we look at the organizational map of Europe from a women's perspective, the following general trends become clear: (1) associations of employers and trade unions which occupy "points of far greater strategic importance for most of the battles of industrial societies than those that any other interest group can seize" (Berger 1981, 13) usually have few women members, and practically no women in their leadership. (2) Those organizations where women are in the majority neither threaten the central bureaucracies independence or exercise any important influence and control. They have very few representational rights in terms of access. (3) Women and their organizations are, in Claus Offe's terms, "policy-takers" at the grass-roots levels. Men are represented through class organizations which have access to the political "market" (Offe in Berger 1981, 138). The very narrow representational base of interest representation which corporatism implies underlines and strengthens power inequalities between women and men. In some countries it undoubtedly also increased class differences since business interests often

prevail over unions interests. This has been shown to be the case in Germany and France. Other writers such as Galbraith (1969), Harrison (1980), Diamant (1981) point out that a system which gives access to some organizations and lets them participate in the planning processes at preparliamentary stages of policy-input only underlines the weakness of other areas of political concerns and social justice. Consumer-organizations, welfare claimants, environmental and promotional groups are neglected (Harrison 1980), a point which underlines Offe's thesis about powerless "policy-takers". Schmitter speculates whether these unintegrated groups may come to threaten corporate stability in the future (Schmitter in Berger 1981, 322). Organized groups have been described as the central source for the declining authority of governments. We are here not concerned with their legitimacy but with their effect on the distribution of power between women and men and their effect on the inclusion of women's interests into the political agenda. Women are entering party and electoral politics precisely at the moment when democracy is in crisis and the policy-making process suffers from overload, inefficiency and the threat of bankruptcy. Especially in those countries where interest organizations have great influence, women are excluded from an increasingly important arena of policy-making, since they have little or no power in economic-interest organizations. Women have even less power in and access to the corporate centres of decision-making than in the electoral channel. They are absent from or vastly under-represented in the leadership of trade unions and trade-union cartels, from employer organizations, from important professional groupings, from high university positions, and from planning positions in the civil service.

These trends are clearly discernible in all European States and we will here point to regional and national examples. There are great variations among countries as to specific institutionalization of corporate structures and their power. Austria, the Netherlands and the five Nordic countries where these are not as strongly centralized, interest organizations are important e.g. Germany, Great Britain, Italy. Austria has "paraconstitutional" elite cartels constituted into a system of chambers on the national and regional level. The five Nordic countries all have a large system of boards, councils and committees as well as a system of hearing through "remiss" which involves all major affected interests. A similar system yet without statutory claim to consult exists in Germany. Also France has a system of about 4,000 commissions. France, the Netherlands, the EEC all have economic-social councils of some power, while the same kind of bodies in Italy, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom have more limited roles. All these bodies are involved in socio-economic planning and therefore central in the policy-making process. Members of these bodies are selected and appointed partly by virtue of their leadership positions in interest organizations.

Trade unions are the most important membership organizations, while business and employer organizations often are associations of other corporate bodies. Despite the fact that female membership in trade unions has been growing in all countries under consideration, women have a very difficult time getting into leadership positions. In a survey conducted by the European Trade Union Conference (ETUC) the trend was that the percentage of women in decision-making bodies is lowest in the central decision-making bodies and highest on the shop floor. A certain minimal representation by women is often assured by statutes reserving one or two permanent places to women. Almost

all unions have special women's committees, family committees or equality committees, but only in some countries are the presidents or leaders for these divisions automatically assured a place on the executive committee. The ETCU survey also showed that most unions were satisfied with the machinery set up to deal with the question of women, while some felt that there should be a somewhat higher representation of women in leadership positions. The only factor which assures a union female leadership is if the union is comprised only of women and if federations have an automatic rotation of leadership among member organizations. This is the case both in Denmark and Norway at the time. A plurality of unions in Europe have between 10 and 40 per cent women members and most again have less than 10 per cent women in their central decision-making bodies.

At the level which is important for corporate mediation, namely the central one, there is hardly ever more than one woman. In Great Britain there has been an experiment with adding five new seats, reserved for women, to the central committee of the Trade Union Congress; 44 per cent of British women employees are unionized and 15 unions have a female majority, yet only 1 in 30 trade union officials is a woman. Women are also underrepresented in the leadership of women-dominated unions. The National Union of Tailors and Garment makers has 90 per cent women in its membership and 30 per cent women in its leadership. The National Union of Teachers has 70 per cent women among its members and 9 per cent among its leadership (Hills in Lovenduski and Hills, 1981, p.12). The Swedish LO and the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions have no women in their central leadership, the German Federation has one woman, the Austrian Trade Union Federation has three women among the 68 members of its central council. These small numbers are important, given the power of trade unions in corporate decision-making. Also in Italian unions which have not nearly as much power in the political system, women are under-represented in the central decision-making organ. There are no women in central executive committees, but the general councils of the CGIL and the CISL have 15 per cent and 3 per cent women, respectively. Swiss unions have between 4 per cent and 14 per cent women in their leadership. French women make up 30 per cent of the unionized workforce but there are practically no women in leadership positions and their representation decreases from the bottom to the top, even in those unions where there are many women. Lavau and Sineau relate this to the strongly anti-feminist tradition in French unions stemming from Prodlion (Lavau and Sineau in Lovenduski and Hills 1981, p.116).

A survey by Professor Alice Cook, a veteran in the field, showed how similar trends are in Sweden, Germany, Austria and Great Britain (see table 1). Although information on other countries is more spotty, the pattern is the same everywhere. As is to be expected there are almost no women on any decision-making level in Greek, Spanish and Portuguese unions, and their membership is low. Fascist and military regimes have always been inimical to women and this tradition takes a very long time to eradicate. Most unions train their leaders in an extensive system of training courses. Women participate relatively frequently (25-30 per cent) in evening courses and residential courses of short duration (1 or 2 weeks). Women's attendance at and selection of courses which last from 6 to 12 weeks is reduced drastically (7-11 per cent women). These are Swedish data presented by Alice Cook, but there is little reason to believe that unions in other countries have more

TABLE I

Percentage of women in selected trade unions and trade-unions  
officers 1974 or later in Austria, Federal Republic of  
Germany, Sweden, and United Kingdom  
(Alice Cook, copyright)

Country	Federations and unions	Women members	Stewards Works Councillors	Local Elected Officers	Delegates to Union Congresses	Members Elected Executive	Full- time Staff
Austria	Unions:						
	Private office workers	42	22		12	8	
	metal workers	16	5		8	6	
	Textile	72	69	55	46	32	
Federal Republic of Ger- many	Federation GDR	18.3	16		7	Local 9.6 dist. 8.9 natl. 7.5	10.9 0.7
	Unions:						
	Chemicals	18.3	14.5		12.8	local 11.6 dist. 11.2 natl. 7.2	
	Metal	13.2	8.5	8	8		
	Textiles	54.3	47		10.5		
	Private office workers	51			14.2		
	Independent office workers (DAG)	34	23		12	21	

TABLE 1 (contd).

Country	Federations and unions	Women members	Stewards Works Councillors	Local Elected Officers	Delegates to Union Congresses	Members Elected Executive	Full-time Staff
Sweden	Federation-LO	36		9	17.6	natl. 0-9 dist.17-20	9
	Federation TCO Unions	50				31.6	19.3
	Distributive workers	70		50	51	11	5
	Local Gve. blue-collar	76		28	32	45	17
	metal	16			0.6	0	0
	private office workers	34	6		16	23	10
	local gvt. white-collar	63.5				30	0
United Kingdom	Federation TUC	27.5			8		3
	Unions: Engineering AEW (excl. TASS)	12					0
	White-collar - TASS	11		11	11	8	6
	General Gve. Local Gvt.	31					3
	NCPE Local Gvt. officers	66	27	10	10	23	1.6
	NALGO	42.7	15.5	5-16		19.6	3
Nether-lands	National estimate	10.5		10	7	1	

Source: For all countries except the Netherlands, Alice H. Cook "Women in Trade Unions". Paper prepared for the International Symposium on Women and Industrial Relations, International Institute of Labour Studies, Vienna, Austria, 12-15 September, 1978: for the Netherlands, Ronnie S. Rauner "Labour Market Inequality and Equal Employment Policy for Women, a Cross National Comparison", paper prepared for the CECD, General Diagnosis for the High Level Conference on the Employment of Women. 1979. Table IV.

extensive leadership training for women. Cook also reports that "German and Austrian unions have had considerable experience with special programmes for women, particularly in the introductory courses". (Cook 1979). Italian union women have had the chance to attend university courses as part of a special union agreement called "the 150 hours" and these have had great success (Balbo 1981). However, these courses have not been leadership oriented. Even though trade unions have been affected by the women's movement they still do not invest very much time and effort in continued education for women which could contribute to their more active participation (See also Randzio-Plath 1978, 152 ff.).

Women are now mainly integrated into unions' decision making bodies via special women's divisions. These serve to focus attention on women's issues and are positive and important for that reason. But many women who are interested in union careers feel that this career path is detrimental to them since "real" union work such as collective bargaining, is not part of the women's division's work. Union women, like party women, are thus confronted with a dilemma when planning strategies for the improvement of women workers. Neither path seems to lead toward female leadership in unions. Sweden has abandoned women's divisions and established family divisions which deal with the need for shared roles between women and men. This is a strategy to be considered, since in all European countries time use studies and surveys of women's work (Pross 1973) show that women continue to do practically all the housework, that they are segregated into a few occupations, work in small businesses, are placed low in all hierarchies and earn less than men. And, as Lavau and Sineau write in their assessment of trade union women in France: "Exploitation, beyond a certain level rarely favours consciousness-raising and women's participation in the trade unions remains low." (In Lovenduski and Hills 1981, p.116).

Unions are, however, not the only (or even the most important) participants in corporate State-society relationships. Employers and management associations, professional institutions and the civil service are at least as important. There are some variations among countries as to the percentage of women in leading positions, but they are not great. In Great Britain, Ireland, Austria and France one finds that women have as much as 8 and 12 per cent of the leading positions in certain sectors of the public service and the civil service (especially social services) while the percentage for Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, Greece and West Germany are under 4 per cent both in the public and the private sector. Finnish women have a special position in the Nordic as well as the European context. They have the highest economic status when compared to men in their own country among European women (Stewart and Winther 1977) and they score highest when it comes to women in administrative, managerial service and technical work (Boulding 1976). Swedish, Danish and Norwegian women have, like Finnish women, achieved relatively much political power (see section II by Lavau and Sineau) but they have very few positions in management (about 2 per cent) and the top civil service (2-4 per cent). It seems important to point out that there is no linear relationship between women's educational status and their economic equality. There seems no relationship either between political and economic leadership (Pross in Epstein-Coser, 1980). The only factor which seems certain is that a relatively large public sector combined with a high educational standard for the population as a whole are positively related to women's overall social and

political status (Stewart and Winther 1977). But there seem to be other factors such as general attitudes towards authority combined with general sex role attitudes which determine whether women will have leadership opportunities in certain sectors such as the political system or the higher echelons in the administration of economic enterprises and of higher education. There is practically no research in this area, although certain attitudes have been crystallized in European surveys. France and Denmark seem to be the two countries where one has the most egalitarian attitudes when it comes to authority relations, while both women and men in Italy and Germany have more trust in male than in female leaders (Eurobarometer). When it comes to political authority women and men in Luxembourg, Belgium, the Federal Republic and the Netherlands feel that politics is a man's business. Scandinavian and Austrian men have a certain distrust towards women in economic and managerial leadership positions, but such attitudes become less pronounced for men who have had female bosses themselves. Professor Helge Pross reports that in the early 1960s 94 per cent of German corporate leaders responded in a survey that women could not achieve the same results as they themselves could in their jobs. Yet a survey of German men published by Pross in 1978 showed that men would be willing to accept women in positions of economic leadership. But German corporations have by no means extended their talent search to women during these past decades.

Women are numerous in union leadership compared to other areas relevant for economic decision-making such as in the leadership of large business enterprises, business associations and leaders of public enterprises such as railroads, telecommunications etc., whether these are market-oriented or not. Practically none of these have women in their executive committees. Women are not found in management positions, they have about 3-5 per cent of middle-management positions in France, Great Britain and Germany, much less in top management. Women who are in business are directors of small companies, they have lower income than men, and they tend to be the daughters of businessmen. Women with business-school degrees and women with law degrees prefer the public sector and the civil service even though they do not reach the top there either.

INSEAD (Institut Europeen d'Administration, Paris) did not accept women until 1968. The London School of Business has about the same record. The important universities in France and Great Britain still deliver most candidates to high bureaucratic and management positions. In Scandinavia no more than about 2 per cent of all top managers are women. We have no information on women in top economic leadership positions in Spain, Italy, Portugal or Greece, but there is little reason to believe that the situation would be different. There is however one important change in terms of recruitment: more women are attending business schools and there is a generally rising interest in women in management also in international management associations.

The German social scientist Helge Pross has some observations about the contrast between women's rates of representation and participation in economic and political interest organizations and leadership positions (Pross in Epstein-Coser 1981, p.215). She writes that social-democratic regimes which are the ones to have favoured women's advance and access to politics favour welfare more strongly than principles of philosophic individualism and that there are neither equality norms in economic corporations - where economic leaders are recruited - nor public pressure for women in economic leadership positions.

I think that her observations are very relevant for all middle and northern European countries when she writes that "collective action and class solidarity ranked higher than ideas of individual mobility and self-realization. Thus ideas of equal opportunity for all human beings regardless of class, religion or sex were never very popular. They have become so only with the 1960s and 1970s but are as yet restricted to the sector of education. It may be a matter of time for the programmes of equal opportunity to expand to other sectors and finally to find a place in the economic sphere. Up to now they have not done so." This sums up very well the general impression one gets when studying the political fight for women's rights in Europe vs. the United States. In Europe one generally has opted for increased welfare for women, especially in their roles as mothers, both employed women and housewives, while the United States has focused much more on women's power in economic terms. This contrast comes out clearly especially in those countries where there have been social democratic regimes such as Austria, West Germany, Holland, Great Britain and all the Nordic democracies. There is an interesting comment in one of the articles tracing the changes in the recruitment of French and British women at business schools, namely that a surprising percentage seems to have some connection with the United States either through family ties or by having studied there (Whitley in Epstein-Coser 1981).

Women are not quite as powerless in other occupational hierarchies, the only exception being the Church and the military. In countries where these two professions have influence in politics, such as the Mediterranean ones (and in part even France), women will have more difficulties in attaining leadership positions. But in the other countries women have reached certain important top positions in academia, in the mass media and in the judiciary. Nowhere do these percentages ever go beyond 4 per cent and in most countries and position-types they hover around 2 per cent, but at least the gates are not closed completely. In this connection I will not go into the sociologically interesting question of women as "tokens" or extreme minorities, nor into the question of "the queen-bee-syndrome" which says that women in extreme minority positions will not see it in their own interest to favour other women. (Streek et al. in Epstein-Coser 1981, 157 ff.). It seems more relevant to point out also that women in the world of public and private management have begun to create networks of mutual support, even though the feminist movement as a whole has not addressed itself to this sphere of societal life in any European country.

In general there seems to be a very slow increase of women in economic and professional leadership brought about mainly by public awareness of women's issues, even though economic hierarchies have been more protected by claims to equality than other groups and professions. In international bodies such as the ILO there has been a gradual increase of women delegates from European countries from 7 per cent in 1970 to 12 per cent in 1977. Governments (civil servants), trade unions (officials) and employer-organizations (managers) have sent about equally as many women over the years, a fact which seems surprising in the light of the other information we have. These ILO numbers are about the same as rates of representation in the corporate bodies of the Nordic countries, notably public boards, commissions, etc. (see table 3) and British ones, but notably higher than for example Austrian rates of corporate representation for women. As we mentioned above, Austria has the most

legalized system of public chambers "Although women represent 30 per cent of all doctors, no woman is represented in the doctor's political pressure group. In the chambers of workers and employees there are 5.7 per cent women, in the chamber of commerce there are none. Among pharmacists, the majority of whom are female, women are 11.8 per cent of the professional organization". (Nowotny in Epstein-Coser 1981, p.151).

The public sector is the prototypical meeting place for professional, economic and consumer interests, all of which are backed by membership organizations. This makes them an important potential arena for increasing the power of women. Since the control over this system of political and economic access lies with central bureaucracies and governments there exist great opportunities for granting women new forms of access here. In countries where the public sector is large, where women are economically very active, and have a rather high degree of education equality there are many opportunities for increasing women's political and economic control by governmental decision (table 2). The public sector in a variety of countries is described here in terms of its share in national employment. Because of its occupational composition the public sector is more important for women's employment than it is for men's. Column 2 describes the degree of educational equality in a number of countries, while column 3 shows the over-representation of women in professional and technical work (employed usually in the public sector).

TABLE 2

	Size of public sector (1)	Educational equality (2)	Women's overrepresentation in professional/technical and related work (3)
Denmark	33.3	0.91	- (no information)
Sweden	34.5	0.89	1.17
Norway	29.3	0.85	1.24
FRG	23.0	0.65	1.03
UK	28.6	0.66	1.05
Netherlands	29.9	0.21	1.23
Belgium	28.6	0.09	1.39
France	25.5	0.23	1.20
Austria	20.3	0.21	(no information)
Italy	20.9	1.15	1.52

Sources: (1) Ministry of Labour, Copenhagen, 1982.

Labour Market and Labour Market Policies. Table A4.

(2) A. Stewart and D. Winther, "The Nature and Cause of Female Suppression", *Signs*, spring 1977, Vol.2 No.3, p.547.

(3) Eline Haavio-Mannila, "Changes in the Life Pattern of Families in Europe", Helsinki 1982, p.15.

In concluding this chapter on interest representation in the corporate system through organizations and institutions, it seems in order to describe the results of the Norwegian experiment with a quota system. Norway is, according to this author's knowledge, the only country which has instituted a quota system for all national boards, councils and delegations by royal resolution in the year 1973. The social democratic Prime Minister at that time, Trygve Batteli, initiated the resolution despite the fact that there was no great feminist demand for this innovation. This is another example of the feminist neglect of economic and public influence on the modern State. The Norwegian system is relevant also because the other Scandinavian countries are now discussing and instituting similar rules and because (as I mentioned in the foregoing paragraph) the opportunity for such implementation exists (at least in theory) in a great many European countries.

Norway's system of about 1,100 boards, councils, commissions and delegations had about 7 per cent women in 1967, 11 per cent in 1973 and about 20 per cent in 1980 after the quota system had existed for seven years. The royal resolution demanded that all organizations and institutions to be represented in a newly appointed board etc. should nominate one man and one woman to the appointing ministry, which would then pick out suitable candidates. There were many angry voices among union leaders, leaders in employer-organizations and professional organizations claiming mainly that women were not qualified. The Ministry of Administration and Consumer Affairs was set up to implement and administer the new rule and organizations had to prove that they had done everything to find suitable women among their members. A survey of the newly appointed women have about the same background in terms of education, organizational membership and political involvement as men. There existed in other words a "pool" or "reservoir" of qualified women (Hernes and Voje 1980, Hernes 1982). Table 3 shows that women's corporate representation in the Nordic countries is probably higher than in most European bodies of the same kind, even though we have no exact or comparable data for other countries. In Great Britain women's representation on the boards of nationalized industries and quasi-governmental agencies was 18 per cent; 1/3 of these were appointed by the Scottish office (Hills in Lovenduski and Hills 1981, p.27). What makes the table interesting is the rather marked division of labour between women and men, where women are concentrated in the performance services and "reproduction" and have been able to conquer some of the management positions - though by no means the majority of these - in the area of social reproduction. Men have a monopoly on all productive tasks and dominate managerial work in production as well as reproduction.

This resembles the pattern in most European countries (Haavio-Mannila 1982). Since women dominate the public sector and all service work as workers, it seems strategically important also to increase women's managerial control over those sectors. Otherwise women will continue to have limited mobility and leadership opportunity in the future - both in the labour market and in those organizations which are central in the political administration of these areas of the economy. Discussions about quotas in the corporate system has directed public attention to the problem of female leadership in all areas of public life, not only the electoral system.

TABLE 3

Women's membership in public councils, commission, boards and delegations in the four Nordic countries as appointed by each relevant ministry. Percentage

FINLAND		ICELAND	
1982		1980	
	%		%
TOTAL REPRESENTATION	9	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	7
Education	17.0	Health and Research	14.4
Prime Minister's Office	13.0	Social Service	12.5
Justice	11.6	Education	12.5
Social Services, Health	11.4	Justice and Church	3.6
Interior	8.5	Industry	3.5
Foreign Affairs	7.4	Finance	2.5
Commerce and Industry	6.8	Prime Minister's Office	2.4
Work and Employment	6.4	Traffic	1.6
Finance	5.3	Commerce	1.0
Agriculture and Forestry	2.6	Agriculture	0.5
Traffic	1.7	Foreign Affairs	0.0
Defence	0.0	Fisheries	0.0
		Statistical Bureau	0.0

Source: Hernes and Hanninen, 1982.

TABLE 3 (contd)

NORWAY**		SWEDEN		
	1975	1981		1978
	%	%		%
TOTAL REPRESENTATION	12.0	26.7	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	NO INFORMATION
Justice	27.6	30.7	Labour market	26.0
Consumer and Administration	25.5	36.4	Social Service	25.0
Social Service	25.2	34.8	Education	22.0
Church and Education	16.0	40.6	Commerce	16.0
Prime Minister's Office	16.0	13.7	Justice	13.0
Finance	12.2	24.9	Foreign Affairs	12.0
Work and Interior	11.6	29.5	Interior	10.0
Foreign Affairs	5.9	20.9	Budget	9.0
Traffic	5.9	25.8	Housing	9.0
Environment	4.3	21.5	Industry	8.0
Commerce and Merchant			Agriculture	7.0
Marine	4.2	13.9	Defence	7.0
Defence	3.8	10.3	Communications	3.0
Industry	3.4	10.0	Economy	2.0
Agriculture	3.1	16.6	Civil	0.0
Fisheries	2.8	9.3	Interior	0.0
Oil and Energy (new dep).	-	9.0	Finance	0.0

\*\* Two different years are given for Norway in order to illustrate the over-time effect of the quota system implemented from January 1974.

## II. POLITICAL ASPECTS OF WOMEN'S ROLE IN VOLUNTARY, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ACTIVITIES.

There seems to be agreement among scholars of very different background and persuasion that the industrial revolution cost Western women a great deal of societal power: (1) the division between private and public life became more distinct and (2) public life became sectorized and developed into hierarchies which excluded women. Although women, especially working-class women, have always "worked" one can claim that there has been a qualitative change in women's reentry into public life during the past decade. These changes are especially important when it comes to women's power in economic terms and trade unions. However, women's lives were not even in the early period of industrialization or later ones ever "private" in the sense that women were limited to their own households. From the middle of the nineteenth century women have built organizations which should ameliorate some of the suffering brought about by the industrial revolution. Middle-class and working-class women formed their own organizations, but their tasks were very similar. We have no single study on the history of women's organizations, but collections and anthologies are beginning to analyse their work. Elise Boulding has summarized this history in her description of women's NGOs (Boulding 1977, p.213 ff.): "The women of the West who lost their power with industrialization re-entered the public spaces of society toward the end of the last century. Middle-class and upper class women developed new kinds of alliances as they finally came to understanding the stripping process they had been through. By 1880 they were prepared to bypass the nationalistic struggles of Europe and forge alternative structures for the solution of what they already perceived to be global, not national problems, of social justice and human welfare. Although they had begun nationally, in associations for peace, in anti-slavery organizations and groups that dealt with the many faces of urban misery from alcoholism to bad housing, to destitution, to the inability of the poor working mothers to care for their children, by the 1880s they were prepared to act internationally... In the International socialist movement as elsewhere they stood for decentralism, nonviolence and grass-roots activity on behalf of human welfare. The phenomenon of the women's NGOs stemmed in part from the inability of women to get men to give priority to decentralism and non-violence, and in part from the fact that men could not perceive women as individual human beings in their own right, let alone as partners in major public enterprises."

This international development grew out of a rich flora of nationally based, voluntary women's organizations. I have elsewhere analysed and summarized their history during the course of the past century and described their evolution in relation to women's work (Hernes 1982 a).

I have termed this process in terms of the "transformation from private to public reproduction" and as the history of the professionalization and politization of traditional women's work. The process has transformed women's dependence on their fathers and husbands into a dependence on the State as clients and employees. One can distinguish several phases and aspects of this process, none of them completed even in our day:

(1) Women's organizations were humanitarian organizations and mutual self-help groups which aided women in their work with children, with the elderly and with caring for the sick. Much of that work is now taken over by the community or the State, but by no means so completely that these organizations have become superfluous.

(2) This development has made women more dependent on the public sector and the State rather than on their husbands or humanitarian institutions. Women have thus begun to organize and react to State interventions and direct their demands at public authorities. This process of politization and spontaneous organizing has changed the political scene and increased unconventional and non-institutionalized political behavior. Women are very active everywhere in these types of political action (Barnes and Kaase 1980).

(3) Increases in the tertiary sector of the economy which organize that part of work life which to a great extent was executed by women either in their homes or in their humanitarian organizations have led to an increase in female employment. Women transfer their comparative advantages in terms of skill, experience and socialization to the paid labour market. The caring professions became specialized and men begin to take over their hierarchical control.

(4) The quality of life becomes a public concern in the same way as economic well-being has become its concern in the second stage of industrialization. Values other than purely material ones such as environmental concerns appear on the public agenda. Women become active also in this area.

This process of politization has affected individual women as well as change the character of women's organizations. They have become interest organizations where before they were mainly ideal-humanitarian organizations. Through their work in voluntary association, women have in fact been active for over a century in most countries. They have created networks of mutual support as well as of public care under the aegis of welfare organizations which have been the object of male mirth and yet been considered to be women's proper sphere. This form of organizational separatism and separateness has given women the chance to use their organizational talents and political skills. It has also quite conveniently kept them out of the mainstream of the political power game and reduced competition there. The increasing professionalization of all these formerly charitable activities has not led to any notable increase in the number of women with political power to control these sectors of the public sphere. The social and educational sectors are dominated by female labour but they are under male professional and political control. Humanitarian organizations and other voluntary associations which provide important welfare services are outside the organizational power structure in most cases. However, we are in this section of our report not mainly interested in the power aspects of organizations or their placement in the political power landscape. It is rather their role in activating citizens which interests us here, their role as agents of socialization.

Not all forms of participation lead to political power, as political scientists discover now in their studies of political participation. Many groups have power without ever participating and have what is termed "systemic power". Offering to participate without getting more power for that reason and their participation is therefore termed symbolic participation". More importantly, there seems to be no longer that sharp line of demarcation between

"normal" and "protest" politics as there was before. Groups have access to different types of power and to different channels of political influence (Alford and Friedland 1975). It seems that the literature on voluntary associations is slowly changing some of its basic hypothesis without ever really having tested its old ones (Pestoff 1977).

The rise and growth of voluntary associations and interest groups is usually assumed to be a consequence of industrialization and urbanization and thus concerns men just as much or more than women. Associations are seen as the "creatures of mass political behaviour" as LaPalombara has expressed it (LaPalombara 197. ).

Democratic theory has assumed that multiple group affiliations are the cornerstone of stable democracy which channel citizens' political actions into regularized behaviour patterns. In reality, we know little about the effects of overlapping memberships on formal secondary groups such as political parties or about the relationship between social and political pluralism (Pestoff 1977). It is assumed in this theory that social pluralism, i.e. multiple association membership, will lead to political pluralism, i.e. cross-cutting cleavages and loyalties and thus to political stability. They are, in other words, considered to be the cornerstones of stable democracy, because they regularize State-society relations. France is therefore always treated as an exception because association membership seems to contribute to unrest rather than stability (Ehrmann in Almost 1974). The occurrence of widespread and repeated political and social unrest in many European countries despite the presence of and density of many different kinds of organizations leaves these assertions open to question, especially when it comes to the integration of women.

Looking at the European associational map will, first of all, reveal many "white spots", i.e. much that is unknown rather than known especially with regard to women. Secondly, it is clear that associational life is more varied and frequent in Northern and Central Europe than in Southern Europe. Associational activity is very low in the rural areas of Southern Europe where the Church is the only institution outside the immediate family anyone will trust. Yet farmers' organizations in France, Great Britain, Germany and Scandinavia are among the most effective in Western Europe. Women have no equal access to farmers' associations. In Southern Europe the church has executed many of the tasks which are the domain of non-affiliated or at least more independent associations. In Italy, for example, non-associational groups like families and local and regional notables are more important than formal associations (Almond 1974, 76).

Also this affects women's activity rate. Thirdly, associational life will vary according to a nation's heterogeneity or homogeneity. Homogeneous nations are more characterized by strong, centralized organizations with high density as, for instance, trade unions in Great Britain and Scandinavia, but we do not know how this variable affects female membership rates. According to some theories about women's conflict avoidance, one will expect women's membership to be lower in organizations which are in conflict or competition with others and higher in organizations which have supporting tasks. We know that women are traditionally members of humanitarian and community organizations and this may be one explanation of this fact. More important as an explanation

of this phenomenon is probably the fact that women have extended their traditional care-taking tasks to their organization tasks to their organization choice.

Gender differences in the organization map are at least as pronounced as any other according to the limited knowledge we have. Everywhere in Europe women are less often members of organizations than men in their country, they are also members of fewer organizations and they are members of different organizations. Yet women's organizational patterns are of course not only influenced by gender but also by the national organizational tradition. Britain and the Scandinavian countries are by far the most "organized" societies, closely followed by Germany and Austria, also with regard to women. Even in countries where women are relatively active and which have high organizational membership rates, as, for example, the five Nordic countries, women are twice as often as men without organizational membership. In Finland 44 per cent of all women and 31 per cent of all men are unorganized, in Norway 37 per cent of all women and 19 per cent of all men, in Sweden 11 per cent of all men and 29 per cent of all women, in Denmark 15 per cent of all men and 43 per cent of all women. In France the organizational membership for the whole population is 28 per cent; 83 per cent of all women and 60 per cent of all men are not members of any organization (Donnes Sociale 1978, 320). However, the Ministre des droits de la femme claims in its report Les Femmes en France that in 1982 57 per cent of French women belonged to at least one organization, 32 per cent to educational, artistic and cultural ones, 11 per cent to mutual aid organizations and 22 per cent to trade unions. They pointed out that these are not necessarily pressure groups. One explanation might be a different mode of data collection which would take in also small, local groups without national networks. The contrast between these two numbers - 17 per cent organized women according to the national statistics and 57 per cent according to special women's survey - is so important and interesting that a future study on women's organizational patterns in Europe should take account of this. Similar findings may be made in Italy which has been the country with the most active women's movement in Europe but where official statistics say that 16 per cent of all Italians are members of trade unions and 20 per cent members of other voluntary organizations, mainly religious. Women have been very active in these, although the membership in Catholic Action for instance has been reduced drastically (Weber in Lovenduski and Hills 1981).

Organizational membership is usually also studied in terms of types of organizations. There is no doubt in any European accounts that trade unions are by far the largest and most important organizations, as our analysis in the foregoing chapter has shown. Other organization types are political parties, civic groups, leisure-time organizations, such as sport, social and charitable organizations, religious organizations and women's organizations. These last three categories are often overlapping and fused and are clearly the ones with the largest female membership. Men are usually more active in sports associations and some types of civic groups. In many countries men's clubs such as the Rotary Club are important social clubs which also create professionally useful networks for men.

It is an open question whether women in all countries have chosen to work in separatist organizations or whether they found that it was easier than to

attempt to gain recognition from men in mixed organizations.

Observers and historians see these organizations in part as growing out of women's desire to make societal contributions in their own terms and in part as women's attempts to "obtain recognition of women's rights so that they may be integrated in society as full members...Women's organizations represent the only area in which women enjoy full power. They have always endeavoured to prepare women to assume responsibility in public life. Their role seems far from being concluded, although it is in the nature of things that the political parties and the unions are taking over from them in certain areas as far as many women are concerned", writes Perle Bugnion on Swiss women's organizations, but her statement still has global validity (in *Labour and Society*, 1976, vol. 62). Women's dual organizational role has been there since the 19th century, to work for women's rights, on the one hand, and to make a contribution to society on the other. These two aims are and have been at times contradictory, but not nearly as much as some analysts and observers claim. Even women's advocates, probably a majority of them and in all countries in the 19th century, accepted the idea of natural differences between the sexes. They wanted to enrich society by giving women the right to human development through education and by giving women equal access to decision-making fora: political and educational rights were more central than rights in the paid labour market. In other words the problem of paid vs. unpaid women's work was not as central in the beginning at least not for middle- and upper-class women.

Philanthropic voluntary associations have been at the core of women's unpaid work outside the family in all countries and the bulk of women's associational history centres around such work. Yet motives for this kind of work have varied across class lines and in different periods of history. There is no doubt that their control over their clients often was odious and arrogant and that terms such as the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor were deeply stigmatizing. Yet the institutions built by women in all of Europe from Greece to Italy, Germany, Austria, Great Britain and Norway were taken over by the coming welfare establishments. In Greece the first large association, The Ladies' Society of the Friends of the Poor was formed in 1872. Many other associations followed to perform socio-medical services and in times of war patriotic ones. In Greece, where the services of the welfare state are not as fully developed, private social work is still important for the provision of public goods today. In Italy the 19th century saw the creation of many women's religious orders, dedicated to social work. A National Council of Italian Women, to coordinate such work, was established in 1900. Everywhere women showed great financial and entrepreneurial inventiveness by creating social institutions which later became public institutions or at least received public support. German, British, Greek and Italian women formed philanthropic organizations which were identical in terms of the work they did. Working class organizations existed side by side and attempted to create network among workers. In most countries there was an uneasy often hidden alliance between women's organizations (which had a different class base) and workers' movements. The creation of welfare systems has not made volunteer work superfluous in any known Western Country!

In most countries there exist today large confederations of women's organizations which have existed throughout this century, organizing professional,

social service and women's rights organizations. These national umbrella organizations often serve as member organizations' political voice and arm. In many countries organizations are divided along religious lines. In Germany the large German Women's Council founded in 1865 has 10 million members and includes also trade unions' and other organizations' women's sections. This is also partly the case in Denmark. In Norway, as in many countries with a strong socialist tradition, working-class women are members of housewife and social service organizations attached to the conservative National Council.

It would be historically interesting and politically important to study these large organizations in terms of their membership and their work and their political interests. They have long ceased to be as non-political scientists will have them be. This came out very clearly at a European Colloquium of Women's Organizations held in Bonn in May 1982 where some 40 organizations representing more than 30 million women met to discuss equal opportunities for women in all areas of life. (Women of Europe 26/1982, 73/87). Two facts have changed women's role and relation to the State: most European women are now in the labour market for a large part of their working life and most European States are "welfare States" which organize those areas of life through social policy which formerly were organized through voluntary associations' activities. Yet women continue to have responsibility for (if not control) over those areas of life affected by social policy decision-making. What has happened is that women's organizations have become interest organizations who are responsive to governments and other bodies in a much more direct way than ever before. It is still unclear which alliances will be formed and to what extent women's organizational coalitions will threaten existing political coalitions. Yet it seems rather clear that women's increased political activity both in trade unions, in political parties and also, last but not least, through their traditional women's organizations will change the political landscape to some extent. What is also interesting in terms of the subjects taken up at this international gathering in Bonn is that women seem to agree across national boundaries as to which areas of concern were central: "Struggles for equality in employment, reactions to government measures and cuts affecting women, help to women who have been victims of violence, efforts to change public opinion, reactions of unions and political parties to the participation of women".

One can contrast this statement, which would find its parallels in all national organizations, with very typical evaluations by central political scientists as to the nature of these organizations. Such evaluations also find their parallels among male politicians and union leaders. One typical study concludes a seven-nation survey with these observations: "There are organizations specially for women, but such organizations tend to be rather non-political... in all of the nations... women are disadvantaged in institutional and educational resources... Institutional affiliation is associated with increased political activity for both men and women... In all the nations men gain more in political activity through institutional affiliation than do women." Associational membership, they write, has less pay-off for women than for men. They are thus triply disadvantaged (Verba, Nie and Kim 1978, 246-251).

Such evaluations are of course true in terms of women's political

powerlessness, but they also misrepresent women's organizational activities and misinterpret their attitudes. The fact is that women's organizations are not nearly as non-political as politically powerful individuals and organizations will have them to be (see table 4). They organize paid and unpaid women's work and create unorthodox coalitions among women. They do not "fit" into the organizational landscape and are thus more difficult to define. For these reasons, they have great difficulty in gaining political legitimacy. But their perceived diffuseness must not distract from their power interests, which usually (though not always) cut across party political interests on behalf of women. They attempt to influence public priorities especially in regard to social policy, they bring together, with feminist organizations, new issues hitherto defined as "private" to the political agenda, they influence public opinion, they define their own role as one of "watchdog" vis-a-vis public institutions, and they sometimes succeed in getting access and status in hearings in political fora. They are thus more clearly defined and effective in presenting women's issues and views - regardless of women's status in the labour market - than unions, professional organizations and political parties where women's interests have little chance of getting high on the list of priorities. They also give women the opportunity to work in coalitions accross established lines of conflict.

However, no account of women's organizations and women in organizations would be complete without saying something about their mobilizing and integrating potential for women. This is after all voluntary organizations' major role from the social scientist's point of view. As part I of this report by Maria Weber *et al.* makes clear, European women's political participation has undergone tremendous changes during the past decades. (Yet there are still considerable differences in participation which cannot be explained by any other factor than sex). Women's membership rate in political organizations and trade unions has increased, they have become members of more organizations than they were twenty years ago, yet they have not abandoned their separatist women's organizations. (Such organizations have, as we will see in the next chapter, even increased). What is most interesting in terms of women's participation patterns is their propensity to protest behaviour. Women are clearly important actors in the in-the growing constituency of radical political action. As a recent study shows "...most, especially among young women, direct action is a more popular idea than conventional forms of political involvement" (Marsh and Kaase in Barnes and Kaase 1979, 110). What is important is that this form of participation is not anomic, but shows new forms of political versatility and competence. Yet issue-oriented, short-term political actions are, as Norwegian and Danish studies show, not carried out in a political vacuum (Hernes 1982 a, Olsen and Saetren 1980, Gundelach 1979). They are usually initiated, led and driven by politically active members of associations, often on the local level.

I have shown in my own study of women volunteers (with data based on the Norwegian Power Study) that women in general participated as often as men. They participated most often in campaigns related to local issues, school issues and women's issues, both national and local. Women who work part time participated somewhat more often than women who worked full time and much more often than full-time housewives. Most important, women who are members of women's organizations (housewife's organizations - 8 per cent, social service organizations - 21 per cent, feminist organizations - 3 per cent membership

TABLE 4

The distribution of women's non-governmental organizations in selected European countries. Based on data from Boulding *et al.* 1976, 252 ff.

Country	NUMBER AND TYPE OF ORGANIZATION					Total
	Suffrage granted	International relations	Professional	Religious	Educational	
United Kingdom	1928	7	19	8	6	40
France	1944	7	18	6	6	37
Germany	1919	7	15	7	6	35
Netherlands	1917	7	17	5	4	33
Switzerland	1960	7	15	7	4	33
Belgium	1948	5	16	6	5	32
Germany	1915	7	16	5	4	32
Sweden	1919	7	14	4	6	31
Austria	1919	5	16	4	5	30
Finland	1906	7	14	4	4	29
Italy	1945	7	11	5	5	28
Norway	1913	6	14	5	4	29
Greece	1952	4	11	4	6	25
Ireland	1922	5	11	4	3	23
Spain	1931	3	13	2	3	21
Luxembourg	1918	4	10	2	3	19
Turkey	1934	2	9	2	3	16
Iceland	1915	4	8	1	1	14
Portugal	1945	2	5	4	2	13
Malta	?	1	0	1	1	4
TOTAL NUMBER OF ORGANI- ZATIONS		11	20	9	7	47

according to a national population sample) participate consistently more often than women who are not members of such organizations and women who are members of various types of women's organizations are members of one or more additional organizations. Also this is less often the case for trade union women. They are also more often members of political parties (23 per cent) than trade union women (18 per cent) and women in general (14 per cent). They had had public office 2.5 times as often as the average women and have been nominated for a political position three times as often as the average women. Comparison with men is also striking: These active women get nominated as often as the average man in the population while men with the same organizational back-ground as the active women get nominated much more often.

These data are most probably not representative for all of Europe. Norwegian women's organizations are large and their members active also by Northern European standards. Yet there are certain important pointers which are also borne out by Barnes and Kaase (Political Action) with regard to the Netherlands, Austria, Great Britain and Germany: Women and especially well-educated young women become engaged in protest politics everywhere in Europe in issues which are not absorbed by conventional politics. Unlike men, women do not go over into conventional politics. Political action groups are also most often in neighbourhoods and cities where women can combine political work, part-time paid work and home responsibilities. Such issue-oriented political activities are problem-solving rather than institution-building. Yet it is clear that the existing voluntary associations are very important in terms of organizational infrastructure. Any future study of political actions in Europe should combine data about ad-hoc political activity with participants organizational membership. I am certain that one would find patterns similar to the Norwegian ones. The issue areas which determine the content of such political actions are also relevant. It is clear that areas not related to labour and economic issues predominate. Offe's "policy-takers" predominate.

There is thus a certain contradiction in the fact that women and their organizations who often are defined as old-fashioned and non-political should be so active in non-traditional politics. The reason lies partly in the fact that political parties have a monopoly on the terms "political" and partly in the fact that women also, when they become active, define what they do as "helping people", "solving problems" and "something must be done, somebody had to do it" - rather than as acting politically. The Norwegian Power Study found systematic differences as to why women and men join organizations and as to the kind of organizations men and women joined. Yet when we look at individuals' and organizations' activities we must define them as political. Among Norwegian organization members women (52 per cent) say more often than men (37 per cent) that they join organizations for humanitarian reasons or to gain contact with others (women 41 per cent, men 29 per cent). Men (46 per cent) more often than women (29 per cent) say they join to gain material benefits. Given the profiles of those European organizations where women predominate there is no reason to doubt that European women would answer differently.

We do not have information about organizational membership according to gender for European countries (other than the Nordic ones). We do not know -

therefore how polarized countries' organizational life is when it comes to gender. It is very possible that there would be some surprises in store. As Constantina Safilios-Rothchild (1979) has shown, sex role socialization patterns in selected society have little to do with governmental policies. Sweden and Norway are in many ways more sex-segregated societies than Greece and France despite equality policies. Once women have received higher education they can escape sex roles in some countries, in others they cannot. Looking at the organizational gender profile of the Nordic countries one is struck by the strong gender polarization in Norway and partly also in Sweden compared to comparative equality in Finland. This same pattern is found again in the labour market as well. According to OECD and UN data, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Belgium are the most sex-segregated societies, while Finland, France, Germany and Italy are much less segregated. Yet it is not certain that these data would indicate the same for organizational segregation or integration. In some countries education serves to break down sex barriers, in others it does not, and these patterns have not been researched in relation to economic and organizational-political equality.

Yet it seems quite clear that gender is not only an integrated part of individual identity but also has a different meaning in different cultures. It is therefore difficult to say how economic and educational development and changes among European women will affect women's status and integration tendencies in the various countries. Do highly educated Greek women enjoy relative equality because of their status as exceptions or will rising educational standards lead to the same kind of segregation in occupational and organizational life as in Norway for instance? It is an interesting phenomenon that the earliest women graduates in many countries were in the "hard" sciences, not the humanities as today.

Most questions about the political aspects of women's role in voluntary organizations are thus unanswered. One reason is lack of data. Yet another reason lies in the great changes in women's lives. As this short chapter on non-economic voluntary organizations has attempted to show, such organizations have played an important part in women's unpaid working lives in the past. They have organized women's contribution to society at large in various ways. They have thus created public goods of many kinds. Their politization is a consequence of the rise of the welfare State which has taken over much of that work, and thus forced them to address themselves to political issues in a more explicit way than before.

Women's massive entry into the labour market has increased their political participation but will it also give them as much time as before to engage in voluntary associational activity of the sort women used to perform? Judging from various statements of organizational aims it seems very clear that the leaders of these organizations welcome women's increased educational opportunities and their entry into the labour market. As data on women's participation patterns show, they have become active politically in different patterns than expected and women's organizations seem to play an important socializing part in this process. As table 5 shows, women's organizations have always had multiple aims and been poised between protest and support. Protest seems to be stronger at this point in history as the next section will show. What seems important to point out is that this protest's potential and fighting spirit is by no means confined to the members of protest organizations but is shared by many others as well.

TABLE 5

Selected information about some voluntary non-governmental women's organizations

Name of organization	Founded	Aims	Membership	European membership
International Council of Women (ICW)	1888 Washington	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Bring together women's organizations from all over the world</li> <li>2. Promote the welfare of mankind</li> <li>3. Work for the removal of disabilities of all women.</li> </ol>	National Councils of Women in 65 countries	All European countries
International Alliance of Women (IAW)	1904 Berlin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Promote all reforms as are necessary to establish equality.</li> <li>2. Urge women to use their rights.</li> <li>3. Take part in work for international understanding.</li> </ol>	48 countries	14 European countries
European Union Women (EUW)	1955	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Cooperation between women in civic and political organizations.</li> <li>2. Uphold Christian principles.</li> <li>3. Work for liberty and progress</li> <li>4. Strengthen women's political influence in their own country and Europe.</li> <li>5. Promote understanding.</li> </ol>		National sections in 13 European countries
Associated Country Women of the World (ACWW)	1930	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Promote international good will.</li> <li>2. Raise the standards of rural women.</li> <li>3. Be a voice of rural women in international affairs</li> </ol>	8 million in 76 countries	18 countries (housewives' org.)
St. Joan's International Alliance	1911	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ensure effective cooperation by men and women within the church and state thanks to the human advancement of women and recognition of their rights.</li> </ol>	10 national sections. Corresponding members in 24 countries	
Soroptimist International Association (ISIA)	1928	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Maintain high ethical standards in business and professional life.</li> <li>2. Work for human rights</li> <li>3. Advance the status of women</li> <li>4. Work for international understanding.</li> </ol>	1,920 clubs in 48 countries	All European countries

### III. POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE NEW WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

We began our assessment of European women's integration into voluntary organizations with the most formalized and powerful of organizations, namely, economic-interest organizations. The next chapter analysed formally lineated, non-economic voluntary associations. Political movements do not operate in a vacuum; their work is usually supported by a variety of organizations, often coalitions of very disparate organizations yet, movements as such are more sprawling, less easily defined and certainly less easily concretized and quantified. There are several reasons for including a chapter on the new women's movement into a report on women's potential for political participation and representation. The movement has mobilized many women, it has influenced the agendas of traditional women's organizations and political parties, and it has spawned innumerable small associations on the local and regional level which are not usually formally organized into a national or international network. That fact makes them more difficult to study, yet no less important from a power and mobilization perspective.

Alan Marsh and Max Kaase assess the impact of the new women's movement on European politics in the following manner: "The feminist movement is one of a number of new political forces to emerge since the peace movement of the 1960s demonstrated, quite literally, that protest was a potent and even a legitimate pathway towards political redress. As this realization has spread out into the wider political community - and (we have) shown that it has spread out widely - so similar movements have fed upon it... What really appears to have happened - what is really significant - is that what was extremism in the 1960s is becoming the legitimacy of the 1970s. In passing from the vanguard to the masses, political protest has obviously been modified, toned-down. On the way, it has picked up increased connections with conventional politics. Even the common safeguards to public order have been retained". (Barnes and Kaase 1979, 134/135).

Also in terms of public opinion the women's movement has reached a very high level of acceptance as table 6 shows. A majority of men and women in Italy, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Austria and Germany think that equality between the sexes is either very important or important. Nowhere do more than 6 per cent say that it is not important.

There are great similarities among the feminist movements in Europe especially when it comes to the issues addressed and to modes of organization. Yet there are of course also differences when it comes to the weight attached to certain issues. Differences seem to a great extent to be related to the national movements' attitudes to the authorities, their trust in the authorities and thus their choice of coalition partners. Conversely, governments differ greatly as to the extent they cooperate with the movements' different organizations.

Feminism's major contribution to political life has been its success in bringing new, hitherto taboo issues, to the agenda. Questions attached to issues of sexuality and the control of sexuality have stood in focus alongside with family issues such as divorce laws. Some of these issues such as abortion and contraception have been central concerns in all countries and have had

TABLE 6

Opinions about the feminist movement by country and sex.. Percentages October/November 1977  
Source: Women of Europe 3/1978

	Belgium	Denmark	Germany	France	Ireland	Italy	Luxembourg	Netherlands	U.K.	Total
<u>Men</u>										
Very high and quite good	56	47	35	55	43	44	54	59	43	45
Rather poor and very bad	25	39	39	30	38	49	34	34	46	40
Don't know	19	14	26	15	19	7	12	7	11	15
<u>Women</u>										
Very high and quite good	55	52	41	57	47	46	66	62	42	47
Rather poor and very poor	19	35	28	34	37	45	15	33	45	36
Dont' know	26	13	31	11	16	9	19	9	13	17

Remarks: There are several striking findings in this table. For example men's relatively high support, with the exception of Germany. German men and women have the highest percentage of don't know answers which seem to reflect great mutual uncertainty. The greatest within-country polarization between women (who are positive) and men (who are negative) we find in the Benelux countries. British, Italian and French women and men are polarized and balanced, suggesting that the issue women's rights represents the potential for a conflict dimension across gender lines.

privatization and deregulation as common goals. Yet these issues have taken very different forms of institutionalization. Especially in Southern Europe, in the Netherlands and in Germany, self-help centres were established in Rome, Turin, Milan, Aosta, Palermo and Bologna. In Spain, they were established in some major cities, in the Netherlands and Germany, self-help networks are the basic institutional form in large parts of the movement. These centres provide partly professional and partly alternative lay medical help in those countries where the medical profession has not been willing to support feminist claims for self determination. Abortion is still punished with prison terms of 2 to 8 years in Portugal, while other countries have liberalized their laws to varying degrees after feminist pressure. Another issue has been domestic and other forms of violence against women such as rape where it was felt that neither the police nor the legal enforcement system as a whole have given enough institutional support to victims. Centres for the victims of domestic and sexual violence have been established in Great Britain, in Norway, in Denmark and in France. Building and organizing alternative institutions has been one of the major ways in which feminists have organized themselves in Europe after the first wave of consciousness-raising in groups was over in the early seventies. Groups are usually organized on the basis of volunteer work and can thus very well be compared with the early forms of volunteer work among women described in the foregoing section. In some countries, especially in Northern Europe, feminists have received public support in the form of financial contributions for organizing such centres. Yet hostility and distrust toward central authorities, toward the church and the legal and medical professions are so strong in some countries such as Italy, France, Spain and the Netherlands, that one prefers to work independently and autonomously. Organizations inside the women's movement in Central and Southern Europe regard the professions and political authorities with great distrust. Building alternative institutions appears to many in these countries the only realistic way of improving women's welfare and status in society. Many professional women, such as doctors, lawyers, teachers and nurses work in these institutions on a voluntary basis.

The situation is somewhat different in the Northern European states. Three factors seem to be especially important: trust in the political system is more highly developed, welfare and social policies affect women's standard of living positively, and women are more highly integrated into the labour market. These countries' women's movements have in addition to sexual and family issues such as abortion and divorce, given equal weight to such issues as equal opportunities in education and the labour market, public day care and women's access to political power. They have in other words stronger integrationist aims. This is true also for France where women's educational and professional status is relatively high. Movements in Northern Europe are therefore more establishment-oriented and equality-oriented than in Southern Europe. The most significant except to this is the movement in the Netherlands where anti-authoritarianism is most strongly developed.

Germany is the country where the issue "wages for housework" has been strongest while most other movements (with the possible exception of some British feminists) do not want to cement this aspect of women's roles. Yet both separatists and integrationists have built alternative organizations open only to women to carry out their work on women's behalf. In nearly all countries the focus has been on women's family roles, not relations between the sexes, both in regard to women's control over their own sexuality and in regard to

women's abilities to combine children and work (Ergas 1981).

Authority relations between the sexes and other aspects of male-female relationships have not been as important with the possible exception of those women who have attempted to integrate feminist demands into male dominated organizations such as political parties, and labour unions.

Both separatists and integrationist strategies have several consequences for women's political mobilization via feminist organization. There is no doubt that they consider their problems to be general rather than individual ones. Yet feminist activism has been directed either at grass-root problem-solving in community action groups or at influencing public authorities through demonstrations and confrontations. In most countries women have used tactics which favour confrontation and media attention until established fora have "coopted" the issue. Cooption of issues rather than of individuals has been a strategy. Often, however, especially in Northern and Central Europe, it has been "integrationist women" who have taken up these issues in more established fora and worked for their implementation. This cooperation between "movement-women" and "establishment-women" has therefore been significant for the integration of those issues raised by feminist organizations. Collaboration has been a hallmark of all movements.

Yet there are, of course, as Yasmine Ergas has pointed out, differences according to political culture: "Factors enabling women to penetrate into the realm of conventional politics are directly tied to the dynamics of political systems and specifically to the importance within them of new social actors" (Ergas 1971, 254). Interestingly enough it is especially among Dutch feminists that one fears the "subsidized revolution" where the State attempts to create "emancipation networks". This fear has not been as strong among European women's organizations of feminist and more traditional persuasion. All have cooperated more or less with central and local authorities on single issues. Alliances among both types women's organizations have also been on single issues, such as the fight against pornography and wife abuse, rather than along permanent organizational lines. In Greece and France the ministries for women's affairs have drawn in women of all political persuasions to work out agendas and plans.

Innumerable organizations of various sizes have thus been spawned by the women's movements across Europe. The largest most vital and most successful movement is the Italian one. The most integrationist have been the northern ones, especially in Scandinavia, where influencing practical politics has been central on the agenda. Spanish and Portugal feminists have organized into small groups some of whom are separatist, some integrationist. The French movement has, like the British movement, split along class lines, with working class women and socialist women concentrating around neighbourhood self-help groups. These work in all areas of social policy. In France the group Psychoanalyse et politique has defined itself as strongly separatist, intellectual and non-marxist. There are many different types of groups in France, compared to the other countries, yet the great majority of them have sprung out of single issues such as abortion and rape.

In conclusion, one can say that issues have been similar and centred around issues of sexuality and violence, yet equality of opportunity has

also been important in Northern Europe. In Scandinavia and partly in Great Britain some groups, especially establishment-oriented ones, have also demanded quotas for women in powerful, male-dominated institutions. The more they work for women's inclusion in the political power structure, while most separatist organizations work for the inclusion of issues rather than individuals. Yet it is by no means possible to divide groups sharply along these lines. Network building has been one method of working among professional women who feel isolated in male-dominated institutions. Yet this work method, which is highly developed in the United States, seems to have caught on only in Great Britain. It is possible that such organizations will develop once women enter business life or economic power structures in greater numbers; yet collectivist rather than individualist ideals among European feminists make it seem highly unlikely that this method of working will spread widely in Europe.

#### IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This general review has shown that women are not politically passive, but are politically most active in those channels and arenas which themselves are marginal in the system as a whole. This has to do with two related factors: many women are interested in issues which often are considered marginal in the political powergame and which do not reach the agendas of powerful organizations. Secondly, women have a difficult time winning office in competition with men.

Yet there exists a tenuous relationship between strongly centralized, powerful organizations such as labour unions, politically marginal organizations such as non-economic, voluntary organizations, and active, militant groups within the women's movement. One can say quite definitely that the flow of issues has been from the grass roots and up. Separatism is a good political strategy for small, active groups who wish to change the political agenda. Success in terms of legislative reform and innovation in the policy areas supported by feminist groups has been considerable in almost all countries.

Individual women, on the other hand, have not yet had similar success, except in those countries which have instituted women's policies including the recruitment of individual women. This is especially obvious in Northern Europe where recruitment of women has been a central political issue. We have few studies about the effects of recruitment, but American, Finnish and Norwegian studies show that women who gain political office are considerably more interested in women's issues than men, regardless of political persuasion. It seems thus quite clear that the recruitment of women is as important as the absorption of issues and that the two processes should go hand in hand. Issues concerning women will for many years to come best be represented and defended by women themselves. Their absence from the leadership of powerful organizations is thus a serious problem for all European democracies. Women's active participation in other, non-powerful organizations is an indicator of the fact that there is a pool of female leadership in many voluntary associations which could easily be tapped.

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Paper 8

THE SITUATION IN KENYA

by L.E. Ngugi

1. Background information

The Republic of Kenya is located in East Africa on the Indian Ocean seaboard; it is divided into almost two equal halves by the equator. It has a total area of 582,646 sq. km. of which about 13,396 sq. km. is water lakes and the remaining 569,250 sq. km. is the land surface. Kenya is bordered by Tanzania in the South, Uganda to the west, the Sudan and Ethiopia in the north and Somalia in the east. Kenya is divided into eight administrative provinces including Nairobi area (i.e. Coast, North-Eastern, Central, Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western and Nairobi).

Climatically the country is influenced by its position on the equator and its varied topography. The wind systems are controlled by the large-scale pressure systems of the western Indian Ocean and adjoining continents, but the climatic diversity characteristic of the country is largely a reflection of the influence of its varied topography. From December to March the country is generally under the dominance of the north-east monsoon system and is comparatively dry. From March to May the direction of the air mass flow changes to an easterly position on both sides of the equator and the incursion of maritime air from the Indian Ocean brings heavy rains during this period. During June, July and August the weather conditions are more stable, leading to rather dull and cold weather, especially over the highlands.

There are three main regions of heavy rainfall in Kenya. A relatively wet belt extends along the Indian Ocean. A second area of high rainfall covers Western Kenya, just east of Lake Victoria, linking this part of Kenya with similarly located regions in the Uganda and Tanzania sides by the lake. A third type of region receiving heavy rainfall coincides with the main mountain ranges and highlands. Annual rainfall follows a strong seasonal pattern.

The interrelationship between topography, location, climate, soils and vegetation may be summarized in five broad contrasting regions: the coastal region; the plateau lands; the semi-arid northern region; and the north-eastern and southern Kenya region. These regions have different soils, vegetation, animals and human activities.

The diversity of population in Kenya is one of the most striking characteristics. Ethnically the population is predominantly African in composition, the total now estimated at about 18 million. <sup>1/</sup> The national population censuses have divided the African population on a linguistic basis, although the population is being moulded into one nation, including others of Asian and European origin. In common with many African countries, the population lives in the rural areas and in three distinct population regions:

in the west around Lake Victoria, on the central Kenya highlands and along the coast. Elsewhere rural population concentrations emerge only where higher altitude and more reliable rainfall create favourable conditions for human settlements. On the whole, only about one third of the land area is populated. There is considerable variation in the degree of rural concentration in response to the varying carrying capacity of the land.

The urban population, living in settlements of 2,000 or more, constitute about 10 per cent of the population. Many towns are small, ranging from 2,000 to 10,000 persons, but Nairobi and Mombasa have the bulk of urban concentration, accounting for about 70 per cent of the total urban population. The population of Kenya is affected by three vital changes: the accelerating rate of growth of the total population (now at 3.8 per cent), the increasing volume of internal migration, and urban growth.

The backbone of the Kenyan economy is agriculture. However, the country is endowed with other natural resources which have made possible the diversification of the economy. These resources include forestry, water, wildlife, fisheries and some minerals. The resource potential is influenced by the size of the country and other relevant geographical considerations. For example, two-thirds of Kenya's total area is arid or semi-arid, and much of this has been classified as low-potential or rangeland, which is only suitable for pastoral activity or nothing at all. The pressure on existing resources, and on land resources in particular, is already being felt and is likely to increase. Competition for land in the future may put pressure on the forest land as a potential area of expansion. Such development could pose a danger to the water resources of the country and on the status of wildlife resources, which, under some conditions, are closely tied to forest resources.

Since its independence in December, 1963, Kenya has been formulating development policies. The nature of the economic problems confronting the country, the objectives of development policies and the measures required to implement the policies were first enumerated in a sessional Paper No.10 of 1965 on "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya." 2/

Later detailed statements of economic policy were elaborated in the Five-Year Development Plans. 3/ A comprehensive policy to deal with the economic development of the country had many facets to it, the significant elements being:

- (i) clarification of the role of the public and private sector;
- (ii) creation of machinery for planning and development;
- (iii) creation of infrastructure;

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1/ "Population Projections for Kenya 1980-2000". Central Bureau of Statistics, MEPS, Nairobi, March 1983.

2/ Government Printer, Nairobi, 1965.

3/ 1966-70, 1970-74, 1974-78. 1979-83 - Govt. Printer, Nairobi.

- (iv) manpower development;
- (v) self-help;
- (vi) creation of a framework of relations with other countries;
- (vii) income and wages policy;
- (viii) development of new institutions to achieve policy objectives;
- (ix) research and statistics.

Within the set-up described briefly above, Kenyan women were to be integrated in the developmental activities. The structure of the economy and size and significance of its various components can best be illustrated through the National Income. 4/ Each component of the economy can be shown in the product accounts as produced by the Central Bureau of Statistics every year. This includes the following items every year:

Gross product

A. Outside Monetary Economy: ("Subsistence" sector)

- Agriculture
- Forestry
- Fishing
- Building and construction
- Water
- Ownership of dwellings

B. Monetary Economy:

1. Enterprises and non-profit institutions

- Agriculture
- Forestry
- Fishing
- Mining and quarrying
- Manufacturing and repair
- Building and construction
- Electricity and water
- Transport, storage and communications
- Wholesale and retail trade
- Banking, insurance and real estate
- Ownership of dwellings
- Other services

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4/ Central Bureau of Statistics, MEPS - (Yearly).

2. Private households (domestic services)

3. General government:

Public administration

Defence

Education

Health

Agricultural services

Other services

2. The perceived problems and/or obstacles in attempting to incorporate women effectively in the National development process

(a) The vast majority of women in Kenya, some 85 per cent of the total, reside in rural areas where they make a major contribution to the rural economy. Nearly all adult women engage in farming activities on their own small holdings and produce much of the food that their families consume. Rural women are also responsible for fetching water and firewood, often at great distances from their homes, housekeeping, preparation of meals and child care. In slightly less than one-fourth of all rural households, 5/ the husband is either absent at work elsewhere for long periods or deceased. The females in such rural households also assume much of the work usually undertaken by men. Abigail Krystall 6/ writing about "Female-headed small-holdings" says that they tend to be poor small holdings. Differentials between male-and-female-headed farms have been clouded by ambiguity in definition and by failure to distinguish between farms headed by women without husbands and those headed by women in the absence of their husbands. The absence of husbands (through death, separation or divorce) denies the smallholdings access to income from wage employment and confines them to off-farm earnings from informal rural enterprises or casual labour. Thus, the basic cause of poverty for smallholdings run by women who are currently unmarried is the disadvantaged position of women in the labour market. This disadvantage is compounded by women's traditionally lower levels of educational attainment. The dual employment-educational disadvantage denies the smallholding not only incremental income but also credit and technical support, the preconditions for adoption of improved agricultural technologies and hence for higher yields and greater farm income. A small minority of rural women, a lower proportion than the corresponding male group, are employed in permanent non-agricultural rural activities.

(b) As already observed, women in Kenya are predominantly responsible for agricultural production in the rural areas, albeit in a subsistence manner for most of the women. This is largely due to the relatively poor technology used by the majority of the women. The agricultural extension services should be directing more attention to this important areas of production. However,

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5/ Women in Kenya. CBS Ministry of Finance and Planning July, 1978 - pg. 1.

6/ Unpublished report written for CBS, MEPD, Sept., 1983.

investigations have revealed that extension workers are only interested in successful farmers. Thus, the existing extension services generally benefit the richer, more progressive farmer, and therefore do not facilitate economic growth among the rural women farmers. Extension services have tended to exclude women or teach them things that do not enhance their skills in agriculture. <sup>7/</sup>

(c) It has been found out that the majority of women in the rural areas, some 70 per cent <sup>8/</sup> of them aged 15 years and above, cannot read or write, which is twice the national figure on illiteracy for males. In each age cohort a higher proportion of females than males have not attended school. However, sex differences in the educational system expand every year. The trend has been for girls to move gradually towards parity with boys in primary school enrolment (see Table I).

TABLE I  
FEMALE ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

YEAR	<u>PRIMARY</u>		<u>SECONDARY</u>	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
1963	304,829	586,724	9,567	20,553
1965	379,393	662,753	13,256	34,720
1967	443,384	689,795	22,387	66,392
1969	519,470	762,827	32,160	83,086
1971	644,491	881,007	42,743	97,979
1973	709,904	1,025,113	57,543	117,614
1973	1,319,654	1,561,501	81,259	145,306
1977	1,387,429	1,584,800	122,838	197,472
1979	1,744,500	1,953,000	154,847	223,463
1981	1,919,125	2,095,220	185,886	278,835

Source: Annual School census, Ministry of Education.

The lower level of educational attainment of rural women partly accounts for the low female participation rates in activities other than farming. A very small proportion of rural women possess a full background of formal education, adequate enough to facilitate their participation in formal wage employment.

<sup>7/</sup> "The Role of African Women in Rural Development, Research Priorities" A.O. Pala, IDS, University of Nairobi, Discussion Paper No.203, June 1974.

<sup>8/</sup> "Social Perspective" CBS Ministry of Finance and Planning, April 1978.

Illiteracy and inability to count are major obstacles to the later acquisition of skills. According to the data obtained through IRA 1974/75, 9/ 65 per cent of rural females aged between 20 and 29 years had never attended school, as compared to only 34 per cent of males in a similar age group. This proportion rises to 86 per cent for females aged 30 to 49 years, while the proportion of males goes to only 54 per cent.

Provincial comparisons introduce further disparity. For instance, the number of persons of both sexes who have never attended school is much higher in the Coast Province than in any other Province.

Enrollment patterns suggest that when confronted with constraints of limited opportunities or resources for primary schooling parents have generally favoured the education of male children. This tendency to accord an earlier or higher priority to the education of sons characterizes many other countries as well. Preference for investment in schooling for boys may relate to the patrilineal descent systems in which inheritance passes through the male line and in which sons retain responsibility for their parents as they grow older, while daughters are incorporated into their husbands' families. The perceived link between education and employment in an economic system in which males have had better prospects for wage jobs in the formal sector may have provided an additional economic consideration in educating sons ahead of daughters. Nevertheless, there is no reluctance to sending daughters to school in Kenya as in some other developing countries. This is indicated by the rise in female enrollment commensurate with the increase in facilities for the education for women. Investments in education have enabled greater numbers of children, female and male, to attend school. (See Table I).

In contrast with the co-education character of primary education, most aided secondary schools are single-sex institutions. The distribution of places in aided institutions, which provide at a lower cost a higher quality of schooling than unaided schools, influence education opportunities at this stage. Males consistently have had an advantage in the distribution of aided secondary schools. In 1968, for example, there were 143 aided secondary schools for boys, 61 for girls and 28 mixed institutions. In 1982 the numbers had risen to 297 maintained schools catering for males, 160 aided schools for females and 122 co-educational aided schools. Moreover a higher proportion of girls in boarding schools is noticeable as following figures indicate:

	<u>1969</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>Percentage rise</u>
Boys	20,638	44,826	117%
Girls	10,416	43,743	320%

These figures are significant because boarding schools usually charge higher fees and therefore may be too expensive for most rural families to afford.

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9/ Integrated rural Survey. CBS., Ministry of Finance and Planning.

The recent rise in the proportion of females enrolled in secondary schools has come primarily through an increase in the numbers of females attending unaided secondary schools. This places female students at a disadvantage with regard to the quality of their schooling which in turn potentially affects performance on examinations taken at the end of secondary school that determine entrance to higher education, career training programmes, and job placement.

There are also some sex differences in the type of curricula stressed in secondary schools. For example, none of the secondary, technical and vocational schools admit as many female as male students. At the upper secondary school level most of the places available to girls are in arts subjects whereas boys have proportionately greater access to schools offering courses in sciences and mathematics. The arts bias in female secondary schools results in a female output from Form 6 predominantly in the arts at a time when career training programmes and university requirements favour those with science and mathematic specialisation.

The male/female differentials are not confined to the areas of education and employment alone. In a nutrition survey <sup>10/</sup> undertaken by the CBS to measure the incidence of Protein Energy Malnutrition (PEM) among young Kenyan children between the ages of 1 and 4, males generally appeared to enjoy a healthier nutritional status than their female counterparts. To determine the degree of wasting and stunting in the children, three indices were used: Weight for age (W-A), Weight for height (W-H), and Height for Age (H-A). More females than males had low values on the three indices, indicating differences in wasting between sexes, favouring the male children.

This nutrition analysis is of importance with respect to its implications for Kenya's rural development programme needs to incorporate prospects for improving the quality of rural women's lives. This implies reducing their workloads as well as increasing their productivity.

In Kenya, as in most non-industrialised societies, women's pattern and rates of participation in the labour force vary significantly in the rural and urban sectors. In rural areas virtually all adult females contribute to the household economy. A higher proportion of rural women than men are involved in agricultural production. while, in contrast, females are very under-represented in wage-labour employment. Women's difficulties in finding jobs in urban centres have resulted in higher rates of female unemployment and possibly deferred many women from migrating to urban areas with their husbands. Data from IRA 1975-76 <sup>11/</sup> indicates that on small farms 85 per cent of the female small farm population over 17 years of age regularly work on their own holdings as compared with 54 per cent of males in the same group. Women make a major contribution to agricultural production in Kenya. The ability and willingness of women to provide sustained labour inputs into farming enables men to seek wage employment in rural areas or in urban centres to supplement the family income.

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<sup>10/</sup> Women in Kenya - Central Bureau of Statistics. July, 1978 - p.19.

<sup>11/</sup> Integrated Rural Survey

In urban areas women are underrepresented in wage employment. Kenya women have had consistently low rates of participation in modern-sector employment although they account for a slightly higher proportion of unpaid family and self-employed workers in the modern sector. 12/

In rural areas, few women have opportunities for wage employment. IRS 1975-76 reported that less than 5 per cent of the female small farm population employed in a wage job as compared with about 29 per cent of males.

were also less likely to engage in trade or to be self-employed in a non-agricultural rural enterprise. (See table 2).

In urban areas, women are similarly underrepresented in wage employment. Kenyan women have had consistently low rates of participation in the modern sector as indicated below.

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12/ Annual labour enumeration Survey, CBS Min. of Finance and Planning.

TABLE 3

WAGE EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION<sup>13/</sup> AND SEX, 1981

	MALES	SEX	FEMALES	TOTAL
Architects, engineers and surveyors	4,656		45	4,701
Draughtsmen and engineering technicians	3,796		24	3,820
Doctors, dentists, pharmacists and veterinarians	1,406		223	1,629
Nurses and other paramedical staff	4,691		11,180	15,871
Chemists, physicists, biologists, zoologists and agronomists	3,132		426	3,558
Technicians in physical science and life sciences	5,661		545	6,206
Statisticians, mathematicians, system analysts and economists	743		66	801
Statistical officers, mathematical technicians and related technicians	971		40	1,011
Aircraft and ship officers	752		4	756
Lawyers and jurists	334		28	362
Teachers and lecturers with university degrees	7,794		4,728	12,522
Other teachers	83,308		32,319	115,627
Librarians, sociologists, journalists, curators and related scientists	833		247	1,080
Ministers of religion and other social and cultural workers	2,321		611	2,932
General managers and salaried directors	4,067		114	4,131
Middle-level executives and departmental heads	11,956		713	12,669
Qualified accounts and auditors	2,338		113	2,451
Accounts assistants, cashiers, bank tellers, book-keepers and bank clerks	14,267		2,697	16,964
Other professionally qualified personnel not elsewhere covered	4,510		561	5,071
Production supervisors and general foremen	19,468		439	19,907
Skilled workers	57,851		2,592	60,443
Drivers of transport material-handling and earthmoving equipment	29,234		165	29,399
General clerks, typists and office machine operators	49,012		13,071	62,083

<sup>13/</sup> Excluding casual employees, unpaid family workers and unpaid directors.

TABLE 2

Women's representation in the wage labour force:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage Females</u>
1964	17.9
1966	13.8
1968	12.7
1970	15.1
1972	13.3
1974	13.0
1976	16.2
1978	17.4
1980	17.6
1982	47.9

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Source Annual Labour Enumeration Survey.

Women account for a slightly higher proportion of unpaid family and self-employed workers in the modern sector. In 1975, of the unpaid family workers enumerated in the labour-force survey of the modern sector, 31 per cent were females, most of whom were engaged in the agricultural and forestry sector. Women also constituted 22 per cent of the self-employed workers in the modern sector. Most of them were operating enterprises related to the wholesale and retail shops, restaurants and hotels. (see table 3).

(f) With regard to family size, most Kenyan women give birth to at least one child by the age of 24. The average number of children born per woman (fertility) has now reached 8.1. <sup>14/</sup> The large size of an average Kenyan family means that most women spend much of their adult lives in a continuous cycle of pregnancies and prolonged lactation which often leave them in a physically weakened state. The high birth rate also results in a high dependency ratio. The burden of the high dependency ratio is particularly heavy on the female adult population who have to provide constant care for the very young as well as to undertake much of the agricultural work to feed the family.

(g) Analysis of life-time fertility by age group and educational attainment shows consistent differences in family sizes, in the proportion of females who have never borne a child and in child mortality rates. In the 1969 population census the highest fertility was reported for women who had completed between one and four years of primary schooling. The apparent rise in births for women with partial or completed primary education may be the result of a

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<sup>14/</sup> 1979 Population census.

variety of factors: fewer miscarriages and still-births among educated women due to improved health and nutritional practices, less tendency for primary educated women than unschooled females to observe traditional lactation taboos without the counteracting influence of birth-control practices adopted by educated women and/or possibly the more accurate reporting of births by women with some schooling. The general trend in all age groups is for the women with exposure to secondary schooling to have fewer births than women with less education. Lower fertility rates characterize women with secondary schooling in both rural and urban environments.

3. The major types of programmes or activities that have been initiated or planned

(i) As already pointed out, Kenya is predominantly an agricultural economy and it is the women's community which is largely involved in agricultural activities in the rural areas. To facilitate the involvement of women in national development the Government set up the Women's Bureau in 1975, as a fully-fledged division in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services. The goal of the Women's Bureau is to uplift the lives of rural women and involve them in development. The Bureau encourages women to form groups so that they can work communally and engage themselves in income-generating activities. In 1976, there were 921 women's groups with a membership of 23,236 women. In 1982 this number rose to 11,125 groups with a membership of 1,867,121 women. It is the hope of the Bureau that formation of these groups will continue at a higher pace and that more women will come forth for membership enrollment. The existing groups engage in income-generating activities such as bee-keeping, farming, goat-keeping, sheep-keeping, poultry and handicrafts. Among the several problems that have emerged in trying to incorporate women in national development is the lack of adequate funds, which has made it difficult for the Women's Bureau to reach more women in the rural areas. Some women's groups have to be placed on the waiting list for a long time before they are given financial assistance for the projects they wish to pursue.

(ii) Illiteracy is another major obstacle in involving women in national development, as has already been described above. At the same time, girls normally drop out of school at an early age to get married. Over time, therefore, the number of illiterate women has grown. For this reason women have continued to enrol in adult literacy classes. In 1982, out of a total enrolment of 347,000 in the adult literacy classes, 273,000 were women. It is hoped that more women will come forth and benefit from the adult literacy programmes.

(iii) Lack of organizational skills and knowledge of elementary accounts and book-keeping methods among leaders of the women's groups is also a major constraint in integrating women in development. Since women's groups are encouraged to engage in income-generating activities, it becomes essential for them to keep some financial records which are up-to-date and which can be easily audited. Unfortunately, most of these groups do not keep proper financial records due to lack of knowledge of elementary accounts or book-keeping methods. Knowledge of some organizational skills and techniques by the group leaders is also lacking and in some cases it becomes difficult to organize and manage the women's groups effectively. However, in response to these drawbacks, the Women's Bureau has been organizing short training courses

and seminars for women group-leaders with a view to helping them to manage and run the affairs of their groups more efficiently. These training courses and seminars have not been as many as the Bureau would want them to be, due to financial constraints. In many cases the training courses and seminars are organized with the help of donor agencies and it is hoped that these agencies will provide more funds for this purpose.

(iv) Accurate data on women to facilitate determination of current position, needs and potential of women in the country have not been readily available. The Women's Bureau intend to commission research and surveys on women's needs and activities, especially in the rural areas. Establishment of a research and monitoring unit within the Bureau which would be concerned with the collection of data on women to facilitate planning has been proposed. These researches and surveys will be necessary in planning new strategies to improve women's activities in the country.

(v) The Bureau maintains liaison with non-governmental organizations such as the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK), Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), the Professional and Business Women of Kenya Association (KUWA). These NGOs deal with all kinds of women in Kenya, ranging from the illiterate women in the cities and towns, to the professional or business women in the cities and towns, to the well-educated university women. Through these bodies, the voice of the Kenya woman regarding her socio-economic or cultural plight is heard and taken into consideration in national development planning. Continued and close co-operation between the non-governmental organizations and the Women's Bureau is of paramount importance because the Bureau is charged with the responsibility of ultimately co-ordinating all women programmes with the long-term objective of integrating women from all over the country into the national development process.

Through the integration of women's groups some effort has been put into certain national projects. An example of this effort is the "Green Belt Movement" which aims at soil conservation and creation of green areas around the towns. Through this programme, women are involved in extensive soil-conservation activities in the country, including tree-planting to check soil erosion and desertification. Through the support of national leaders the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and the National Environmental and Human Settlement Secretariat (NEHSS), the Green Belt movement could be successful and bring about great economic benefits to the country.

(vi) Some of the non-agricultural projects encouraged by the Bureau include shop-keeping, bakery projects and handicrafts. To encourage more women to participate in income-generating activities, the following measures are thought to be necessary:

(a) To give assistance in project planning and management to women groups by officers from government ministries or non-governmental organizations. Such assistance would ensure that income-generating projects once initiated by the women's groups would continue to thrive and produce better benefits to the groups.

(b) Since the majority of the projects are profit-oriented, women's leaders should maintain proper financial accounts to facilitate auditing.

Such financial accounts would also help in indicating profits or losses made during a particular period. The women's leaders, therefore, need to be instructed and taught some elementary book-keeping and accounts.

(c) More financial assistance to women's groups would help them undertake these projects. In most cases, the women's groups may have constructive ideas on what type of projects they would engage in within their own rural environment, but the initial capital may not be forthcoming.

(d) Research and surveys should be carried out into the various aspects of the women's community to determine their potential needs and aspirations. This could help in alleviating the problems or constraints that affect the women's community. The information would also help reveal the proper strategy to be adopted in integrating women into the national development process.

Paper 9

THE TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO EXPERIENCE

by

Joaquin St.Cyr

I. BACKGROUND

Trinidad and Tobago is a small two-island independent democratic republican state which lies at the southernmost tip of the Caribbean Archipelago, seven miles off the north-west coast of the South American subcontinent. The country has a total land area of some 5,000 square kilometres. Its population of one million is multi-racial in composition of which those of African descent form about 43 per cent, and those of Indian descent 40 per cent; 14.2 per cent are described as mixed. The rest comprise persons of European, Chinese and Syrian/Lebanese descent.

Despite being islanders, the country's people tend to be outward-looking rather than insular in their attitudes. This is a consequence of the country's location and its history: its location at a nodal point on the routes between North and South America; its history as a colony, first of Spain, then of Britain during whose rule French settlers were introduced, before becoming an independent country in 1962.

The country's history has been dominated by colonialism, slavery and indentureship. The plantation system, typical of the Caribbean, concentrated on the production of a few export staples, mainly sugar, cocoa, citrus and coffee on the basis of metropolitan capital, technology, entrepreneurship and markets. The local contribution took the form of labour, initially slave labour from Africa and later indentured labour from Asia.

The society has thus traditionally been characterized by a labouring population comprising mainly African and Indians and a European-dominated elite of plantations owners, administrators and merchants. This cleavage or pluralism in the society extended into and dominated many facets of the social fabric.

The cosmopolitan nature of the population, the openness of the society, and the historical experience of the country are reflected in consumer tastes, artistic and cultural values and legal, educational, financial and political institutions, the nature of which have been strongly influenced by metropolitan values.

In the post war period, unlike in many other Caribbean territories, the

petroleum industry assumed its dominant role, which by 1980 contributed nearly 50 per cent of the GDP at current prices.

Since national independence in 1962, attempts have been made to diversify and restructure the economic and social bases of the society. The broadening of educational opportunities gave rise to increased social and occupational mobility and reduced the gap left by a colonial heritage which divided the population along ethnic lines in competition for employment and political power.

The economy today is a mixed one. Its petroleum industry, though now in decline, has enabled the per capita income of Trinidad and Tobago to be one of the highest in the third world, being some US\$ 5,000 in 1980, rising from some \$600 in 1970. Other social and economic indices of levels of living are very favourable. The following social and economic indices are chosen at random:

- (a) Life expectancy rates at birth of 66 years;
- (b) Infant mortality rates of 24.91 in 1977;
- (c) Average primary and secondary school enrolment rates at 100 and 70 per cent respectively;
- (d) Literacy rates of 94 per cent in 1970.

In 1980, there were a total of 216,341 licensed vehicles, a ratio of 1 to 5 of the population. Virtually all households are supplied with electricity and piped water.

Small size, ease of communication between the rural hinterland and the towns, occupational preferences for non-agricultural work and the wide gap in wage levels in the new high productivity occupations, mainly in mineral processing, commerce, government services, and the small manufacturing and commercial sectors, have given rise to strong movements of rural population to urban areas. In fact, over 50 per cent of the population is concentrated in the two main conurbations of Port of Spain and San-Fernando, including the east-west Corridor.

There is a widespread rejection of low-wage job openings in agriculture which employs (39,600) 10 per cent of the labour force (387,900) but contributes not more than 3 per cent to the Gross National Product.

## II. POPULATION STRUCTURE

In 1980, 531,604 or 50.2 per cent of the population was female. The population is a young one, 57 per cent of the population to be found in the under 25 age group and 34 per cent in the under 15 group.

Females formed 50 per cent of the population in the 15 - 64 group but 55 per cent of the population in the over 65 age-group, reflecting life expectancy rates in 1970 of 68.11 for females and 64.08 for males. Death rates for males were higher (7.05) than for females (6.01).

Two significant factors emerge about the population structure vis-a-vis attempts to incorporate women effectively in the national developmental process. First is the large proportion of females (approximately 1 in 3) in the 15 - 44 age groups who are heads of households. The female-headed households comprise many who lack regular male support and many whose "husbands" are away seasonably. Many are single, widowed, divorced or abandoned, and the sole support of families. Many are unsupported grandmothers bringing up grandchildren. Many female heads thus often lack skills, training and support services needed to enable them to provide adequately for their families.

In short, the complete absence of fathers in many homes and the visiting relationships of fathers in some unions must militate against the male sharing equally and fairly in the disciplining and socializing of offspring. This is not the kind of independence women want; this is burdensome and discriminatory in its effects on women in terms of permitting their meaningful integration in economic and community life.

This phenomenon has nonetheless given rise over the years to an independence among many Caribbean women, which is unsurpassed elsewhere in the world, in the management of their own affairs and to the acceptance by the male of their proven capabilities for equal participation in social, economic and political life.

A second noteworthy factor in the population structure is the relatively high illegitimacy rate typical of many Caribbean territories representing in 1977, 44 per cent of the total births. Among first illegitimate births - 50 per cent occur in the 15 - 19 age group. Among first births as a whole the majority (40.7 per cent) occurred in the 15 - 19 age group, followed by 20 - 24 age group (40.47 per cent). However, among total births the majority (34.62 per cent) occurred in the 20 - 24 age group followed by the 25 - 29 age group (24%).

### III. LEGAL STATUS

The 1976 Republic Constitution and associated legislation provide that specific human rights and fundamental freedoms shall exist in Trinidad and Tobago without discrimination by reason of race, origin, custom, religion or sex.

Daly, in 1975, remarked that the legal position of women had improved to the extent that it was a shorter task to explore the areas where women's legal rights were less than those of men rather than to examine what rights they did have. By 1982, further reform was affected to "remove lingering discriminatory provisions".

In Trinidad and Tobago men and women thus enjoy equality in law to a great degree. Boys and girls are equally entitled to compulsory schooling between the ages of 6 and 12; men and women are equally eligible to vote and to serve as jurors; single and married women are equally capable as men of acquiring, holding and disposing of property. The Matrimonial Proceedings and Property Act was updated to enable a divorce to be obtained by virtue

of 5 years separation, even though the respondent did not consent.

In the Married Womens' Property Ordinance, a spouse who contributes to the improvement of an asset, either in money or money's worth, may gain an enlarged interest in the property.

In 1976 legislation was introduced for the separate assessment of the income of married women for tax purposes. Women could pass their nationality on to their own children and the Status of Children Act 1981 removed the legal disabilities of children born out of wedlock.

A few overt but relatively minor instances of legal discrimination against women remain. Under the Wages Councils' Ordinance, various wage-regulation orders have been prohibited specifying minimum wage for various types of jobs. It is noticeable that the minimum wage of a woman cook in a hotel, for instance, may be lower than her male counterpart.

Under the National Insurance Scheme, wives and children benefit upon the death of a husband/father, yet when the woman (herself a contributor of the scheme as an employee on equal terms with the man) dies, her surviving husband gets no benefits, unless he is incapacitated, a fact which must be proven medically. A husband is entitled only to a funeral grant on the death of his insured wife, although many women today contribute financially to the upkeep of the matrimonial home. A similar anomaly exists with respect to the administration of certain pension schemes, such as the widows' and orphans' pension fund toward which only male civil servants contribute compulsorily.

It is said that the law is only as good as the way in which it is administered and is effective only to the extent that it is accepted by society as a whole. In Trinidad and Tobago, as in many developing and developed countries, it is recognized that, even when the law accords woman equal protection, she may not know her rights and still less know how to secure their enforcement. For instance, despite amendments in the Divorce Law, the petitioning wife is often at a substantive disadvantage, not being able to afford the fees required to retain a good lawyer.

As regards the legal situation in Trinidad and Tobago, the problem is not so much the need to struggle to secure rights as it is to put rights enshrined in law into effect. In this struggle a disproportionate share of opportunities opening up to women is won by the more educated middle income groups concentrated in urban areas. A similar situation is said to exist in the rest of the Caribbean and Latin America. Often women are hampered by such factors as ignorance, low income and lack of skills that accompany poverty.

#### IV. WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

In Trinidad and Tobago there are no general prohibitions on women working. Women have the right to earn an income and to be paid for the work they do. Under the Wages Councils Ordinance in most areas the minimum wage is the same for males and females. Equal pay for work of equal value is the norm in both the public service and in private-sector enterprises. Women participate in the National Insurance Scheme. A maternity benefit is payable to insured

women. Other benefits payable under the National Insurance Legislation are the same for female as male employees and benefits are also payable to common-law husbands and wives.

In addition, women enjoy a degree of statutory protection - for instance, shop owners are required to provide seating for female employees. Women, with certain exceptions, are prohibited from working at night. (This provision is regarded as obsolete.)

In the 1980 Census the adult labour force comprised 349,300 persons of which females formed only 99,440 or 28 per cent. Females were better placed in the urban conurbations of Port of Spain (41 per cent) and San Fernando 34 per cent and showed very low participation rates in the rural countries; (20 per cent) in St. Patrick, 19 per cent in Nariva Mayaro and 22 per cent in Counties Caroni and Victoria.

The low participation rate of females in the "rural" areas must be interpreted with a degree of caution since the methodology of collecting census data places emphasis on employment in the formal sector of the economy, and does not take into account self-employment of females on family-owned farms or the economic and social contribution of women's activities in the rural areas, such as in food production, marketing, housework, handicraft and other home based economic activities.

An examination of the labour force by industrial group reveals the majority of women (33 per cent) of the female labour force to be employed in the "services" sector, with the majority of men employed in construction, including electricity, gas and water. The second largest employer of female labour was the "commerce" sector which employed 28 per cent of the female labour force.

Women are fairly well represented in the "professional and technical" sector, forming 42 per cent of the total population employed in that sector.

In the public services, including teaching, females represent 50 per cent of overall employees, but 32 per cent of those in the administrative grade, 55 per cent among teachers and 14 per cent among manipulative staff.

## I. INCOME DISTRIBUTION

In income distribution, based on the 1970 Census data, women are at a disadvantage at all levels. Although there were 9,397 females in the professional and technical class, only 8,185 females were in receipt of an income of over \$3,000 per annum, suggesting that even the women in this class are to be found in the lower-paid strata of the sector.

Many more females than males (58 per cent) received incomes in the lowest earnings category of under \$500 per annum.

Conversely, at the highest income range of over \$9,000 they represent only 5 per cent of wage earners, in the next highest, \$8,000 - \$8,999 range 10 per cent and in the \$7,999 range 12 per cent.

## VI. PERCEIVED PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES IN ATTEMPTS TO INCORPORATE WOMEN EFFECTIVELY IN THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Problems hindering women's full participation may be seen from two main perspectives. Firstly, from the point of view of the level of social and economic development of the society; secondly, from the point of view of the historical and cultural factors which determine traditions, customs beliefs and attitudes towards women which are entrenched and accepted over time. In this latter respect, the law may become a vehicle for change but usually this is a slow process, as such attitudes and customs change slowly.

The level of economic development determines the quantum of resources that can be allocated to the provision of social services which are important determinants of women's status in a society, as follows:

- (a) levels of health and nutrition services and social infrastructural facilities, such as wholesome food and potable water supplies, which contribute to the good health of the family;
- (b) levels of education and training opportunities which will determine the extent to which women could participate in economic and political life by virtue of being adequately prepared for the world of work in an age of science and technology;
- (c) levels of welfare services, particularly those which play substitutable roles for women - such as day care, nursery schools, and meals outside the home, etc;
- (d) levels of housing and the availability of household amenities, including the availability of appliances to reduce the burden of housework;
- (e) adequate transport systems to enable easy mobility between the work and home environment.

The second determinant lies in those existing social and cultural practices which have their basis in the traditions, customs and beliefs of the society which in this part of the world originate primarily from the system of slavery, colonialism and indentureship.

These two ingredients are distinguishable only for analytical purposes. In practice they are not discrete forces but are inter-related and inter-woven in the very fabric of society.

### Education

School enrolment is said to represent the most important and far-reaching element in the cultural transformation of girls. Boys and girls are equally entitled by law to primary and secondary education, the latter based on performance in the common entrance examination.

Factors based on gender do not appear to be significant in the enrolment of children at primary and secondary levels of education. Of those with primary education in 1970, women formed 49 per cent of the population, with secondary, 51 per cent and with University, 28 per cent. Sixty three per

cent (63%) of the population with no education were females, reflecting perhaps past discrimination against females in the education system.

In practice, there is a substantial difference in the participation rate between the sexes in the craft/technical areas of education within the secondary school system - in that in the instance where boys and girls attend the same school and the same curriculum is open to all, girls tend to select a limited number of subject areas for participation. In the instance where girls attend all-female schools, such as "assisted" secondary schools, these schools follow the same curriculum in the academic subjects but unlike their male counterparts give preference in their craft/technical curriculum to such subjects as home economics and secretarial programmes. This difference does not appear to be significant in the selection of academic subjects.

At technical and vocational schools the difference in male/female enrolments are significant, in that only 10 per cent were females in the "technician" courses and 41 per cent in the "craft" courses.

At University level in 1978/79, 45 per cent of the student enrolment were female. However, when we look at enrolments by subject areas at technical and vocational institutes and at University, we see that the participation of women is not evenly distributed among the subjects. For instance, in the "craft" areas women dominate the "fem nine" occupations of dressmaking and design, and secretarial and related subjects. On the contrary, females participation in such areas as auto mechanics, electrical installation, woodwork and machine shop practice was negligible.

A similar pattern exists in youth camps, an important institution for the training of underprivileged youth. At boys' camps students are taught welding, carpentry, automechanics, etc.; at girls' camps they are taught cooking and catering, bookbinding, beauty culture, commercial subjects and garment construction.

At University level undergraduate enrolments by subject areas in 1978/79 and earlier showed females dominating the faculties of arts and general studies, whereas in the "hard sciences" women, as in technical institutes, were underrepresented.

### Health

The availability of adequate health services, particularly maternity and child welfare services, and a clean and orderly environment in which to live, are important factors in enabling women to play a full part in the society.

The general health of the population of Trinidad and Tobago was described in 1979 as being "satisfactory" in terms of mortality and morbidity statistics. However the former are weighted by the large proportion of the population in the under 15 age-group.

Health indices for females are generally more favourable than for males. 1977 mortality statistics revealed that the 10 major causes of death are similar to those found in advanced countries such as, of the heart, malignant

neoplasms and cerebro-vascular diseases. Overall the female death rate is 45 per cent. Deaths among females are substantially lower than among males in such areas as accidents, poisonings and violence and in diseases of the digestive system. Apart from diseases peculiar to females such as malignant neoplasm of the breast, females outnumbered males in morbidity statistics only in a few diseases such as in non-toxic goitre and in diabetes mellitus. Females are grossly out-numbered by males in such diseases as cirrhosis of the liver.

It is estimated that over 75 per cent of births in 1979 took place in Government hospitals and delivery units, although there is said to be some over-crowding in obstetric departments as reflected in occupancy rates.

Community health care services have been receiving increased attention and this will no doubt rebound on improved health care of the female and child population in particular. It is estimated that through the public sector, 90 per cent of school-age population and 50 per cent of pre-schoolers are adequately immunized against small-pox, poliomyelitis, diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus and tuberculos.

Over 98 per cent of the population over the age of one were immunized against yellow fever following the 1979-80 outbreak of this disease.

Since 1979, 80 per cent of expectant mothers were reported to be receiving adequate ante-natal care at government clinics and over 90 per cent of deliveries in the country were done by doctors or trained midwives. However, child welfare clinics are believed to serve only approximately 15 per cent of the target population under the age of 5.

The family planning programme saw a decline in the active caseload between 1978 and 1982. However, this is not necessarily indicative of a decline in contraceptive use among the population since contraceptives are available from privately run clinics and doctors in the private sector. The birth rate per thousand population has hovered between 24.5 to 24.9 between 1973 and 1977. Nonetheless, special attention needs to be paid in family planning programmes to reducing high adolescent fertility rates which are not in the best interests of the advancement of women.

Nutrition programmes form a small but important part in the primary health care system. It is estimated that approximately 10 per cent of children below the age of 5 need serious nutrition intervention in their diets. However, only a limited programme is available to this age group.

The School Nutrition programme concentrates primarily on the needs of school age children, some 10 per cent of whom currently receive a school meal supplied by the Government free of charge.

In 1980/81 there was reported to be a significant improvement over the previous 6 years in the anaemia status of women attending anti-natal clinics for the first time.

### Welfare services

Females are equally eligible as males to receive non contributory old age pensions and the means of a spouse is no longer taken into consideration when considering an applicant's eligibility for assistance.

Public assistance is payable to destitute persons over the age of 18 years who are unable to earn a living by reason of illness or incapacity. A female head of household is equally eligible for public assistance as a male. However, when the whereabouts of a husband or children's father is known, a woman is not normally entitled to public assistance for dependent children. She is expected to take out maintenance order againts an erring father.

Taking account of the larger size of the female age group over 65, some 79 per cent of the males and 81 per cent of the females receive non-contributory pensions.

Females formed 55 per cent of social assistance recipients in 1978. However, the fact that 64 per cent of adult recipients (but 50 per cent of child recipients) of public assistance were females suggest that many more females than male heads of households occupy positions of absolute poverty in the society. Women thus appear to be more vulnerable to the vagaries of ill health and unemployment which place them on the margins of survival.

### Day-care services

Not more than 4 per cent of the age group 3 - 5 are estimated to attend nursery schools subsidized by the State. Yet adequate day care and nursery school programmes are crucial to the active participation of the labour force of women with small children who cannot afford household domestic help - particularly of women in the low-income groups who cannot afford fees payable at well run privately operated facilities.

### Special education

The picture for special education is of an adequate primary-school education for the blind and physically handicapped and a severe shortage in the provision of school places for the mentally retarded and deaf, many of whom are unable to attend normal schools and are cared for at home without adequate school or community support.

### Existing social and cultural practices

It is well known that despite reasonable levels of social and economic development, certain cultural factors militate against the equal participation of women in the society. Though there is theoretically equal opportunity for education for both boys and girls and there is no overt discrimination by gender in the allocation of resources for education in the national budget, in practice, the evidence does not suggest that both sexes are trained for and encouraged to enter the same range of occupations in the same scale of economic and social value.

Role stereotyping no doubt supported by social and cultural factors would

appear to begin in school and in the home and tones at post-secondary levels of education. This stereotyping would seem to be supported and even desired by the students and the country at large.

In Trinidad and Tobago the sexes have still to a large degree accepted roles imposed by tradition which cause a disproportionate number of females to be concentrated in a limited number of occupations such as secretaries, which require lower levels of skill and responsibility and therefore remuneration. Neglect of their technical and vocational education in a large variety of areas, particularly in areas where there is a shortage of skilled workers - areas such as electronic technology, plumbing, woodwork and instrument maintenance - leads to discrimination against women in the wage structure, even where equal pay for work of equal value is the norm.

At University level, women dominate the arts and humanities and shy away from the "hard sciences" though there has been an increasing trend of females' enrolment in medicine.

The question might also be posed as to whether society is more inclined to impose a period of sexual latency on adolescent boys than of girls, which rebounds to the disadvantage of the latter in terms of their education and their active participation in the labour force, including training on the job. If this is so then family life education programmes may do well to stress the need in society for females to postpone reproduction by a few years.

The poor showing of females in the labour force described above, despite relative equality of opportunity in education, is attributable also to certain cultural practices. Women would seem to be attracted (or alternatively only prepared academically and vocationally) for work in those sectors of the economy where pay and other emoluments are lower or alternatively in jobs requiring lower levels of skills which are therefore poorly paid.

It is also believed that salaries and other conditions of work tend to be less favourable in industries dominated by women, since women are often cited as being less aggressive and competitive in the labour market even when equally qualified as men. It is said that for many women, money, after it has covered the basic necessities of life, does not become the measure of social status, as it does for men. Instead, it is more often regarded as a means of improving the standard of the home.

There also exist certain cultural barriers in the world of work. In management, for instance, there is some prejudice against female "bosses". Women are said not to be respected at the decision-making levels of management. There is a widespread belief that women have to over-compensate in ability and aptitudes to be placed on an equal footing with men in many job situations. The attitude is common among men that women are sex symbols rather than equal partners in the workplace.

There is the question of culturally imposed sex roles, the traditional role of housewife being described as "one small step" to occupations like home helps, nursing, social work and education where women predominate.

It is significant that women represent 68 per cent of the population which received no income or where income was not stated. There are many in this group who may have worked as young women but who when married found in their husbands the security which their income guaranteed them prior to marriage. Others have never entered the labour force in their lifetime.

It has been said that at age 17 women have all the potentialities but between 25 and 30, the creation of a family may well be more appealing than a job. Indeed, a comparison of school attendance and labour force participation (week's activity) among persons 14 - 19 years, by sex in Commonwealth Caribbean countries in 1970, revealed a high female participation rate among those attending school but a low rate among those in the labour force.

The obverse was true among males. In Trinidad and Tobago 46.3 per cent of females were attending school, and only 18.5 per cent participated in the labour force, compared with 43.7 per cent of males attending school but 48.1 per cent in the labour force.

#### VII. THE INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN'S ISSUES AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The projects undertaken in national development programming are invariably earmarked for the population as a whole. Neither are activities involving women limited to specific sectors of the economy but usually appear as integrated components in many diverse kinds of sectoral projects such as are described above. Very limited provision is made in the budget for programmes undertaken in the exclusive service of women.

The Government of Trinidad and Tobago makes a small annual contribution to certain United Nations agencies for the promotion of services for women such as the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Women's activities and the United Nations Decade for Women. The Government also meets the expenses of the secretariat for the locally established counterpart of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. The establishment of this Commission may be regarded as the most explicit gesture on the Government's part in support of women rights in the society.

The Commission comprises nineteen members (all women) who are divided into six committees to examine and report on specific subject areas. The most recent report of the National Commission for 1980 was submitted to Cabinet in 1982. It contained 20 recommendations on ways and means of improving the status of women in the country in the areas of welfare services, agriculture, handicraft programmes, music, drama, dance and the allied arts. A staff member of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Co-operatives is assigned part time to the Commission as a Secretary/Member. Funds are provided annually to meet the expenses of the Commission. These are provided in a recurrent vote under the control of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Co-operatives. In 1982, most of the Commission's Budget was used to meet the cost of printing and publishing of a book on the Developing Legal Status of Women in Trinidad and Tobago.

Expenditure so far for 1983 has been incurred to meet the costs of running a workshop at CARIRI on the processing and preservation of local fruits. Participants were drawn primarily from women's groups throughout the country. Expenditure was also incurred on a research project which is being undertaken by CARIRI on the feasibility of making certain kinds of local straw more pliable for use in the handicraft industry. In November/December 1983 the Commission was instrumental in the organization of three training programmes for 75 self-employed business women on the "Essentials of Small Business Management" in different parts of the country.

#### VIII. MAJOR TYPES OF PROGRAMMES THAT HAVE BEEN INITIATED OTHER THAN THOSE PROVIDED BY NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS.

Major types of programmes on activities towards the advancement of women other than those provided in national development plans have been undertaken primarily by Church-affiliated organizations and other non-government, philanthropic, social welfare and other community service organizations.

These different bodies organize their activities on a piece-meal basis. They operate a wide mix of activities, including vocational training programmes for leisure, recreation and profit; community education programmes; residential programmes for working women; day-care and nursery-school programmes for pre-schoolers, family life education programmes and programmes to promote leadership skills, civic awareness and political consciousness among women.

One of the long established groups, the Housewives' Association, may be described as a consumer pressure group and has been very successful, for instance, in improving the terms and conditions of employment of household domestic workers who are mostly women.

There are some four hostels/homes run by church-affiliated organizations which offer subsidized housing for working girls with low incomes. There is one home for unmarried teenage mothers in need of care and protection. (This home received a substantial ad hoc capital grant from the Government). There are also a large number of day-care facilities which offer subsidized day care and nursery-school facilities for mothers with low incomes. Again, many of these are run by church-affiliated organizations.

#### IX. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

Continued research and national dialogue utilizing the full range of well known mechanisms-seminars, the mass media, social surveys, publications etc. - to sensitize the population on the many issues that affect the integration of women in development with a view to removing, over a period of time, those factors which are recognized as playing constraining roles. Some of these issues are indicated hereunder. The female population should play an integral role in this exercise to ensure that, as the ultimate beneficiaries, their sentiments are reflected in whatever reforms are forthcoming:-

- (a) The need for all lingering discriminatory provisions in law against women to be removed;
- (b) the need for all data-gathering agencies to disaggregate information by gender, particularly that relating to the beneficiaries of a wide range of services provided by the State to the population at large;
- (c) the need for a review of the curricula of all education and training institutions, particularly at the secondary and post-secondary levels of education, and including non-formal education, with a view to encouraging the greater participation of women in a wider variety of areas outside of the traditional ones. At the non-formal level of education there is a need to supplement training in home-making skills, with training geared to provide opportunities for participation in viable income-generating activities;
- (d) the need for the development of public-awareness programmes aimed at encouraging women to enter the labour force in a wide variety of areas and at all levels of management. In this connection, women should be encouraged to operate their own business enterprises;
- (e) the need for improved levels of health and housing services and other social amenities in the home, including services in obstetrics, gynaecology and maternity and child welfare. In this connection, more dynamic family life education programmes should be pursued, aimed at reducing the number of teenage mothers and the high illegitimacy rate of the population;

The programme should also aim to cultivate among men a more healthy attitude towards women as their equal partners in home-making and, where feasible, as bread-winners. Fathers should therefore be encouraged to participate more actively in the chores of home-making and in the socialization of children;

- (f) the need for a wider range of psychiatric, family counselling and other social services aimed at forestalling family problems and buttressing individuals and families at risk before they break down completely. This will involve the provision of more comprehensive social services such as family-counselling, places of safety, supplementary nutrition programmes, particularly for the under five age group; more support services for the physically and mentally handicapped children and adults; and a proper information network on what social services are available to citizens.

A more comprehensive network of subsidized day-care facilities should be provided in which the greater involvement of business organizations in the provision of suitable day-care facilities for employees with small children should be encouraged.

Paper 10

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS  
OF FOUR PERSPECTIVES

by

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INTRODUCTION

Systematic study of national development grew rapidly during the forties and fifties with interest in all the social sciences. This paper will briefly explore the theoretical explanations presented by two social science disciplines; sociology and economics. These two disciplines were selected because of their influence on the study of development. An underlying question throughout the paper will be "How have those explanations which have often influenced policy addressed women's lives in the 'underdeveloped' world?" The second part of the paper will explore and compare how Western feminists and feminists from developing countries have explained development and its impact on women's lives. This paper will then try to identify the implications of these four explanatory perspectives for women's lives in the context of development.

I. ECONOMICS

Within economics a dozen or more subfields reflect the interest in the study of developing countries, e.g. economic history (Rostow, 1960, Gerschenkron, 1962), international trade (Chenery 1965, Levin 1960), national income accounting, statistics and econometrics (Deane 1953, Samuels 1963, Alderman and Morris 1967), and agricultural economics (De Wilde et al. 1968, Mellor et al. 1968; Dalton p.30). Review of the literature indicates that there are two overriding explanatory models - theories - in economics: neo-classical theory and neo-Marxist theory.

1. Neo-classical theories. Sometimes referred to as orthodox economics. The basic idea in this paradigm is that in order to solve social problems such as unemployment, poverty, and achieve a respectable status as modern nations, poor countries needed development which could be measured by GNP. Economic growth <sup>1/</sup> was thus equated with development. This solution could be accelerated with the help of trade, aid and/or private capital from countries already developed (Seers 1979, : 25.).

Inequality and exploitation are taken as given, and in fact inequality was considered necessary to generate savings and provide incentives, and it was perceived that eventually it will be eliminated when sufficient growth takes place.

<sup>1/</sup> Economic growth variables are per capita income, savings or surplus or investable capital, rate of investment, productivity in agriculture, monetized sector, availability of credit, development of financial institutions, skills, literacy rates, economic performance of the labour force, and constant innovations in science and technology (Varma p.51).

When growth was not as fast as predicted it was attributed to obstacles such as economic nationalism. The analysis of specific rigidities, lags or characteristics of the structure which hindered developing countries and their economic adjustment was the focus of what was sometimes called a "structuralist approach". This approach started in the fifties by writers such as Paul Rosentstein-Rodan, and has been identified as a separate explanatory model by Chenery. The specific structural factors identified for the analysis have differed at various times. For example, during the fifties and sixties the focus was on "the failure of equilibrating mechanisms of the price system to produce steady growth or desirable distribution of income". More recently, the focus has been on the "limited ability of economics to absorb the growing labour force, the worsening of the income distribution in several developing countries, and the disruption to world trade caused by the increased oil and fuel prices". (Chenery, 1975: 10).

Two additional assumptions of this perspective contribute to our understanding of neo-classical theory: a) economics consists of a number of simple yet powerful theorems which have universal validity (Hirschman, 1980: 3), and b) if individuals and competitive firms are left to seek their own private gain, the "invisible hand" of the market will guide them to the most advantageous choices, which means that the material welfare of the society will be maximized (Barrett, 1981: 437-38).

Even though this perspective still exists among some economists it started losing credibility during the sixties, especially in the context of economic development. Some of the major criticisms hurled against it are that: a) the analysis of the economic system took the social and political systems as a given or a constant; b) some of the major economists e.g. Everett Hagen, Benjamin Higgins, Gerald Meier, Charles Kindleberger, Henry Burton and Theodore Morgan (Seers, 1979: 33) had an ethnocentric approach to United States international involvement and are perceived as lacking sensitivity to explanations of the economy, policy and culture of the less developed countries in the context of their goals, institutions, values and character; c) an inadequate perspective on Marxism (Seers, 1979: 32-48); d) a focus on the monetized sector of the economy, thus overlooking women's contributions and role in development (Boulding: 34-42); and e) failure of the trickle-down effect of development (Adelman, 1975: 306).

2. Neo-Marxist theories. Adherents of this perspective are of the opinion that development economics had not gone far enough in its analysis of the predicament of poor countries and that only total change in the socio-economic structure would make a difference. They perceive development policies as having resulted in the creation of new forms of exploitation and dependency.

Two major propositions characterize this perspective: "a) exploitation of 'unequal exchange' is the essential, permanent feature of the relations between the underdeveloped 'periphery' and the capitalist 'centre'; and b) as a result of this process of exploitation, the political economic structure of the peripheral countries is very different from anything ever experienced by the centre, and their development cannot possibly follow the same path - for example, it has been argued that they cannot have a successful industrialization experience under capitalist auspices" (Hirschman, 1980: 4).

Neo-marxists raised some serious issues particularly in the area of

excessive foreign control and unequal income distribution (Hirschman 1980: 19). This perspective will be discussed in more detail in the context of sociological neo-Marxist theories.

## II. SOCIOLOGY

Two major explanations of development in sociology are: modernization theories and neo-Marxist theories.

1. Modernization theories. Daniel Lerner's *THE PASSING OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY* in 1958 was one of the earliest attempts to establish an agenda of a sociology of development. In that book which specifically focuses on the Middle East, Lerner uses Western modernization as a model of global applicability. Traditionally, sociological studies focused on the West as a standard of reference to which neo-Western societies are compared. Eisenstadt summarizes this perspective when he writes:

"Historically, modernization is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century and have then spread to other European countries and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the South American, Asian and African countries..." (Eisenstadt, 1966: 1).

Modernization theories demonstrated that they can be categorized in the context of the level of analysis using concepts as the criteria which determines whether they are on the social structural level, the cultural or the personality level (Seers 1979: 78; Abrahams 1980: 30-107). Modernization for sociologists therefore implied an evolutionary perspective which explained the stages of change through which all societies pass. Change was progressive, gradual, inevitable and linear from tradition to modernity (Abrahams 1980: 4; Kadt and Williams 1976: 1).

Modernization theory in sociology has a close affinity with economics because the two disciplines often overlap when they attempt to explain development. Thus Abraham, for example, identifies two types of modernization theory: economic modernization which focuses on economic growth and social modernization which involves "change in the systematic attributes, institutional patterns and status roles in the social structure of developing society". (Abrahams 1980: 7).

Sociologists have developed various models for the study of modernization. They vary in their emphasis and reflect the permeating interest among the various scholars. The following list represents that interest: General modernization theories (Levy 1966; Etzioni 1971), mature modern society analysis (Bell 1973; Lipset 1967; Bensman and Vidich 1971), mass culture and mass society (Rosenberg 1957), Kornhauser 1959), communications theory (Pye 1963; Lerner 1958), 'cosmopolitan and local' (Merton 1957), modernizing nations (Eisenstadt 1966; Smelser 1966), the intellectuals (Shils 1961), stratification (Lipset and Bendix 1960), religion (Bellah 1964), family (Goode 1970), and population: the theory of demographic transition (Davis 1957; Varma: 37-48). Many of these theories have used one or more of the following for evaluating modernity: a) Rationality, b) individualism, c) secularism, d) the application of scientific principles for advancing technology as well as personal goals and e) equality (Varma, 1980: 7-12).

Rather than go into the details of these theories we will at this stage identify the methodological and conceptual shortcomings of modernization theory, thus clarifying the basis for the development of an alternative paradigm: the neo-Marxist paradigm.

The major criticisms therefore are: a) modernization as a concept is defined as both an end in itself and a means to an end and is equated with such concepts as industrialization and urbanization, thus causing some confusion; b) there is a tendency to select a single correlate as the prime mover of modernization; c) researchers have influenced their explanations by their ethnocentric perspective; d) there is a tendency to use an historical bias which defines modernization in terms of the contemporary western experience; e) the theories have a deceptive analysis of underdeveloped societies as persistent, homogenous cultural systems; f) the theories assume that underdeveloped societies resist change because they perceive it to be disruptive; g) theorists have the belief that changing institutions invariably has a positive function in traditional societies; h) the theories assume that modernity is the sum total of a set of qualities that are easily measured and quantified; i) the theories assume that contact with the West and the changing values will eventually percolate through the different layers and reach into the realm of the social system i.e. a trickle-down effect; j) the theories assume that economic backwardness is the result of the social and cultural traditions which need to be obliterated (Abrahams 1980: 176-204); k) the theories represent a false analysis of linear evolution in which underdeveloped countries represent the "original state" of developed countries (Seers 1979: 83-84); and l) it neglects women as a significant part of the population, and when included their lives are presented by researchers who use assumptions which are influenced by the prevailing stereotypes about middle-class women in industrial societies (Papnek 1978: 1508).

2. Neo-Marxist theories. A sociology of 'underdevelopment' emerged in opposition to the sociology of modernization. It started with the writings of Andre Gunder Frank in 1967 and was inspired by political economy/economic history of the third world. Radical sociologists who focused on an analysis of the third world centred on the theories of exploitation and oppression (Seers 1979: 83).

Aidan Foster-Carter in an article entitled 'Neo-Marxist approach to development and underdevelopment' discusses the origins of the neo-Marxist school, as well as its distinctive characteristics. This new approach shifts the focus from the multiplicity of structural characteristics of less developed countries to the international context of relationships between societies and the links of people in the poor countries with others in the industrialized nations.

The distinctive features of neo-Marxism include: a) criticism of modernization theories as 'bourgeois' theories with a Western ideology which serves western policy and economic interests. b) An insistence on treating the world as a totality, with 'developing' and 'developed' worlds as interrelated and integrated. c) A focus on the historical analysis of societies which are presently underdeveloped - thus providing the point that underdevelopment was created by developed countries. d) A critique of the peaceful and evolutionary nature of development theories and a belief that massive empirical evidence supports revolutionary change. d) The belief that class analysis is important.

Neo-Marxists have identified four major classes in underdeveloped countries: the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, 'non-working' class, and peasantry and compared origins, characteristics, roles and potential with those of their equivalents in developing countries. f) Neo-Marxists differentiate themselves from traditional Marxism as individuals who use concepts for explanation of inductive data rather than individuals who adhere to the dogma of Marxism, deducing from it what the world 'must be' like (Aidan Foster-Carter 1974: 84).

By way of summary, neo-Marxism criticized traditional development theories and focused on: a) class analysis in which the exploited classes are perceived as necessary participants in the process of development and b) the new structure of dependency between developing and developed countries (Kadt and Williams 1974: 7).

Neo-Marxism has also been criticized as a non-comprehensive explanation of development with class and dependency analysis as non-inclusive for an understanding of the process of development (Kadt and Williams 1974: 8).

This critique indicates that sociologists are still interested in understanding other aspects of development besides class and dependency, e.g. education is not condemned for its similarity to capitalist institutions but the focus shifts to social functions of schools, occupational systems, incentives and opportunities, teaching and testing (Kadt and Williams 1974: 9).

The question at this stage of analysis is: What are the implications of economic and sociological analysis for women's lives in developing countries?

The brief analysis and critique of the various theories in sociology and economics highlights the following points: a) An ethnocentric bias of the researchers and policy planners whose analysis of the underdeveloped world omitted addressing women's lives in a significant way. This is specifically reflected in the two disciplines which we considered - economics and sociology, and this omission reflects what is occurring in the discipline as a whole (Barrett, 1981: 437-445; Epstein, 1981: 485-498; American Sociological Association, 1980). b) Both traditional economic theory and sociological models adhered to an approach for development. Therefore the assumption seems to be that eventually women and children would benefit from this process. c) Economics and sociology were concerned with development and change from above - national macro level - focusing on impersonal problems such as capital formation, foreign trade, urbanization, modernization. Traditionally only anthropologists, agricultural economists and rural sociologists studied development from below, i.e. on the micro level and from the perspective of participants, in this case from the perspective of women (Dalton, : 30; Smith, 1979: 135-187).

### III. FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

Before proceeding to the analysis of feminist ideas about women's role in the context of development, we will briefly review and define the assumptions and goals of that approach. There are three basic assumptions: a) feminist theory assumes that men and women have different experiences, i.e. the world is not the same for men and women; b) it assumes that women's oppression is not a subset of some other social relationship, but that it is a constellation of social problems which have to be understood for itself rather than as a

subset of class or some other structure; and c) it also assumes that oppression of women is part of the way the structure of the world is organized (Flax, 1978: 20-21).

In the context of these assumptions, the goals of feminist theory are:

a) to understand the power differential between men and women; b) to understand women's oppression, and how to change that oppression; and c) to overcome oppression (Flax, 1978: 20-21; MacKinnon, 1982; Winter, 1977; Sacks, 1976).

#### A. Western feminist analysis

After Boserup's pioneering work in 1970, a deluge of research by Western feminists addressed development and women's lives. The following issues represent the western critique hurled at development research and policies:

a) An ethnocentric image of women - Western researchers were usually men who were influenced by a culture which defined women's primary place and role in the home. (This image is graphically depicted by Betty Friedan in her book The Feminine Mystique). With that frame of mind, then, they ignored the reality of women's lives in the underdeveloped countries - lives which were usually located in both the public sphere of the rural areas and in the private sphere of their homes. The resulting policies reflected this bias and focused on industrialization. The glorification of motherhood in industrialized societies has also helped define a development policy for the third world that erects barriers to paid work for women and ignored rural development. (Buvinic, 1985: 15; Rogers, 1980; Boulding, 1980: 5-6; Tinker, 1976: 66; Papenek, 1980: 1580).

Another aspect of ethnocentrism with regard to women's roles is reflected in the tenure system. As subsistence societies moved towards cash-crop societies, European colonial rulers felt uncomfortable with the customary land-tenure system - in which women both farmed and had rights to the land - and often converted land to private ownership without any understanding of the local traditions. Thus they failed to recognize women's rights to land and vested the ownership in men (Tinker, 1976: 68-69).

b) Ethnocentrism on a national level - development models represent a "we-they" mentality, which is criticized as coming from uniformed and patronizing individuals (McCormack, 1981: 19). Nisbet suggests that it reflects nineteenth century evolutionary doctrines with their ethnocentric bias (1971: 95-114).

On another level, the assumption that the stages of progress are the same for all societies overlooks the diversity of settings within which women like men live their own lives. Even within the smallest national unit there are divisions of caste, class, ethnicity and religion, all of which shape the distinctive structures within the specific society (Black, 1981: 226; Hammond and Jablo, 1973).

Also, development was often perceived as a function of how such factors as capital formation and technological skills interact. Since these were usually Western criteria, they were considered as part of a process of Westernization. Thus economic and social conditions of developing areas are compared to those of the West and growth is measured by the degree of likeness (Lindsay, 1980: 33).

Finally, Tinker considers the concept of linear development (towards the Western model) as a new or modern ideology and she considers the rise and fall of nations as a more accurate description of history (1976: 67).

c) The invisible world of women - conventional research and statistics and the theoretical concepts that feed them are biased in the direction of excluding a good portion of the activities in which women are involved; thus, it takes no account of women's productive labour in the world of "the kitchen, the kitchen garden, and the nursery" (Boulding, 1980: 35; Black, 1981: 267; Mullings, 1976: 28).

Women are also invisible in census data and employment surveys which do not account for their roles in agricultural work, own-account work or the marginal jobs in the industrial sector (Tinker, 1976: 73; Boulding, 1980: 34).

d) "Double-shifts" as an outcome of traditional development theories and policies - development has implied for many women a situation in which their full-time paid labour has been added to the continuing responsibility for homemaking and child care (Black, 1981: 266-7; Buvinic, Lycette and McGreevey, 1983). Buvinic considers women's double shift as a contributing factor towards women's poverty (1983: 3).

e) Economic marginalization of women - Ester Boserup in 1970 was the first western researcher who suggested that the process of development frequently led to economic marginalization of women. The analysis of marginalization has continued for both the rural and urban contexts. As societies moved from subsistence to cash economies, women continued to do most of the work, with little access to the cash crops which were considered men's work. Traditional development policies are considered to have widened the gap between women's and men's earning power (Tinker, 1976: 66-69; Blumberg, 1981: 32-56; Newman, 1981: 120-138). This marginalization was also attributed to an educational system which was biased in favour of men, leaving women at a disadvantage in the markets, and with few options in the city (Tinker, 70-72).

f) Inequality as a given - in her analysis of development theories McCormack concludes that all development theories accept the continuing equality between the sexes in both attitudes and social structures and she points out that even the newest notions about development with equity fail to consider equity for women (1981: 15-31).

Essays in Buvinic's book Women and poverty in the third world indicate that women are indeed the second sex in the third world: "they are less educated than men, have fewer occupational options, and earn less when they work". (Buvinic, 1983: 3).

g) Modernizing patriarchy - in her article entitled "Women and Economic Change in Africa", Mullins criticizes development theory for its modernization of patriarchy. To her, patriarchy has two manifestations: 1. expressive patriarchy which is reflected in rape, machismo concept, symbolic mysogyny in the arts, and 2. instrumental patriarchy which is reflected in 'job discrimination, differential access to education, health, legal services and political office.' This modern form of patriarchy is perceived as being legitimized through scientific studies of the brain, of psychological differences and personality development rather than traditional values or

holy texts (1976: 28-29).

h) Trickle-down approach to development - this concept has been addressed earlier, and the critique is hurled at development theories again for assuming that capital and technological transfer will filter down to the poor in developing societies and that eventually women will benefit from this process (Buvinic, 1983: 23-24).

i) Biased concepts - concepts dealing with women's lives such as productive labour, sexual division of labour and family, are used by development theorists without a critique of their implicit biases i.e. their ideological biases. The end result is that the issues become obscure rather than clarified (Beneria, 1980: 2).

The above critique by Western feminists and much of the ongoing research coincides with the basic assumptions of feminist theory which were identified at the beginning of this section. Research by Western feminists is focusing on women's lives and the problems which contribute to their subordinate position.

Review of the literature also indicates that there are three major models developed by Western feminists as possible recommendations addressing women's roles: 1. the individual model, 2. the integration model, and 3. the redefinition model.

1. The individualistic model. In 1970 Ester Boserup, an economist, presented the first comprehensive overview of women's role in the development process. In her book entitled Women's role in economic development, Boserup emphasized gender as a basic factor in the division of labour across countries and regions; provided some explanations for and analyzed a variety of factors behind these differences; started the process of identifying the negative effects of colonialism and capitalism for women's lives in subsistence economies, emphasized that subsistence activities usually omitted in the statistics of production and income are largely women's work; and demonstrated how the division of labour in certain systems influenced women's participation in non-agricultural activities (Beneria and Sen, 1981: 279-281). However, her policy recommendations reflect one of the basic assumptions of neo-classical economics: the assumptions of individualism where the i) individual shapes the institutions and ii) the individual characteristics are significant only as they affect consumption patterns of productivity (Barrett, 1981: 437). Her recommendation emphasized education as the major mechanism by which modernization would be beneficial to women. This recommendation attempts to alter the characteristics of women rather than those of the system of capital accumulation (Beneria and Sen, 1981: 298). Therefore, "individual choices made in a competitive, free-enterprise marketplace are the means of achieving the highest level of material well-being for society as a whole" (Barrett, 1981: 437).

2. The integrative model. The women's movement during the 60s and early 70s highlighted the neglected social and economic role of women. National governments thus became increasingly aware of this omission through the debates of the United Nations. It was in these United Nations debates which led to the designation of 1975 as International Women's Year. In June and July of that year the World Conference of International Women's Year was held in Mexico City. Among its actions was the inauguration of a United Nations Decade for Women,

1975-1985 (Boulding, 1980: 7; Beneria, 1982: xi). One of the stated goals and objectives of that Decade was "the full integration of women in the total development effort" (Boulding, 1980: 30; Boserup, 1975: 8). A working statement for women's role in development was written by Boserup entitled Integration of Women in Development: Why, When and How (1975). In her proposals for action Boserup identifies the need for a "deliberate effort to enable women everywhere to make a more productive and less exhausting contribution to development". She then addresses specific areas such as legislative and administrative measures, creating programmes for women which will help attack the problem from several sides simultaneously e.g. provide better educational and training programmes, provide rural programmes with specific focus on skills, and try to influence the opinions of people through the mass media (Boserup, 1975: 33-38).

The focus on integration for women was part of the general theme for integration in development (Sussman, 1976; Kahane, 1982). It leads to different development programmes for women e.g. rural development programmes (United Nations, 1975).

The integrative model has some basic problems associated with it: a) it assumes that "women's work" prior to development programmes was introduced as an activity which was not necessarily integrated in their communities and not necessarily significant or important for development (Tinker and Bromsen, 1976). It also reflects ideological biases about women's work which undervalue the traditional contributions of women in the domestic sphere and subsistence economies (Beneria, 1982: xx). b) Quite often in response to the growing demands for women's integration into development, agencies created marginal "women's projects" with a strong domestic science bent. These programmes, according to Rogers (1980), often turned out to be impractical, time-consuming, poorly organized, and increased the marginalization of women both within development institutions and at all levels of the third world social hierarchies. c) Integration often led to the "double shift" or "double role" for women which implies that programmes did not necessarily provide the supportive institutions for the new roles. Thus women in poor economies faced new pressures because of their double role in the home and the job market (Buvinic, Lycette and McGreevey, 1983).

3. The redefinition model. Disenchantment with the traditional development models in the behavioural sciences, the individualistic or integrationist model, the perpetuation of inequality, the double shift, the increased receptivity to women's issues and the changing paradigms in western feminism <sup>2/</sup> led to a situation in which western feminists were calling for a redefinition of

<sup>2/</sup> Western feminism since the 60s has developed alternative paradigms which reflect different attitudes towards women's work e.g. Betty Friedan's book The Feminine Mystique reflects a critique of women's lives as home-makers, and she perceives that integration of women in the world of work and providing them with educational opportunities would provide them with the solution to the "problem that has no name". Friedan's book led to what was called the liberal feminist perspective which, in American society for example, was reflected in the activities of the National Organization for Women (NOW). The second stage of liberal feminism is represented in such works as Jessie Bernard's The Female World (New York: The Free Press, 1981) in which she looks at women's lives as a culture and a world with its different and important experiences and contributions to society, and

development which would include women, and in which women have an input. Some of the important issues to be included in the redefinition are:

a) Development with equity - a rethinking of the process and priorities for change implies a rethinking of the goals for development where development with equity would not only be on an international level but would be on a national level, inclusive of women (Black, 1981: Signs, Winter). Development with equity also implies that women have an input in the policies and decision making because their shared experiences have produced viewpoints which are relevant to the problems the notion of development is supposed to address (Black, 1981: 268; Boulding, 1980: 57). Thus, the new perspectives of development would include perceptions from the "bottom-up" rather than the traditional approach which was from the "top-down".

b) Affirmative action - the new definition should include recommendations to redistribute access to the important areas and opportunities such as education, occupational choice, mobility, and participation in decision making (Black, 1981: 8; Mullings, 1976: 27).

c) Involvement in the economic sector - the new policies and definitions of development need to disregard poverty problems and focus on property and the marginalization of women in the larger economy and the loss of control over the means of production (McCornack: 24).

d) Conceptual bias - the new definitions need to address the conceptual biases of the disciplines, and redefine, for example, the concept of economic activity so that it includes not only tasks directly related to commodity production, but also tasks that contribute to human welfare e.g. activities which include domestic work and subsistence agricultural work (Beneria, 1982: xvii).

By way of summary, the perspectives of Western feminists with regards to women and development reflected the assumptions and goals of Western feminist theory, an awareness of the limitations of the conceptual frameworks and the influence of the personal biases of the researchers. The models for including women in development have on the other hand changed from recommendations which focused on changing the traits of women, to "integration" to a redefinition of the concept of development.

#### B. Third-World feminist perspectives

"Women and development is an issue of survival - while feminism is an issue of recognition of women as human beings" (Isabel Nieves, *The Exchange Report*, 1980: 13).

The above statement is an important differentiation developed by Isabel Nieves from Guatemala. One of the first problems encountered in trying to delineate the ideas of feminists from the "underdeveloped" countries is the absence of great amounts of systematic data about their lives, from their perspective. Two of the most helpful resources in this analysis have been *The Exchange Report*, 1980 and Perdita Huston's book *Third World Women Speak Out*. A few other resources have been used in the analysis of this section and yet the recurring question is: How can we generalize on the basis of this limited material on all women in the "underdeveloped" world? Being aware of this limitation this section will attempt to identify the general categories or ideas presented by women from developing countries with the hope that this gap in knowledge will spur further research and eventually further understanding

of the relevant issues.

Two recent quotes reflect the perspectives of women in the underdeveloped world regarding women's roles and development.

"In Mexico the issue of integrating women in development seemed clear. Now after five years, I'm not so certain as I was (because) as far as I am concerned there are very few 'developed' countries... Do women want to be integrated into 'patriarchal development?' The goal of feminist development strategy would be... to allow women to make decisions and to shape the societies in which they live"... (Peggy Antrobus, Jamaica, quoted in Forum 80, 16 July 1980).

"The question is not women's integration in development, as women are active agents in the development process. What is important is the consideration of concrete ways in which women are participating in development. That is a redefinition in the new context of a new type of development (the basis of a new international economic order - of the modalities of women's participation: in what and how they participate." (Development Issue Paper for the 1980s: 6).

These quotes reflect the change in perceptions from an integrationist model to one which needs to redefine development. Before discussing these models from the perspective of third-world women, the paper will identify the critique of development theories and policies which third-world feminists have pointed out, and then move on to an analysis of some of their basic concerns.

The critique of traditional development theories and policies has focused on the following points which will be briefly identified:

(a) Traditional policies and definitions have resulted in an oppressive double burden for women (the traditional roles and the new ones which implied income generating roles).

(b) Development policies have different effects on men and women, and these were sometimes harmful to women: (i) training has often been only for men; (ii) when programmes in rural areas were introduced, they were for small rural landowners and they neglected the landless who were often women; (iii) planning programmes excluding women because they often reflected the biased perceptions of men's and women's roles.

(c) Traditional definitions of development are from the top with the hope that their benefit would trickle down to women.

(d) Development programmes had different influences on the different classes in society e.g. middle-class men and women benefited the most, while the rural and poor - especially women - benefited the least.

(e) A basic problem of development theories and policies is that they reflected biases of researchers and planners.

(f) Another problem of development theories and planners is that the only solutions considered are those based on rational scientific data without necessarily paying much attention to the solutions presented by the recipients of development. Thus developers quite often conceptualized a programme and pushed it through.

In discussing the two models presented by third-world women we will analyze the integrationist model from the perspective of needs defined by women in developing countries and the suggested solutions for resolving some of the identified needs of women. The redefinition model will focus on concepts or variables which third-world women would like to have included in a new definition for development.

1. The integrationist model. With the 1975 Conference on Women, the integrationist model was adopted by many feminists from developing countries. The Exchange Report, which was written after the Copenhagen Meetings in 1980, still reflected the prevalence of that approach towards development. An analysis of the literature dealing with the integration of women in development reflects the following needs which were identified by women in "underdeveloped" countries:

(a) water - the necessity of having accessible supply especially for rural women.

(b) technology - the need for a technology which would facilitate the daily tasks and chores of women. A number of these technologies have been identified in the United Nations Development Issue Paper for the 1980s and include: low-cost technologies for lifting water, safe storage facilities for storing food and water, energy-efficient stoves, aid for food preservation, grain mills, and inexpensive carts and wheelbarrows (1980: 12).

(c) education - a need for an educational system which would facilitate the active participation of women in society, and which would increase their understanding of their legal rights.

(d) income-generation - the need to have access to opportunities which would assist in the creation of funds which would help in meeting the daily needs of women.

(e) poverty - the necessity to address this problem as one of the most immediate problems. This problem is considered as one which deprives women of the basic necessities - food, clothing and shelter (Huston, 1979: 37).

(f) research - the need for women from the developing countries to define their concerns and participate in recording and documenting them.

(g) specific programmes - the need for programmes which would help women because they have been set back by traditional development policies.

(h) sex discrimination - the need to address this aspect which is prevalent in the context of job discrimination, lower salaries, exploitation of female workers, and the lack of promotion for women (Huston, 1979: 137).

(i) health and nutrition - although there have been health related advances, this aspect continues to be a concern for women in developing countries. Family planning programmes are still considered necessary for women's lives (Huston, 1979: 142-144).

(j) involvement and participation in development (Levy, 1981: 106).

(k) energy resources - the need for fuel resources which would assist women in providing for their family's daily needs e.g. considering the impact of deforestation programmes on women's access to fuel.

These specific needs were identified by third-world feminists as necessary aspects to be considered in the context of integration. They do not reflect a call for a restructuring of the development process or the society. This model of including women in what 'is already taking place' is also reflected in the suggestions of some third-world feminists that specific structures need to be developed to assist women's participation in development and help address the

aforementioned needs. Some of the suggested structures include: (a) structures to help women cope with roles as producers. (b) Women's Bureaus and private organizations which would: collect and analyze data, disseminate data, refer people to the proper agency or organization, be a catalyst for the actions of other agencies or organizations, monitor the programmes of government agencies, seek out and listen to women, keep in touch with international agencies, and work closely with government and planning agencies. (c) International networks which would increase the impact of women in leadership roles in the "underdeveloped" world and would create a situation in which they are partners in the process of development rather than third-world recipients of development.

2. A redefinition of development. Some feminists from developing countries are recommending that a new concept of development is needed, and they are recommending that it include the following components:

a) Participation of all women and men in the process of development. This aspect implies that: (i) it would be inclusive of all classes; (ii) that it be non exploitive; (iii) that it bring women workers into unions; (iv) that it provide education for girls and women without tracking them into stereotyped careers; (v) that it provide choices for women; (vi) that it acknowledge the roles of women as producers and reproducers; and (vii) that it would include new perceptions of women as active participants rather than passive ones in the process of planning.

b) Equity and efficiency: the new definition should incorporate the idea of equity which means women deserve the same rights and opportunities as men, and efficiency which means that to speed up the process of development women have to be brought in as a human resource.

c) A redefinition of development which considers women's participation in context of a "new international economic order". (United Nations Development Issue Paper for the 1980s).

#### IV. IMPLICATION OF THE ANALYSIS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT

1. Both economics and sociology have changed their theoretical models which explained development. These changes represent a shift from using Western society (GNP or social institutions and culture) as the ideal of change to Neo-Marxist models (both as an ideology and explanatory concepts), to a situation in which economists are searching for more inclusive models, and sociologists are searching for more comprehensive data about the social phenomena from various countries. This brief review of these disciplines suggests a need for more interdisciplinary research and dialogue to assist in the definition of development.

2. Feminists whether they were Western or from underdeveloped countries have changed their expectations for women in development from an integrationist perspective to one which calls for a redefinition of development in which women are active participants.

3. Both economics and sociology have overlooked the analysis of women's lives in the context of their theories. These omissions were characteristic of the behavioural sciences and other disciplines as well. The implication of this omission is that who experienced the impact of development often experienced it in a negative way, and the unique experiences of women were not taken into

consideration when generalizations were developed.

4. Critiques of economics and sociological theories and critiques by feminists reflect some specific concerns and weaknesses of traditional development theories. The major weaknesses relevant to women's lives were: a) An ethnocentric bias of research and policies with regards to women's lives, and third-world countries. b) Policies and planning reflected a 'top down' approach rather than a 'bottom-up' approach, thus the perspectives and concerns of the recipients, especially women, were not considered. c) The failure of trickle-down policies. d) Non-critical uses of conceptual frameworks and theoretical models.

5. Both Western feminists and feminists from the underdeveloped world are calling for a redefinition of development as a concept - a redefinition which is inclusive of the classes; a redefinition which does not overlook the roles of women as producers and reproducers; and one in which women have an active role in a new international economic order. This may imply multiple models of development which may reflect the variety of social structures and cultures.

6. Little is known about women's lives and women's work from the perspective of women in underdeveloped countries. This suggests a great need for research and data which would assist in understanding the needs, the concerns and lives of women in these countries.

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Paper 11

THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Some Yugoslav Experiences

by

Dr. Danijel Pucko

I. POSING THE PROBLEM AND OBSTACLES IN ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE IT

1. Evolution of views

The question of the role and status of women has already been an issue discussed at the local, national and international levels for a long time. At the beginning of the seventies, a conviction dominated that it is an issue of the position of women in socio-economic development, and not only a legal issue or an issue of personal and civil rights of women. This evolution of views was stimulated by the dynamics of the actual position of women, men and children in socio-economic development. The "International Strategy for the Second Development Decade" (1979-1980) adopted by the United Nations, already embodied such a conceptual view (see 4, p.4). 1/

The United Nations World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City in 1975 added a new important aspect to the understanding of the whole issue. It conceived the problem "as a global international issue, as one of the strategic questions of development, as a question that has to be dealt with the purpose of achieving development objectives and as a strong means of mobilization of the entire human potential in the struggle for material and social progress and also as an indicator of development" (12, p.10).

Such an integrative approach to the problem has readily been pursued by the non-aligned countries since the Mexico Conference. Therefore, the question of women's integration in formulating national development strategies, laws and regulations, employment policy, educational policy health programmes, social welfare services, strategies of agriculture development, technology transfers, transformation of family structures, housing construction, organization, etc. is now taken as a precondition for progressive social changes in nearly every developing and specifically non-aligned country. These countries are attempting to incorporate women more intensively into their political system, into the struggle for peace and their own economic independence and self-reliance as well as into the struggle for a new international economic order.

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1 / References in parentheses are to the bibliography.

## 2. Yugoslav views and movements

The socio-economic development of socialist Yugoslavia could be divided into two main phases. The first is represented by administrative socialism in Yugoslavia, copying a Soviet example. Already during the period of reconstruction of the country in May 1946, the Parliament passed the Law on the Federal Economic Plan and State Planning Bodies which opened the door for the central planning system.

In 1947, the first five-year plan for Yugoslavia was prepared and adopted. During the implementation of this plan, Yugoslav leaders were becoming more and more convinced, especially based on practical experiences, that it was necessary to change the State monopoly over the means of production (i.e. their State ownership), into one type of monopoly which would neither be in the hands of the state apparatus nor in the hands of private owner's, but in the hands of the society as a whole. Thus social ownership was born as "a system of relations among people, and not a relation between man and things; it is a system of relation which is not a monopoly of any single entity in society, nor of the State, nor of the work collectivity, nor of individual workers. Property is jointly owned by all who work, and consequently it is the property of each individual working man to the extent to which it gives him the right to work using socially-owned resources, together with all other inalienable rights that derive from the basic right to work. They also include the right to appropriate resources for personal and collective consumption, according to the work performed, on equal and fair terms with other workers." (See 11. p.22).

Social ownership of the means of production requires, instead of State management, the workers' self-management in economic matters and social self-management in social matters. This type of management is the form in which the worker has the opportunity to manage and decide on the means, conditions and fruits of his labour. He controls the income which was created by his work participation. By passing the Law on the Management of Enterprises by Workers' Collectives in 1950, the way was open for building socialist self-management in Yugoslavia.

It meant that in such conditions, workers' collectives gradually took over the management of public enterprises (and the public sector in Yugoslav economy creates over 80 per cent of the GNP). The workers' councils were elected as the highest self-management organs in public enterprises. They began to completely own the assets of individual enterprises as well as the whole income created in a public enterprise. In such a system a special way of workers' remuneration according to work had to be introduced, which means that the level of personal income of a worker is dependent on the income which was created in a specific public enterprise in a certain period of time (a month, three months, etc.)

These socioeconomic solutions required that the society used some sort of a combination of a market mechanism and a mechanism of social planning in solving basic economic problems. During the fifties and the sixties the market economy was strengthened in Yugoslavia on the basis of workers' self-management. During the seventies, Yugoslavia was looking for such mechanisms in its economic system which would protect against possible developments of technocratis, bureaucratism, private sharing on surplus value without appropriate work done

and against other unacceptable tendencies in the development of socialist self-management relations. The totality of the mechanisms which were developed in the middle of seventies forms the so-called economic system of associated labour.

Public enterprises are divided in principle into basic organizations of associated labour. The latter are a part of an enterprise which manages its own assets (the workers' collective does it directly or through selected organs), which disposes freely of its achieved accumulation, which has its own plans, its own management organs, etc. Basic organizations of associated labour amalgamate into a work organizations because of implementing common interests. More work organizations can form together a composite organization of associated labour and different associations at still higher levels.

A market mechanism plays an important role in the economic system. Work organizations establish interlinkages among themselves, mostly through the market. Prices are established freely in principle, though there is a form of social control over prices. The organs of the sociopolitical communities are allowed to adopt measures of direct price control only exceptionally when the stability of the economy is seriously endangered. Otherwise, the Federation is allowed to establish, in co-operation with the republics and two provinces, special ways of price-fixing for agricultural products and different kinds of food items which are of special social interest. The budget system of the Yugoslav Federation is based on tariffs, fees, excise tax and significantly or direct contributions by each republic. Instead of the previous social funds, there are self-managing communities of interest in the system.

Investments are mainly self-financed by organizations of associated labour (individually or in the form of joint ventures). An important financial source is still to be found in investment credits by commercial banks; but the latter are managed by the associated labour which gets also a share in the income created by a bank. Foreign trade is carried out by public enterprises (i.e. working organizations). It is not a State monopoly.

On such socioeconomic relations (a planning component of the system will be described later) the whole political system is built. In communal assemblies there are delegates of organizations of associated labour (as well as of co-operatives and private producers), of local communities and of sociopolitical organizations. In republic assemblies one can find the same structure but instead of delegates of local communities there are delegates of communes. In the Federal Assembly there are two chambers only, i.e. a federal chamber and a chamber of republics and provinces.

Socialist Yugoslavia has, parallel with the development of its socioeconomic system, accumulated rich experiences on the role and contribution of women in its development. The National Liberation War (1941-1945) could succeed solely because of extremely democratic relationships among people including both women and men, who fought together en masse against the fascist occupiers and for their rights. The system of socialist self-management has grown out of that struggle and it is based on direct decision-making by each worker, man or woman, under the conditions of social ownership of the means of production. The social system of Yugoslavia is founded on the constitutional principle that men's or women's work is the sole basis for appropriating the product of social labour and for managing social resources.

Yugoslav achievements are considerable. The average rate of employment growth in Yugoslavia in the period 1948-1981 was 4.9 per cent. Women achieved a 5.6 per cent average rate (in the social sector 5.7 per cent). The share of women employed increased from 28.9 per cent in 1947 to 36.1 per cent in 1981 within the total employment figure (see 7, p.56). Of course the share of women within the total number of employed differs from one republic or autonomous province to another, ranging from 44 per cent in Slovenia to 20 per cent in Kosovo. These differences are mainly due to differences in the level of economic development, the structure of the economy, the level of education of women and the rate of natural population growth.

The socio-economic development of the country required an intensive movement of people from underdeveloped rural areas and from private agricultural house-holds to the non-agricultural social sectors. This fact meant for everybody, for women as well as for men, the attainment of a new social status - the status of a worker with socially owned means of production, i.e. a direct producer and self-manager. This was of particular significance for women (see 5, p.24).

The Yugoslav legislation has provided all the classic forms of protection for women workers (equal pay for equal work, protection at work, prohibition of night shifts for women, protection with respect to child-bearing, etc.)

At the same time profound changes were carried out in the rural areas with regard the status of women. They are consequences of an agrarian reform, movement towards establishing co-operatives, the formation of social agricultural estates and the development of co-operation on the basis of the pooling of the labour and resources of individual farmers or co-operatives, etc.

Significant progress has been made in the field of education, health care, social welfare services and child care. Yugoslavia is coming close to providing elementary education to all female children and 35 per cent of the total enrolment at secondary schools and universities are females. High-school diplomas are held by 55 per cent of the female work force, degrees for two year colleges by 40 per cent, university degrees by 30 per cent. Maternity care has been greatly improved. Some 80 per cent of all births are medically assisted. Maternity leave has been extended from 105 to 180 or 210 days. Children are receiving various forms of social child care. Greater attention is being paid to extended and all-day classes in primary schools. Some progress has been made in relieving families and households of some of their functions, by providing hot meals in public enterprises, schools and other institutions, and by opening more creches and kindergartens.

In 1979, 46 per cent of the delegates for socio political communities elected by organizations of associated labour were women (see 7, p.31). 2/

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2/ See Annex I where a scheme of the political system of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia is given. Organizations of associated labour are those economic and non-economic organizations which carry out activities with socially-owned means of production and which are organized on a self-management basis.

According to the available evidence, the rates of participation of women-workers, in the form of direct decision-making at enterprise level, are fairly high and are similar to those of men workers. However, in self-management bodies in enterprises, there are fewer women. The share of women in workers' councils and as delegates to the communal assemblies is between 25 and 30 per cent. Women comprise only between 10 and 15 per cent of the higher delegation structures (i.e. assemblies of republics and the Federation). Statistical evidence indicates that women are also significantly underrepresented in the managerial organs (their share is less than 10 per cent, but has been increasing during the last two decades) (see also 5,, p.70-71).

In spite of all these important achievements there is still unsatisfactory participation of women in the socioeconomic life of the country. The same constitutional principles, legislation and norms are differently implemented because of different levels of development, economic structure, and above all, cultural customs and traditions. As far as the employment of women is concerned, there are problems similar to those of other countries: low level of skills among employed women, lack of mobility, concentration of the female labour-force in certain economic branches and in non-economic activities, relics of patriarchal form of families, especially in backward rural areas, too low a degree of socialization of certain traditional household functions and family duties, the unsolved question of the burdens and cost of biological reproduction which have still not been treated completely as a composite part of the social reproduction cost which has to be borne by society as a whole.

As economic growth does not ensure progressive social changes by itself, as it does not necessarily imply a just distribution of the national income to the benefit of human masses, and because it could even increase social disparities and antagonisms, the process of improving the status of women in a society is not automatic. For these reasons, conscious social action is needed, i.e. development planning, which would also incorporate all the aspects of "women's issues".

By development planning, complex planning at all levels (international, national, regional, local, enterprise) is meant. Enterprise planning is mentioned here deliberately because field studies in Yugoslavia have shown that the changing patterns of employment and the involvement of women in active productive work had created major structural and attitudinal changes. These have led to transformation of the traditional concept and type of family and family relationship, as well as household, and the position of children (see 12, p. 19-20). Especially public enterprises could be considered as an important factor for mobilizing all natural and human resources of the country by stimulating active participation of working people in solving business and other social problems.

It should be also added that "with self-management", the sphere of social life which was formerly considered as more or less private, family matters or the affairs of State measures and laws, becomes an integral part of unique social development. The working man and citizen contributes to it directly through his work and self-management, decision-making or the results of his work; he participates in the socialization of the care for his living conditions and especially for children" (see 13, p.16-17).

## II. THE INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN'S ISSUES AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

### 1. Some recent issues on development planning

If we consider development planning as a necessary instrument for achieving more effective socioeconomic development, which takes into account the question of appropriate mobilization of all the potential of a country, including the need for socialization of many matters which previously have been relegated to the sphere of "women's affairs", we could define development planning as activity-of-conscious co-ordination of ideas and human efforts directed at the future, over a longer period of time, in order to achieve specified objectives by the overall socio-economic environment. In this sense, it is also a conscious process of determining specified socio-economic objectives, goals and tasks which will be implemented in the planning period.

Development planning at the national level is a fairly complex process. It has to deal with all fields of human life and with all social and economic activities. Development is here understood as a complex question including development of human life. Its goals and main elements, in our case, are improvements of the living conditions of all categories of the population (including women), an increase of the active and equal participation of all in the development process (particularly through the sphere of work, i.e. production) an improvement in the participation of all people in the distribution of the national income and in other non-material benefits and values, as are human equality, freedom and dignity, as well as a promotion of the participation of all people in the decision-making process concerning development.

Such a concept of social development and of development planning assumes that different agents are interacting in the formulation and implementation of a country's economic and social policies as well as in the many different methods of planning used. The details of planning - the degree of aggregation, centralization, quantification, formality, authority, accountability, etc. - vary in different socio-economic systems, in different social spheres, but the essential objectives of planning are the same.

Beside problems on the international scene, it could be said that the inter-linkages between national planning and enterprise planning are among the most crucial issues today in the field of development planning theory. However, less important is the issue of workers' and citizens' participation in the planning process.

The International Seminar on Popular Participation organized by the United Nations Department of Technical Co-operation for Development, in 1982, again stressed the need for researching possibilities of developing the participatory planning systems in all countries and at all levels (see 6, p.1 and 8. p.4). In general, such planning systems are understood to mean the involvement of people in contributing to development efforts, sharing equitably in benefits derived therefrom and in decision-making in respect of setting goals, formulating policies and strategies and implementing economic and social development programmes.

## 2. Yugoslav development planning

In the evolution of socialist self-management, the development planning system has of necessity undergone a number of changes. After the central planning period (1947-52), a system of global balances or basic proportions was adopted (1953-1956). This system introduced a new way of directing the economy by fixing global proportions of future economic development. In the second half of the fifties, the planning system was transformed into a socialist indicative planning system, which was practised until the middle of the seventies. During that period, the role of market mechanisms in the Yugoslav economy was increasing and national planning was reduced to a more informative and orienting role.

In 1974, a new Constitution was enacted; the Law on Associated Labour and the Law on the Foundations of the System of Social Planning and the Social plan of Yugoslavia were passed. Socialist self-management was established as a unified socio-political, economic and constitutional system by those legal acts. The system of associated labour began to be introduced within the country. One of the important characteristics of that socio-economic system is a system of self-management social planning.

How does Yugoslav development planning, in the self-management social planning system, ensure the participation of workers and citizens? In Yugoslav society, where the means of production are in social ownership, the enterprises are managed by workers. Such self-managing enterprises <sup>3/</sup> are autonomous economic units which decide by themselves on the main questions of their operations and development. This system of centralized planning is not adequate. The appropriate planning system should be based on some sort of synthesis of market economy and national planning. In the socialist self-management socio-economic system all social and economic units have the right to plan their work and development. Therefore, in such a system, each enterprise, each insurance company, each local community, each commune, each republic and of course the society as a whole, prepares its own plans. In the processes of planning, workers, both men and women, are the basic factor, not the State, as is the case in centralized planning systems. Plans at all levels are being prepared at the same time (parallel). Social ownership of the production makes it possible to establish closed linkages between planning processes and plans at different levels in the system.

Planning in a self-managing enterprise is one of the starting points in the whole process of self-management social planning in the society, but it cannot be successful without a global analysis of previous economic movements and a realistic forecast of future economic possibilities. Only if we have in our hands such a study about past and future developments in economy and society (in aggregate and for each economic branch, for each field of social services, region, local community and enterprise) are we in a position to plan relatively successfully at all levels. Social organs, equipped with global analysis and global forecasts, should establish realistic global developmental planning goals and global concepts of economic development in society.

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<sup>3/</sup> They are known as organizations of associated labour in the system.

Having all this information in their hands, local communities and self-managing enterprises start to prepare their own plans. Some plans are also prepared by several enterprises together. In the system, there are many activities which have to be planned partly by an organization of associated labour, in accordance, of course, with the planning in local communities and in self-managing communities of interest.<sup>4/</sup> Such activities are related to allocation of income, employment problems, environment protection and use, work and living conditions of the employed in the organization, apartment construction, residential environment, social services, recreation, communications, transport facilities, socio-economic relations in the region and some others.

If conditions for socio-economic development of a village or a smaller region where a self-managing enterprise operates are determined by social infrastructure, i.e. by the quality of institutions and mechanisms in a village or a smaller region which includes transport facilities, energy system, educational facilities, residential conditions, environment for recreation, shopping facilities, cultural and health services, child care and all other services which are offered to the workers and citizens of a particular region, then the complex planning in a self-managing enterprise has to co-ordinate its planning objectives with the planning objectives of a local community and self-managing communities of interest as well as communes. On the other hand, it becomes clear that the parallel preparation of development plans in self-managing enterprises, in local communities, in self-managing communities of interest and in communes is needed.

The administrative organ for planning located at republic and federal level then has a duty to aggregate the essential indicators out of all prepared plans of self-managing enterprises, self-managing communities of interest, local communities and communes. Such aggregation is carried out on the basis of a special questionnaire. The aggregation of basic indicators of all the plans makes it possible to evaluate the aggregate according to its congruency with social planning goals and global concepts of development. It becomes clear to everyone that, in this phase of self-management social planning, there are differences between social goals and concepts of development and results of aggregation of all planning units.

Inconsistencies thus detected require the elaboration of variants to overcome or reduce them. Through a democratic discussion in which all concerned (including women) co-operate, we try to agree upon how to correct drafts of plans so that the inconsistencies are removed. This process of democratic discussion ends with the acceptance of social compacts or/and self-management agreement (one or more). These compacts or self-management agreements are like contracts: all the institutions which have freely signed them, take over some of the tasks and have the obligation to fulfil those tasks in the planning period. They will, therefore, include those tasks in their own final plan.

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<sup>4/</sup> Self-managing communities of interest are associations formed by working people directly or through their self-managing organizations and communities, with a view to satisfying their person and collective needs. Their aim is to link the interests of those who render specific public services with the interest of those who use such services and who are prepared to finance them collectively.

From the above explanation it should be clear that a self-management social plan (national plan) is not a simple sum of lower-level plans, but it is a result of an interaction between the national level and republican, regional, local and enterprise levels in the society, as well as the result of an interaction between different social units. In such a planning process the co-ordination and integration of interests of all factors in the process is secured in advance.

After signing all the necessary social compacts and self-management agreements, the administrative planning institution can develop a proposal for a national plan, with all the socio-economic policy measures which will additionally take care of plan implementation. Such a proposal is then accepted by the Assembly and later has to follow the phase of plan implementation and plan implementation control.

Self-managing enterprises, self-managing communities of interest, local communities, communes and republics prepare their final plans autonomously while taking into account the obligations which they have taken over when they signed social compacts or self-management agreements.

It could be said that such a system is consistent with developed, self-management relationships in society. Its advantages lie in stimulating enterprises' initiative and creativity as well as their behaviour, in accordance with economic principles. In comparison with the indicative system of planning, it could be more effective because in self-management social planning, firm obligations for fulfilment of the specific parts of the national plan are established on the basis of social compacts and self-management agreements. The organization of the planning process within each social unit could secure full workers' or citizens' participation in preparing a plan. That means that the system enables people to fully take into account the principle of participatory planning.

On the other hand, the system of self-management social planning is relatively complex and difficult to implement fully. The process of planning, which is medium-range oriented, is also rather lengthy.

### 3. The incorporation of women into the Yugoslav planning processes

Women take part in the planning process as self-managers, as citizens in local communities, as delegates in self-management organs in enterprises and as delegates in organs of assemblies of self-managing communities of interest and of different socio-political communities (i.e. communes, republics and the Federation). In such a manner, associated labour and women within it influence through the delegational system and through different forms of amalgamation on a territorial, branch or reproductional basis as well as through other different channels and interactions (for example through socio-political organizations) on processes, relationships and changes in the society.

As a result of such a development planning process, the federal social plans of Yugoslavia are adopted for five-year periods. They do not explicitly incorporate "women issues", but they fix different planning tasks, among others

also those regarding demographic and employment trends, <sup>5/</sup> developments in education, culture, health, social child care, housing construction, catering for workers and children, workers' transportation, sports and recreation, etc. Similar planning tasks are included in development plans lower socio-economic levels (republics, cities, communes) and of local communities, communities of interest and public enterprises. As the level is lower, the planning tasks in its development plan are fixed in more details.

The implementation of the Yugoslav development planning has produced an average growth rate of the gross national product of 5.9 per cent in the period 1947-1981 and the achievements which were stated in the first part of this paper (see also 7, p.13-14).

### III. THE MAJOR TYPES OF PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES INITIATED OUTSIDE THE DEVELOPMENT PLANNING PROCESS

Outside the development planning system, which is the basic instrument for the promotion of women's incorporation in the socio-economic development of Yugoslavia, there are many other important activities which contribute to the process of implementing equal conditions for work and life of women and men in society. We are not able to mention all of them in this short paper. Let us state only the most important activities and programmes at the federal level:

1. The Yugoslav Federal Assembly adopted in March 1978 the resolution on "The Main Lines of Social Action to Promote the Socio-Economic Status and Role of Women in the Socialist Self-Managing Society" (see 9). The resolution stressed the obligations of all those involved in development planning to take into account the relevant social objectives connected with the status and role of women. It defined the necessity to develop adequate indicators which would be used by all planning units in the system when planning not only economic development, but especially living conditions and social services. It fixed many tasks for the federal Government regarding those problems and made certain recommendations to the Permanent Conference of Cities, to the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia and to the Alliance of Self-Managing Interest Communities and other self-managing organizations and communities. The resolution could be considered as a national strategy in the field of the promotion the socio-economic status and role of women in our country.
2. The resolutions of the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was held in 1982, laid down inter alia the main directions for the political struggle and activities regarding the promotion of the role and status of women in society.

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<sup>5/</sup> The Social plan of Yugoslavia for the period 1981-1985 (see Official Gazette of SPRJ 17/1981) explicitly mentions women solely in connection with the objective to increase the share of women in total employment to 38 per cent up to the year 1985.

3. The Yugoslav Federal Assembly adopted in July 1983 the Long-range Programme of Economic Stabilization. It prescribes many tasks for social organizations related to the stabilization of Yugoslav economy and also for the promotion of the role and status of women in the society. Its component parts, "Policy for the development of social services as a factor of economic stabilization", "Long-range programme of economic stabilization in housing and communal economy", "Long-range welfare policy, and "Employment and employment policy" are relevant in this regard.
4. The permanent functioning of the Conference for the social activity of women within the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia 6/ is another very important device by which the question of the role and status of women is constantly present in the social life of Yugoslavia.
5. The Yugoslav Labour Union is deeply engaged in the political struggle for promoting the position of women workers in socio-economic development.
6. Certain research institutions are permanently doing research on "the women's issue" in Yugoslavia. In the last year, these efforts were integrated within a national research project "Public enterprises in Developing Countries" which includes, as a very significant part, a sub-project "Women as a Factor of Development and the Role of Public Enterprises in Developing Countries". This sub-project integrates about 15 current and new studies on the role and position of women in the system and the practice of socialist self-management. Independently of these research tasks, some others are also carried out by different research and university institutions in Yugoslavia. Many other sub-projects, within the mentioned national research project, include the problem of women as a factor of development.

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6/ A special women's organization was formed in 1942 - the Anti-fascist Front of Women. It rapidly expanded. Relying on the aspirations and the social force of women, it fought against enemies as well as against backwardness, illiteracy, superstition and prejudices of all kinds in the underdeveloped countries. In the years after the country's reconstruction, required by the consequences of the war, and under the effect of workers' self-management, it was increasingly felt that the political work of women, through a special organization, meant duplication of their work as self-managers and members of the Popular Front (i.e. overall political organization). Therefore, it became obvious that the framework of the women's organization was too narrow. In consequence, separate societies were created ("Friends of children and youth" and others). All these societies have an important role in the socialist Alliance of working people, where they take part in making political decisions in sections for different areas of social life. The Conference for the Social Activity of Women was finally born in 1961 out of those activities. The Conferences no longer have individual membership, but include representatives of various social organizations, government departments, economic organizations, etc. (see more in 13, p.76-85).

The aim of the national research project is also to communicate its research findings to socio-political organizations and other social and State organs which are responsible for all social activities and actions connected with the improvement of the position of women in the society.

#### IV. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

In view of the critical importance of development planning as an instrument for more effective incorporation of women in building progressive social changes, it seems necessary to initiate a comprehensive international research project aimed at development planning systems and techniques adopted at each separate level to ensure the participation of women in planning processes. The interrelationship between development planning processes at different levels and ways and means of improving planning strategies and processes should be examined from the viewpoint of women as a factor of development. The research interest should be concentrated on the scope and interlinkages between international and national planning processes, between national and public enterprise planning processes, between national and local planning processes, on ways and means of ensuring women's participation in planning at all levels (researching them separately from the aspect of employed and unemployed women) and on all aspects of the role of public enterprises in improving the position of women in socio-economic development.

At least two parallel streams of activity could be suggested; firstly, the undertaking of in-depth country studies by national teams; secondly, the holding of a network of regional workshops with a view to examining development planning practices on a regional basis.

Further work in the direction of improving a statistical indicator system is also needed. It could enable those involved in development planning to analyze issues of women's role and status in individual countries and in the international scene in more details. The work done recently in this field within the Statistical Office of the United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs and INSTRAW (see 1,2 and 3) is promising in this respect. It should stimulate appropriate action within individual national statistics.

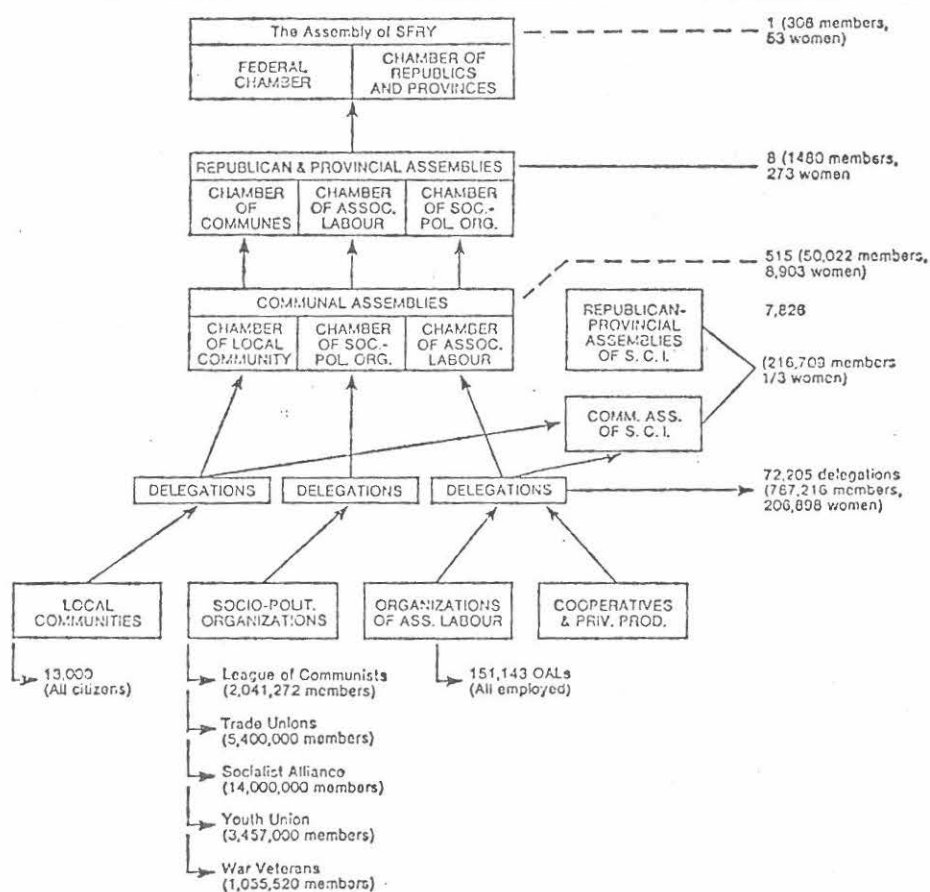
It is certainly useful to continue research work, already under way, in a number of countries. By this we mean to continue those research endeavours which deal with the question of the new international economic order, demographic trends, health care, educational systems and policies, the technology implications for the position of women, problems of a more rapid industrialization, housing problems, social services, child care, socialization, biological reproduction and household functions, policentric development, the development of handicraft and small industries, the employment policies, etc.

These activities could build up the insights needed for an active promotion of awareness of the relevance and utility of women's incorporation into development planning. This is a necessary condition for initiating new international and national programmes and activities in the field of the advancement of women as a factor of socio-economic development.

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A SCHEME OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALIST SELF-MANAGEMENT  
IN YUGOSLAVIA — 1978—1980



ANNEX II

List of selected institutions dealing with the topic of the Seminar (INSTRAW, Dec. 1983) in Yugoslavia

1. Institute for Developing Countries, Zagreb, 8. maja 82
2. Institute for International Policy and Economy, Belgrade, Makedonska 25
3. Research Centre for Co-operation with Developing Countries, Ljubljana, Kardeljeva Ploščad 1
4. Institute for Sociological and Political-Legal Research, Skopje
5. Institute for Welfare Policy, Belgrade
6. Faculty of Economics, Subotica
7. Faculty of Philosophy, Pristina
8. Institute for Sociology, Ljubljana
9. Faculty of Sociology, Political Sciences and Journalism, Ljubljana
10. Institute for Social Research of the University of Zagreb
11. Yugoslav Center for Theory and Practice of Self-Management Edvard Kardelj, Ljubljana, Kardeljeva ploscad 1
12. Faculty of Economics B. Kidrica, Ljubljana, Kardeljeva ploscad 17
13. Faculty of Economics, Skopje
14. Faculty of Economics, Beograd
15. Economic Institute, Zagreb
16. Economic Institute, Sarajevo
17. Economic Institute, Pristina

Recommendation:

As the Yugoslav Center for Theory and Practice of Self-Management Edvard Kardelj, Ljubljana is the co-ordinating institution regarding the research work in the field of women as a factor development in Yugoslavia, we recommend contact with it first of all. The person responsible there is Dr. Dimitar Mircev.

NOTE: In Yugoslavia, the address for International Center for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries is: Ljubljana, Titova 104. It is a joint institution of 33 developing countries and also deals with the topic of the seminar.

ANNEX III

Selected Yugoslav bibliography on questions relevant to the Seminar.

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Paper 12

THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN  
INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN JORDAN

By

Amal A. Sabbagh

THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN JORDAN

I. INTRODUCTION

In the early sixties, Jordan recognized the need to accelerate modernization and growth by undertaking long-range planning to use available scarce resources in such a way as to maximize their contribution towards obtaining the country's over-all economic and social objectives. Development planning began in 1962. That era was characterized by the broadening of the economic infrastructure to enable the implementation of development projects geared towards increasing the productive capacity of the country. Political factors in the area disrupted early development plans. The same political influences also affected the demographic and economic factors that are instrumental to development planning.

II. FACTORS AFFECTING DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN JORDAN

1. Political factors

Jordan faced vast problems arising out of the events of 1948 which resulted in the Israeli occupation of the major part of Palestine. The effects of this and the war of 1967 can be summarized as follows:

- (a) The creation of sizeable migratory waves in 1948, 1967 and a limited temporary wave during 1975-76 from Lebanon.
- (b) The disturbance of the internal social balance as witnessed by crowded refugee camps.
- (c) The increase in the cost of social planning and work which was met by increased financial and monetary constraints.

(d) The interruption of economic, social and political stability, and the subsequent unbalanced trends in income and wealth distribution.

(e) The difficulty, except during intermittent lulls, of formulating long-range social development plans. All social action was an ad hoc reaction to unforeseen contingencies.

(f) The continuous change in social, demographic and population parameters which compounded the difficulties encountered by rational and social schematic action.

## 2. Demographic factors

The Near East region is considered to be a dynamic migration area. There is manpower migration to and from the area, migration within countries of the area, and also internal migration from rural to urban areas.

Jordan, more than its neighbours, has had to cope not only with migration but also with other demographic phenomena. Jordan's population has been growing fairly rapidly in the last three decades, increasing from 1.2 million in 1950 to over 3 million. The population growth rate is estimated at 3.8 per cent per annum. This is the result of a very high fertility rate of 50 per thousand and a crude death rate of about 12 per thousand.

Population statistics of the East Bank reveal a number of striking demographic, economic and social characteristics: 51 per cent of the population are in the age group 15 years or below; the labour force constitutes approximately 20 per cent of the population; and about 61 per cent of the population live in urban areas, the remaining 39 per cent in rural communities.

The latest labour force statistics reveal that 10.3 per cent are engaged in the agricultural sector, 23 per cent in the industrial and construction sectors and the remainder in the services sector.

Like most developing countries, Jordan suffers from social and technical dualism. In the early fifties, more than 60 per cent of the total population lived in villages and small towns of less than 25 thousand inhabitants. In contrast, the Amman proper area now hosts more than 49 per cent of the urban population. In terms of development, the agricultural sector used to contribute 35 per cent in 1961; now its share has diminished to less than 10.3 per cent.

In contrast, the share of services sector increased from 44 to 67 per cent.

These shifts are indicators of the continual migration from rural to urban areas. Such migration is motivated by a number of notable factors among which are:

(a) Income differentials: the disparity of income levels between rural and urban areas.

(b) Service differences: huge differences in services and utilities between

rural and urban areas primarily due to the concentration of income-generating firms in the cities.

(c) Education: much emphasis is placed on education and the main universities are located in cities. The Government is the primary employer of university graduates; most government jobs are heavily concentrated in cities and the capital.

### III. REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS<sup>1/</sup>

Throughout its national development planning, Jordan has equally emphasized the development of the quality of manpower and its proper utilization. Efforts have been channelled to raise the skills and professional qualifications of the population through education, training, and in-service orientations, as well as to improve the living standards through the building of infrastructure, institutions and welfare services.

In brief, the major structural deficiencies that characterize the economic and social life of Jordan's population stem largely from conditions of a rapidly growing population, rapid urbanization trends, limited natural and capital resources, influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons as a result of the wars in 1948 and 1967, insufficiency of agricultural production, a chronic and increasing trade deficit, and dependence on foreign financial assistance in support of the government budget.

Chronologically, the formal development plans of Jordan are:

1. The Five-Year Plan (1962-67) and Seven-Year Plan (1964-70).
2. The Three-Year Development Plan (1973-75) which was the first plan after the occupation of the West Bank. Its objective was to revitalize the economy and restore its development momentum.
3. The Five-Year Development Plan (1976-80) which was more comprehensive than the previous one. The economy of the country during the period of this plan achieved a growth rate of 11 per cent. This was the first plan to take into consideration the importance of the role of women in development. One of the strategies in that plan stated:

"The necessity for developing social work on the basis of a new concept aiming at reorganizing society; firstly, by demographically extending effective participation to all sectors. Secondly, by increasing women's role in productive economic work to a significant extent... and orient women's training in a manner which serves to broaden their participation in the labour force."

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<sup>1/</sup> All the National Development Plans mentioned in this chapter are published by the National Planning Council.

4. The Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1981-85). This plan is expected to shift strategy from a project oriented to an integrated regional approach. The following section will be devoted to a more detailed review of this plan.

#### IV. THE CURRENT DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1981-85)

In its attempt to continue its development efforts in the 1980s, the following objectives have been set forth in the Development Plan of 1981-85;

The individual has been the focal concern of Jordan's development plans.

Planning has been directed at rendering services to the individual and the society as a whole. This has called for full participation by all segments of the population in the development process. As such, development has relied on a system based on free enterprise and individual initiatives....

The main objectives of development are:

1. To increase real per capita income.
2. To expand public services in various regions.
3. To reduce inter-personal disparities in income.
4. To reduce regional disparities and achieve a better distribution of population.
5. To expand educational and training programmes and raise female participation in the labour force.
6. To increase popular participation in the development process.

The elements of the development strategy to achieve the above objectives can be summarized as follows:

1. Meeting basic human needs in various regions of the Kingdom on a more equitable basis would require decentralization of plan formulation and implementation so that needs can be determined and provided for at the local government level. In addition, greater emphasis will have to be placed on developing rural areas inhabited by low income groups and improving the living conditions of slum-dwellers.
2. Ensuring a more equitable distribution of income calls for the adoption of appropriate fiscal policies. In addition, it would require importing appropriate skills to low-income groups, fixing minimum wage levels, widening coverage of social security and raising labour force participation rates so as to increase family incomes.

3. Comprehensive development requires active participation of the individual in economic and political activities as well as the development of social work. The awareness of the individual can be developed through the mass media and the educational system, as well as by expanding the activities of voluntary societies, vocational institutions and the co-operative movement.
4. Manpower development would involve upgrading the educational and training systems with emphasis on vocational and technical training. Greater attention will have to be paid to improving the quality of life and individual capabilities, particularly of the country's youth. In addition, increased participation of women in the labour force will have to be encouraged.
5. The country's demographic situation calls for a constant appraisal of population trends and politics to turn the population increase into an active instrument for development. Efforts should be made to improve family welfare and expand the services of maternity and child-health centres to include community health and family-planning services.

Within this broad framework, there is a noticeable emphasis on upgrading women's skills and encouragement of women to participate in the labour force. An elaborate institutional framework has been set up specifically to plan and implement women's programmes according to the aims and strategies of the Five Year Plan.

#### V. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

In 1977, the first Department of Women was established in Jordan as a recommendation that stemmed from the "Second Symposium on Manpower Development: The Role of the Jordanian Women", held in April of 1976. Among its various duties the department was entrusted with direct participation in preparing for the Jordanian Development Plan and for specifying the role that the Department would take in implementing the projects related to it in the Plan. By 1980, the Department was transferred from the Ministry of Labour to the Ministry of Social Development where its institutional relation to other bodies started taking shape.

First, a Higher Steering Committee was established with the task of setting forth the policies related to family welfare and women. This Committee consists of members from both the private and public sectors, men and women who have been noted for their contributions or are working in fields of relevance to the work of the Committee. The Higher Steering Committee is chaired by the Minister of Social Development, who reports directly to the Prime Minister.

The Director of the Department of Women, who is a member of the Higher Steering Committee, chairs a Co-ordination and Follow-up Committee which is composed of representatives of the various governmental organizations that deal with women. This committee co-ordinates the work between the various public establishments and acts as the governmental arm of the Department of Women.

The General Federation of Jordanian Women is the private arm of the Department of Women. The federation represents various women's private organizations from all over the country. Its aims are to develop skills and abilities of Jordanian women in various fields to increase their active participation in the country's social, economic and political development. The Federation and the Department of Women at the Ministry of Social Development work in close co-ordination in formulating and implementing programmes.

## VI. WOMEN'S PROGRAMMES

Within the past eight years there has been a strong impetus in designing and implementing projects for the integration of women into development. Both the public and private voluntary sectors are involved. Programmes range from raising the public's level of awareness regarding the role of women at the national level, to small pilot projects to train women in the maintenance of electric equipment and other skills that would increase women's income or help them become better housewives.

At the legislative level, two very important steps have been taken in favour of women:

1. The new Municipal Law, ratified in 1982, gave women the right to vote and run for municipal or village council elections.
2. The draft Labour Law, which will be ratified soon, increases maternal leave and gives various other incentives to encourage women to join the labour force, such as stipulating that any establishment employing twenty or more women should have a day-care centre for children.

Jordan has already ratified various ILO Conventions, most important of which are implementing the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value, as well as other conventions that call for establishing and promoting policies to promote equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation in order to eliminate any discrimination.

More research has been conducted on women recently and a socio-economic data base on women has been established at the Department of Statistics.

Realizing that women still lack certain skills to be able to reach higher levels of employment, various training courses were designed to upgrade women's skills such as in management, evaluation and project planning. In the field of education, the Five-Year Development Plan includes projects for new vocational centres for females. At the university level, the trend during the last three years have been very encouraging; more than 50 per cent of those entering classes at the national universities are females. Women are increasingly entering professional schools. Since the rate of female illiterates is nearly double that of Jordanian males, the Ministry of Education has focused more attention on giving literacy classes and adult education to females.

Until recently, little attention has been given to women in agriculture, food production and rural development. The current development plan included

such projects especially focused to highlight the participation of women in the national economy. The projects aim at improving the skills of women and at making their tasks easier with new technological innovations.

The role of the mass media in sensitizing public opinion to the importance of the integration of women in development, has been very important. Several national TV and radio programmes have been devoted to promoting this notion and to making the public aware of the new development programmes for women.

Women's non-governmental organizations have also been active in implementing programmes not included in the development plan. Their projects may include various components such as income-generation, adult education, family planning centres and revolving funds.

## VII. EVALUATION

The development plans of Jordan have, to a large extent, succeeded in achieving their aims. Yet, certain drawbacks, especially related to women's programmes, still exist. One of those drawbacks is the rate of illiteracy among women, which though decreasing, is not keeping pace with the decrease of illiteracy among men. The demographic characteristics of Jordan, especially the high birth rate, limit many women from becoming more active participants in the development process. Planning for women's programmes has at certain times been spontaneous without depending on any assessment of needs so as to make the project content more meaningful to women.

Certain projects were not planned with the participation of the target groups; thus, sometimes a project is not implemented fully because the initial planning has failed to take into account certain characteristics of the beneficiaries, the location or the local resources.

These drawbacks might be due to the short lapse of time in which more emphasis has been given to women. The last eight years have been an experimental period and by the time the next development plan is prepared, those past experiences will be taken into account to produce a more comprehensive plan for women.

Monitoring and evaluation are not among the strong points in women's projects. However, this is expected, since women are gradually learning to take charge of such programmes and those skills will be developed in time.

Two other drawbacks in the general development planning of Jordan have affected women diversely, namely: the uneven distribution of development in both senses, the social and economic and the distorted spatial structure of Jordanian development, the focus being on two major urban areas. However, with more emphasis now being given to regional planning, this disparity will gradually be overcome.

## VIII. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

Incorporating women into development planning in Jordan has involved various steps during the past decade. Although these steps were small and

scattered at the beginning, the time is now ripe to achieve total incorporation, since the past years were just a process of setting the stage to reach this point. Further steps towards total incorporation include:

1. Training

As more projects are being designed for women and as more women are becoming responsible for planning and implementing those projects, it has become imperative that more women receive training in project planning, monitoring and evaluation. Participatory research has not yet been tried in Jordan, and training women project-planners in this skill would add more realistic dimensions to women's projects as well as enrich Jordanian social research in general with this new technique.

2. Strengthening data collection

Although Jordan has a strong data-collecting system, it is obvious that data on key social items lag far behind economic data. Various surveys (household, agricultural, manpower) have been used to give estimates of some social indicators, yet the main quantitative base required for further diagnosis and analysis is, in general, lacking.

3. Cross-population analysis

In order to determine the participation of women in development, data collected should be further analysed in terms of sex and other categories, if need be. Not only would differentials in participation be identified, but more insight would be gained on why these differentials exist and how they can be reduced.

4. Development of monitoring system

To complement the data collection and analysis, a monitoring system should be established. The system should not necessarily be an elaborate one as long as the basic functions of collecting, evaluation and disseminating information are operative.

A rudimentary form of such a system already exists in the Department of Women, but such an endeavour requires co-ordination with several other governmental departments and its institutional framework should allow for more flexibility, since it is important to have the information on hand before it becomes outdated, as is the case in most census and large survey data.

5. Development of special instruments to measure women's economic participation

So far, labour force surveys have yielded figures of women's participation as employees or owners of business. Unpaid work, household work and work in this informal sector have not been considered. By developing more sensitive instruments of measurement much more information about economically active women will be gathered which would help not only in giving a better measurement of women's contribution to the national economy but also in planning new programmes for women.

Paper 13

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

AN AFRICAN REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Contribution of the  
African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW)  
(Cabinet of the Executive Secretary) of the Economic  
Commission for Africa

I. THE PERCEIVED PROBLEMS AND/OR OBSTACLES IN ATTEMPTS TO INCORPORATE  
WOMEN EFFECTIVELY IN THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The issue of the relationship of women in developing countries to the planning process is perhaps the most important one women in these countries face. The standard approach is to talk about the integration of women in the development process. But, as we know, women are already full participants in all processes of social change. They feel the full impact of social and economic change. Yet, they have been excluded from the development process in a political and technical sense - they have not participated in the decisions that affect both sexes. Where women must be integrated in development is in development planning. 1/

Virtually all member States of the Economic Commission for Africa engage in national planning, developing long-term plans devised or cleared by central planning agencies. One of the major obstacles to incorporating women in the development process is the difficulty of planning for women, given the structures of national planning. Most national planning is done on a sector basis: health, education, trade, etc. Each sector has its own major concerns, and the concerns of women transcend many, if not all, sectors for which planning is undertaken. However, in most countries there has been no focal point to see that the concerns of women are reflected in national development plans. This is probably the greatest obstacle to incorporating women in the development process in the African region, and the concern to which the Economic Commission for Africa has directed its programmes which are to benefit women.

Secondly, the concerns of women are frequently omitted from the next stage in the planning process which follows the drawing up and approval of long-term development plans - that is the writing of projects that will fulfil the goals and targets set out in the development plans. Again, these are usually done on a sectoral basis, with no sector having specific

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1/ An excellent discussion of this concept can be found in Hanna Papanek, "Development Planning for Women," in *Women and National Development*, (University of Chicago Press: 1977). pp. 14-21.

responsibility for seeing that women are included, and then generally passed to a central projects agency for approval. As with the development plans, there is usually no group in charge of ensuring that the concerns of women have been addressed.

Within the project selection process there are sometimes other technical obstacles that may result in the rejection of projects that will benefit women. If the criterion for choosing projects is strictly on a cost-benefit approach—that is, if projects are selected for their likelihood of immediate returns and commercial profitability, many projects that could assist women might be rejected because their success might not be immediate or obvious. In this case, it is hoped that planning agencies might consider such projects on the basis of an impact approach, which deals with social goals and priorities.<sup>2/</sup> Efficiency is still incorporated, as in classic project selection criteria, while at the same time measuring the contribution to the achievement of social goals.

In addition, given those situations where an institutional mechanism for addressing the concerns of women in development exists, frequently these institutions suffer from a lack of adequate data for planning. The general situation is well known. Even if there are good census data in the country, frequently the way in which the data have been collected and categories defined hide the women from the planners. The data generally available on economically-active populations frequently exclude the productive activities of women, etc. In other cases, where adequate data may exist, those in charge of addressing women's concerns either may not have access to the data or may not be trained in the utilization and interpretation of statistical data.

In passing, it should be added that the lack of adequate data for planning is not unique to the situation of women in Africa, but reflects the general situation of developing countries where virtually every sector is handicapped in its planning by incomplete, inadequate, inaccurate or discrepant data. The lack of adequate data on women should not be used as an excuse for not including women's needs in the planning process. There are many instances where planning can take place, even with inadequate data. For example, in the 1960s, Somalia's national statistical data were regarded as highly inadequate and unreliable, lacking even the most basic indicators. Yet, planners still found it possible to formulate a valid development plan.<sup>3/</sup> The generality of the situation, however, does not remove the problem. When countries seek to improve their statistics for planning, the question of priorities must be addressed. Again, because there may be no focal point for women's concerns in the planning mechanism (to which the central statistical office is usually attached institutionally), priority may not be given to data reflecting the situation and contributions of women: scarce planning resources might be directed to the preparation of national accounts estimates, for example.

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<sup>2/</sup> For more on the impact approach, see A.G. Papandreou, The Impact Approach to Project Selection, Praeger Publishers, (New York, 1973).

<sup>3/</sup> Albert Waterston, Development Planning: Lessons of Experience (John Hopkins Press, 1965), pp.185-186. This same textbook has a chapter entitled, "Planning with inadequate data."

So far, the obstacles to the effective inclusion of women in the national development process discussed have been institutional. In the case of institutional obstacles, it is assumed that the will to better the situation of women exists. In many cases it is central to national policy. The problem is then to design or redesign structures so that policy has a focal point in the planning process. However, other cases must also be described, where there are legal or attitudinal constraints to national policy to integrate women in development. In such cases, action must start at an earlier point. The legal and attitudinal constraints must be identified and action taken to address them. At times these attitudinal barriers are in the minds of development planners. When this is the case, the consequences for women are particularly weighty. For example, all governments are concerned with designing an adequate employment policy. However, if women are conceived of only as dependants of men, they will not be included in employment planning, particularly under the universal situation of mass unemployment in developing countries. Few countries realize the number of women who support families and the need to plan for their labour force participation. In other cases, income distribution patterns within the family are not realized. The male may be the nominal head of the family, but the income he earns is not equitably distributed to women and children, for food and education, for instance. This is another clear case of the need for viewing women as potential income-earners. Thus, while planners continue to view women as dependants, their attitudes will not take direct account of the need to include women in planning efforts. Therefore, changes in attitudes, particularly among planners themselves, must precede any hoped-for changes in national policy. Only then can adequate planning for women be institutionalized.

Even given the best of situations where women are effectively included in the national development planning process, there can be problems in addressing their needs effectively. This is the case of the segregated approach - where perhaps there is a Ministry of Women's Affairs - and they have been given the mandate to design and submit women's projects, but they have no mandate for seeing that women are included in all major development projects. The obvious result is that women's needs would generally be addressed by small-scale and piecemeal projects, difficult to replicate and generalize, rather than by inclusion of women in major development projects being undertaken by the country.

## II. THE INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN'S ISSUES AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

From what has been said above, it is obvious that for effective planning for women to take place, there must be an institutional relationship between women's issues and national development planning. This is a necessity that was early realized by the Economic Commission for Africa through its African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW) established in 1975.

The mandate of the African Training and Research Centre for Women, upon its establishment, was to carry out the directives relating to the integration of African women in development. For more than a decade regional meetings had been held at which these recommendations were made. Central to the founding of the ATRCW and to defining its goals was the Regional Conference on Education,

Vocational Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in African Countries held in Rabat, Morocco in 1971. It outlined the type of machinery that needed to be set up in African countries and in the region as a whole, if women were to be fully integrated into the development process. They called for the establishment of a tripartite structure as follows:

- a. National Commissions on Women and Development - consisting of leading men and women who would make policy recommendations and actions proposals;
- b. Women's Bureaux or Permanent Secretariats of National Commissions, to undertake research, formulate projects and programmes, and, in general, to assure women's integration in all sectors of economic and social development;
- c. An Africa Regional Standing Committee, to co-ordinate the work of the National Commissions, advise ECA's Women's Programme, and liaise with international and regional organizations, especially the All African Women's Conference.

In order to guide and facilitate the task of setting up such structures, the ATRCW was to be set up in the United Nations Regional Commission for Africa.

From descriptions of these structures, it is clear that the women at these meetings were concerned precisely with the development planning process and the institutional relationship to it of women's issues. The functions of the national commissions included data gathering and project and programme planning to benefit women and to secure their integration into all sectors of national development. The members of the commissions were to be multisectoral in their qualifications and experience, and to include men as well as women. The basic function of the Commission was to act as an advisory body to the Government in question, proposing policies for the advancement of women. Thus it was to assist in setting government policy on women. The aim of the Bureau was to work toward the participation of women in national development as an integral part of development planning, programming and implementation. In their concern for the location of the bureau, the delegates showed their prescience of the importance of institutional planning structures for women and development: the women's bureau, along with the national commission, was to be located within the government structure, at a level and in an area where it would be most likely to influence decisions and programmes that affect the participation of women in all sectors of the development process in their country.

Each Government was to determine the most appropriate Department or Ministry for the location of its bureau, taking into account the feasibility of interdepartmental co-operation in issues which affected the participation of women in development. Wherever it was placed, the importance was underlined that the Women's Bureau be given the mandate and voice on matters affecting women and their participation in the overall developmental programmes of their country.

III. MAJOR TYPES OF PROGRAMMES OR ACTIVITIES THAT  
HAVE BEEN INITIATED, OTHER THAN THOSE PROVIDED  
BY NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Since its creation in 1975, the African Training and Research Centre for Women has tried to assist member States of the Economic Commission for Africa (now numbering 50) in implementing the above resolutions and, more generally, to ensure the inclusion of women's needs in development planning, in a number of ways.

Major efforts towards these goals have been made by ATRCW's programme for the encouragement and strengthening of "machineries" for the integration of women in development. A word must be said on why the term 'machineries' is being used over the commissions and bureau terminologies used previously. Early in its dealings with member States, the Centre realized that it did not want to dictate to member States the particular form a national machinery should take. Many varieties were possible. In recognition of this pluralism, the term machineries came to be substituted for the more restrictive commissions and bureaux.

The first task of this programme was to assist in establishing the machineries that would take on the tasks outlined in chapter II. Information seminars were held in more than 20 countries of the Africa region to bring together all interested parties in establishing a national machinery in that country. The curriculum always stressed knowledge of the national planning process and the multi-sectoral approach to women's issues. By 1983 all but two or three countries of the region had national machineries for the integration of women in development.

The Centre took on the task of setting up the subregional and regional machineries for the integration of women in development, which are unique to the African region, to bring women's needs to the attention of the Subregional Councils of Ministers and Regional Conferences of Ministers of Economic Planning, the bodies which direct the work plan of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. At the subregional level (there are five subregions in Africa) the national machineries for women meet every two years to establish a work programme on behalf of the priority needs of women in the subregion, which cannot be met at the national level and for which international assistance is requested. Every year since the founding of the subregional committees in 1978-79 (the Subregional Committee on the Integration of Women in Development for the North African Subregion was, singularly, founded in 1980) .. the Subregional Committees have been represented at the meetings of the Council of Ministers for that subregion. Their concerns have been incorporated into the work programmes for the subregions, and into the report of the respective Councils which are transmitted to the annual Conference of Ministers of Economic Planning, the directive body of ECA. In addition, the ATRCW has aided in the establishment of the African Regional Co-ordinating Committee on Women and Development, (previously referred to in chapter II above as the African Standing Committee on the Role of Women in Development) which is represented at the annual ECA meetings of the Conference of Ministers. This

has proven an effective structure for bringing women's concerns to the forefront of subregional and regional planning and policy bodies. And, as noted earlier, these structures are unique to the African Region. 4/

There was a unique stock-taking meeting on the situation of National Machineries for the Integration of Women in Development, in the form of a Regional Seminar held in Addis Ababa in November 1982 and attended by representatives of national machineries from 46 countries of the subregion. From the recommendations of this seminar it is clear that the national machineries recognize their vital role in the planning process, with the need to be constantly serving as watchdogs for the interests of women in economic and social development.

The Seminar recommended inter alia:

1. That governments should take appropriate steps so that at the highest levels of decision-making, in particular in national planning bodies, women's needs are included in their priority programmes and strategies for development.
2. That in their planning efforts, governments not only include projects for women but they should also include women in all development projects, using national human and financial resources wherever possible for the implementation of both.
3. That governments and national machineries should ensure that national statistical services collect accurate data on all aspects of women's economic activities, especially including those of poor women. That national machineries should undertake research on women's needs before drafting action programmes, and should strengthen their research capacities.

In addition to its work in establishing structures which were charged with including women's concerns in development planning, another central programme of the Centre has been to engage in training in development planning. This has taken place through three vehicles: (1) a series of training workshops on project design, and implementation, and (2) the founding of the Women and Development Planning: an African perspective course at the East and Southern Africa Management Institute in Arusha, Tanzania, and (3) the Subregional Seminar on Utilization of Research by National Machineries for the Integration of Women in Development.

### Training

Since 1978, the Centre has held a series of workshops (now numbering ten, with others in the preparation stages), on project planning. These workshops, which have been directed at men and women from various government ministries and agencies with programmes affecting women, as well as from non-governmental organizations, have included an exposé of the national development planning process, usually by a senior government official in the planning ministry, and have stressed the necessity of designing intersectoral programmes for women, and the necessity of the inclusion of women in all development planning. These workshops have usually been two to three weeks in length and include practical applications so that the participants should

emerge able to design projects themselves as well as make critiques of existing projects with respect to their impact on women.

The Women and Development Planning course which has been institutionalized at the Eastern and Southern African Management and Training Institute since 1980 has been a unique initiative of the African Training and Research Centre for Women as well. It is our belief that it is the first such course of its kind. As the Director of the Course has been invited to present a paper at this meeting, the present discussion will confine itself to a very brief outline of the aims of the course.

The objectives of the training programme are:

- (a) To strengthen theoretical and practical skills of participants in programme management, policy analysis, project planning, implementation and evaluation;
- (b) To facilitate the integration of a concern for women in national and regional planning at the highest policy levels and enhance women's contributions to and benefits from the development process.

The course places great emphasis on the participant's understanding the development planning process. It is desired that an equal number of men and women participate in the course, with the aim of developing a cadre of senior officials conversant with the issues of the involvement of women in development and with the requisite management and project planning skills for effective formulation and implementation of policy and programme.

The Subregional Seminar on the Utilization of Research by National Machineries for the Integration of Women in Development, which was held in Harare, Zimbabwe from 5-16 July 1982 for representatives of national machineries for the integration of women in development, aimed at the issue of the need for adequate data on women in development as the basis for proper planning and policy. Leaders of national machineries were sensitized to the need for establishing research units in their machineries that could tap the national data base for statistics related to women and development, as well as to advocate the collection of better data on the topic as an essential tool for planning for women. The absolute importance of research, based on data collection as a tool for planning and making policy, underlay the course. Participants were very responsive to the presentations. The Subregional Seminar was held for participants from the East and Southern Africa subregion. It is hoped that the seminar can be repeated for other subregions. Equally important, several of the machineries represented have advanced in their preparations to strengthen their data gathering and using capacities on behalf of women and development planning in their countries.

#### Information and data-gathering

In the area of information and gathering, the Centre has also produced an in-depth study on women and the development planning process in one country - Malawi, under the title: Women, Planning and Policy in Malawi.

Since the study is a fairly unique one on the relation between women and the planning process in one country, its outlines will be presented here in some detail. To begin, it postulates that to understand the predicament of women, men's attitudes towards women must be taken into account. The study examines the participation of women in the planning and policy making process. It finds that, within the former civil service planning machinery, women's participation has been negligible. It notes that there are senior women in some ministries who are in a position to influence policies there. Women's participation in various representative institutions at various levels is analyzed.

An in-depth analysis is made of ten major planning documents with validity for the country. In these, very few references are made to women, and these few are usually concerned with home economics and health. There seems to be little or no awareness of the need to consider the impact of all development planning on women. In practice, however, the study finds that the situation is not quite as bleak as could be concluded from the documents. Several ministries have taken initiatives to deal with women's issues in progressive and innovative ways. However, special note is made of those departments and ministries who do not have any policies relating to women.

The study concludes with detailed recommendations: to heighten consciousness about women throughout Government; to broaden and strengthen information base on which policies towards women can be determined; to increase women's participation at all levels of policy making and planning; to expand the rather narrow view many officials still have of the role of women in society; to promote sensitivity towards women at the level of contact between Government and the public; and to create structures and procedures which will eventually ensure that women and women's issues become more fully and advantageously integrated into the planning process. The study is unique for its successful integration of both macro and micro-economic analysis of the situation of women and the planning process. It is hoped that the study will have an impact on the concerned government officials in Malawi.

In the area of legal and attitudinal barriers to development, the Centre has undertaken a series of studies on the legal situation of women in countries of the region. To date, these have been published on Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Morocco. Studies from Ghana and Zaire are being published, while additional studies are under way in Burundi, Cameroon and Rwanda. At the conclusion of these nine studies, the Centre plans to hold a regional seminar to present their conclusions and recommendations to member States. In addition, the Centre has published (in a bilingual edition) a study entitled Women and the Mass Media in Africa: Case Studies of Sierra Leone, the Niger and Egypt, emphasizing attitudes towards women as they are portrayed in the media.

The Centre has also undertaken a number of other activities in the area of information and data-gathering for planning on women. With the co-operation of the national planning authorities, the Centre has engaged national consultants to study the situation and needs of women in the following countries of the region: Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Uganda. In the case of Ethiopia, the study was requested by the Central Planning Supreme Council to assist in

its overall planning process. The study is examining, *inter alia*, different economic situations of the country, including that of an area where a large scale development project is in the planning stages, to see how women can be full participants from the beginning - rather than later having to study the possible negative impact of the project on women in that area of the country. This was done as a result of the influence of the publication, The Nemow Case.<sup>5/</sup> The Nemow Case was written to show how inattention to women's roles at the design stage of projects has had a negative impact on women and how, with a short period of research and observation at the crucial design stage, the outcome could have been radically different. Underlying this is the basic point that guidelines for the analysis of impact on women should not be confined, as is usually the case, to "women's projects" but to all projects of which express their goals in terms of production gains and distribution of benefits to a given population.

#### IV. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

In the course of this paper, some proposals have already been made - with special reference to those of the Regional Seminar on National Machineries (November, 1982) and the Women, Planning and Policy in Malawi paper. Rather than repeat those here, a few basic principles for change in development planning will now be elaborated.

(a) More persons need to be trained to be conscious of the real situation of women in relation to development planning. The principles elaborated by Dixon, Palmer, Papanek and Rogers (see bibliography for full references) are important elements for such a curriculum. For the African region, an important action for the ATRCW would be to extend the reach of the training for women and development planning course presently based at ESAMI. It now takes English speaking participants from the East and Southern Africa subregions. The course needs to be extended to other subregions and to be accessible to French, Arabic and Portuguese-speaking participants as well. Its goal is vital - create greater consciousness of women on the part of men and women at the top level of planning.

(b) The time has come (and, indeed, passed) for an end to a segregated approach to planning for women.<sup>6/</sup> Planning for women cannot be limited to a

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5/ The Nemow Case: Case Studies of Large-Scale Development Projects on Women: A Series for Planners, by Ingrid Palmer (The Population Council, New York, 1979).

6/ A very interesting discussion of the phenomenon appears in the chapter, "The new segregation (of women) in development projects," in Barbara Rogers, The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies, (London, 1981), pp. 79-120. The situation she describes is that whereby planners feel that they have addressed women's issues by adding (usually tacking it on as an afterthought) a "women's project" tailored to the generally-prevailing conception of their social role. Thus, in a major agricultural development scheme funded by UNDP in Madagascar where women do a great deal of agricultural work, an embroidery project for women was added to address the women element.

social welfare approach, nor should the machineries for women be placed within Ministries of Social Welfare. This applies to assessing the impact of projects on women as well. It can not be limited to those projects which have a perceived "women's angle." All projects must be examined for their impact on women. The sector of which women are a part is human resource development. Their centrality to all human resource planning must become a reality of planning.

(c) The national machinery for the integration of women in development must be involved in the development process. It is the most logical mechanism for ensuring that women in development is considered part of all development planning. A highly recommended starting-point for the collaboration of the national machinery with the central planning body is their joint undertaking of an assessment of the situation and needs of women in their country, as is now being done by several countries in the Africa region. This collaboration, however, must be institutionalized.

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With regard to development planning in Africa, the Institut pour le developpement et la planification, a regional training institution established by the Economic Commission for Africa that regularly organizes development planning courses, must be mentioned. It is located in Dakar, Senegal.

Paper 14

THE INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING: SOME  
PROBLEMS AND OBSTACLES AND SOME SOLUTIONS BEING SOUGHT BY  
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

prepared by the  
International Labour Office

Abstract

This paper begins by highlighting some of the problems and obstacles perceived in attempts to incorporate women more effectively into national and international development processes which were emphasized in Copenhagen three years ago. It then goes on to demonstrate the current awareness within the ILO of these issues and to identify some of the major types of programmes and activities of the International Labour Office, in particular improved documentation, initiated specifically to attempt to solve these problems and to overcome these obstacles.

I. INTRODUCTION: THE COPENHAGEN PROGRAMME OF ACTION: SOME EMPLOYMENT ISSUES RELEVANT TO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The Programme of Action for the Second Half of the United Nations Decade for Women, adopted by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women in Copenhagen 1980, had equality, development and peace as the objectives. At the same time it emphasized as one subtheme and significant component of development - employment. The programme also gave high priority to improving the conditions of the most disadvantaged women, including the rural and urban poor.

In attempting to put the roots of inequality of women and men into a historical perspective, the programme contended that one of the basic factors causing the unequal share of women in development related to the divisions of labour between the sexes in different cultures, in which there are tendencies to restrict women to the domestic sphere and to burden them unduly with domestic work and the consequent inequalities in activities, resources and power outside the domestic sphere. Attention was called to institutional inequalities in the status of women and men and to discrimination on the grounds of sex, both within and outside the domestic domain. Attention was called to the lack of recognition of women's actual and potential contributions to economic activity - the contribution of people estimated to perform nearly two-thirds of all working hours, who in return are considered to receive only one-tenth of the world income, while claiming ownership of less than one per cent of the world's property.

In reviewing the progress achieved during the first half of the decade, it was noted that, while the integration of women into development has been formally accepted by most governments as a desirable planning objective, many countries having made a significant effort to set up institutional mechanisms to promote this aim, and while mainly male planners and decision-makers have become more sensitized to women's needs and problems, yet lack of resources, or lack of allocation of existing resources have proved a stumbling block, as has the concentration upon welfare activities by women's bureaux etc. The conclusion thus was that the questions of promotion of equality, elimination of discrimination and sharing of responsibilities between the sexes have not yet been integrated everywhere into policy planning and implementation, by either national governments or international organizations. In spite of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1979, which was itself an important achievement of the UN Decade for Women, being ratified by more than 20 States and brought into effect in the course of 1980. Indeed, a serious finding was that in many countries women have not been integrated into national development plans and that where special programmes have existed they have failed for the most part to achieve significant results, owing to their narrow focus on stereotyped sex roles which have further served to increase segregation based upon sex.

Attention was also called to the ominous point that the global economic crisis has aggravated employment problems in recent years and has had extensive effects upon the wage levels of both women and men workers. The problem is exacerbated for women who find jobs in selected industries such as textiles, clothing and electronics where they have become a reservoir of cheap labour.

At the same time in rural sectors the lack of access to land, credit and financial and technological resources has worsened the impact of rapid displacements in the employment activities of women.

Even in the countries where significant increases in general wage employment were attained, women were observed to have failed to share equally in this increase with men. Thus, women are seen to constitute a substantial and growing proportion of the underemployed sector of many populations.

Priority areas for action: inequalities, documentation and segregation

Among the priority areas for action pertaining to women's work and development listed in the programme of action are: (a) the fact that special measures should be taken to ratify and implement in national legislation the relevant conventions and recommendations of the ILO concerning the rights of women workers with respect to access to equal employment opportunities, equal pay for work of equal value, working conditions, job security and maternity protection. (b) Another priority area for action mentioned was the improvement of statistics relating to women and development, in particular the encouragement of statistical operations and practices that are free from sex-based stereotypes and appropriate research methodologies that would have relevance to the participation of women in development and equality between the sexes and assistance to countries in the development of surveys (including batteries of questions of special relevance to the participation of women in development). Among the important measurement problems stressed was the fact that the unpaid work in the household and in agricultural tasks which women and men perform should be recognized and reflected in official statistical data collection.

Thus, among the resolutions adopted in Copenhagen was that on the gathering of data concerning women through census questionnaires. It noted the difficulty in appraising the situations in their countries regarding women because of the lack of adequate statistics. Women were treated as forming part of family units and data did not exist in many cases to evaluate their position with regard to training, employment, etc. It was therefore decided to suggest to governments and co-operating international agencies to review and revise the forms and questionnaires they used so as to provide separate data on women. Concern was also expressed that attention should be paid to industries in which the overwhelming majority of employees are female and to look at the possibilities of new technological patterns leading to change.

In summary, among the employment and development related priority issues mentioned are:

1. Inequalities, male bias and discrimination in the spheres of work outside the home and within the domestic domain;
2. The lack of adequate documentation of women's productive activities and the lack of the requisite data base for planning and policy design;
3. A segregation of development programmes and institutions, with those for women being more welfare than production and resource control oriented and hence of limited value or success.

- all the above being linked to stereotyped perceptions of women's roles.

These issues have not only been the focus of attention and discussion in many arenas but they are, as we shall see, the spurs for a number of significant endeavours within the ILO.

## II. ILO CONCERN

As we shall see, the problems and obstacles highlighted above have long been a concern of the ILO and are issues of current debate and action. One of the aims of the ILO since its foundation in 1919 has been to draw attention to the economic and social roles of women and to help them to play their roles in economic development to the full, on an equal footing with their male peers, through standard-setting, studies and research, educational activities and technical co-operation. Before going on to describe what some of these activities entail at the present time and what is being planned for the near future, we shall briefly look at some of the 1983 reports emanating from the Office which show that these issues, especially the concern to accurately record women's work activities so as to provide a more adequate basis for development plans, feature prominently in debates and publications it has sponsored and produced. The first two issues concern inequalities encountered by women in industrial and rural contexts.

### (a) Inequalities

#### Industrialization: the position and problems of women

In a report of recent trends and issues in industrialized countries and resultant impacts in the social and labour fields, attention is paid to the social position of women as workers and their vulnerability. It points out that the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade specifically gives consideration to women in industrialization by stressing in paragraph 77 that "industrialization policies should have as one of their aims productive employment generation and the integration and equal participation of women in industrial development programmes". <sup>1/</sup> It also recommended implementation of the measures to improve the status of women contained in the World Plan of Action (Mexico, 1975) and in the Programme of Action (Copenhagen, 1980). The latter in its review of the progress achieved had pointed to a number of effects of industrialization in developing countries which had adversely affected women as well as identifying a number of problems faced by women which had not been resolved by the type of industrialization taking place.

Among the problems the report highlights are the facts that improvement in educational opportunities for women in higher and middle socio-economic strata has not been followed by a parallel increase in levels of employment, even in those developing countries with relatively high rates of industrialization.

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<sup>1/</sup> ILO. Social aspects of industrialization. Report VII. International Labour Conference, 69th Session (Geneva, ILO. 1983.)

There is evidence of increasing numbers of women being forced into unemployment in the industrialized market economies because of the economic recession or being displaced from the formal sector of the economy to the peripheral employment market and in developing countries to the informal sectors of subsistence agriculture, handicrafts, etc. A recent study has drawn attention to the effects of new technologies on women's employment in the office occupations in industrialized countries. 2/ Other studies have investigated employment and living conditions of women working in rural industries in Asian countries. 3/

In stating the policy on these issues it is emphasized that the ILO will be increasingly concerned with the impact of industrialization and technical and scientific progress on women in both urban and rural areas and consequently the implications for development planning in the light of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which provided that "everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment".

#### Rural labour markets: women's disadvantages

Recently summing up the position with regard to women in rural labour markets, the ILO has concluded that gender discrimination is endemic. 4/ This finding applies to employment, level of wages and subsequent risk of firing. Rural labour processes result in women in households with few entitlements beyond their labour getting even lower incomes than would be suggested by their low ownership of entitlements.

Moreover, the report emphasized that too often local and national policies directed at rural areas make the household their target without considering their differentiated impact on the various household members.

The main thrust of policy, it was argued, should be to remove the barriers to participation in non-domestic activities by women, whether female heads or members of an "average household". Among the main barriers perceived are male domination of property rights and marketing board payments and the ideological extension of women's reproductive role into social norms which direct female labour into domestic activity and segregate men and women outside the household. The former inhibit women's access to credit and therefore their capacity to generate income. Innovations in credit delivery systems or co-operative organization may overcome some of these problems.

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2/ D.Werneke, Microelectronics and office jobs: The impact of the chip on women's employment (Geneva, ILO. 1983).

3/ Z. Bhatti, The economic role and status of women in the beedi industry in Allahabad (Saarbrücken-Fort Lauderdale, Breitenbach Publishers, 1981).

4/ ILO. Rural labour markets and employment policies: Issues relating to labour utilization, remuneration and the position of women, Advisory Committee on Rural Development, Tenth Session, Geneva, 22 November to 1 December 1983 (Geneva, ILO. 1983; ACRD X/1983/III).

(b) Data on work

Statistics

It is recognized within as well as outside the ILO that currently available statistics from the developing world on female labour force participation are inaccurate, grossly underreporting female labour force activity in many of these countries. As reviewed in recent papers, there are believed to be several reasons for this underreporting of female labour force participation. 5/

First, the internationally accepted definition of labour force participation and its interpretation is often thought to be the cause. According to the ILO, labour force activity is defined as follows:

All persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services as defined by the United Nations system of national accounts and balances. (Recommendations of the Thirteenth Conference of Labour Statisticians, 1982). According to these systems (of national income accounts), the production of economic goods and services should include all production and processing of primary products whether for the market, for barter or for own consumption. (ILO, 1982).

Obviously, market-oriented activities related to wage or salary employment and/or enterprises are labour force activities; so should be activities oriented to self-consumption such as subsistence agriculture, home construction and improvement, milking animals and processing food for family use. Yet, national practices vary so greatly both with respect to national income statistics and labour force definitions as to cause great variability in the measurement of the female labour force both across countries and across time within particular countries.

One possible explanation for anomalies is that there is a straight-forward sex bias in both the international definition and in its interpretation at the national level. It has been argued that there is a systematic exclusion from the labour force and national income of activities typically performed by women (men) almost as if labour force/non-labour force distinctions were drawn up with prior information on the sexual division of labour - and despite the fact that in large parts of the developing world the distinction between economic/labour force activities and non-economic/non-labour force activities are somewhat arbitrary. The fact is that most of the third world - especially among the poor - virtually all adults (as well as their children) make significant contributions to meeting families' basic needs.

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5/ See R. Anker, Female labour force participation: Conceptual and measurement difficulties, Paper prepared for ILO/UNITAR Seminar on Women, Work and Demographic Issues, Tashkent, USSR, 11-19 October, 1983 from which the following text is culled, which refers to R. Anker, Female labour force activity in developing countries: A critique of current data collection techniques (Geneva, ILO, 1983; mimeographed World Employment Programme research working paper).

A second factor believed to be important in causing female labour force data to be unrealistically low is that women tend to be only marginally involved in the data collection, as survey designers, interviewers and respondents. As a result, the preconceived notion of women as "housewives", which men are considered more likely to hold than women, is believed to affect how survey questionnaires are designed, how survey questions are actually asked by interviewers, as well as how respondents reply to these questions. Although there is little statistical evidence to indicate the degree to which male interviewers, male respondents and male survey designers bias labour force statistics, it has been contended that both the internationally accepted definition of labour force participation and its application in national censuses and labour force surveys are made worse by the relatively small input of women in the data collection process.

A third factor believed to be important is that labour force questions and questionnaires tend to be inappropriately worded and constructed for obtaining accurate information for women, frequently beginning with a fairly simple question (which usually can be reduced to one key word or phrase such as "work", "job", "main activity", "secondary activity", "economic activity", "pay or profit") in order to divide the population into two groups: (1) economically active and (2) "economically" inactive. (Note that unemployment is ignored in this discussion). The simplicity of these questions is crucial in producing the relatively poor labour force data for women that are collected. It is not reasonable to expect respondents to provide accurate information about what is essentially an ambiguous concept (especially for subsistence type activities) where the questions they are being asked are so simple. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that stereotypes such as the "non-working" "housewife" frequently predominate. A recent Nigerian study commission in the ILO illustrates the continuing dimensions of this problem and their potential inhibiting effect upon planning.<sup>6/</sup>

(c) Expert meeting on employment

At a recent discussion of High Level Experts on Employment Problems convened by the Director-General of the ILO to meet with staff of the World Employment Programme and review the present state of employment in the world and advise on the scope of the future work plan, considerable attention was paid to the situations and needs of women workers.<sup>7/</sup> This discussion was set by the Director-General within a global context of rising and massive unemployment in industrialized countries and massive labour underutilisation in the third world, a period of instability and recession in which the fabric of the international system is being strained to its limits. It was also put within an Office context of the World Employment Programme, launched in 1969 as a response to the employment and development problems of the third world,

<sup>6/</sup> See R. Pitting, Documentation of women's work in Nigeria: Problems and solutions (Geneva, ILO, 1982; mimeographed World Employment Programme research working paper; restricted).

<sup>7/</sup> See Report of the Discussion of the Informal Meeting of High Level Experts on Employment Problems. ILO Geneva, September 1983.

and from that time, WEP pursued the ambitious objective of placing fuller and more productive employment and the alleviation of poverty at the very centre of development thinking.

The gist of the discussion concerning women's employment was that any overall attack on the global problems of poverty and unemployment cannot be successful without adequate measures to improve the status and conditions of women, especially given the increasingly recognized facts that among poor families a high proportion of household income is generated by women's poorly remunerated work and the fact that female-headed households are fairly common and increasing among the poor.

#### Sexually blind policies

The report of their discussions noted that recent research and documentation have illuminated the major economic part played by poor women and the ineffectiveness of "sexually blind policies" aimed only at household heads. They again reiterated the need for developing systems of measurement which adequately reflect women's overall economic contributions, emphasizing the hindrance of the stereotypical ideas of women's roles - "One of the most pervasive obstacles to poor women's participation lies in the common misperception of women's roles as being dependent, secondary, domestic, non-productive and centred on reproduction. This creates a major obstacle to reaching and supporting women as producers: this they are but they remain less productive than if they were not deprived of access to good land, credit, improved technologies, extension services and relevant education and training" (p. 29).

#### Economic demographic interactions

The important and far-reaching interactive links between women's roles as workers and mothers and the potential impacts of employment on fertility and vice versa were noted, also the need for family planning programmes to be integrated within a framework of effective development policies, which amongst other issues produce an improvement in the social and economic rewards of women.

It was thus stated that in devising development policies and anti-poverty programmes it is important to understand how they are likely to affect women in their several roles and to make sure that their impact on women has been carefully thought through before the policies are implemented.

#### Programme impacts

The warning was sounded that care must be taken to see that special programmes for women do not in fact lead quite unintentionally to a deterioration of their situation. It was admitted that still too little is known about the policies and programmes that are most likely to have a positive impact upon women's positions thus underlining the need to study experiences to date. Certainly it is clear that beneficial policies with lasting impact include those developing or extending a legal framework equality for women with men and the channelling of resources specifically to women workers and to their organizations.

### Female participation and control

As the discussions ultimately highlighted, however, it is crucial for women to have a greater influence in decision-making processes which control the distribution of work, resources, income and expenditure. Poor women's problems have been overlooked partly because of their lack of voice in decision-making, so that encouragement of enhanced women's participation in decision-making through separate women's organizations or through full participation in organizations for women and men was emphasized to be an important prerequisite for balanced development and equitable social change.

Having demonstrated the contemporary awareness of the problems outlined we will now turn to an account, albeit selective, of ILO activities meant to assist in solving them.

### III. ILO: PLANS, MEETINGS, MECHANISMS AND STANDARDS<sup>8/</sup>

#### 1. Plans and meetings

##### The ILO Medium-Term Plan

During the last two years, serious efforts have been made to better integrate a "women's dimension" in all areas of major concern to the ILO as reflected in its Medium-Term Plan (1982-87). The Plan spells out in some detail ILO's contribution to the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women (1981-85). The main aim of ILO activities for women workers as foreseen in the Medium-Term Plan is to bring about a better understanding of discrimination against women in employment and its harmful effects on economic and social development; to promote equality of treatment between men and women; and to help women to become an integral part of the world of work. These long-term objectives have been reflected in the programme elements earlier as well as in this biennium. The basic assumption of the ILO Plan is that progress towards equality depends largely on a broader understanding of the nature and size of discrimination that exists against women in the labour market and the workplace. It also underlines the means of action to eliminate discrimination and acquire equality of rights, responsibilities and opportunities for the participation of women in development, both as beneficiaries and active agents in its processes.

The Medium-Term Plan provides for comprehensive programmes in ILO subject-areas, pilot projects and case studies for comparative analysis on employment and training of women in rural areas of developing countries, special schemes for women's needs, participation of women in trade unions and disaggregation of statistics between men and women by economic sector/industry/occupation. It includes a preliminary analysis of the wage differentials between men and women in selected occupations and examines the practical aspects of the principle of equality of remuneration. The implementation of introduction of existing and new ILO standards is also a significant part of the Plan.

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<sup>8/</sup> This section mainly comprises relevant extracts from ILO and women workers: Activities in 1982-83, Prepared by the Office of Women Workers Questions (Geneva, ILO, 1983).

The highlights of the biennium (1982-83)

The most significant element of this biennium which needs to be underlined is that "women workers" has become one of the six global-themes of ILO activities.<sup>9/</sup> In this perspective, most activities undertaken in favour of working women since the last meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women focus on research findings on various aspects of inequality in the labour market linked to the socio-economic realities in various countries and the status and position of women in economy and society. The policies, programmes and projects examined in this document attempt to provide a summary view of approaches being developed by the ILO in designing its activities to create better awareness of equality of opportunity and equality of treatment between men and women. A review of this biennium also indicates that various initiatives undertaken by the ILO after the adoption in 1975 of the Declaration on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers and the Resolution concerning a Plan of Action with a View to Promoting Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers have now matured in various ways which could form the basis of an ILO policy framework at the end of the UN Decade for Women in 1985.

The discussion on "social aspects of industrialization" during the 69th Session of the International Labour Conference resulted in broader conclusions for Women as industrial workers by giving the ILO new terms of reference for studying in depth the conditions of work and life of women in industry - traditional and modern - in which they are the preponderant majority. These proposals will bring empirical evidence on the specificity of women workers' problems in various industries including textiles and clothing, food products and drinks, leather and footwear and the plantation sector. Various articles dealing with some aspects of women workers' problems have been published in the International Labour Review <sup>10/</sup> and the Social and Labour Bulletin. <sup>11/</sup>

International Labour Conference (1983): subject areas on working women

At its 69th Session, although women workers' questions were not directly on the agenda, the International Labour Conference nevertheless touched upon this subject in various ways. In one agenda item on "social aspects of industrialization" there was a concrete discussion at the committee level on the processes of industrialization and their influence on women's work. Similarly, women workers' questions were also mentioned in the Director-

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<sup>9/</sup> The other five themes are: rural development, technology, energy, urban informal sector and international migration.

<sup>10/</sup> For example, see Souad Khodja, "Women's work as reviewed in present day Algerian society" (ILR, Vol.121, No.4, July-Aug., 1982); Chantal Paoli, "Women workers and maternity: Some examples from Western Europe" (ILR, Vol. 121, No.1, Jan.-Feb., 1982); Maria de los Angeles Jimenez Butragueno "Protective legislation and equal opportunity and treatment for women in Spain" (ILR, Vol.121, No.2, Mar.-April. 1982); Tamako Nakanishi, "Equality or protection? Protective legislation for women in Japan" (ILR, Vol.122, No.5, Sept.-Oct., 1983).

<sup>11/</sup> For a comprehensive list on promotion of Equality of opportunity and treatment", see ILO, Social and Labour Bulletin Index (1982).

General's Report, <sup>12/</sup> the report on employment policy, the report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations and the Committee on Apartheid. These reports summarize ILO's efforts since the last session and reflect policies of member States in favour of women workers.

A part of the Director-General's Report describes ILO activities to promote better working and living conditions for women, especially in the sections dealing with human rights and international labour standards, the World Employment Programme, training and PIACT (the International Programme for the Improvement of Working Conditions and Environment). This Report devotes special sections to "women workers" and "equal rights". These sections summarize activities during 1982, present statistical tables on employment and unemployment of women in selected developed and developing countries 1976-80, and analyze legislative provisions adopted in the various countries on maternity protection. It also contains a questionnaire addressed to all Chief Technical Advisers requesting information on the relevance of their projects for women workers and information activities in co-operation with the United Nations on a series of working papers.

#### Results and conclusions of regional conferences and technical meetings

##### 1. Regional conferences and meetings

The specific problems of working women, their access to employment, their training possibilities and their general conditions of work and life have also been discussed at various ILO Regional Conferences and meetings. What follows is a summary of the salient features of these conferences.

##### Sixth African Regional Conference (Tunis, October 1983)

Women workers' problems in Africa were examined at this Conference. A chapter of Report on "Conditions of work and the working environment" reviews women's participation in economic activity in the modern and informal sectors.

##### Asian Advisory Committee (Geneva, November 1983)

The 18th Session of the Asian Advisory Committee examined proposals for the Tenth Asian Regional Conference planned for early 1986, which includes an item on the "employment of women".

##### Regional High-Level Consultation on Women Workers Bangkok, 26-29 January 1983)

The main objective of this consultation was to provide an opportunity for the senior officials from the countries of the Asian region working in various mechanisms dealing with women's questions to exchange ideas and

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<sup>12/</sup> ILO, Report of the Director-General, International Labour Conference, 69th Session, Geneva, 1983.

proposals in order to strengthen their national infrastructures. The consultation analyzed the new concepts and ideas on the economic contribution of women and considered new project proposals to plan a systematic approach towards eliminating discriminatory practices in employment and training of women to aim at improving the quality of life of working women both in rural and urban areas.

The need for the establishment of a governmental focal point or "special national mechanism" to implement programmes for women in the development process has been recognized by most governments in the region as a desirable objective. These mechanisms vary and normally include monitoring and supervision policies, programmes and projects, training schemes and assistance to women's organizations. The impact of national machineries dealing with women's workers' problems cannot be easily analyzed at this stage, but it is becoming evident that their existence is helping towards sensitizing policy-makers and legislators on women's economic and legal rights.

Some of the main conclusions of this consultation which attempted to identify the type of activities that could be followed by governments, employers' and workers' organizations are:

- that the governments should include special reference to women in development plans, programmes and policies;
- that indicators be developed to measure the special problems of women in Asian countries;
- that there should be a separate administrative unit in departments/ministries of labour to deal with women workers' questions;
- that special attention should be given to training women in formal and non-formal skills with emphasis on upgrading existing skills and teaching non-traditional occupations;
- that special national tripartite advisory bodies should be encouraged to examine women workers' problems; and
- that the equality of labour inspectorates should be improved and the number increased in order to ensure proper implementation of labour legislation.

With regard to the promotion of equal opportunities for women workers, the consultation proposed reviewing of the ILO standard-setting activities, conducting research data collection and analysis, improving women's access to jobs and skills and assisting in the dissemination and exchange of information within the region.

#### Policy-conclusions for future action (1984-85)

ILO activities: After the Governing Body Session in May 1983, the ILO had the opportunity of considering in greater detail with various technical departments the future activities for working women. One of the most significant conclusions of the ILO directorate at this meeting was to strengthen a broader framework of ILO programmes for women. In adopting a series of policy conclusions for future action, the ILO reaffirmed, inter-alia,

that interaction of ideas among relevant technical units dealing with women workers questions be strengthened further, in particular by regular discussions on priority areas which will continue to be of importance to ILO policy framework. It was also suggested that subsequent to the Conference discussion on "equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women" in 1985, there may be a possibility to consider new international labour standards specifically relevant to working women in the present decade. On technical cooperation activities, it was suggested that "all technical units are responsible, through the chief of department concerned, for ensuring that problems peculiar to women workers are addressed in research projects and project planning documents prepared for the purpose of technical cooperation". The present ILO procedures for project design call for identification of the "target groups" in project planning; it was felt that a series of evaluations might be undertaken focusing on specific fields of activities such as training and dissemination of information. There might also be the possibility of wider consultation with experts from various disciplines and countries on the problems of women workers. A systematic network of regional advisers to integrate ILO-wide activities after 1985 will also be planned.

In considering future national policies and programmes for working women, and taking into account the necessity to increase opportunities of employment for women in all regions, the 1985 ILO activities would attempt to cover three main components which will have qualitatively changed the economic and social position of women in society during the present decade (1975-85). First, by the mid-1980s (according to ILO official estimates) there will be a large number of new women entrants into the labour market everywhere in the world, the majority of whom will seek employment in the services sector - the number will be approximately 100 million. 13/

While some ILO research studies have examined the economic causes of this major change, there is, as yet, only fragmentary evidence of the social causes of the totality of this phenomenon. Secondly, the fact that the age span of women in the labour market has enlarged to include not only those who are in their early twenties, but also those in their early thirties (both the 20-25 and 25-35 age groups) signifies that fewer and fewer women interrupt their working life upon marriage or when they have their first child. The projections show that women's income would not be complementary or supplementary, but essential for the welfare of the household. Finally, women seem to continue to encounter a spectrum of discrimination from the point of entry (such as seeking jobs, recruitment practices, promotion) to the point of exit (retirement age, social security, unemployment benefits) in the labour market. The discriminatory practices recently reported in many countries show that "women's dimension" is not only linked to reconciling work and family responsibilities, but is seriously influenced by international economic trends affecting national economic and social structures.14/ While the above elements provide the direction of future

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13/ For recent trends in employment and unemployment of women in developing and developed countries, see ILO, Women at work 1/1982, and 2/1982.

14/ UN/CEDAW, Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, Initial Reports of States Parties. New York, Aug. 1983 (doc. CEDAW/C/5. Add.1-13, 12 Nov. 1982).

ILO activities, selected studies, programmes and projects which are continuing and/or planned for the end of the UN Decade for Women are summarized below.

The agenda for the 1985 session of the International Labour Conference

The ILO Governing Body, during its November 1983 Session, decided to place the item "Equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women" on the agenda of the 1985 Session of the International Labour Conference. The Conference, to be held before the Third World Conference in Nairobi, would have three main objectives: (a) to evaluate the progress achieved and the problems encountered in respect of women and work at the national, regional and international level; (b) to review and appraise national policies and legislation adopted by member countries to implement the 1975 Declaration and resolutions adopted by the ILO and the changes that might have occurred in the economic, social and political situation of women workers; and (c) to take stock of ILO policies, programmes and projects since 1975 in order to select priority issues and formulate new approaches for future action in the world of work of women.

The reports prepared for the 1985 Session of the Conference, as well as its inclusions, would be brought to the attention of the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi.

Bearing in mind the broader perspective of structural change, the ILO will continue to elaborate concrete policy measures, legislative action and administrative efforts taking into account the role of women in the preparation and implementation of development plans, policies and programmes reflecting the actual economic and social contribution of women at the national, international and regional levels.

To accord equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women in all aspects of employment including equal pay, training, industrial relations, protective legislation including maternity benefits and social security, what concrete steps need to be taken at various levels within a country? What specific measures have been taken at the national level on equality policies or "positive action" to promote employment opportunities (wherever introduced) within the framework of development priorities? What type of national programmes and schemes should be initiated or reintroduced to strengthen women's existing skills and facilitate the acquisition of higher skills in non-traditional, scientific and technical jobs? How does structural change affect women's jobs especially where new technologies are concerned? What type of measures should be undertaken to enhance women's participation at all levels including representation in industrial management positions, trade unions and greater involvement in workers' education schemes and entrepreneurial training?

In reviewing ILO action relating to standards, research and technical co-operation, the major aspects of women's work that need to be taken into account are:

Nature of research and data collection that needs to be undertaken to improve - conditions of work and life of women in industries in which their numbers are larger, including textiles, clothing, food and drinks, leather and footwear, electronics and plantations;

Translation of existing research findings on women's work in rural areas into policy action to enhance their participation in rural organizations;  
Promotion of greater awareness of the "social partners" at national regional and international levels to ensure equality of opportunity and treatment covering employment-related question in the labour market, such as access to jobs, training, remuneration, and in social security, maternity and other benefits;

Type of technical co-operation needed in acquisition and upgrading of skills of women to enable them to have better access to non-traditional, technical, professional and managerial jobs; and

Specific impact of technological change in the traditional and modern sector on women's jobs.

Inter-agency consultation and collaboration:  
Employment-related activities

Since the main objective of the Third World Conference at Nairobi in 1985 is to "review and appraise the achievements of the Decade" (General Assembly resolution 35/136, the ILO will participate to implement the three goals of the Decade: equality, development and peace, and the three sub-themes of education, health and employment. Under the sub-theme "employment", on which the ILO is the lead agency, special emphasis will be given to employment-related problems connected with the status of women in a global framework. In its contribution, the ILO will attempt to analyse the economic and social development at a global level for a better understanding of the important contribution that women's work makes to the prosperity and advancement of society. This will also evaluate the basic trends in women's employment and unemployment taking into account, in particular, the impact of scientific and technological progress on women's employment and the quantitative and qualitative changes which have taken place on women workers' questions during this decade. Significant change in the division of labour and constraints that affect their traditional and non-traditional work including the fact that they suffer from direct and indirect discrimination in jobs and wages and generally at the workplace will also be underlined.

2. Office for Women Workers' Questions

The Office for Women Workers' Questions established in April 1976 continues to function as the "focal point" and co-ordinating unit of all activities concerning employment related activities of women both inside and outside the ILO. Its main functions are to develop and co-ordinate research and statistics, plan programmes and projects and undertake policy action and other measures to enhance the awareness of the problems of women workers. All technical units are responsible, through the chief of department concerned, for ensuring that problems peculiar to women workers are addressed in research projects and project planning documents prepared for the purpose of technical co-operation. It also plays a significant role in disseminating research results and information on all aspects of women and work dealing with their integration in the workforce. Since 1977 this Office has published an ILO news bulletin Women at Work (English and French twice a year. This, the only news bulletin of its type in the UN system, exclusively devoted to women workers' problems, provides economic and social information from various countries. In particular it analyzes: trends in national plans, policies and legislation;

employment, wages and conditions of work jobs and skills (range of work and job option); combining work with family responsibilities; participation in decision-making within the undertaking, in trade unions, at national and international levels; and summarizes recent developments in inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. Within the ILO, this Office is assigned the responsibility of acting as a catalyst and motivator of all activities concerning women workers.

The Office has published various working papers on different aspects of women's work by region and a survey on legislation relating to maternity protection in 128 countries. In addition to briefings and bibliographies, it disseminates information on technical co-operation projects and synthesis of ILO activities on working women. <sup>15/</sup>

### 3. ILO standards: their impact on working women

Under the ILO Constitution, member States are obliged to report regularly on the measures taken to give effect to the Conventions they have ratified. In addition, States are required to report, as requested by the Governing Body, on the extent to which law and practice in their countries give effect to the provisions on an unratified Convention or of a Recommendation. On the basis of the information provided by governments, and often, by employer and worker organizations, the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations carries out a technical examination on the degree of compliance between ILO instruments and the national practice of the particular country. The results of this examination are published in a report to the Conference every year and are the basis of the work of the tripartite Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, which is set up at the International Labour Conference each year.

It should be mentioned that the report of the Committee of Experts includes information, not only on cases of non-compliance but also seeks to highlight the ways in which some countries have taken positive action to secure conformity with the various instruments. Apart from assistance accorded to member States by the supervisory bodies of the Organization, the ILO attempts to advise governments, employers' and workers' organizations on the measures which could be taken, *inter alia*, to implement equal employment policies and eliminate discriminatory employment practices by undertaking direct contact missions, by holding seminars and training courses and by providing informal written advice on the interpretation of ILO instruments.

Indications of the impact of some of those Conventions on the law and practice of ratifying States are available from the annual reports of the Committee of Experts. It is evident that some ILO instruments have had more direct influence than others in general. The same applies to ILO standards relating to working women. A few examples may be cited on this point.

The ILO Convention on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) No.111 of 1958 (which deals with discrimination on the basis of race, colour, sex,

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<sup>15/</sup> For details, see List of major ILO instruments and documents concerning women workers (ILO/W.1/1982). Recent examples of documents include Directory of governmental bodies dealing with women workers' questions (ILO/W.4/1973/Rev.1) and List of extra-budgetary financed projects in favour of women (on-going and in the pipeline) (ILO/W.6/1983/Rev.1).

religion, political opinion, national extraction or social origin with regard to access to employment and to particular occupations and terms and conditions of employment) and the Equal Remuneration Convention No.100 of 1951 for men and women for "work of equal value" have been regarded as two instruments in the area of human rights and, consequently, the Organisation has taken particular measures to encourage their ratifications and implementation by member States.

In addition to Convention No.100 and Convention No.111 referred to above and their supplementary Recommendations, there are a number of other instruments relevant to the elimination of discrimination and the promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment for women. For example, Convention No.156 and Recommendation No.165 of 1981 concerning workers with family responsibilities; and Conventions No.3 (1919) and 103 (1952) on maternity protection. Several other instruments contain clauses banning discrimination on various grounds including sex, for example, Convention No.82 on Social Policy (Non-Metropolitan Territories) 1947; Convention No.117 on Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards), 1962; Convention and Recommendation No.122 on Employment Policy, 1964 and Convention No.142 on Human Resources Development, 1975.

#### 4. Technical co-operation activities

During 1982-83, several technical co-operation projects aimed generally at improving the working and living conditions of urban and rural women in developing countries and promoting their participation in the development process of the country have been implemented by the ILO in co-operation with other funding organizations or institutions.

The great bulk of ILO activities falls within four major fields: vocational training, rural employment, development of co-operatives and assistance to liberation movements.

There seems to be some evidence that the volume of technical co-operation activities directed towards women workers increased during the course of the last two years. By the end of September 1983, there were 52 projects <sup>16/</sup> which were either directly geared to their needs or had a "women's component" in them.

##### 1. Rural employment

Two technical co-operation projects which aim to stimulate the participation of rural women in development and enable them to evolve an appropriate organizational base to increase their access to employment and their self-reliance began in 1980-81. <sup>17/</sup> These projects are striving to

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<sup>16/</sup> Of these, five were interregional, 30 in Africa, 13 in Asia and the Pacific, and four in Latin America.

<sup>17/</sup> M.A. Savane. Evaluation des projets pour les femmes rurales au Senegal (Geneve, BIT. 1983). Geresita de Barbiere, Josefina Aranda, Cella Falomir, Rodo Lopez, Patricia Morrero, Natasha Molina, Las unidades agricola-industriales para la mujer campesina: Dos estudios de caso: Charo, Michoacan y Viesca Coahuila.

make a contribution towards the struggle against poverty of rural women in developing countries.

There is an increasing attempt in ILO employment policy related work on rural labour markets to take into account the differentiation of rural households in relation to production, transformation and consumption and to take into account the variations in status by age and sex of household members. 18/ There is even an attempt to consider the effects of diverse marriage payment systems (bridewealth and dowry) and to relate these to patterns and opportunities for employment.

An up-to-date account of ILO rural development activities since 1979 has recently been presented to the Advisory Committee on Rural Development noting in Chapter IX all the special activities for women including activities to improve employment and income generating opportunities and training.19/ (See the bibliography supplement of publications relevant especially nos. 5, 6, 12, 16, 17, 18, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33, etc.).

## 2. Vocational training

The overall objective of ILO activities in this field is to integrate women into the mainstream training systems and programmes and to promote special measures to increase women's participation in training for a wider range of occupations and for a higher level of skills and responsibility.

The ILO programme is also aiming at creating awareness and positive attitudes towards training and employment of women among men and women in positions where they are able to influence social change: vocational information and guidance; and the use of the mass media. Training programmes comprise pre-training activities involving assessment of training needs and economic activities, market surveys, data collection, motivational campaigns, vocational information, etc., training through a variety of means such as the establishment of production groups, ensuring access to credit, market outlets, raw materials, tools and equipment, provision of extension services to ensure that training results in improved incomes and conditions for women.

## 3. Development of co-operatives

The principal objective of this aspect of ILO programme is the development and promotion of co-operative societies as effective popular self-help institutions contributing to national development efforts. It is especially intended to promote the active participation of the weaker groups of society, in particular women, in the organization and management of their own institutions. Three projects in this area had the same basic objective: to develop women's handicrafts.

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18/ ILO, Promotion of employment and incomes for the rural poor, including rural women, through non-farm activities, Advisory Committee on Rural Development, Tenth Session, Geneva 22 Nov. to 1 Dec. 1983 (ACRD X/1983/II).

19/ ILO. Review of ILO rural development activities since 1979. Advisory Committee on Rural Development, Tenth Session, Geneva, 22 November to 1 December (Geneva, ILO. 1983; ACRD X/1983/I).

4. Women in human resource planning

Within the scope of the population, human resources and development planning activities of the ILO's Population and Labour Policies Programme, a number of country technical co-operation projects are under way which have relevance to female labour supply and demographic issues such as fertility and migration.<sup>20/</sup>

5. Impact of technical co-operation activities

A study on the impact of technical co-operation activities on women was undertaken in compliance with the recommendation included in the Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women (Copenhagen, July 1980) to the effect that all organizations of the UN system should "... review existing and proposed plans and projects... with the aim of integrating the issues of concern to women in all programmes and projects in order to improve the status of women". It is in this general framework and in view of the Director-General's expressed concern that the "women's dimension" should be duly taken into account in ILO's own activities in the future, that a questionnaire on the impact of technical co-operation activities on women was issued to all ILO Regional Offices to collect from Experts in the field information on all on-going projects in their respective regions. The replies to the questionnaire have been analyzed in a document <sup>21/</sup> which examines the impact of technical co-operation activities on the situation of women by regions, sectors of activity and size of projects. The study shows that ILO assistance in the form of technical co-operation projects is small and bears no relation to the actual needs in the countries. Often experimental, the projects seek to demonstrate concretely that alternative and more effective means to combat rural poverty and promote employment are possible and lie within the means of developing countries. On the basis of these small and experimental projects the ILO seeks to multiply their demonstrative impact through studies, workshops and seminars. Similarly, the ILO is active in promoting the cross-fertilization of ideas or experiences among developing countries with a view to enhancing sensitization of government officials, trade unions, planners, administrators and project managers. This approach has proven quite effective in promoting the participatory approach to rural development especially as regards the organization of poor rural women as a prerequisite for collective development initiatives.

A range of ILO plans and activities have now been reviewed which seek to solve some of the problems and to overcome some of the obstacles encountered hindering incorporation of women into development planning. In the final section IV the focus is the studies carried out and commissioned by the ILO which are meant to help improve the data bases for development planning. The first set are studies concerned with the promotion of sexual equality in a number of areas. The second set are concerned with

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<sup>20/</sup> See Population, human resources and development planning activities of the ILO Population and Labour Policies Programme (Geneva, ILO, 1983).

<sup>21/</sup> Impact sur les femmes des activites de cooperation technique (Geneva, ILO, 1983) (ILO/W.7/1983).

documentation and some current attempts to improve measurement techniques and concepts.

#### IV. ILO: STUDIES TO HELP IMPROVE DATA BASES FOR EQUALITY DEVELOPMENT PLANNING.

##### 1. Employment, discrimination and promotion of equality: the ILO global study on women workers

As part of the research undertaken by the ILO for the preparation of its contribution to the 1985 World Conference in Nairobi, a global study on women workers: "Employment patterns, discrimination and promotion of equality" was initiated by the Office for Women Workers' Questions. Based on data on the situation of working women within different sectors and regions, it will highlight national trends on economic and legal rights of women workers of crucial importance to policy-makers, legislators and the public at large.

The report would take account of the differences in the way the problems of inequality present themselves according to the categories of women concerned (rural, migrant, refugee, etc.) Within the framework of the principle of equality between men and women, the study will cover various laws for protection of women workers in selected countries to provide a framework for examining and analyzing relevant ILO standards. Its aim is to obtain a general overview of the position of women at the legislative level and to make a comparative analysis of recent changes in this area: in addition to maternity benefits covered in a global survey mentioned earlier.

##### Improved social security rights for women

This study involves a comparative survey of national legislation which indicates recent improvements concerning social security rights of working mothers, single-parent families, divorced and widowed women, homemakers, etc. The study will be based on an ILO research project and will bring factual information compiled in a survey which could become a reference for policy-makers and the public at large.

##### Employment opportunities for rural women through organization

This project has been extended until 1984 in three countries of the Indian subcontinent, namely, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. It incorporates the lessons and experience gained earlier as regards participation and organization of rural women. Another research project to be initiated in 1984 will attempt to document the impact of changes in the land-tenure system on women as agricultural and food producers. The research will investigate the relationship of women and land in Africa in view of the critical food situation faced by the region as a whole. The results obtained from this investigation will help to contribute towards the designing of more appropriate policies and projects.

##### Women heads of households

Under this project, to be initiated in 1984, investigation will be

undertaken on self-employment schemes in four Asian countries, namely, Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Pakistan.

A study has already been carried out for the ILO on female-headed or supported households <sup>22/</sup> which calls attention to the need to incorporate such women, their situation and needs into economic development policies and programmes. The study also calls attention to the relevant data collection and analysis required. An important point this study reiterates is the potential ill effects upon policy formulation and programme design of false assumptions about sex roles. Thus misperceptions of the roles of males as heads of households and their responsibility for domestic groups is linked to their being consistently treated as the appropriate avenues for receipt of extension services, credit, land and agricultural training. etc. However, available global data analyzed indicate that as many as 30 per cent of rural households in some countries do not have male heads.

An unfortunate outcome is, for instance, that the co-operative movement in different countries has often failed to involve women because they are not recognized as farm producers, managers and heads of households where they actually fulfil these functions. Moreover, such women's cooperative groups as do exist may lack training, management and marketing skills and not meet local credit requirements for anything other than small loans. In some countries such groups are not legally registered or recognized by governments because they do not meet certain criteria and do not have adequate access to extension services.

#### Development of co-operatives

In the framework of its efforts to promote the active participation of the weaker groups of society in the organization and management of their own institutions, the ILO is carrying out a study on the role and involvement of women in co-operative programmes. The study, which will be finalized in 1984, is based partly on replies to a questionnaire sent out to member States and partly on ILO activities in that field. It will review the state of development of women's co-operatives in developing countries and analyze the socio-economic impact of co-operative movements on the development process of the countries involved. This study will consider the level of women's participation, the obstacles and results obtained in this endeavour, taking into consideration the point of view of the participants of the co-operatives themselves. It will also assess the achievements and difficulties encountered in the implementation of technical co-operation activities in order to acquire a better understanding of the real obstacles to the participation of women in co-operatives. The purpose of this analysis is to elaborate a strategy of action on women and co-operatives in order to exchange experience and information from various countries in a proposed seminar or workshop.

#### World survey on the role of women in development

The survey is planned to be a multi-sectoral and inter-disciplinary survey analyzing women's role in relation to key development issues as envisaged in the U.N. resolution (No.36/74 of 4 December 1981). The ILO took part in the preparation of the survey, giving due attention to the problems and requirements of women in every region and to the contribution of women in

the achievement of goals of self-reliance and to economic and technical co-operation among developing countries.

#### Sex segregation in urban labour markets

A number of small-scale studies have been commissioned in urban labour markets of the developing world which are seeking to document the processes leading to the segregation of women and men in the work place. Data is being collected from employees and employers and the community, national and familial contexts of the workers are being taken into consideration including such issues as government policies on female employment, equality in work and benefits such as maternity leave. At the same time, the apparent effects of fertility, family size and domestic responsibilities are being considered and the impacts of differential access to education and training. Cultural norms and traditional social practices are seen to be influential.<sup>23/</sup>

#### Technological change and the condition of rural women

A comparative study has been undertaken in three African countries on technological change, basic needs and the conditions of rural women. Tasks traditionally performed by rural women were analyzed and assessed in selected areas as well as the traditional methods of work and places of equipment used. The goal of the project was to identify and assess improved tools and equipment which could be used to improve the welfare of the women in the selected communities and how these new tools could be produced and disseminated. <sup>24/</sup>

Among the recommendations of the project were the fact that technologies for rural women's programmes should be integrated in nature and should be closely linked with or form part of rural development programmes within countries and would need to be linked to training, credit supply, marketing outlets and rural energy programmes. This comparative study is being followed up by a technical co-operation project in one of the countries studied.

#### 2. Documentation

In its capacity as a major international institution putting together and disseminating statistics on women's employment, the ILO is very much concerned to assist in the process of improving the ways in which such statistics are collected and used especially since these activities are basic to the task of development planning. Several activities in this regard include the work of the Thirteenth International Conference of Labour Statistics, the joint ILO/INSTRAW collaborative project on global analysis of women's economic activities and the conceptual and measurement issues

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<sup>23/</sup> See, for example, Sex inequality in an African urban labour market: The case of Accra-Tema. E. Date-Bah (Geneva. ILO. 1982: World Employment Programme research working paper; mimeographed).

<sup>24/</sup> See E. Date-Bah. Y. Stevens and V. Ventura Dias. Technological change the condition of rural women. Summary Report and Recommendations (Geneva, ILO. Technology and Employment Programme, December 1982).

currently being confronted in some of the work of the Population and Labour Policies Branch. 25/

INSTRAW/ILO collaboration

An "Expert Group Meeting on Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women" was organized jointly by INSTRAW and the United Nations Statistical Office in New York from 11 to 15 April 1983. As a follow-up to this meeting a joint ILO/INSTRAW project will be launched for the preparation of two publications, one on "Women's Participation in the Economic Activity of the World" (1975-1985) and the other "Womanpower II" which would be an updated version of "Womanpower (The World's female labour force in 1975 and the outlook for 2000)".

Cases studies of women's multiple roles and status

The bulk of data gathered and analyzed as a basis for planning and execution of development programmes are survey data such as employment statistics and demographic data, etc. In view of the growing disillusionment with such data and the recognition by scholars from other disciplines of the value of anthropological methods and findings, there has been increasing reference and recourse to small-scale, in-depth, detailed enquiries in which individual domestic groups, neighbourhoods or small communities are studied which are seen as telling much about planning requirements and change processes which the survey can seldom achieve. The idea is spreading among those who formerly dealt only in number from censuses and surveys that knowledge about daily social interactions and role expectations and activities in different culture areas and socio-economic categories, gained by a variety of methods, are essential for the design of sound policies and relevant action programmes.

Some of the methodological issues have recently been spelt out in ILO publications. 26/ and a conceptual framework outlined for more detailed study of women's roles and how they may be changing. 27/

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- 25/ R. Anker. Research on women's roles and demographic change: Survey questionnaires for households, women, men and communities with background explanations (Geneva, ILO, 1980). For a detailed description of the labour force methods test being conducted in Egypt and India see R. Anker (1983). Effect on reported levels of female labour force participation in developing countries of questionnaire design, sex of interviewer and sex/proxy status of respondent: Description of a methodological field experiment (Geneva. ILO: mimeographed World Employment Programme research working paper). L. Goldschmidt-Clermont, Unpaid work in the household (Geneva, ILO. 1982).
- 26/ R. Anker, M. Buvinic and N. Youssef (eds). Women's roles and population trends in the Third World (London, Croom Helm. 1982)
- 27/ C. Oppong. A synopsis of seven roles of women: Some conceptual and methodological issues for the study of demographic change (Geneva, ILO: mimeographed World Employment Programme research working paper).

A number of detailed studies of women's roles, their work, community participation, motherhood and domestic and kin roles have been produced, which are all helping to shed more light on factors affecting women's economic activities including contexts in which women in need are abused, <sup>28/</sup> the implications of plantation systems for women workers, <sup>29/</sup> the impacts of socialist state policies on urban women's factory work, <sup>30/</sup> the effects of male oriented technological developments on women's work and well being <sup>31/</sup> and the interaction between the productive and reproductive activities of craftwomen. <sup>32/</sup> Such studies not only illuminate causes and consequences of inequalities in working life but also document the kinds of work women do and show in what contexts development plans or unplanned developments lead to improvements in women's working life or have a deleterious effect.

#### V. SPECIAL POLICY MEASURES

Finally, among the special policy measures called for to involve women in active economic activity and in the process of development are the following:

To carry out policies of economic and social development that will ensure full employment for women and men; and provide equal access in employment opportunities by breaking down any barriers to their equality in seeking and retaining jobs;

To initiate, alter or modify legislation to provide "for equal pay for work of equal value" and to monitor concrete action for its enforcement and implementation;

To undertake special measures for training, retraining and upgrading women's skills including on-the-job technical and scientific training of women;

To establish an economic and social infrastructure for women to enable them to participate in economic activity by introducing social facilities for family responsibilities; creating conditions to implement ILO standards on maternity protection and to develop child-care programmes and projects.

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<sup>28/</sup> P. Phongpaichit. From peasant girls to Bangkok masseuses. Women, Work and Development Series no.2 (Geneva, ILO. 1982).

<sup>29/</sup> R. Kurian. Women workers in the Sri Lanka plantation sector. Women, Work and Development Series No.5 (Geneva, ILO. 1982).

<sup>30/</sup> M. Molyneux. State policies and the position of women workers in the People's Democratic Republic of Yem 1967-77. Women, Work and Development Series no.3 (Geneva, ILO. 1982).

<sup>31/</sup> L. Gulati. Women in fishing villages on the Kerala Coast: Demographic and socio-economic impacts of a fisheries development project (Geneva, ILO. 1983; mimeographed World Employment Programme research working paper).

<sup>32/</sup> P. Lynch and H. Fahmy. Craftswomen in Kerdassa, Egypt: Household production (Geneva, ILO. 1983; mimeographed World Employment Programme research working paper).

Paper 15

INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

prepared by the

Latin American Institute for Economic  
and Social Planning (ILPES)

INTRODUCTION

ILPES, a United Nations institution specializing in the area of planning for the region of Latin America and the Caribbean, has in recent years had to tackle the theme of incorporation of women into development planning.

ILPES has carried out this activity through its different functions. In research, it has made progress in the theory and methodology of social planning, paying special attention to the insertion of the question of women into social planning. It has trained government officials from the region, in International Social Planning Courses which dealt with how the objective of increasing the participation of women in development activities should be achieved. Finally, in the technical assistance activities provided by it to several countries of the area, ILPES also considered the topic under study.

In this paper, ILPES presents some ideas stemming from the activities described, which are part of the Institute's evaluation of this topic. It hopes in this way to contribute to the discussions which will take place at the Seminar organized by INSTRAW, whose recommendations and conclusions will surely enrich the general future activities and specific action the Institute will carry out to attain the objective of incorporating women into development planning activities.

I. THE SITUATION OF WOMEN: PERCEPTION OF THE PROBLEM

An analysis of the situation of women should start with the recognition that there are basic biological differences between men and women. Because of this, women devote a substantial portion of their physical and psychological energy, during their adult lives, to ensuring the reproduction of the species. Apart from that, the physical and intellectual capacities of both sexes are similar.

However, the dominant cultural model assigns different and unequally validated social roles to men and women, and spreads male and female stereotypes, which are introduced to individuals during their primary socialization phase within the family, and subsequently reinforced through school and the communications media. Therefore, both men and women tend to consider the performance of those roles as "natural" and feel them to be "appropriate".

On the basis of this dominant cultural model, societies are structured that are of a "patriachal" form, in which women are in a subordinate position

with respect to men.

This perception of the problem which emphasized the cultural origin or basis of female subordination, should be more extensively documented because the explanatory causes are usually sought in the economy, and especially in the fact that women have been assigned the responsibility of performing domestic work, which is under-valued labour, to the point that it is not even computed as an "activity" in national statistics. Therefore, women who are housewives make up part of the economically inactive population, despite the fact that their work day may in many cases be very long and exhausting. On this basis, it is argued that if society validated domestic work adequately, female subordination would disappear, and women would be given recognition for their contribution to the functioning of the economic system, through their performance of that work. As a result, there would be no subordination.

Without denying the potential importance of "making socially invisible work visible" - as one author has stated - it should be stressed that the fundamental reason for female social subordination - in our view - is not the existence of domestic labour and the fact that socially the performance of that labour has been assigned to women. Ideal situations could be imagined in which that form of work would not exist, because of public services such as day-care centres, dining halls and laundries), provided by the State or by private enterprises. Even in that case it could not be stated that a change would necessarily occur in relations between the sexes.

One consequence of the above is particularly important for planning. It is important to improve the conditions under which domestic work is carried out. The introduction of technologies to shorten the "time necessary to perform the work and the provision of adequate services of sanitation, sewage, drinking water, etc. to facilitate it would contribute positively to making the situation of the women performing it more tolerable. Similarly, it is important to promote action aimed at separating the automatic identification of domestic labour with women's work in which some developed countries have made much progress. An improvement in women's working conditions is necessary, but not sufficient, condition for changing the relations between the sexes. Even incorporating women into remunerated work, although it may be positive if carried out in a situation of equality of opportunities with men (with regard to wages, responsibilities and promotion possibilities), does not solve the problem. This is because a change in economic conditions does not necessarily alter female subordination, which has a cultural basis. For the same reason, policies aimed at improving the situation of women should include all the action seen until now, but should be accompanied by efforts to alter male and female stereotypes and ultimately alter the dominant male-supremacist culture.

## II. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONAL PLANNING AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

The fact that female subordination has a cultural basis raises special difficulties for planning. There is no doubt that those working in this area have a variety of suitable instruments available to determine problems of an economic, and even social nature. But it is much more difficult for them to meet the situations which have a cultural basis. Therefore, planners lack the appropriate tools and the necessary experience.

In the same line of reasoning, it should be recalled that planning can no longer be conceived only as a normative process which takes shape in the elaboration of a book-plan. This obsolete conception is being replaced by others which see planning as an effort to orient the actors' behaviour towards the achievement of certain goals. To do so we must go beyond the economically oriented perspective, since it is obvious that no behaviour is "purely economic", but that it is influenced by factors of a sociocultural nature.

This leads to the fact that planners must make efforts to reorient their discipline for the purpose not only of incorporating the topic of women, as has been seen, but also generally to obtain results more in keeping with their aim, in all their fields of operation.

Specifically, it should be acknowledged that matters which relate to the changing of dominant cultural norms have a different timing from that of the other problems which more traditional planning usually confronts. The latter commonly distinguishes between the short, medium and long term, but the situation of female subordination is a cultural problem of a secular origin which it is not possible to alter in the "time periods" usually available to planners.

This statement is not meant to discourage, but rather to underline the importance that the goal selected be realistic, and that it should be understood that action aimed at altering such deep and established cultural behaviour requires very prolonged periods of maturation, which may encompass several generations. Only in this way can the frustration stemming from the failure of overly ambitious aspirations be avoided. It should be acknowledged that it is not easy to effect "structural changes in the relations between the sexes". Such an objective has to be broken down, as already noted, into very specific goals, and one should be prepared for the fact that the recommended actions will only change the prevailing situation extremely slowly.

Another point which should be mentioned in relation to women and planning is that changing or continuing the situation of women depends on several circumstances, among which the planning and policies implemented are only one element. There are actions and processes which are not linked to those policies and which individual and collective social agents carry out because they are motivated by their own interests. They can have an impact equal to or greater than the policies designed to support the incorporation of women and can even act against those policies.

Similarly, there are activities promoted by non-governmental institutions which attempt to influence the situation of women and which, because of their very non-governmental nature, are not considered in the plans.

Furthermore, governmental policies and actions which pursue other aims influence the situation on women, either positively or by producing little-foreseen adverse effects.

Thus, this new-style planning should account for the large number of social actors involved and the fact that they act in defence of their own interests and with perspectives that may be different from those used by the planners and decision-makers so that the final result is a combination of all

those actions among which planning activity is only one, and perhaps not the most important.

This makes it necessary for planning to envisage the topic of the incorporation of women into development from a global perspective, in the sense of understanding that each and every one of the policies and actions they carry out has an impact on the social relations between men and women and therefore affects the situation of both sexes.

In this respect, specific action aimed at women or groups of women is only a partial aspect of the relationship between planning and the incorporation of women. It is ultimately necessary to make a "reading of each and every one of the policies being planned, obviously including economic and social policies, from the perspective of incorporating women into development.

The above stresses the importance of pinpointing the role assigned to women as subjects of planning, in diagnostic studies and in specific policies and actions. It is obvious that, in a certain sense, women have always been the subjects of planning processes, since the activities stemming from those processes are aimed at people in general. However, planning activities tend not to include the specific nature of women "subjects" and the social relations which they have with men, within the family unit. Therefore, the incorporation of the objective of "participation of women" into planning activities involves not only the carrying out of a set of activities aimed at women, but also an analysis of the ways in which each of the policies and actions implemented affect the social relationship which intersects with other forms of inequality existing in society. Therefore, policies aimed at altering those forms of inequality would affect that social relationship in some way. At the same time, since women maintain social relations with men, it is obvious that any social policy which affects the latter will also have repercussions on the former, and vice-versa.

The integration of women into development and into planning should not be conceived as one more problem to add to the existing ones, but as a renewed focus which will enrich those already in progress, making possible more adequate diagnoses and, therefore, more effective policy designs.

However, the problem of women has not been treated this way. Policies aimed at the advancement of women have been characterized by their lack of insertion into planning activities and by their isolation, erratic nature and marginality. They have lacked adequate linkage with national plans and adaptation between the objectives pursued and the actions proposed to attain them. In many cases, too, it may be acknowledged that they were not very feasible, either operatively, institutionally or financially.

The most usual approaches to be found in those policies on women have been the following:

a) the first adopts the human resources perspective, considers that women have been under-utilized as a human resource and recommends the carrying out of some sectoral actions, such as female incorporation into the job market,

reduction of the time needed to carry out tasks connected with reproduction and access to formal education in those cases where there is still a substantial difference between the male and female rates;

b) Another approach is that connected with population, for which women are fundamental agents in the implementation of birth control programmes. It is supposed that the decrease in demographic growth rates will involve a decrease in the number of children per woman, which will also reduce the time women devote to the reproduction of the species and have the effect of providing each woman with a larger proportion of her life in which to carry out other tasks, making possible a different type of insertion into society;

c) There is also an approach based on modernization which is affecting the countries of the region continues, the situation of women will improve. In this connection, it would be sufficient for planning to base itself on the promotion of economic growth and social modernization for it to be acting positively on the situation of women, since it would be helping to break up the patriarchal forms inherent in traditional society.

Although an approach has just been outlined to understanding the way in which the problem of women is incorporated into development planning activities based on an analysis of the existing public policies as a group and the way in which they affect the social relationship between the sexes, there is no doubt that policies and activities do exist which are specifically oriented towards altering that social relationship. They may consider women globally, or as social agents expressing themselves in different areas of social life, or as individual consumers of goods and services, or as those who are responsible for and carry out domestic work, or as a labour force incorporated into remunerative activities, or as a group whose endowment of human capital must be increased through educational and health policies, etc.

In these cases it is indispensable that there should be a suitable definition of the subjects of the policies and specific nature of the situations in which they find themselves, since if this is lacking, it may prove to be impossible to identify real needs, and a gap may occur between the goals pursued and actions proposed.

In this respect, it is erroneous to consider women in the abstract as a focal group of policies. Without disregarding the importance of measures for affecting the situation of women in general, which are reflected, for example, in the changing of legal norms, especially those of family law, it should be pointed out that planning activities must make distinctions between different life situations, in which the situation of women can be radically different.

A global presentation of the problem tends to simplify its elements and show reality as being uniform, when it is not so. The fact that relations between the sexes are based on culture makes possible the existence of specific subcultures in which the relationship between men and women varies. It is also important to analyze policies for eliminating or reducing inequality between the sexes in order to gauge the impact they may have on the situation of women in different social strata. What is good in some cases may not be good in others.

All of the above implies a criticism of considering "women" as a focal point for policies. Fifty per cent or more of the population of each country is involved; obviously the size of the group goes against the very concept of focal-group.

### III. PROPOSAL FOR ACTION

The foregoing discussion may serve as a basis for some proposals which ILPES is making as suggestions to this meeting on the incorporation of women into development planning activities. As noted in the Introduction, they stem from the experience gained by the Institute in carrying out its activities in the region of Latin America and the Caribbean and are of a tentative nature, since it is hoped that they will be analyzed and improved through the exchange of ideas which will be fostered by the Seminar.

General perspective. The incorporation of women is not one more problem adding to the already-numerous problems confronting planners in the region, one which, therefore, requires specific policies and actions. It is a new "reading" of the set of economic and social policies in order to interpret the way in which they affect social relations between the sexes, in some contexts.

For the same reason, any policy, economic or social, affects the situation of women, positively or negatively, and must be analyzed before being put into practice, in order to attempt to accentuate the positive aspects concerning the improvement of women's situation and minimize those which could be negative.

There are many "women's situations" in each society. What is right for the advancement of some of them may be wrong in other cases. Therefore, the analysis of the policies must be broken down by class or social stratum, urban or rural situation, and according to other dimensions which might influence the type of social relations between the sexes prevailing in each country or zone under consideration.

The subordination of women has a cultural basis which originated in distant times. As a result, it is not easy to change it in short time spans. In this respect, the planner should bear in mind that the final objective of incorporating women in a situation of equality with men, may be attained only in the very long term. For the same reason, action currently being encouraged may not produce the results expected if the latter are too optimistic.

It is necessary to disseminate, among planners, men and women, this new perspective of attempting to evaluate all the policies according to the impact they produce on the situation of women, because it is not customarily found in ministries and planning offices. There should be an avoidance of reverse "sexism" in tending to think that only women can understand women's situations. Destroying dominant stereotypes will bring about the "liberation" not only of women, but also of men.

Diagnoses. Many of the defects which have been noted in the policies implemented to date have been due to the lack of good diagnoses on the causes

of class situations and the sociocultural contexts to which they apply. There has even been a lack of knowledge of the working and living conditions of the women who were supposedly to be reached by those policies. In many cases, the focal group is not even clearly defined: it is not known with certainty which women one is trying to benefit with the proposed policies. A breakdown into specific situations would make it possible to effect more precise diagnoses and prepare policies more suited to the objective of attaining the equality of women. In this line of ideas, we shall suggest some elements to be kept in mind by planners when carrying out their diagnoses.

Conceptual framework. In formulating the diagnosis and designing the policies, account must be taken of the level and style of development adopted, the existing social division of work, including that based on sex, the different class situation under which women live, the features of the domestic units and the different survival strategies for satisfying the basic needs of the family units in each class situation, the organization of work within the domestic units, the sociocultural aspects and the prevailing sexual stereotypes.

The way in which women are to be included as subjects of policies.

Women may be seen in different ways in planning activities. On the one hand, they are consumers of goods and services for their own maintenance and reproduction. They are also responsible for and the performers of domestic work. They are in charge of activities fundamental to the reproduction of the species and the care of children. They also act as a remunerated work force on many occasions. In many cases, under the pretext of carrying out an integrated and comprehensive approach, they are mentioned abstractly, without specifying the situation which is being taken into account, for detecting causes and proposing suitable actions.

Inclusion of perceived needs and real possibilities of being the subjects of the policies. There are often difficulties in developing certain programmes because account has not been taken of the perception of their own situation on the part of women who are to become the subjects of the programmes aimed at increasing their participation in development. They see their insertion into society and the family as "natural" and as a result do not consider a change possible. In other cases, although the women involved are more advanced in the interpretation of their own situation, the programme may be designed in such a way that there are no real possibilities for them to participate in it. For example, the schedules according to which certain activities will be performed may clash with other action relating to their domestic or remunerated work, which the women cannot avoid.

Consideration of the cultural stereotypes of the participants. As noted above, there are preconceptions, incorporated during the early socialization process, which unconsciously determine people's attitudes and their perception of facts, which tends to be partial and biased. These preconceptions are held by the women who will be the subjects of the programme and also by the men with whom they maintain social relations, as well as by the planners themselves and the adopters of policy decisions. If the presence of such stereotypes is not taken into account, the programme will surely not function.

Indicators utilized. Programmes aimed at the promotion of women are ultimately seeking to increase women's participation in development activities. For this reason, the indicators used to evaluate the progress made have the limitations and problems inherent in any indicator of participation. They are difficult to interpret, ambiguous and may lead to errors. Thus it is that legislative progress - although very important - does not guarantee that women have attained a situation of equality in the country in question. It is common to find countries having advanced legislation with regard to the patria potestas and other areas of family law, in which the real situation of women does not greatly differ from that of women in other countries which are not so advanced in the legislative sphere. This is of course not meant to detract from the value of progress which might be made in that area, but it does mean that legislative progress does not prove to be an incontrovertible indicator of the advancement of women.

In another line of ideas, it should also be pointed out that statistical information often proves to be of little trustworthiness and validity. In other cases, the appropriate data systematization which would be necessary to carry out adequate diagnosis is not even available.

Public policies. According to the amount of political will supporting the actions aimed at obtaining women's incorporation, the public policies designed to attain those actions may be of different scopes:

a) Minimum scope. They place their hopes in improving the situation of women; therefore, although they attempt to do nothing in the line of producing or accelerating the changes, they will also tend to avoid actions which may hinder that process, which, it is thought, will lead to an improvement in women's status.

Although the modernization approach is open to several criticisms, there is no doubt that the situation of women is strongly influenced by the degree of development attained by each country. Because of changes in basic features, especially the importance acquired by the breakdown of the peasant structure and the transfer of the population to the urban centres, the situation of women has taken on radically different individual features, which must be borne in mind in the adoption of policies aimed at the advancement of women and their incorporation into the development process.

A certain degree of development - measured, for example, according to the per capita product - may exist, yet according to different modalities. They also influence the situation of women considerably. The features involved are of the cultural, social and political type, and are usually left out of the most common planning approaches, which are concerned with stimulating growth of the product and tend to forget or pay less attention to those aspects.

b) Maximum scope: They seek to fundamentally alter the social relations between the sexes existing at a given moment in a certain country. They aim at structural transformations.

c) Intermediate scope: They promote expansion of the social opportunities of women and foster a change in the consideration of their role, to which end they seek to determine the impact of policies in progress on the situation of

women in order to reinforce their positive aspects and attenuate their negative aspects.

Since the third type appears to be the most viable, under the conditions currently prevailing in the region, it will be necessary to analyze the way in which the female component may be incorporated into the policies currently in progress, with special consideration for economic policies, and integrated multi-sectoral policies.

Strategic lines: three may be suggested:

- a) Review the economic, multisectoral and social sectoral policies to determine how they consider women and make the necessary adjustment;
- b) Establish top priority objectives for specific groups, such as groups in extreme poverty situations;
- c) Relieve the situation of women through an improvement in the living conditions of the domestic units.

The priority groups should be women belonging to poor sectors, both rural and urban, since women belonging to the domestic units of the small producer and the rural wage-earner are those who show the lowest indexes of participation in nearly all fields and whose living situation is specially impaired. Special attention should be given to Indian women. Women from the informal urban sector, although they show better access to certain indispensable basic services, also indicate depressed situations.

Women heads of household are another group to which special consideration should be given. Although they exist in all social strata, their incidence is higher and their consequences more serious in the rural sectors and the poor urban sectors. In these cases, there is obviously a "double work day" since the same woman has to do the domestic work and perform some type of remunerated employment or provide herself with access to the market to obtain the goods and services necessary to meet the needs of the family group.

Sectoral plans should also set priorities in keeping with the most advantageous ways of fulfilling the objective of improving the situation of women and incorporating them into development.

A general recommendation could be giving preference to using the ordinary programmes offered at the sectoral level and not to try to implement specific programmes aimed at women. Those ordinary programmes, however, should be re-evaluated for the purpose of stimulating the positive aspects they might have for incorporating women and attenuating the negative ones.

It has been stated that the problem of female subordination is cultural; therefore, an attempt should be made to change the dominant culture, which has been one of the policies most lacking until now. Male and female stereotypes should be altered, and text books, television series and advertising should be revised. Only by changing those cultural norms can we really grant women equal opportunities.

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Paper 16

INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO THE INDUSTRIAL  
PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

prepared by

the secretariat of UNIDO

INTRODUCTION

Social prejudices and attitudinal barriers towards women in industrial development and employment exist throughout the world, in particular in developing countries. Economic and cultural concepts tie women to the confines of the home, and they are seldom included in the planning of industrial development and formulation of policies on employment, wages and education. The full involvement of women in industrial development would ensure not only the effective utilization of all available labour but also an improvement in the quality of life of both sexes with a consequential sharing of responsibilities and benefits.

In 1975, the Second General Conference of UNIDO adopted the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation which stated inter alia the need for the full integration of women in social and economic activities and, in particular, the industrialization process, on the basis of equal rights. 1/ This was subsequently restated in the resolution on integration of women in development adopted in May 1975 at the Ninth Session of the Industrial Development Board 2/ which requested the Executive Director of UNIDO to give necessary attention to the integration of women into the process of industrialization and particularly with regard to:

- (a) The importance of securing for women, regardless of their marital status, the same opportunities as are available to men for gainful employment, and the importance of the economic independence derived from such employment for the promotion of the status of women in society;
- (b) Ensuring the fullest possible use of available human resources by incorporating women into training activities linked to industrial development at all levels and for all professional specializations from management to shop floor;

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1/ PI/38, 1975

2/ ID/B/RES. 44 (IX), 1975

- (c) Equal remuneration with men and equality of treatment, in respect of work of equal value, for women in industry;
- (d) The promotion in rural areas of the processing of agricultural products and manufacturing industries, particularly small-scale industries, which will provide regular employment for women in such areas.

As a follow-up to these resolutions, a meeting on the Role of Women in Industrialization in Developing Countries was organized by UNIDO in Vienna from 6 to 10 November 1978 3/. Its main purpose was to review the experiences of developing countries on this subject and to establish guidelines for an action programme at national local levels and a programme of assistance to developing countries to be carried out by UNIDO and other international organizations concerned.

In 1981, UNIDO organized in Sofia, in co-operation with the Government of Bulgaria, a Seminar on the Role of Women in the Development of Industrial Branches Traditionally Employing Female Labour 4/. Its purpose was to study more closely those specific sectors and types of industry which seemed to be employing mostly female labour, analyse the reasons for the female concentration, identify existing problems and make proposals for strategies leading to an improvement of the states of women in these sectors.

Based on the conclusions of these two meetings and on studies prepared by UNIDO, this paper will present the situation of women in the industrial development and planning process and will indicate some recommendations for a programme of action aimed at improving the situation. The paper will conclude with a description of a regional training programme organized by UNIDO to improve the capacities of women in developing industrial strategies and policies which will increase the integration of women in the industrial development process and in the planning and promotion of industrial projects.

#### I. THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN THE INDUSTRIAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

Data on the participation of women in the industrial labour force in developing countries are scarce, and few developing countries developed specific statistics on the employment of women. ILO has collected recent statistics showing the participation of males and females in the industrial sector of the following countries:

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3/ ID/251, 1981.

4/ ID/WG. 351/9, 1981.

Country	Year	Males	Females
Sri Lanka	(1980-81).	380,763	191,284
Kuwait	(1980)	40,226	721
Korea, Republic of	(1981)	1,750,000	1,121,000
Indonesia	(1978)	1,935,531	1,920,029
Bahrain	(1981)	11,112	275
Venezuela	(1981)	539,163	190,218
El Salvador	(1980)	144,115	103,506
Barbados	(1981)	6,800	10,000

Source: Year Book of Labour Statistics, ILO, Geneva, 1982.

The following is a summary of the main issues related to the integration of women in the industrialization process:

(1) The employment of women in the developing countries is confined to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in certain types of industry:

- (i) Industries emanating from sectors in which women have informally acquired the necessary skills in domestic production and which, in general, are related to the basic needs of the family, i.e. food-processing, textiles, garment and other light industries. It is worth mentioning that in this type of industries the introduction of new technologies is progressively displacing women from their jobs without the creation of alternative work. The expansion and modernization of this group of industries has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase of employment opportunities for women.
- (ii) Some export manufacturing industries have been set up in some developing countries by foreign companies, especially transnational corporations, utilizing cheap, female labour. They recruit women because they are the most easily exploited in industries such as electronics, textiles and food-processing.

(2) The evaluation of women's work for the determination of wages generally tends to depress the value of female labour and to give women grades lower than men. This situation is particularly aggravated in industrial branches with a heavy female labour component. The low levels of wages for women workers have a tendency to depress wage levels in the industry for all workers, and also affect general conditions of work.

(3) Labour laws protecting women workers or conferring special privileges on them, and their enforcement, sometimes have an adverse effect on employment opportunities for women because employers are reluctant to implement those laws and privileges, especially under conditions of abundant labour.

(4) The large majority of women do not have adequate education or technical and vocational training. This reduces their bargaining power and limits their opportunities for advancement and adaptation to new technology. Women are rarely given opportunities to take up supervisory and managerial positions. This is a result of both inadequate education and training and of prejudices against women.

(5) Traditional and cultural attitudes and values prevail at all levels - government, enterprise and family - thus constituting a major obstacle to a more active role for women in industry.

(6) The lack of social services such as child-care facilities, public catering, community services and others, restricts women's participation in employment and creates problems in the retention of their jobs and career development.

(7) There is a lack of organization and effective participation of women in trade unions; as a result, women suffer from job insecurity, poor conditions of work and low wages.

(8) There is a lack of women's involvement at all decision-making levels of formulation of industrialization strategies and plans as well as in development and execution of specific industrial development projects, with the result that project ideas developed by women for their own benefit often never reach the decision level and that industrialization plans with adverse effects on women may easily be approved and implemented.

(9) The lack of information on investment opportunities and of available finance have limited possibilities for women to initiate industrial projects.

To give a more concrete picture of the situation, a description will be given of a study published by UNIDO in 1983 entitled "Women in the Development of Textile and Processing Industries" <sup>5/</sup> It contains preliminary case studies and its objectives were to assess existing policies, attitudes and practices that promote or inhibit female participation in the textile and food-processing industries as well as to identify and assess those areas of activity where women have made a major contribution or could increase their contribution significantly. The case studies were also aimed at evaluating the impact of existing and new technologies on that contribution, and to identify the socio-economic factors affecting both the demand and supply of female labour. Finally, the studies were to be action-oriented, outlaying both short-term and long-term policy measures that could augment women's contribution to sectoral growth and, wherever possible, providing concepts and recommendations for specific programmes.

According to the case studies on textile industries in Colombia, Indonesia and the United Republic of Tanzania, women form the predominant part (60-90 per cent) of the labour force in the clothing industry. The proportion of women in the textile industry is generally lower than in the clothing industry. The more technologically advanced and capital intensive the production process is, and the more training required, the smaller the number of women employed. Relatively few women are found in high status/high pay occupational categories;

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<sup>5/</sup> UNIDO/IS. 391, 1983.

they work shorter hours, even on a full-time basis, and rarely qualify for extra payments and premia.

In some developing countries, the textile industry has become capital-intensive, does not any longer absorb a high degree of female labour, and therefore no longer plays the revolutionary role it played in the early days of industrialization in the context of female employment. On the other hand, the more the clothing sector industrializes, the larger the number of women employed. However, though expanding in developing countries, output in these two industries as a whole, is growing at a slower rate than output in the manufacturing sector.

As the pilot studies in Colombia, Indonisia and Tanzania indicate, the textile and clothing industries are of cardinal importance for the employment of women in many countries and great potential exists for expanding and making such employment more remunerative. The assumption that in a number of countries the textile and clothing industries are no longer catalysts of industrial development cannot be generalized, and it should not be permitted to jeopardize the urgent need to ameliorate the present and future position of women in these industries.

The case studies proved that a major constraint on the increased employment of women are the traditional views and cultural bias against women working outside home. Experience and training were mentioned in all countries studies as the most important prerequisite for hiring more women and, even more so, for upgrading their position.

Surveys on the food-processing industry were conducted in Sierra Leone and Thailand. The food-processing and beverage sector does not employ women to the same predominant degree as the textile and clothing industries; in Sierra Leone, women represent 11.5 per cent of the work force, in Thailand 42 per cent.

In Sierra Leone, apart from the lack of education and training facilities for girls and women, guidance on available employment opportunities is lacking. The reluctance of some employers in large enterprises to take female apprentices and employees can be expected to disappear in the future, once women possess the basic educational requirements. For women workers in Thailand, the main problem is not that of taking up employment in the manufacturing, food processing or any other sector, but of improving their occupational status, wages and working conditions.

## II. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A PROGRAMME OF ACTION TO IMPROVE THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION OF WOMEN

The following recommendations could assist Governments of developing countries in formulating strategies, policies, plans and programmes to increase the benefits of industrialization on women:

(1) While planning economic development, national authorities should take specific notice of women as an integral part of the economic system, with

particular emphasis on industrialization, and adopt policies so that:

- (i) In economies which are in the initial process of industrial development, women are gradually included in all branches of industry ab initio, without "crowding into a limited number of branches;
  - (ii) In economies which are already in the process of industrialization and are passing from one level of technology to another, women do not get displaced but are retained in the same branches or are redeployed in branches that may not be traditionally "female";
  - (iii) In economies at more advanced stages of industrialization, a proper "mix" of female and male labour is established, eliminating undue concentrations of women in certain branches, and thus facilitating their entry into non-traditional activities;
- (2) In the identification of national priority industries - small, medium - and large-scale - Governments should examine their present criteria to select projects that will improve their living conditions, taking into account technology, product design and marketing organization. Industries oriented to household labour-saving devices that would increase women's free time and facilitate their entry into the job market, should be given high priority.
- (3) Measures should be taken to ensure equal access by women to all forms and levels of education and training, particularly:
- (i) To eliminate illiteracy among women;
  - (ii) To provide adequate formal education, including training in occupational skills which can be used both in self-employment and wage-employment;
  - (iii) To provide vocational training in all fields, especially those areas which traditionally do not employ women;
  - (iv) To provide training and retraining to ensure upgrading of skills, including technical and managerial skills, to facilitate women's adaptation to changed technical and technological modernized methods of production;
  - (v) To provide appropriate vocational and career guidance so as to direct women towards productive and permanent industrial employment.
- (4) Priority should be given to the building up of the socio-economic infrastructure, including health, sanitation, housing and communication, to improve the quality of life for women and, hence, their potential for effective economic contribution.

(5) Special emphasis should be placed on industrial projects in the rural areas, preferably utilizing local raw materials, to provide year-round employment opportunities and ensure continuation of existing rural activities for women living in those areas.

(6) In accordance with national and local conditions, the setting-up of organizations such as co-operatives should be promoted to enable women to continue, or undertake viable, gainful industrial employment including self-employment.

(7) Policy and legislative measures should be adopted and implemented to ensure the improvement of working conditions for women, including safety and hygiene regulations, welfare amenities and maternity leave. Efforts should be made to ensure that undue application of such protective measures do not produce counter-effects on women's employment opportunities.

(i) Legislation should be enacted to ensure that women are not discriminated against in employment and, where legislation already exists, it should be effectively enforced;

(ii) The placement of women in industries should be regularly monitored to ensure that positions due to them are not denied because of prejudices, particularly in labour-surplus situations.

(8) Governments should control and regulate the policies and practices of transnational corporations, especially those employing women workers, and should rectify any discriminatory or exploitative practices.

(9) National authorities should consciously promote attitudinal chances to give women access to managerial positions in the production hierarchy, without confining them to the lowest categories of workers. This may be done by involving workers, trade unions, and other social organizations in the management.

(10) Women's participation in trade unions should be encouraged by making them more aware of their rights in order to increase their bargaining power in industry.

(11) A strong network of supportive services such as child-care facilities should be regarded as the responsibility of national Governments, and child-care centres should be established to help working mothers and encourage others to undertake employment.

(12) Credit facilities and marketing facilities should be made accessible to women to encourage their entrepreneurship.

(13) Governments should adopt and ensure the effective enforcement of national and international instruments to guarantee an equitable status for women in employment.

(14) Governments should strengthen their efforts to eliminate all forms of discrimination in the traditional society, which have prevented women from participating as an active element in production, especially in industry.

(15) Governments should create or strengthen special assistance units for women industrialists and entrepreneurs, particularly in small- and medium-scale industries. Such units would assist women in the selection of technology appropriate to local conditions and in the preparation of projects for loan applications. The units should also undertake continuing studies of measures designed to improve productivity and working conditions.

(16) (i) At the national level, women should be associated with the decisions at all stages of formulation, planning and implementation of industries, including designing, planning of pre-investment and operations at all levels:

- (a) Executive, including public service;
- (b) Judicial, including industrial tribunals and quasi-judicial bodies;
- (c) Legislative;
- (d) Industrial boards and boards of directors of state-owned enterprises.

(ii) At the local level, women should be encouraged to participate in local councils and appropriate municipal boards;

(iii) At the enterprise level, women should be encouraged to participate in planning, decision-making and management in industrial enterprises, chambers of commerce and industry, professional bodies and unions. Where there are no unions, women should participate in unionization.

(17) For proper industrial planning, data should be extracted on the actual contribution of women in the industrialization process.

### III. UNIDO REGIONAL WORKSHOPS ON THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE INDUSTRIAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

In 1982, UNIDO organized in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, a first regional Seminar on the participation of women in the industrial planning and development process for women of the Sahelian countries (Cape Verde, Chad, Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta).

A second seminar was organized in 1983 in Luanda, Angola for the African Portuguese speaking countries (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe).

Other similar seminars are planned for 1984 in Sri Lanka for the Asian countries and in Trinidad and Tobago for the Caribbean Countries.

The overall objective of these seminars is to increase the benefits of the industrialization process for the role and conditions of women and to

reach the complete integration of women into the industrial planning and development process. More specifically, the immediate objectives are:

- (i) To upgrade the capacities of the participants in developing industrial strategies, policies, plans and projects which will increase the participation of women in the industrialization process.
- (ii) To exchange experiences on the impact of industrial development on the conditions of women;
- (iii) To formulate proposals for appropriate policies and programmes which will increase the participation of women in industrial development and improve the impact of industrialization on the conditions of women.

The seminars include lectures and discussions in small working groups on the following topics:

- (i) Impact of industrial development on the socio-economic conditions of women;
- (ii) Role and conditions of women in the industrial sector;
- (iii) Formulation of strategies and policies to increase the benefits of industrialization for women and, in particular:
  - (a) Identification of industrial sectors and programmes which will be of benefit to women with regard to employment and living conditions;
  - (b) Legislative measures to protect and improve the conditions of female employment;
  - (c) Training programme to upgrade the entrepreneurial and managerial capacities of women;
  - (d) Development of technologies suitable to women;
  - (e) Easier access to credit facilities;
  - (f) Assistance to women on preparation and implementation of industrial projects.
- (iv) Preparation of specific industrial programmes and projects which will improve the conditions of women, in particular in rural areas;
- (v) Integration of women in the industrial planning and decision-making process: role of women in national, regional and local administration; role of women's organizations.

Paper 17

INCORPORATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT PLANNING: PERU

By

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Background data

Location:	West Coast of South America
Area:	1,285,215.6 Km <sup>2</sup> .
Population:	17,005,210 (National Census 1981). 65 per cent live in urban areas.
Rate of Population Growth:	Almost 3 per cent per year.
Average fecundity:	6.4 children per women; children desired, 2.8.
Races:	"mestizo", black, oriental and white.
History:	In the XV Century: Inca Empire From XVI Century to 1821: Spain's Colony From 1821 to the present: Republic
Economy:	Based on exportation of raw materials and agriculture.
Currency:	sun ("sol"). (US\$ 1 = S/2,270 soles. Rate of exchange: November 25 1983).
Languages:	Spanish, quechua, aymara, and various languages spoken in the Amazon jungle.
Infant mortality:	Average 101 to 114 per thousand live-born; in the capital city 82 per thousand, in Acomayo (Cuzco) 300 per thousand.
Life expectancy:	Average 56 years.
Caloric intake:	Average 1,900 calories (FAO report).

## I. SOCIOECONOMIC DETERMINANTS

### 1. Education

The National Census of 1981 found that the total population of 5 years of age and more that does not know how to read was 3,051,830; of these 36.4 per cent were men and 63.4 per cent were women.

Whatever the setting - urban or rural - and whatever the age group, women illiterates outnumber men. In some rural areas illiteracy among adult women is almost universal. While the overall illiteracy rate has dropped notably over the last decades (it was 58 per cent in 1940), there is reason to believe that, in terms of absolute numbers, the problem has remained stationary in the female population of impoverished rural zones. Illiterate mothers are reproducing illiterate daughters.

Why should this be so? Why is the formal education system not effectively reaching rural women and girls with minimal reading and writing skills? The issue is not lack of schools. Rural school children may not have benches to sit on, but there is room on the floor. Nor is the issue really one of parental attitudes that define girls as less able or less in need of schooling. Basic schooling thought to be important for all. Parents do not, however, have high expectations for their daughters. They give conscious priority to their sons, whom they feel will, with greater probability, be able to lift the family out of poverty by becoming a ticket collector on a rural bus line, then possibly bus driver; by becoming an itinerant peddler; or, with luck and a well-placed sponsor, by becoming a factory worker or clerk in one of the provincial capitals. Rural parents are aware that a girl's city god-parents can not be realistically expected to do more for her than place her in domestic service.

The education that is offered to rural children has little direct relevance to their present or future lives. Peasant women of the Andes play an important role in agricultural production and dominate many of the skills necessary for preparing the soil, planting and caring for crops, storing processing and marketing the product. Young girls are likely as young boys to be found pasturing the family's small herd of domestic animals, yet the schools texts and the school teachers operate under traditional Western patriarchal assumptions of women's roles as restricted to the home and family.

In rural areas, men are more than twice as likely as women to have completed primary school; and more than twice as likely as women to have completed secondary school. The differentials are not as great in Lima as other urban areas but it is useful to keep in mind what is the level of educational attainment of poor urban women. A typical educational profile for a shanty, or squatter community in Lima might be that discovered in a 1978 investigation of child care needs. <sup>1/</sup> Some 16 per cent of the women were

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<sup>1/</sup> Anderson, Jeannine; Figueroa, Banca; and Mariñez, Ana. Child Care in Urban and Rural Perú. Washington D.C. Overseas Education Fund. 1981.

illiterate; 42 per cent were functional illiterates with only one to three years of primary school; approximately one-third had completed their primary school education; and 11 per cent had at least begun secondary school.

It is interesting to examine the other extreme of educational attainment to estimate women's access to the professions and specialized training. In Peru, there is a sprinkling of women in all the professions: medicine, law, architecture, engineering, economics, accounting, social science, the arts. Some professions are the almost exclusive domain of women; social work, nursing. This is a typical pattern for Western societies. Peru departs from the usual pattern in the high proportion of men to be found among primary and secondary school teachers. Some areas of the country with large rural populations have more male than female primary teachers. There are signs that, as more employment opportunities open up for rural men, teaching will increasingly become identified as a 'woman's profession'.

The statistics that reflect women's access to university and technical training should be interpreted with this fact in mind: women are not evenly distributed over all the specialities. Overall, 30 per cent of matriculated university students are women. In the field of education, they account for 46 per cent of the total enrolment in science programmes 31 per cent of the total; in medicine (nursing, obstetrics, and pharmacology included) they comprise 30 per cent of total students; in the humanities, women comprise 26 per cent and in engineering and architecture, 6 per cent of the total.

In terms of numbers there were, according to the latest official figures (1973), 45,865 women enrolled in Peru's approximately thirty universities and professional schools, in contrast to 104,570 men. 2/

The following table shows the educational level of the population of 15 years of age and more taking into account the sex factor. 3/

Educational level	Men	Women
Any education	9.2	23.3
Pre-school and incomplete primary	26.5	24.9
Complete primary	18.8	16.4
Incomplete secondary	19.6	15.0
Complete secondary	13.8	11.9
Higher education, non-university	3.5	3.5
Higher education, university	8.6	5.0
Percentage total	100.0%	100.0%
Total	4,714,149	4,889,001

2/ Anderson, Jeanine and Figueroa, Blanca. *Women in Perú. Change, International Reports: Women and Society*. Printed by Calvert's North Star Press. London 1981.

3/ Montero, Carmen. *Ser pobre y ser mujer*. Auto-educación No.6, Revista de Educación Popular. Year III, No.6. Lima, April-June 1983.

## 2. Employment

"In the period 1940-1961 the population grew by 59.6 per cent; the Economically Active Population (EAP) grew by only 44.6 per cent. In this period, the total population grew 1.27 times faster than the Economically Active Population. This tendency has continued in the period 1961-1972 in an accentuated form because total population growth was 1.46 times faster than the E.A.P. 4/

In the National Census of 1981 we observe that the working population of 6 years of age and more shows the following percentages by sex. 5/

	Men	Women
Blue Collar Worker: Public	5.8%	1.6%
Private	16.8%	5.0%
Social property firms	5.2%	1.83%
White-collar workers: Public	10.0%	17.0%
Private	7.70%	10.7%
Social property firms	0.8%	0.8%
Self-employed workers	44.7%	29.5%
Employer/owner	1.2%	0.6%
Unremunerated workers	3.9%	13.1%
Home worker	0.8%	13.5%
Not specified	2.5%	6.38%

With respect to the sector in which the female workers are employed, the National Census of 1981 informs us of the following:

Agriculture	23%
Manufacturing	11%
Service sector (commerce, services, home workers, etc.)	53.7%
Not specified	11%

In the same 1981 Census we see that the salary difference by sex at the national level is S/.60,000 for men and S/.49,000 sols for women. The

5/ Situación de la mujer en el trabajo, No.2. Promoción Cultural "Creatividad y Cambio". Quilca 431. 1983.

difference is more pronounced at the level of Lima: the average is S/.148,333 for men and S/.84,457 for women. In terms of medians (50%) we find that men earn S/.123,904 and women earn S/.62,576.

In relation to unemployment, the Census reports the following for males and females in the Department of Lima:

Unemployment in Lima	Men	Women
Total unemployment	5.4%	11.2%
Under-employment	27.75%	37.8%
Employment	72.9%	51.0%

At the national level, in July 1981, the unemployment rate was 60.1 per cent for men (147,421), and 39.9 per cent for women (98,195). At the level of Metropolitan Lima, hidden unemployment can be observed in the years 1976 to 1980 through the Household Surveys carried out by the General Office of Employment of the Ministry of Labour:

	76	77	78	79	80
Men	44.5%	41.6%	35.0%	34.4%	30.9%
Women	55.5%	58.4%	65.0%	65.6%	69.15%

Even in the most favourable employment market which the country has to offer - the city of Lima - women are to be found almost exclusively in three kinds of employment: services (mainly domestic service), commerce (street and market vending), and factory work. Their work is clearly carried on in what has been analysed as the 'informal sector'. They are essentially self-employed or independent workers not covered by minimum wage laws, cost-of-living related salary readjustments, social security, or stability of employment laws.

It is important to note that women's employment in industry has been falling proportionally over the past years. Their educational disadvantage is increasingly costing them opportunities in the industrial sector, with its ever-rising requirements for skilled labour. Furthermore, protectionist legislation (child-care services in work centres which employ more than 20 women, no night work for women or minors, no assignments classified as dangerous), while not effectively enforced, discourages the hiring of women.

The types of occupation in which women predominate - especially domestic service - are, of course, those which are characterized by the lowest pay. With educational level held constant, women's earnings are approximately half

those of men.<sup>6/</sup> With primary school education, the ratio in favour of men is 13:6. With secondary education, the ratio is 15:10. Among college-educated men and women, the ratio is 25:16. For men, the differential between having a high school and having some university education brings the greatest return in terms of increased income: 59 per cent more. For women, it is the difference between primary and secondary school which brings the greatest return: a 99 per cent improvement in median income for those women who have achieved more than a primary education.

It is impossible to talk about salary differentials in the agrarian sector, where family enterprises are the rule. Here it is women's participation in the productive process which is drastically undervalued. While Census figures estimate that fewer than 10 per cent of rural women are economically active in agriculture, field studies by Carmen Diana Deere and Pilar Campana find 60 per cent or more to be full-time employed in the working of small farms. Often they are sole managers of the farms. Their husbands and older sons are forced to migrate in search of salaried work in construction, mining, or street vending in the cities. Even with their husbands present, most rural women are responsible for marketing whatever produce is to be sold and for managing the family dispensary. Women separate seed grain from what is to be consumed or sold; they make or share in decisions as to what shall be invested in insecticides and fertilizers.

Rural women's productive activities are thoroughly mixed with their domestic responsibilities. They care for guinea pigs and hens at the homestead and sell eggs or slaughter the animals for family rituals or for sale as need arises. They exchange a few kilogrammes of potatoes to replenish their supply of matches and kerosene. They (or their children) herd sheep and alpacas and process the wool both for manufacturing the family's clothes and blankets and for weaving shawls and ponchos for sale. They are almost always to be seen with their hands occupied in spinning wool.

### 3. Health

The cultural Promotion Center "Creatividad y Cambio" in its Bulletin on Health offer the following statistics: <sup>7/</sup>

- 1) Mortality rate: 12.1 per 1,000  
Each day 12 persons die from tuberculosis.
- 2) Maternal-infant mortality: 40 per 10,000 live-born  
Maternal health services cover only  
20 per cent of mothers.  
120 children under 1 year of age die per 1,000 live-born.  
The principal causes of infant mortality are parasitical and  
infectious diseases (62.6 per cent).

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<sup>6/</sup> Flores Medina, Rosa. Características de la mano de obra femenina en Lima Metropolitana; Análisis de las diferencias salariales. Separately edited by Perú-Mujer in mimeograph. Lima 1981.

<sup>7/</sup> Bulletin "Alternativas", No.11. La Salud. Promoción Cultural "Creatividad y Cambio". Jr. Quilca 431. Lima 1983.

- 3) Nutrition: Protein-caloric malnutrition affects 44.5 per cent of the population.
- 4) Environmental sanitation: Only 33 per cent of the population has potable water; only 27 percent of the population has a sewer system.

Access to health services in Perú is highly conditioned both by geographical location and by social stratification. Earlier we alluded to the extreme concentration of health specialists in Lima. The same situation is true regarding maternal-infant health services, despite an official policy of attention to pregnant women and new borns on a free and universal basis. The budget, facilities, and personnel assigned to carry out this objective are simply inadequate.

Most Peruvian women give birth without having seen a doctor or obstetrician during their pregnancy, and most Peruvian babies are born with a midwife in attendance. There have been some useful efforts to equip traditional rural midwives with scissors and sterilizers and basic training for non-routine childbirths. The high rates of infant mortality and relatively high incidence of maternal death in childbirth might be attributed more to malnutrition than to any immediate cause. Pregnant women continue their work in the fields, in the household, the market, as domestics. Poor women in the large cities must squeeze into the jammed buses that evacuate the working population from the heart of the city to its outlying shanty bedroom communities, whatever their condition. Most families cannot afford an enriched diet for a pregnant female member, nor are there incontrovertible cultural beliefs which would impose this obligation on them. There are, in fact, beliefs which reduce women's consumption of some nutritious foods during pregnancy.

The frequency of complications in childbirth is also partly the result of the youth of the mothers. Some Peruvian women of near 15 years of age have already borne their first child. Many of these are young girls who migrate from the countryside into domestic service in the cities, and who are easily exploited by the patron or the teenage son of the patron. Their children are born in abandonment and even disgrace. In the jungle region, cultural patterns favour early unions for girls. In the Andes, the economic complementarity of the sexes encourages early marriage.

Beside nutritional deficiencies, the most serious health problem faced by Peruvian women is indisputably that of controlling and spacing births. The World Fertility Survey carried out in Peru as in several other countries of the world in 1978, found that 80 per cent of all women say they have more children than they desired to have.

The incidence of abortion is believed to be extremely high. Since abortion is a crime in Peru, accurate statistics are not available. The complication of or death caused by abortion are registered and are very frequent. Middle-class and upper-class women pay dearly for semi-clandestine abortions performed in the offices of private doctors. Poor women put their faith in herbs, pills, shots, various brews and infusions, and when these fail, resort to cheap abortionists under unsanitary conditions.

The Peruvian government, caught between the pressures of a powerful Catholic church and recognition of its own inability to provide services to a rapidly growing population, has wavered continuously in its policies with respect to birth control. Gynaecologists and obstetricians on private salaries openly encourage birth control, but they charge very high fees for their services. An IUD with a private doctor could cost around US\$30. Information about family planning is rarely available to marginal people and services are generally not very good.

The major factor which precludes women from the benefits of health services is their exclusion from the formal job market. This is so because most services are distributed through the social security system and most women, self-employed or housewives, are not eligible. Recently wives and new-born children of workers have been brought under coverage. This coverage is not very effective, however, since the capacity of all the major social security clinics and hospitals is absurdly over-extended. In any case, these facilities are located too far away from the neighbourhood for them to receive much use by the families of manual workers. They are located within reach of middle-class, white-collar workers, who are, furthermore, those best able to deal with the complicated forms and bureaucratic labyrinths involved in making use of their services.

What, then, can a poor women expect to receive from a public health post? She can expect to wait between 1 and 3 hours before she is seen by the doctor; she can expect a brief, competent examination; and she can expect a written prescription whereby she can purchase generic drugs at a 'social medicine' distribution point. She will have to be very lucky, however, to find her prescription in stock. Certain products (drugs for tuberculosis patients, formula milk for babies) disappear from the shelves within hours of delivery. The demand is far greater than can be met, and families who cannot afford pharmacy, brand-name prices, simply go without.

#### 4. Services

Enough has been said to make it clear that women's access to all manner of social services is very limited - except for those few most privileged. For the great majority, not born to great wealth, the chances of completing a secondary level education are very slim; the chances of safely delivering a healthy baby and raising it to school age free of malnutrition and disease are slight. The chances of finding stable work are minimal and the chances that their work be fairly remunerated almost nil.

Some types of services especially relevant to women are almost completely lacking in Peru. Child care is available at a high price to middle-class, white-collar workers. Only a very few poor neighbourhoods or factories boast minimally equipped daycare centres. Charitable operations are dependent upon donations of food by international agencies to meet their costs. Women who work with their children are those who suffer most from the shortage of public transportation. They may extend their hours away from home simply to avoid rush hours. Cases of infants crushed to death on crowded buses are not unknown and, in any case, a mother with children does not have the same opportunity of riding half-way to the door as does a man.

Irrationalities in the distribution of food, cooking fuel, and essential household items especially affect women as chief purchasers for their families. The periodic shortages of basic food items force women to be constantly alert for markets or stores that might have part of what they need momentarily in stock. Even middle-class women do this constant reconnoitring of potential supply points. Women are red-tape experts in Peru. They are usually the family representative for bureaucratic affairs: paying taxes, matriculating children in school, and locating the necessary forms to solve the next problem.

Women in charge of children and staying in general closer to home, are especially affected by the lack of recreational services. They must choose between keeping a child pent up in a two-room inner city apartment or sending him out to play in the street. In the outlying squatter settlements they watch children whose only entertainment is sifting through sand for bottle caps and who crawl between heaps of garbage. Even the poorest urban neighbourhoods usually boast an asphalted soccer field, as rural villages clear a level plot for Sunday soccer matches between their men's team and the neighbouring village. But, women do not play soccer. Migrants from the countryside to the barren desert hills of the coastal cities speak with nostalgia of the wild flowers and greenery they have left behind.

Women are impeded from using some services by their lack of information and low educational level. They are unaware of some health services technically available to them, for example. They are impeded from using others because of their high cost: legal services, for example. Free female labour, for poor families, keeps to a minimum the family's expenditures on food and clothes. Women invest hours in cleaning tiny stones and chaff out of beans wheat, and rice; they shell peas and clean fish and grind spices in small mortars. They buy bones or tripe at the market and cook cheap, nutritious soups. They repair clothes until they will not sustain another patch. They spend time searching for the cheapest school uniforms, payable in the greatest number of installments. They trade old basins and buy second-hand toys and shoes. They walk long distances to find a spool of thread at a slightly lower price.

What do women do to compensate for the lack of social services? What 'survival strategies' do they fall back on when the State or formal institutions fail to provide the essential conditions for maintenance of the family? Most women are active participants in informal networks of family, neighbours, and friends, according to the anthropologist Marianne Schmink. Members of these networks exchange the information, goods, and services necessary - in the case of the most fortunate - for a measure of social mobility. A woman who faces the urgent need of leaving her children while she rushes to pay the water bill searches among the members of her informal network for another woman that can care for them. Informal networks compensate for the irregularity of income. A woman whose husband is temporarily employed in a construction gang, for example, makes a loan to a neighbour whose husband is temporarily out of work. When in the following month the tables are turned, the neighbour returns the favour. Women locate jobs for husbands and other family members in the information they pick up from other women in their informal networks. Their intense relationships with female friends and relatives compensate women for

their frequently troubled relationships with their male compañeros.

## II. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

### 1. Public institutions

It is necessary to refer to two governmental institutions which, although no longer in existence, show the concern of the Peruvian government, at a certain period, for the situation of women.

During the revolutionary government of Juan Velasco Alvarado, in 1972, the General Law of Education was promulgated. Article 11 of the Law requires that educational programmes be oriented to improving the status of women. In February 1973, by Supreme Decree No. 16-72-ED, the By-Laws for Improving the Status of Women were adopted. Among their stipulations was one which indicated that "educational activities which are directed to improving the status of women by any of the various sectors of government must conform to an overall policy and will be co-ordinated by the Permanent Commission for the Co-ordination of Educational Action, for which purpose the Commission will constitute a special Technical Committee". Thus was COTREM (Technical Committee for Improving the Status of Women) established. Members of the Committee were drawn from representatives of the Ministries of Health, Labour, Education, Transportation and Communications. Also members were representatives of SINAMOS (an organization responsible for social mobilization activities), the Peruvian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO, as well as other representatives designated by the Permanent Commission for Co-ordination.

One year after the creation of COTREM, the government, aware that the United Nations would move to recommend the creation of mechanisms for ensuring the improvement of the situation of women in the various countries of the world, decided to create an organism whose scope would go beyond that of COTREM and which could effectively stimulate the participation and development of Peruvian women at the national level. Thus, it was that in December 1974, by Decree Law No. 21045, the National Commission on Peruvian Women (CONAMUP) was established; CONAMUP was organized as an autonomous entity which reported directly to the President's office.

The Commission's objectives are to:

- (a) Formulate and submit recommendations to the President of the Nation and at the national level in relation to issues concerning women, in concordance with the National Development Plan;
- (b) Propose to the national government the legal provisions which are required for meeting the objectives assigned to the Commission for extending the rights of women;
- (c) Stimulate, guide, and organize congresses, forums, seminars, and other events related to the objectives of the Commission;
- (d) Co-ordinate the activities of all women's organizations in Peru,

promoting their participation in the economic, social, and cultural development of Peru;

- (e) Be vigilant in the elimination of all discriminatory treatment which might compromise the rights and dignity of women;
- (f) Propose to the national Government the persons who will represent the Commission before international organizations, and in conferences, forums, seminars, and other events which require its official presence; and
- (g) Contribute to the improvement of friendly relations among the peoples of the world, co-operation among nation States, and the strengthening of peace. 8/

The president of the CONAMUP should have been the wife of the national president. Ms. Consuelo de Velasco declined the office and the responsibility was assumed by Ms. Marita Cavassa de Valdes. In 1975, under the direction of Ms. Valdes, CONAMUP drew up the proposals which were presented on behalf of the Peruvian government in the conferences organized for the International Women's Year in Mexico (by the United Nations) and in East Berlin (by the socialist bloc countries). The position of Peru in these conferences was a most progressive one. On the theoretical level, in these and other projects under-taken by the CONAMUP, Peru showed a broadly progressive stance in its policies towards women. In practice, however, the proposals of CONAMUP were never carried out. On August 29, 1975, General Velasco was deposed by General Morales Bermudez, and the "second phase" of the military government began.

During 1976 the activities of COTREM declined. Gradually, changes were introduced within the Ministry of Education which minimized its possibilities for action. The Commission was legally annulled in 1982 under the new General Education Law. CONAMUP, on the other hand, went through a process of gradual disbanding during 1976, with the specialists assigned to it ordered one by one to return to their original institutions. CONAMUP was later transferred to SINAMOS, and finally, in 1977, it was officially dissolved.

The years went by, and on May 25, 1983, under the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry, Supreme Decree No. 016-83-JUS was promulgated, according to which the Office of Women was established as a consulting organ to the General Department of Justice of the Ministry of Justice.

Named as director of this Office was Ms. Nita Gamio de Barrenechea. In a personal interview (November 1983) Ms. Barrenechea indicated that the functions of the Office of Women are to:

- (a) Protect the constitutional rights of women
- (b) Formulate, propose, and co-ordinate policies and action for the promotion of women.

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8/ Diagnóstico social jurídico de la Mujer en el Peru. Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo (C.E.P.D.). Printed in Talleres of ITAL PERU S.A. Lima 1979.

- (c) Execute and promote studies and research in relation to the situation and status of women in Peru, and disseminate such information, as well as sistematizing pertinent legislation.
- (d) Elaborate and carry out, where appropriate, pilot projects related to the situation and status of women in accordance with constitutional stipulations.
- (e) Stimulate the promulgation of legal and normative instruments directed at achieving the integral development of women.
- (f) Express opinions on issues concerning the situation and condition of women in Peru.
- (g) Disseminate and inform regarding the rights and values of women as a means of projecting a true image of women as persons, mothers, workers, and members of the community.
- (h) Other objectives as may be designated by the General Director of Justice and the Minister's office.

Ms. Barrenechea informed us that the Office of Women is currently at a stage of organization and implementation and that, for this reason, it will only begin to carry out actions towards fulfilling the functions it has been assigned as of 1984.

Three other entities exist which, although indirectly, concern themselves with the situation of women. All three also belong to the justice sector of the government.

- (a) National Commission on Minors and the Family. This is the policy-making organ for social welfare programs directed at minors and the family in Peru. The President of the Commission is the Minister of Justice, working in direct co-ordination with the Ministers of Health, Education, and Labour, with INABIF, the private sector (professional associations of doctors, lawyers, social workers) and the Church. Outside the capital city of Lima there are 24 departamental Commissions on Minors and the Family.
- (b) Department of Family Welfare. This is the technical secretariat of the National Commission on Minors and the Family. The secretariat, in co-ordination with the Office of Planning of the Justice sector, has elaborated the document "Plan of Action of the National Commission on Minors and the Family, 1983-1984." The Plan contemplates action which considers women as part of the mother-child bond. Priority attention is to be given to mothers in urban-marginal and rural populations regarding health, nutrition, work opportunities and social promotion. Various programmes are to be executed in these different sectors.
- (c) National Institute of Family Welfare (INABIF). This is the executive organ for policies on minors and the family in circumstances of

abandonment and anti-social behaviour. The activities of INABIF are based on the "Departmental programme for promotion of the family in operative units located in urban-marginal areas for 1983-84". Programmes of vocational training are offered as well as educational programmes intended to raise the level of living within the family.

Finally, we should mention that in Peru there is a Co-operative Committee with the Interamerican Commission on Women (CIM) of the Organization of American States, a specialized intergovernmental organization.

## 2. Private institutions

Among private institutions which devote themselves to bettering the situation of Peruvian women we find institutions of seven different types. We will indicate the names of a few which exemplify each different type at the risk of omitting many because of space limitations.

### (a) Professional associations:

The associations of the various professions such as obstetricians, doctors, nurses, pharmacists, executive secretaries.

### (b) Civic, social welfare, cultural, and sports associations; National Council of Women (grouping several women's organizations and affiliated to the International Council of Women): Women's Committee of the Peruvian Red Cross; Association Home of the Mothers; National Association of Girl Scouts; Movement for the Rights of Women; Creative and Change; Lilith Editions; The Women's Bookstore; the magazine Woman and Society.

### (c) Research and development institutions;

Centre for Research and Popular Promotion (CENDIPP); Asociación "Perú-Mujer".

### (d) Regional associations:

Women's committees of the various provincial clubs as well as women's committees (women's councils or mothers' clubs of urban "young towns" (urban-marginal sectors).

### (e) Religious associations:

Parish-level women's committees: religious sisterhoods, and female congregations.

### (f) Organizations of the political parties:

Women's committees of the different political parties. Outstanding for its activity is the Popular Union of Women (branch of the Peruvian communist party).

### (g) Feminist groups:

Centre for Peruvian Women "Flora Tristan"; Movement "Manuela Ramos":

Movement for the Promotion of women; Collective "The Other Side of the Moon": Autonomous Women's Group; Maria Alvarado Institute.

### III. FORMAL AND INFORMAL SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY: POLICY DESIGN AND PLANNING

The Peruvian model of political economy, during the last three years of the present regime, has been directed towards combatting inflation, on the hand and, on the other, reactivating the economy, with primary emphasis placed on the first.

In relation to the formal sector of the economy, there has been an effort to adjust salary levels to keep up with inflation, without this goal having been achieved. With 1972 for comparison, the real purchasing power of salaried workers has suffered a reduction of 35 to 40 per cent. In addition, even while per capital average incomes have risen, improved salaries are very selectively distributed. There has been a process of making the poor poorer and the rich richer. As to employment, there has been a reduction in the number of available jobs due to a reduced capacity to absorb labour-water. At present (1982-83) the regression of the Peruvian economy in terms of absorption of workers in the modern sector is equivalent to a 10 year loss. <sup>9/</sup>

No overall plans have been developed for the informal sector. What is observed is the indirect effect of policies: as salaries go up, demand is created for products and services offered in the informal sector (induced demand).

Specific plans for women do not exist in either sector of the economy. With an increasing economic crisis the response of women has been an ever-greater presence in informal sector employment.

It is interesting to observe the mode of involvement of women in the informal sector. In this connection, economist Juan Nonura has pointed out that female migration to the City of Lima has contributed enormously to the expansion and development of an informal sector employment market. "Seventy-five per cent of the migrant female labor force, including those women in domestic service, is involved in informal activities, in a proportion superior to the 46.3 per cent of the economically-active male migrant population similarly occupied in the non-organized sector".<sup>10/</sup> The same high proportion of women working in the informal sector is found in the principal cities of Peru, which differ from Lima only in that there a majority of men are also employed in this sector, according to Nonura.

Juan Nonura indicates some policies which might be applied to the informal sector and which, even though they do not directly refer to women, would have important consequences for them. We feel it is important to mention these recommendations:

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<sup>9/</sup> Information provided by the economist Carlos Wendorff.

<sup>10/</sup> Nonura, Juan. La inserción de los migrantes en el mercado de trabajo urbano. Paper presented in the Seminar Población y empleo en Lima Metropolitana. Ministerio de trabajo. Lima, October 26-28, 1983.

"These policies fall within two large areas: that of general policies affecting potential migration and migration in transit, and that of special policies with respect to migrants that arrive to the capital. All must be considered within a national policy on internal migration.

1, Overall guidelines: The basic objective of these guidelines is to achieve a reduction in regional imbalances and the excessive economic concentration in the capital city, since this is a main cause for migration towards Metropolitan Lima. These changes should be achieved through a process of integrated planning to involve the various sectors of government, ministries, and responsible organizations as well as the private sector on decentralization. In the process of co-ordination a more active role should be played by the Ministry of Labour and Social Promotion, given the priority necessarily to be assigned to objectives in population and employment within the overall political economy of the Peruvian State.

2. Guidelines for special policies to provide support to immigrants to Metropolitan Lima: given the disadvantages experienced by migrants in comparison to the native-born with respect to incorporation and mobility in the metropolitan labour market, special policies should be designed for cohorts of migrants which are in a particularly unfavourable position, namely, young recently arrived migrants and women migrants in general.

"Four programmes for assistance are suggested:

- a) Information and orientation service for migrants.
- b) Social support services for migrants.
- c) Education and vocational training services.
- d) Services directed at improving working conditions".

Expressing the position of the Government, Alberto Felipe La Hoz, Vice-Minister for Social Promotion of the Ministry of Labour, stated the following in October 1983:

It will not be in the formal sector, but in the informal sector, where new employment will be generated, in the most elementary kinds of business organizations. The generation of new enterprises through this kind of promotion, typical small businesses and micro enterprises, permits development not only in the capital city but in the various regions of the country as well. It then becomes necessary to establish:

- a) A programme for stimulating the creation of new enterprises, particularly community-based enterprises, for implementation in strategic poles of urban development.
- b) A programme at the regional level, to include joint action with development agencies, with the formulation, in certain cases, of emergency plans for generating employment in regions affected by natural disasters such as floods in the north and drought in the south of Peru". 11/

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11/ La Hoz. Alberto Felipe. Las políticas de promoción social y la calidad de vida. Paper presented in the Seminar Población y empleo en Lima Metropolitana. Ministerio de Trabajo. Lima, October 26-28, 1983.

One of the greatest difficulties with regard to women's involvement in small businesses and micro-enterprises is their disadvantage, compared to men, in their knowledge of administration and business management and their more limited access to sources of credit. We must take into account the educational deficiencies of women and their habits of deferring to men in decision-making situations.

#### IV. LEGAL AND ATTITUDINAL CONSTRAINTS

Peru's Civil Code states that the husband establishes the residence of the married couple and the wife is forced to follow him. It also states that the husband is responsible for the maintenance of the household and that the wife may work, if her husband agrees. Otherwise she will have to establish before a court of law the urgent need the family has for her supplementary income. The Code states that the wife's obligation is to personally care of the house and family. Property that is accumulated after the couple is married is equally the property of both, and property acquired before marriage continues to be held separately. The husband, however, is legally recognized as chief administrator of all property; the only thing he cannot do is sell the property without the wife's permission.

Upon this rather rigid legal framework depends a variety of specific familial arrangements. Middle-class and wealthy women do not attend personally to the household (except in a managerial sense) and sometimes not even to their children. They have domestics who do it. The great majority of poor women work at some productive activity whether their husbands like it or not. They may only take the husband's opinion into account in deciding what kind of work they will do, on what kind of schedule, since he will probably have to share in the care of the children, and possibly in the housework as well.

For the great majority of the poor, the place of residence is probably decided by circumstances. The wife may, in fact, play a principal role in considering the possibilities, since she is closer to the grapevine of information about new 'invasions' to be tried, or someone who is moving out of a desirable apartment. The issue of property is more important for rural families than for the urban proletariat, whose possibilities of accumulation are severely limited. Rural families, following customary law, do indeed distribute their small plots equally to children of both sexes. Married daughters manage their lands quite independently in many Andean areas, planting and harvesting according to their own decision. In this sense, it is worth noting that the movement towards co-operatives and agrarian 'social property' schemes of the 1970s was regressive for women who are not recognized as legal members of the co-operatives except as widows and only until the eldest son is 18 years old.

The type of family envisaged by the Civil Code is a very idealized one. The extended family of shifting inclusiveness is most relevant to rural zones. It usually has some patrilineal emphasis, but a woman's relatives continue to support her in domestic emergencies throughout her life and will willingly receive her and her children if she should decide to leave her husband. They will be welcome additions to the labour force. The issues of legal, civil marriage and legal divorce are simply not pertinent. A civil or religious

marriage ceremony is frequently the crowning event of a long and happy common life with grandchildren and even great-grandchildren present. This long life of common effort was necessary to finance the wedding ceremony, an extremely elaborate ritual, especially in the south Andes.

In urban areas - with their greater mobility and weakened force of customary sanctions - it is with respect to child support that women are most in need of legal protection. Perhaps half of all children are born outside of legal unions. Abandonment of the mother is also very common. The law provides recourse but is not effectively enforced. All women know of children abandoned as pre-schoolers whose fathers were finally served for their maintenance when they were in their late teens. An objective observer might suspect that Peruvian child support laws were designed for the protection of lawyers, not of children and their mothers. The very slim likelihood of receiving support from the biological father of a child impels the mother to enter into a second union and thus begin the chain of 'compromisos' that leave her with an ever-growing number of mouths to feed and ever slimmer possibilities of establishing a stable relationship.

Abortion is illegal in Peru. Some 10 to 15 per cent of women in prison are serving terms for abortion. Others are picked up for prostitution. Prostitution is legal, but prostitutes are required to register and carry proof of a health check up. Most prostitution however, is occasional, the product of necessity. It may even be exercised in a vacant lot without benefit of the simplest of costs of washing facilities. Streetwalking by adolescent girls and older women who must support their children is evident in all the major avenues of the capital city any night of the week.

In Peru there is no real sanction for the most common form of sexual exploitation of women by men who control their access to a source of livelihood. This is the case of the domestic servant, and it is the case of thousands of young secretaries and clerks in businesses and public offices whose hiring depends upon their pretty looks and whose continuance in the job depends upon her acceding to the sexual demands of the patron or the boss. Women released from prison could get their papers fixed (a prison term will otherwise appear on their record each time they solicit a job) if they go to bed with the police inspector in charge of good conduct certificates. An arrest, including that for a political offence, means almost certain rape during the process. There has been no proof in any of these instances around which feminists, human right committees, and sympathisers might rally: the victims are too afraid to risk denouncing their victimisers, or also too ashamed.

Physical abuse of wives by their husbands is common but, here again, the issue has not been brought out into the open through a trial with ample publicity. Battered wives may take refuge with a neighbour or relative, or they may make a formal complaint at the nearest police station. No systematic study has been carried out to determine what action the police might take in response. Police protection in the poor areas of the cities is extremely limited, and it is unlikely that these complaints would be given priority. Physical abuse of wives is more serious problem in more Westernised, less indigenous sectors, in part because men and women in Andean populations are more equal in size. More important, however, are the more limited alternatives available to the wife of an urban working or middle class man. Divorce is

still uncommon and irreconcilable with Catholic religious beliefs. The possibilities of such a woman going to work and successfully supporting herself and her children are almost nil. And her own realization as a woman depends upon successfully playing out the role of a contented wife and mother from her wedding to the end of her days.

The proposed revision of the Civil Code of November 1982 contains certain modifications to the legislation specifically related to women. These include the following:

1. The husband is no longer automatically the supreme authority within the household, but the government of the same is to be shared by both spouses (draft Civil Code, chapter II, article 338).
2. The husband will no longer have authority to determine and move the family's domicile, but this decision will be shared by both spouses (draft Civil Code, chapter II, article 338).
3. The husband will no longer be sole legal representative of the married couple, but both spouses will represent it (draft Civil Code, chapter II, article 340).
4. The wife will no longer be forced by law to use the surname of her husband added to her own, until such time as she could contract a new marriage. The reformed civil code states that the wife "may" use her husband's surname added to her own (draft Civil Code, chapter II, article 343).
5. According to the present Civil Code, the wife must have her husband's consent - explicit or tacit - in order to work. By provisions of the draft civil code both partners in marriage must have the consent of their spouses, explicit or tacit, in decisions regarding work (draft Civil Code, chapter II, article 341). This article does not represent an improvement for women given that, in practice, a wife would not exercise her right to prohibit her husband from working, whereas a husband would and does.
6. The Civil Code presently in force states that, if the wife does not contribute to the maintenance of the household with the product of her own properties or possessions, the husband is entitled to request that he be empowered to assume the administration of such properties or possessions, in total or in part. The proposed reform would make this more applicable to both spouses. (Draft Civil Code, chapter III, article 354).

The draft of the new Civil Code, with respect to family law, does not promise substantial modifications in the situation of women.

The notion that women are of lesser value than men is prevalent in Peru. In some areas of the Andes the midwife receives half the payment for delivering a baby girl that she would receive for delivering a boy. When poverty requires choosing which children will go to school, or will continue to remain there, girls are those left at a disadvantage.

The women amongst the poor are typically of peasant extraction, and they begin their married lives and motherhood even in adolescence, or work as domestic servants in urban areas. If a young poor woman lives in the capital city, she is likely to be working as a temporary factory or manual worker, or -

if a white-collar employee - employed at a minimum salary without social security coverage. She will rotate from one brief job to another and never be allowed to accumulate the required three months in any single employment which would make her eligible. If this young woman is able to carry on her education, she is likely to choose a short vocational course (nurse's aide, secretary, hairdresser, etc.). Only a tiny proportion are enrolled in universities, the majority in fields related to maternal roles (teaching, psychology, nursing, etc.).

The ideal of beauty which is put to Peruvian women (typically short, dark, tending to be thick-set) is that of the Anglo-Saxon woman - thin, blond, and tall. Virginity is highly valued in urban areas. The young woman's principal aspiration is to form a family. She may expect to go on working after marriage "in order to help her husband" more than as a means of achieving personal satisfaction. Her access to means of contraception will be limited. Frequently a husband will not permit their use for fear of his wife's infidelity. Cases of single mothers are many, and these women are socially disadvantaged. Social expectations are that women will claim to find fulfillment primarily as mothers ("sacrificial victims") and only secondarily as wives (submissive).

If a woman works at a job other than domestic service, as a field hand or a street vendor she will rarely have opportunities to take on a leading role in a labour union. If she participates in politics her experience in leadership will be scarce. If she has any power of decision within the household, it will have to be exercised covertly.

She will rapidly come to feel that she is being displaced by younger women with whom society forces her to compete. If she is a woman of the popular sectors she will, at the age of 30, have an aged and beaten appearance. Many times she will already have lost several teeth. In all probability her husband will gradually become less and less punctilious in meeting his economic obligations towards his family. He will begin to drink and to seek other women. His wife will be left to find the means of bringing more income into the household, usually through some kind of informal employment.

As the years pass, if she has been successful in claiming for herself the image of the sacrificing woman, she will enjoy a moment of ephemeral recognition each Mother's Day, and she will continue caring for her grandchildren as her own daughters and daughters-in-law go out to seek work.

In sum, a woman gains personal fulfilment as a function of her relation to others, not as a function of her own achievements, in the work she does or her personal development, with few exceptions. Possibly the only advantage enjoyed by the woman who works, whether in informal activities or as a low-paid salaried employee, is the limited sense of autonomy and improved self-image which such work may bring, regardless of the alienating nature of the work itself and in spite of the fact that a consequence of her effort to contribute to the maintenance of the household may be the increased irresponsibility of her husband who seizes the opportunity to escape from the problems of household expenses.

## V. WELFARE APPROACH

Peruvian legislation contemplates the following measures for contributing to the social welfare of women:

1. The Ministry of Health, in 1974, published Supreme Decree No. 00451-74-SA which provides for free medical services for the mother during pregnancy, childbirth, and in the post-natal period, as well as free health services for the newborn. Such services are to be provided by public hospitals and health centres administered by the Ministry of Health, in the Institute for Infant and Maternal Protection (IMPROMI) and in centres which depend on public charity. These benefits cover a small proportion of the population since most births take place without a medical professional in attendance.
2. According to the Civil Code, in cases of divorce, the ex-husband must pay alimony to his former wife if she is not working or does not have property of her own. The father must also provide child support up to the age of 18 for sons and for daughters up to such time as they marry or go to work. The father's child support payments should not exceed 30 per cent of his real income. If he provides alimony as well as child support, the total amount should not exceed 50 per cent of his income. It should be pointed out that most judges at present tend to stipulate an amount of S/. 40,000 for each child per month (\$18 approximately) - a ridiculously inadequate sum to support a child. Once their affective relationship with the mother has terminated, Peruvian men in general - without distinctions on the basis of social class or educational level - tend to disregard their responsibilities towards their children, whether economic or emotional. Nor do they wish to recognise the services provided by the wife while sharing the household. In most cases the children are maintained exclusively by their mothers.
3. When only the husband is employed, the single social security benefit enjoyed by the wife is the right to free medical services for herself during pregnancy, childbirth, and in the post-natal period. Services for the newborn in hospitals are available under the social security system for manual and white-collar workers. Since few husbands are covered by social security in formal-sector jobs, these benefits have very limited coverage.
4. Women employed as manual or white-collar workers have the right to a maternity leave of 45 days prior to the birth and 45 days afterwards. Domestic servants are not covered by these benefits.
5. If a deceased man was covered by social security, his widow is entitled to a pension. The majority of unions in Peru are, however, never legalized. Pension rights should be extended to common-law wives.
6. Where women over 18 are employed, child-care facilities should be provided for the care of their small children. This law is ignored in practice even in the public service, since not more than half the governmental Ministries have child-care facilities for their employees.

As indicated earlier, it is the National Institute of Family Welfare that is responsible for the welfare of children and the family in circumstances of abandonment. This Institute, a branch of the Ministry of Justice, has very limited capacity for action.

Another agency is the Society for Public Charity of Lima, which supports the Maternity Hospital and Unit for Community Outreach which should carry out preventive action in health for mothers and children, as well as orientation in family planning. Such services are provided in urban new towns through the use of mobile units.

The Ministry of Health administers a network of public health centres and health posts which act in the areas of education on infant nutrition, treatment of infant diarrhoea, and family planning programmes. Another public assistance programme is food support for pregnant women, administered by the Ministry of Health.

Two more food assistance programmes are the food-for-work programmes for women administered by OFASA and CARITAS. While such programmes may be a palliative for problems of hunger among the poor, they are severely criticized because of the way they operate, without respecting traditional forms of community organization, creating in their place new organizations which divide the population. In addition, the small work projects which the food-for-work groups carry out are not necessarily determined by the community itself but may be imposed by the donor or its administrative agent.

There are some other programmes financed by donor agencies from developed countries or religious organizations. Typically, these programmes are designed to respond to problems of health or food scarcities.

Peru does not have any kind of unemployment insurance. The current economic crisis has meant that an increasing number of workers lose their jobs and are left almost completely without the means for feeding themselves and their families.

## VI. WOMEN-SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND/OR PROJECTS

### A. Income-generating activities

Programmes directed to income-generation for women are relatively few:

1. The Community Action Programme, with funds provided by the Interamerican Development Bank, is operated by the National Planning Institute and Popular Co-operation (self-help public works agency of the political party currently in power). It is only of late that this programme has begun to benefit women, and it is not directed exclusively to them.
2. Programme of the Peruvian Institute for Worker-Owned Firms (INPET). Their programme is not exclusively for women.
3. CENDIPP has organized a women's food co-operative and is working on a project whose objective is to form two small workshops for income-generation,

one in clothes manufacturing and one in baked goods. CENDIPP is a small, non-profit private association.

4. The Association for Co-operation with Peasant Women (ACOMUC) is a private voluntary association which was founded in 1968 and has branches throughout the country. ACOMUC undertakes projects in income-generating through cottage industries, small workshops, and through improvement of handicraft techniques. One of its actions is the "Peasant Women's Fair" held annually in Lima; the sales of handicrafts at the fair pay its costs and provide funds for further training courses.

In peri-urban zones there is no large or concerted effort to implement income-generating projects such as ACOMUC provides for rural women. In the urban new towns women not infrequently organize themselves into small enterprises which exploit their traditional skills in weaving or sewing or the like, but these projects typically have a short life. They tend to survive only as long as external financing exists.

Viable income-generating projects are extremely difficult to conceive because of the fierce competition from large industry. We feel that it is more useful - if the objective is women - to improve their skills not so much for sustaining new kinds of economic organizations but for working more efficiently in the informal activities in which they are already engaged so that they become better equipped to compete in an economic niche which they themselves have created. Given the enormous difficulties of floating successful new economic units in the present economic conditions of Peru, it is not surprising that the majority of organizations that work with women occupy themselves with training, whether in traditional women's roles or in topics such as leadership and administration, rather than in the area of income-generation. A further explanation for the relative neglect of this type of project is the high costs of the feasibility studies which are likely to be required by any funding agency in order for it to provide support. Most such organizations working with women do not themselves have expertise in production and marketing.

#### B. Special services programmes

##### 1. Health services and maternal-child protection

We noted earlier that the Government, through its Ministry of Health, the Social Security system, and public charity, provides free health services to pregnant women, at childbirth, and in the post-natal period. It is necessary to repeat that the majority of women do not see a medical doctor or obstetrician in these circumstances, but are attended at childbirth by a midwife or a relative. In the case of women who live in the peri-urban areas of Lima, the first child is usually born in a hospital but successive births take place at home with a midwife present. While women may be aware of the advantages of having a professional doctor in attendance, the problems of transportation from the new town to a hospital are severe, and with more children at home, it becomes progressively more difficult to find someone to take care of them during the three days of hospital stay. One action which has been undertaken to lessen the risk of childbirth is providing training to midwives to ensure more asepsia in their practices and to assist them in determining when a pregnant woman will

require the services of the hospital in order to give birth safely.

In the private sector we should highlight the excellent work of the Association "Home of Mothers", a voluntary organization with branches in several provincial cities which provides services to mothers and infants. This prestigious institution is currently focusing its attention on the town Matazango (outskirts of Lima) where it recently opened a clinic.

In relation to family planning, the Ministry of Health operates programmes in integrated maternal-child services, of which family planning forms a part. These programmes enjoy generous from AID. Nonetheless, their coverage is not complete and they are not duly reinforced with intensive sex education. Peruvian schools do not teach family planning; nor do the universities, with the exception of programmes in medicine, obstetrics, and nursing.

There are some private projects with foreign financing, among them those of ADIFAM and INPPARES. Such projects typically function in peri-urban areas, where they do not have the whole-hearted support of the population. While family planning is usually accepted in principle by the inhabitants, questions of particular methods are controversial, as is the issue of possible impositions. Two "Gatherings of Women from New Towns of Lima" (such new towns number around 360) have been held, the second of them in October 1983. Among the conclusions of both gatherings was the right of women to voluntary motherhood. Nonetheless, it would be impossible to name a grassroots level women's organization which has solicited financing to carry out a programme in family planning. We believe that if grassroots leaders were to become actively involved in a family planning project, they would be questioned in her community, given the tendency to think, in these sectors, that family planning programmes are a manipulation of the population by the United States of America. Even though these women indicate that choosing the number of one's children should be one of their rights, they could not, then, count on the support of their community leaders - men or women - to carry out a project in this area which they themselves would administer. The situation is even more complicated. European financing agencies, despite their recognition of the need for family planning, do not assign a high priority to such projects, secure in the knowledge that United States development agencies will provide the financing. The Peruvian Government does not fully assume the task of education and provision of safe family planning methods because of its wish to avoid any confrontation with the Catholic Church. Finally, it should be said that feminist organizations do not work in providing services in family planning as they prefer to devote their scarce human resources to other kinds of action. Women's demands for a full human sexuality and voluntary motherhood are not, then, being adequately attended to in Peru.

All efforts in family planning programmes should be accompanied by an analysis of the reality of the country. Women and couples would then be aware that limiting the number of children is by no means the ultimate solution to problems of poverty in Peru, which depend rather on the unjust distribution of wealth in the country.

## 2. Legal services

The Ministry of Justice sponsors a free consulting service on legal issues, although it is not for the exclusive use of women. Nevertheless, it takes on many of the innumerable cases of recognition of paternity and claims for child support. There are in fact only two small programmes in legal education and legal services specifically for women, both operated by private associations (Movement "Manuela Ramos" and the Asociación Peru-Mujer). Both "programmes" are to be funded by the Ford Foundation for a period of two years, and they are aimed at women in peri-urban areas of Lima. Peru-Mujer in 1981, operated a similar programme with financing from Partners of the Americas and, in 1982, on a voluntary basis.

If we consider that each printed form to be used in any legal action has a cost, that the series of actions necessary also has a cost, and that it is customary to pass a certain amount of money under the counter to the different bureaucrats whose responsibility it is to process the papers, in order to expedite matters, it is easily understood that a poor woman has little chance of successful solution to a legal problem. Women not only are not aware of their legal rights, and do not know how to institute proceedings, but they lack the money they would need to bring an action. Additionally, the lawyers who are willing to devote time to the legal problems of women as a voluntary service are extremely few. Throughout their school careers women do not receive education on their legal rights, except in pre-law training at the university level.

## 3. Childcare service

We stated earlier that laws requiring childcare facilities are usually circumvented, and that the number of day-care centres in Peru is minimal. When employers do provide a day-care facility at the factory or office the number of women who use it is also low. This is so because the industrial zones usually are located far away from the areas of marginal housing, and women are forced to use inadequate and deficient public transportation to get to work transferring into two or three crowded vehicles.

In May 1976 CONMUP proposed that childcare facilities be located not at the workplace, but in the neighbourhood where they would serve the families located nearby. They should be financed out of a common fund to which the public treasury and all companies (public, parastatal, private, social property firms, co-operatives) should contribute, as well as the families making use of the centres. <sup>12/</sup> This, one of the last proposals of CONMUP before its dissolution, was never implemented.

It should be recognized that in the few cases where child care has been provided by the State its costs have been minimal. It should also be said

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<sup>12/</sup> Análisis de la legislación vigente, relacionada con la mujer trabajadora.  
Comisión Nacional de la Mujer Peruana (CONMUP). Documento de Trabajo.  
Lima. Mayo 1976.

that Violeta Correa de Belaunde, wife of the present President of Peru, has shown particular interest in working with children and has built and equipped several modules for day care in the urban new towns.

A few months ago, as the nation was celebrating "Peruvian Family Day" a 6-year-old boy who earned his living shining shoes was electrocuted in one of the central plazas of Lima. This child, one of many abandoned children left to fend for themselves on the streets of the city, seems to have sought a place to sleep out of the cold, in a box of electrical cables without adequate insulation. His death became a scandal in public opinion and moved the wife of the mayor of Lima, Carolina de Orrego, to solicit funds for building a home and refuge for these children. This refuge has just been inaugurated with the name "The House of Petisos". It has a capacity of some 300 children and will be administered by the Municipality of Lima.

Certain other efforts have been made to establish day-care centres. We might name "Nuestra Señora de Loreto" in the new town of Comas, which receives support from the parish, and Kkuli, in the zone of Canto Grande, subsidized by a private voluntary organization from France. Market vendors in the Lima Central Market and in the market of the Anean city of Huancayo have organized day-care facilities inside the markets. Another facility is maintained by the Municipality of San Isidro, a wealthy residential area of Lima. All such efforts taken together give a very limited coverage, with less than 1 per cent of Peruvian children under 3 being reached by them.

Asociación Peru-Mujer, in the persona of the anthropologist Jeannine Anderson, carried out in 1981 a study on spontaneous exchange of child care among women in peri-urban areas of Lima. The research was financed by the Ford Foundation. This year, in a project directed by Anderson and the sociologist Margarita Segura, a group of 15 women is being trained to care for children in their homes under a system of "mini-day-care centres". This experimental project has funding from the International Foundation through the auspices of the Overseas Education Fund.

Projects in child care are not easily funded by development agencies because of the high cost of constructing and equipping a day-care centre and because they appear to offer little novelty or innovation.

The representative leaders of the urban new towns accept the women's claims for childcare services but on a purely theoretical plane. They do not give real priority to needs for child care nor make a real effort to mobilize the community to find a solution. The community simply awaits the Government's initiative.

Peruvians in general feel that the care of small children is the exclusive responsibility of the mother. Given that jobs for women are scarce and that working women would face grave difficulties to ensure the care of their children if they should go out to work - a kind of vicious circle - nobody assumes the task of a decided effort to provide services for children under three.

### C. Training activities

It is in the category of training activities that most of the action directed at raising the participation of women in national development falls.

1. In 1963 SENATI was created as an institution dedicated to technical training. While it is not exclusively concerned with training women its existence has been important because it does train women in non-traditional occupations. Between 1974 and 1980, 382 women received training. The areas in which most women have been trained are: drafting (60), watch repair (29), electric installations (31), soldering (25), welding (21), framing (27), silk-screening (22), maintenance (18), lathe (18), and industrial quality control (19). Women have been trained in 30 different occupations in all, and their productivity has been found to be equal to that of men. SENATI nonetheless points out that the women experience greater difficulties in getting work after their training, than do men. 13/
2. Experience in training women in the Southern Cone (peri-urban area) of Metropolitan Lima. This experience, under the auspices of UNICEF, formed part of a study of "Services for Integrated Improvement in the Social Situation of Women" in the Southern Cone. Four hundred individuals (95% women), were trained in 1981 in thirteen different workshops (10 for dressmaking: 1 for baking: 9 for electrical installations). The men were concentrated in the workshop on electricity. 14/
3. The Ministry of Education administers a number of CENACAPES (National Centres for Adult Education and Vocational Training), which provide vocational training at the level of the formal educational system. Given that the courses offered tend to be in traditional women's fields (sewing, secretarial skills, hair-dressing), most of the students are women. Private owners call their same services CENEAPES.
4. Under the auspices of the church and with external financing or under the auspices of Peruvian volunteers, other training courses are offered to women, usually in traditional occupations.
5. The Centre for Community Promotion (CEPROC) has trained women health promoters, as has the public health centre in the peri-urban zone of Canto Grande; the Centre for Research, Education, and Documentation (CIED); SEMAT; and various organizations. This kind of training is facilitated because the urban new towns have traditionally elected a health officer at the level of each housing block.

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13/ Experiencia del SENATI en la capacitación de la mujer para la industria. Paper presented in the Seminar: Analisis y Promoción de la participación de la mujer en la actividad económica. Organized by Ministerio de Trabajo and sponsored by UNICEF. Lima, 1982.

14/ Pinilla, Susana. La experiencia de algunos programas de capacitación y de infraestructura de apoyo a la mujer en el cono sur de Lima Metropolitana. Paper presented to the Seminar: Análisis y Promoción de la participación de la mujer en la actividad económica. Organized by Ministerio de Trabajo and sponsored by UNICEF. Lima, 1982.

6. ACOMUC conducts training courses for peasant women in business administration, improvement of kitchen gardens, and health.
7. ADIFAM developed a small project training women as plumbers.
8. The secretariat for Women's Affairs of the Federation of New Towns and Popular Housing Tracts (FEDEPJUP) of Lima, in 1982-83, organized a series of "Schools for Women" under the direction of Nelly Rumrill and with the financial support of the Interamerican Foundation. These "Schools" provided training in organization, working in groups, and developing community work plans.
9. In the peasant community of Changos Alto (near the central Andean city of Huancayo), anthropologist Pilar Saravia heads a women's programme with training in nutrition and the improvement of kitchen gardens.
10. The feminist organization Movement "Manuela Ramos" worked with some 100 women from peri-urban new towns in 1981. In two groups the topic of training was health; in a third, women's roles and community organization; and in a fourth, pre-school education. "Manuela Ramos" understands training to be "not only the transmission of knowledge and the acquisition of new skills, but the development of the capacity evaluate critically and creatively, which will permit an analysis of reality and a new understanding of actions directed to transforming the present organization of society. <sup>15/</sup> Since 1981 this group has continued to carry out training actions with women based on this conception, a strategy which other feminist groups have adopted on a more limited scale.
11. Since 1980 Asociación Peru-Mujer has carried out a variety of training actions for women in urban new towns and in some cases for women in provinces of Peru. Topics have included legal rights of women; sexuality and family planning; community leadership; child care; working with groups. Short courses are also organized to promote "consciousness-raising" with respect to the situation of women. Peru-Mujer understands training to be a learning process directed at social change.

Undoubtedly many experiences in training have not been mentioned here - a majority of them in the style of traditional educational programmes and a minority (especially those offered by feminist groups) responding to objectives of achieving a greater participation of women on a plane of equality.

We believe that the preponderance of action with women in training and education is due to the fact that this is the channel which allows the greatest outreach at the lowest cost, in comparison to actions in the creation of services for women or in the area of income-generation.

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<sup>15/</sup> Cardish, Rosario and Carrasco, Frescia. Análisis metodológico y experiencias de promoción de la mujer. Paper presented to the Seminar: Análisis y Promoción de la participación de la mujer en la actividad económica. Organized by Ministerio de Trabajo and sponsored by UNICEF. Lima, 1982.

VII. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION FOR THE INTEGRATION  
OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

A. Issues of policy design

1. Role of national governmental authorities

We would suggest that the action which should be undertaken by the authorities at this level are actions in the legal health, education, and employment areas.

On a legal plane, we believe that the authorities should implement, among others, the following changes in Peruvian legislation affecting women:

- (i) Desertion should be admitted as a cause for divorce, whether by the husband or the wife, after a lapse of three years, since this desertion is proof of a desire to break off the marital relationship.
- (ii) In cases of common-law unions in which the male partner dies, the female partner should be recognized as legitimate claimant of the widow's pension.
- (iii) The law should state that both partners in the marriage have the right and duty to contribute to the support of the household and sharing housework.
- (iv) Both parents should be recognized as sharing the patria postestad over their children.
- (v) The period of maternity leave should be the same for all women workers. This period should be extended to one year, and either mother or father of the new-born should have the option of taking the leave.
- (vi) In the case of domestic workers, job benefits should be the same as those that other workers enjoy: the same vacation period, compensation for years of service, pre-and-post-natal leave, and the same 8-hour working day.

In relation to health, we would propose, among others, the following recommendations:

- (i) Mother-child health services should be free of cost and cover the entire population. The efficiency of these services should be guaranteed with an adequate assignment of human and material resources.
- (ii) Free family-planning services, accessible as well to single women and teenagers. The services should be provided together with sex education, which would emphasize the right of each person to decide, in full liberty, whether or not to have a child.
- (iii) Free tests for uterine and breast cancer for all women over 30 years of age.

Among the measures we would suggest for adoption in the field of education are the following:

- (i) Vocational and family life education in the school system should have the same content for students of both sexes.

- (ii) Vigilance should be exercised to eliminate sexist contents from educational materials and textbooks.
- (iii) Lift the prohibition on daytime study by teen-age mothers and allow them to choose whether to attend night-school or study by day.
- (iv) Sex education should be offered at all levels and in all types of educational programmes.
- (v) Obligatory action with parent-teacher associations to disseminate information on non-sexist child-rearing, sex education and family-planning.
- (vi) Teachers' training curricula should include information about the participation of Peruvian women in the nation's historical development and training in how to carry out non-sexist teaching.

In the area of employment we would suggest, among other things, that the following action be undertaken:

- (i) That norms requiring equal pay for equal work be made effective, without distinction on grounds of sex.
- (ii) That norms against discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status in the hiring of workers and in promotion within an organization be fully respected.

## 2. Role of regional governmental authorities

We believe that the following action should be taken, inter alia, with respect to the Peruvian situation:

- (i) Provide the means for women to co-ordinate the agricultural production in which they are involved with national development planning.
- (ii) Give women a decisive, co-ordinating function in mass campaigns for vaccinations in preventive health measures.
- (iii) Stimulate planning in the area of population according to demographic density in the different regions.
- (iv) Ensure that labour legislation and norms for implementing educational programmes respond to the characteristics of each region.

## 3. Role of district and local governmental authorities

We feel that the authorities at this level have a crucial role to play. Government planning in Peru is typically top-down, whereas we feel the ideal situation would be a horizontal style of planning, including consultation with the population in question.

Among action to be implemented at this level we would suggest:

- (i) The elaboration of a diagnostic study of local and district-level needs.
- (ii) Ensure the organization of women without forcing their incorporation in exclusively sex-based organizations.
- (iii) Incorporate women in the administration of municipal governments, particularly in areas of marketing of foodstuffs and price controls.

(iv) Stimulate collective styles of service provision in areas of meal preparation (community meals programme) and washing (popular laundries).

(v) Increased participation of women in decision-making at the community level. In urban-marginal areas, strengthen existing "mothers' clubs" and in rural agrarian co-operatives, give women voting rights and rights to own shares in the land.

#### 4. Role of women's organizations

We believe the following to be appropriate functions for women's organizations:

(i) Strengthen existing groups of women and foster the organization of new associations. Such organizations should respect cultural specificities and existing forms of association. Women's groups with competence in special types of training and education should co-operate with others which do not have the same specialities, assisting them in solidarity.

(ii) Women's organizations should promote the creation of informal networks at local, regional, national, and international levels, which would provide support in the struggle for demands for the recognition of women's rights and for communicating the realities of women's situation and problems.

(iii) It should be considered a task of women's organizations, to stimulate consciousness-raising among women about their own situation as well as a new comprehension of women's situation in society in general.

(iv) Women's organizations should work for the creation, at the district level, of a "Women's House" which would serve, among other purposes, to give women a meeting place; to provide a refuge for women subjected to violence in their homes; to give a setting for "consciousness-raising" sessions; to protect women who have been victims of rape; to act as an information centre and reference for other kinds of services available to women in the area; to provide a small bibliographic collection; and to offer alternative kinds of childcare services.

#### 5. Role of labour and professional unions

(i) Labour unions should stimulate greater participation of working women in general and the election of more women to directive office, with care not to limit women's participation in decision-making organs to traditional tasks (e.g. social assistance, culture).

(ii) Labour unions should raise demands that the number of workers of either sex should correspond to the proportion of that sex in the overall population.

(iii) Labour unions should concern themselves with sexual harassment at the workplace.

(iv) Labour unions should undertake to defend workers who have been dismissed or passed over for promotion on grounds of sex.

(v) Women's professional associations should sponsor refresher courses

and by other means ensure the up-to-date competence of their members.

6. Role of international organizations

(i) They should co-operate in disseminating new knowledge produced by research and action towards women's greater development within the various countries, and in proposing new alternatives for addressing problems that are identified.

(ii) They should finance projects elaborated by women for the benefit of women and to be executed by women, in accordance with the specific needs of each country. Projects of a participatory nature should be specially favoured.

(iii) They should sponsor international meetings where women can exchange experiences and evaluate which are most applicable to their own situation. Such meetings should involve both academic women and women who work directly with popular sectors.

(iv) They should support international training centres for preparing women leaders and for training in areas of planning and administration of development programmes which have special relevance to women.

(v) They should provide study grants and underwriting for research in women's studies and in post graduate programmes in traditional disciplines which offer possibilities for giving perspectives on the situation of women.

(vi) They should finance the establishment and maintenance of "Houses of Women", documentation centres, and information networks among women.

(vii) They should finance mass media which focus on the situation and status of women and which promote a new consciousness about them and promote alternatives which would contribute to the greater participation and integration of women in the development process.

B. Research, information and data

In June 1982, with the financial assistance of the Interamerican Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation, and the Pathfinder Fund, under the auspices of the Catholic University of Peru and organized by Asociación Peru-Mujer, the Congress "Research on Women in Andean Latin America" took place. More than 120 persons attended, some researchers and others involved in applied work with women. Ninety were Peruvians and the remainder were from various Latin American countries, Great Britain, the United States and Canada.

The following are the research topics that were proposed by the members of the Congress as priorities for future study on women in the Andean countries.

1. Institutions of oppression.

The Church: its role as an institution and manifestations of religiosity as influences in determining the present situation of women.

The State: the role of government bureaucrats, social assistance programmes, strategies for data collection and statistics that discriminate and oppress.

Multinational companies: their effects on the generation of employment opportunities for women, working conditions in the transnational corporations, free trade zones in, for example, Santo Domingo.

Multinationals and health: their influence on the health and sexuality policies.

The consequences for women of distortions in national economies such as those produced by the traffic in cocaine; the exploitation of women as couriers of drugs.

The effects of institutions on the sexual roles of women.

Prostitution: its presence in rural areas and the exportation of prostitutes from one country to another.

## 2. Violence

Day-to-day violence within the family: the historical reconstruction of this type of violence.

Schools and the perpetuation of a sexist division of roles: the perpetuation of distinctive styles of education for girls and boys. Sexual violence against girls.

Violence against women: epidemiological studies which would use available evidence from police stations and which would cover rural areas, small towns, and large cities.

Psychological effects on women beaten by their husbands.

## 3. Organization

Women's organizations in rural areas; peasant movements and women. Political participation: the presence of women in political parties and movements.

The historical reconstruction of the political participation of women. Labour federations and demands for, among others, equal rights to post-natal leave for men and women.

Strategies for social and political participation.

Women and power in different institutions, including the feminist movement.

## 4. The domestic economy

The domestic economy in varying economic contexts.

The feasibility and desirability of women being paid a salary for house-work; means of having the economic value of housework recognized.

The contribution of housework to the on-going system.

Feminist alternatives to the present organization of the household domestic economy.

The organization of social services and their effect on the condition of women - for example, day care.

The exploitation by the State of voluntary work of women in the operation of community daycare centres.

5. Production/reproduction

The ideological and biological significance of production and reproductive work.

Survival strategies as a concept which makes it possible to clarify the relationships between the productive and reproductive spheres.

Survival strategies of rural vs. urban women.

The definition and conceptual discrimination of public and private spheres.

6. Ideology and culture.

The impact of the mass media on bourgeois ideological conceptions of women.

The participation of women in literary, poetic, and plastic creation.

Women as a conservative influence on the culture; when and to what extent are women innovators.

Language as a form of oppression of women.

Attitudes of men in different economic strata towards feminist demands.

7. Legislation

The rejection by feminist women of legal marriage; advantages and disadvantages.

Legislation with regard to women and work.

Family law.

The risk of women's labour being made more expensive because of demands for day care on the job, as long as changes do not take place in roles outside the work place.

8. Global change

Effects on women of the "large" decisions being made in relation to water, energy, conservation, ecology, food production, agroindustry, "development",

new technology.

The presence of women in such decision-making, generally within large institutions of the United Nations, World Bank, etc., and the presence of women in international conferences such as that in Nairobi which considered the world energy supply.

9. Psychology

The characteristics of work in small groups.

The search for identity as women.

Psychological aspects of the condition of women.

The meaning of guilt and hate.

The division of psychological "work" within the family.

10. Love.<sup>16/</sup>

C. Training needs

We believe that, in the Peruvian case, one of the essential needs of women in relation to education is literacy training.

For shorter-term and more specific training, we would suggest priority be given to the following topics:

1. National reality and the situation of women.
2. Self-affirmation as women.
3. Sexuality and family planning.
4. Legal rights of women.
5. Nutrition.
6. Preventive health (vaccinations) and childhood illnesses (with emphasis on infant diarrhoea and oral rehydration techniques).
7. Preventive medicine for popular sectors.
8. Community leadership.
9. Techniques for working in small groups.
10. Development and execution of community work plans.
11. Diagnostis and assignment of priorities among community needs.
12. Public speaking.
13. Body language.
14. Administration of small businesses.
15. Co-operativism.
16. Child care (child development, early stimulation, organization and administration of community-managed family day-care systems).

16/ Congreso de Investigación acerca de la mujer en la region andina. (Final report). Report by Jeannine Anderson de Velasco. Edited by Asociacion Peru-Mujer. Lima, Peru. 1983.

ANNEX I

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY RELATING TO WOMEN IN PERU

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Participación de la mujer en el desarrollo de la comunidad.  
1970.  
TESIS P.U.C.

Hemeroteca U. CATOLICA  
LETRAS  
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5176

BARRIONUEVO DE CACERES, Nora  
La mujer, la educación y el trabajo.  
Lima 1967  
90 h.  
TESIS (Br) P.U.C. Prog. Acad. Educación 1967.

C

Biblioteca Univ.  
Sagrado Corazón

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T373.16  
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CARRION TEJADA, Carmen Rosa  
Una investigación sobre el factor hábitos de estudio en  
escolares mujeres de Lima Metropolitana  
Bachiller en Educación. 1975.

E

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Hacia una educación liberadora de la campesina peruana  
Lima 1972  
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G

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GALLIARDO SANTAMARIA, Delfina

La educación de la mujer en tres etapas de su vida: niña, joven, madre-esposa y dueña de casa.

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TESIS. P.U.C.

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GARCIA VITAL, Emma Isabel

Algunas sugerencias para la educación de la mujer peruana.

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GONZALES UMERES, Luz

La educación y promoción humana de la mujer obrera peruana

TESIS. P.U.C.

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IARREA MARQUEZ, Carmen

La educación y la liberación femenina

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139 h.

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IOZAN CANGALAYA, Carmen Julia

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Bachiller en Educación. 1975.

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MUJER

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LUMBRE CHIRRE, Maria

La educación de la mujer en la ciudad de Huacho y su gran campiña.

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ANNEX II

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THESES ON  
THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN  
PERU

Foreword

The present bibliographic list is based on all the theses on the situation of women which have been produced in the various universities of Lima up to 1982. The task of compiling the bibliography was carried out by the psychologist Teresa Alfaro, to whom we express our thanks. We wish to thank as well The Pathfinder Fund for the financial aid which made the compilation possible. Finally, our thanks to the librarians of the various university libraries for their assistance.

Perú-Mujer.

Foreword

This bibliography represents an attempt to assemble a list of research reports - as complete as possible - on women in Peru. It does not include a large number of historical essays and interpretations of the situation of women since their usefulness as resources for the study of Peruvian women is limited by a lack of systematization, even though they may be important sources for a history of Peruvian thought about the place of women. Many of these can be found in what was an invaluable source for the present bibliography. This is the important work of Meri Knaster, Women in Spanish America: An Annotated Bibliography from Pre-Conquest to Contemporary Times (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1977).

Knaster's bibliography is an essential tool for whoever wishes to undertake the study of women in Peru, and its utility is enhanced by the intelligence of the annotations and the organization of the citations by very specific themes ("Biography and autobiography", "The arts", "Education", "Ethnographic monographs", "Legislation", to a total of 15). The study of women in Peru, in practically any aspect, by now can build on work already done. At the same time, the present bibliography, with its multiple citations in English, constitutes proof of the dependence of this research on work carried out within Anglo-Saxon academic worlds. Another source used in compiling the bibliography also gives evidence on the quantity of studies on Peruvian women written and published in English. This is Hector Maletta's article "400 Northamerican Theses on Peru", published in the journal Apuntes.

I would like to thank several people who read the bibliography in its first version and made suggestions of additional references as well as useful evaluations as to the type of bibliography which could best serve the interests of research on the topic of women. These were Rosa Dominga Trapasso, Alicia Sebastiani, Virginia Vargas, and Elsa Chaney.

Finally, it should be pointed out that this bibliography contains few references to Peruvian university theses on the subject of women. A considerable number of such theses exist, mainly produced in programmes of social work, education, nursing, and the like. For this material to be incorporated into the discussion on women in Peru, a sifting is first necessary in order to discriminate the studies of better quality. This process is being carried out by Teresa Alfaro as a project of Peru-Mujer. Such efforts will further enrich the present bibliography.

Jeannine Anderson

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ANNEX III

ASSOCIATION PERU-MUJER'S WORK WITH WOMEN

1. Description of the Association Peru-Mujer.

PERU-MUJER was founded on March 8, 1979. Under Peruvian law, it is a private voluntary non-profit and tax-exempt association. It is one of a handful of private institutions specialized in work with women which have come into being over the past four or five years in Peru. While the majority began as reflection groups engaged in analysing the situation of women, PERU-MUJER began as an action group. Most of its members have accumulated experience in research (child care, domestic servants, legislation affecting women, employment), consulting (The National Commission on Peruvian Women in 1975, the Consejo Nacional de Población, Advisory Commission, 1983), or action with women (non-formal education, community medicine).

Increasing the participation of women in community and national life is the principal objective of PERU-MUJER. Gender differences in access to information and decision-making are very great in Peru, and development depends upon women being enabled to share fully in the process. The strengthening of women's organizations in the barriadas, a second, more specific objective, is a necessary step towards increasing their participation, as is forming women leaders. A third objective is the provision of services to poor women, particularly in child care and related services for young children and their mothers, health services, and legal aid. Finally, PERU-MUJER seeks to collect and disseminate information on women in Peru, and to stimulate others to undertake studies and action projects directed towards change in the situation of Peruvian women.

PERU-MUJER has eight members on its Staff: two psychologists, two sociologists, an anthropologist, a lawyer, and two medical doctors; three of the eight members are men. Much of its work is carried on by co-operating or temporary associates (transit members).

For its various projects PERU-MUJER has to date enjoyed financial support from Christian Aid for Latin America, Solidarity (Washington), Solidarity (Belgium), the Pathfind Fund, Partners of the Americas, The Ford Foundation, The Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, the Winnetka Congregational Church (Chicago), Interamerican Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation, International Foundation, 1% Voluntary Fund, and private donors in the United States and Peru. Our policy with respect to financial assistance is to maintain the integrity of Peru-Mujer projects as designed in accordance with local necessities and possibilities, and to diversify our sources of aid as much as possible.

2. Action carried out by the Association Peru-Mujer.

a) Non-formal education

The aspects we cover in non-formal education are law, child care, sex and family-planning, assertiveness and women's leadership, working with groups;

community work plan; education, health and housing at national and community level.

1. Project in legal education with a small component of legal services. It took place in the New Town "Marquez" (Lima). Financed by The Partners of the Americas. Co-ordinator: Victor Lora. 1981.
2. Project on legal education. Based on the methodological advances of the original Marquez Project; the main action is the elaboration of didactic materials for a module of legal education and consciousness-raising about legal rights. Financed by the Partners of the Americas. Co-ordinator: Victor Lora. 1983.
3. Three month-long courses in legal education offered in Lima. Financed by Ford Foundation and Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA). Co-ordinators: Victor Lora and Elizabeth Dasso. 1981, 1982, 1983.
4. Three month-long courses on Women Community leadership.
  - 1) For 26 housing block delegates of the New Town "El Rescate". Sponsored by the "Lady's Club" of the neighbourhood. Financed by Solidarity and Christian Aid. Co-ordinator: Elizabeth Dasso and Blanca Figueroa. 1980.
  - 2) Thirty-one delegates of 16 New Towns of the western area of Lima. This was done in co-ordination with the Secretary of Women's Affairs of the Federation of New Towns and Popular Urbanizations (FEDEPJUP). Financed by the Pathfinder Fund. Co-ordinators: Elizabeth Dasso, Blanca Figueroa and Carmen Masias. 1980.
  - 3) Thirty-two women blue collar workers, office workers, and students from Metropolitan Lima. Financed by the Ford Foundation. Co-ordinator: Elizabeth Dasso and Blanca Figueroa.
5. Two training courses for non-professional personnel in pre-school programmes. Each course had a duration of two months. Financed by the 1% Voluntary Fund (Geneva) and UNICEF. Co-ordinator: Margarita Segura. 1982 and 1983.
6. Three short workshops on the situation of Peruvian Women, were given in the Andean region:
  - 1) Huaraz. Financed by Winnetka Congregational Church. Co-ordinator: Victor Lora. 1982.
  - 2) Cajamarca. Financed by the Pathfinder Fund. Co-ordinator: Elizabeth Dasso. 1981.
  - 3) Arequipa. Financed by the Pathfinder Fund. Co-ordinator: Blanca Figueroa. 1983.
7. Project on non-formal education, about six, given in public schools. Financed by World Education. Co-ordination: Carmen Masias. 1982.

8. Project Motivation to voluntary motherhood in the New Town "El Ermitaño" (Lima). Financed: The Partners of the Americas. Co-ordinator: Carmen Masias. 1983.

b) Employment for women.

Consolidation of a women's self-managed firm for handicraft production in the New Town of Leoncio Prado, Pamplona Alta (Lima). Financed by: Ursuline Sisters of Canada, Overseas Education Fund and local donations. Co-ordinator: Rosa Chavarri. 1983.

c) Provision of Services.

1. We offer legal services to women living in New Towns of Lima. Financed, in 1981, by the Partners of the Americas, Co-ordinator: Victor Lora. From 1981 to date.
2. We are implementing a project to organize child care in "minicunas" (a family day-care model) in a sector of Pamplona Alta and the inner-city area of "Cerro El Pino" (Lima). Financed by Overseas Education Fund. Co-ordinator: Jeanine Anderson. 1983.

d) Consciousness-raising.

Four series of 8 sessions each. Financed by the Pathfinder Fund. Co-ordinator: Carmen Masias. 1983.

e) Health promotion.

Campaigns on breast feeding and advocacy and monitoring of marketing of breastmilk substitutes. These actions were initiated in co-ordination with the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN). Co-ordinator: Jeannine Anderson. 1981 to date.

f) Broad dissemination of the situation of women.

1. Day-long workshop on varied aspects of the situation of women, intended for the general public. Four have been carried out annually. Financed by the Pathfinder Fund. Co-ordinator: Blanca Figueroa. 1982-1983.
2. Several publications.
3. Talks on radio and TV.

g) Academic aspects.

1. Study of concepts of justice, law, and the authority in the New Town "Marquez". Financed by The Partners of the Americas. Organized by Victor Lora. 1981.
2. Survey of spontaneous forms of child care in new towns of Lima, directed at establishing the viability of family day care models in this context and the means of achieving community recognition and support. Financed by Ford Foundation. Organized by: Jeanine Anderson. 1981.

3. Life stories of three women community leaders of urban marginal areas of Lima. Financed by the Pathfinder Fund. Organized by the students Maria del Milagro Brondi and Teresa Alfaro, under the supervision of Blanca Figueroa. 1981.
  4. Congress "Research on Women in Andean Latin America". This event brought together persons involved in research and action for a sharing of experiences and the dissemination of knowledge about the situation of women; further objectives were to stimulate more participation of young women in research and action towards the fuller development of women. Financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, The Pathfinder Fund, the Interamerican Foundation. Sponsored by Universidad Católica del Peru and Asociación Multidisciplinaria de Investigación y Docencia en Población (AMIDEP). Organized by: Jeanine Anderson. Lima, June 1982.
  5. Study of sex education with a group of public high school teachers. Financed by World Education. Responsible: Carmen Masias. 1982.
  6. Study of attitudes of women secondary students in relation to sex education. Financed by World Education. Organized by: Carmen Masias. 1982.
  7. Study of women's survival strategies in marginal neighbourhood of Lima, particularly the role of informal networks within them. Financed by the Ford Foundation. Organized by Jeanine Anderson. 1982.
  8. Preparation of students from various universities in their final year of studies of psychology in the area of women's issues. Financed by the Pathfinder Fund. Co-ordinator: Blanca Figueroa. 1982-1983.
  9. Competition, projects of research-action on the situation of women. Financed by The Pathfinder Fund. Co-ordinator: Blanca Figueroa. 1982-1983.
  10. Study of women workers of the union "Lucy", Organized by the student Ana Bendezu under the supervision of Blanca Figueroa. 1982.
  11. Study of the attitudes towards domestic services of former women domestic servants. Organized by: the students Isabel Sanchez and Doris Morante under the supervision of Blanca Figueroa. 1982.
  12. Study of Women of Population in Peru. This research was done for the National Council of Population of Peru. Organized by: Elizabeth Dasso. 1983.
- h) Consulting:
1. Consulting to the Ministry of Education on curriculum reforms in the area of sex education. Organized by: Carmen Masias. 1983.
  2. Consulting to the organization COMPROMI in a sex education, family planning and nutrition project in the urban marginal area of San Juan de Lurigancho (Lima). Organized by: Carmen Masias. 1983.

ANNEX IV

ADDRESSES OF PERSONS AND INSTITUTIONS THAT WORK WITH  
PERUVIAN WOMEN

(the lists are incomplete)

I. Persons.

a) Residents in Peru.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| - ELSA ALCANTARA<br>Sacsahuaman 142<br>Salamanca. Lima 3   | - ANGELICA ALVARES DE LA CRUZ<br>Pedro Abad 424<br>Surco. Lima 33                    |
| - MARIA ROSARIO AYLLON V.<br>Sector 1 Calle 8<br>Ms. F-8 Los Próceres<br>Surco. Lima 33  | - CARMEN ANGULO<br>Roca y Bolona 215 - 6to. piso<br>San Antonio. Lima 18             |
| - ROSARIO BERNARDINI<br>TECIRA - Taller de Educación,<br>Capacitación de Investigación<br>Rural Andino<br>Jr. Carabaya 134<br>Puno. Peru | - CAROLINA CARLESSI<br>A. Morelli 471<br>San Borja. Lima                             |
| - ROXANA CARRILLO<br>Mariscal Castilla 672 - Dpto.101<br>Urb. Aurora - Miraflores<br>Lima  | - MARIA CAVASSA DE VALDES<br>CENDIPP<br>Gregorio Paredes 161<br>Pueblo Libre. Lima   |
| - MARTHA CRUZ<br>Av. Nicaragua 2468<br>Lince. Lima   | - FRESIA CARRASCO<br>Movimiento "Manuela Ramos"<br>Camana 280 - Ofic. 305<br>Lima 1. |
| - MARCELA CHUECA<br>Ave. Cecias 148<br>Urb. Tupac Amaru<br>San Luis. Lima  | - MARIA ELISA CHEE<br>Las Tiendas 355, Urb. Jardin<br>Surquillo. Lima                |
| - ELIZABETH DASSO<br>Asociación Perú-Mujer<br>Ave. Alfonso Ugarte 1428<br>Of. 904<br>Lima 5  | - RINA CORNEJO DE VERA<br>Apartado 782<br>Cuzco. Peru                                |
|  | - BLANCA FERNANDEZ<br>CIPCA<br>Apartado 305<br>Piura. Peru                           |

- MARIA FERNANDEZ  
Grupo Talpuy  
Jr. Cusco 327 - 4to. piso  
Huancayo. Peru
- ROSA FLORES MEDINA  
Las Tunas 441  
Urb. Recaudadores  
Lima
- ZOILA HERNANDEZ  
Ave. 28 de julio 401 - Of.802  
Miraflores. Lima 18
- NARDA HENRIQUEZ A.  
Pont. Univ. Católica del Peru  
Fundo Pando, Pueblo Libre  
Lima. Peru.
- NORA GALER  
Proyecto "Promoción de la Mujer"  
UNICEF (Ministerio de Trabajo y  
P. Social  
Av. Salaverry Cdra. 6  
Lima. Peru
- LINDA LEMA  
Manuel Moncloa 2654 - Dpto.401  
Urb. Los Cipreses  
Lima
- SILVIA MADALENGOITIA  
Taller de Capacitación e  
Investigación Familiar  
Ave. Arenales 483 - Of. 701  
Lima 1.
- MARIA EUGENIA MANSILLA A.  
Jr. Venus 1106  
Urb. La Luz  
Lima 1
- MARIA NORMA MONGROVEJO  
Ugarte 409  
Yanahuara, Arequipa  
Peru
- DAISY NUÑEZ DEL PRADO BEJAR  
Manco Capac 719  
Huanchac. Cusco  
Peru
- BLANCA FIGUEROA  
Asociación Peru-Mujer  
Ave. Alfonso Ugarte 1428 - Of.904  
Lima 5
- VIRGINIA GUZMAN  
Centro "Flora Tristan"  
Ave. Arenales 601  
Lima 1.
- MARIA JOSEFINA HUAMAN  
Pont. Universidad Católica del Peru  
Dpto. de Ciencias Sociales  
Fundo Pando, Pueblo Libre  
Lima. Peru
- CRISTINA HERENCIA  
Av. Salaverry 957 - Of. 308  
Jesús María. Lima 11
- SUSANA GALDOS  
Los Fresnos 811  
Residencial San Felipe  
Jesús María. Lima 11
- VICTOR LORA  
Asociación Peru-Mujer  
Av. Alfonso Ugarte 1428 - Of.904  
Lima 5
- MARTHA LLANOS zuloaga  
Los Castaños 249  
San Isidro. Lima
- LUCIA MAMANI  
TECIRA  
Jr. Carabaya 134  
Casilla 388  
Puno. Peru
- CARMEN MASIAS  
Asociación Per-Mujer  
Av. Alfonso Ugarte 1428 - Of. 904  
Lima 5. Peru
- MARIANA MOULD DE PEASE  
Santa Isabel 343  
Miraflores. Lima 18
- FRIDA MANRIQUE  
Mana Rumber 251  
San Miguel. Lima 32

- HILDA MERCADO  
Victor Alzamora 517,  
3er. piso "B"  
Barrio Médico  
Surquillo. Lima
- CARMEN PIMENTEL SEVILLA  
Univ. Nacional Mayor de San Marcos  
Ciudad Universitaria  
Av. Venezuela s/n.  
Lima
- TANIA RUIZ  
Ave. Arequipa 1736 - 103  
Lince. Lima
- VIOLETA SARA-LAFOSSE  
Agrup. Risso B-104  
Lince. Lima
- PILAR SARAVIA ALVAREZ  
Instituto de Estudios Andinos  
Jr. Torre Torre 365  
Lima. Peru
- LUCILA SEMINARIO  
Antequera 741  
San Isidro. Lima
- MARIA CECILIA TESTINO  
Av. La Merced 563  
Surco. Lima
- ROSA DOMINGA TRAPASSO  
Jr. Quilca 431  
Lima 1
- DORA UGARTE  
Gregorio Escobedo 788 Dpto. 404  
Jesús Maria. Lima
- HEDY CAROLINA VILLANUEVA  
Oviedo 172  
Pueblo Libre. Lima
- AURISTELA TOLEDO DE VILLAFUERTE  
Casilla 728  
Cuzco. Peru
- VIRGINIA VARGAS V.  
Centro "Flora Tristan"  
Ave. Arenales 601  
Lima 1
- JORGE OSTERLING  
Atahualpa 324  
Miraflores. Lima 18
- URSULA PAREDES  
Centro "Flora Tristan"  
Av. Arenales 601  
Lima 1
- ANA PORTUGAL  
Capac Yupanqui 957 - Dpto. 104  
Jesús Maria. Lima 11
- NELLY RUMRRILL  
Jr. Puno 1344 - Dpto. 302  
Barrios Altos. Lima
- CLEMENCIA SARMIENTO SANCHEZ  
Pont. Univ. Católica del Perú  
Programa Academico de Trabajo Social  
Av. Bolivar s/n. Fundo Pando  
Lima
- MARGARITA SEGURA  
Asociación Peru-Mujer  
Av. Alfonso Ugarte 1428 - Of. 904  
Lima 5. Peru
- ESTHER SILVA de CHERSI  
Av. Principal 443  
Urb. Corpac. San Isidro  
Lima
- BLANCA TARAZONA  
José de Sucre 1345  
Huaraz. Peru
- MATILDE URETA  
Parque Armendariz 119  
Miraflores. Lima 18
- TERESA MUNOZ CABRERA  
Av. Aviación 1738  
San Francisco de Asis  
Chimbote. Peru
- VILMA VARGAS DE BALMACEA  
Dirección General de Empleo  
Ministerio de Trabajo  
Av. Salaverry s/n  
Jesús Maria. Lima 11

- VICTORIA VILLANUEVA  
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Paper 18

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN WOMEN IN  
MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION: PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

by

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INTRODUCTION

In Africa today women represent a very small percentage of those employed in administrative and managerial positions: (ILO 1980). Increasing the number of women in policy and decision-making positions has an important impact in women's overall participation in development. Several recommendations and resolutions to this effect have been made in various international forums (Rabat 1971, Libreville, 1971, Addis Ababa 1974, Mexico City 1975). Making a concerted effort to increase the opportunities of professional women in assuming managerial leadership not only helps these women realize their full potential as qualified individuals, but it also provides them with opportunities to have a positive impact on policies and programmes to enhance women's roles in the national development process. Women in management positions suffer from the same constraints that women in formal employment face in general. In addition, there are specific issues which arise from their managerial roles.

This paper will first examine the main obstacles which have an impact on women's employment pattern in general and then focus on those factors which affect women's career development in management and administration. Suggested proposals for action to increase women's participation in managerial and administrative positions are given at the end.

Women's involvement in the formal sector employment in Africa as elsewhere in the third world has been characterized by (1) women clustering at the lowest levels of occupational hierarchies holding low paid and low skilled-unskilled jobs, and (2) women being segregated in female-stereotyped occupations. The lack of access to non-traditional female occupations and lack of opportunity for upward mobility has deterred women from achieving their full potential in the work place (Kantai: 1982). Socio-cultural attitudes about the role of women, women's educational backgrounds and their dual responsibility for career and family are the major factors which hinder women's career development.

## I. SOCIO-CULTURAL ATTITUDES

In many African countries, society has different expectations from and aspirations for men and women. Sex-based differences in opportunities for education and modern sector employment in Africa historically have their roots in the colonial era. Schools were mainly opened for boys with a view to having them man the lower ranks of colonial administration. Large numbers of men left their homes in the rural areas for employment in mines and plantations. Missionaries had important roles in emphasizing only women's home-making roles, even though women were equally involved in agriculture.

Parents consider male children as eventual breadwinners, family heads and their supporters in old age. Female children are brought up to assume the breeder-feeder role. Young boys are encouraged to go out, take charge of things and play, while young girls are required to be passive and obedient yet hard-working. The socialization of children based on sex and the preferred treatment which male children receive gives them opportunities denied to female children.

As a result of socio-cultural attitudes, women's self-image affects their aspirations in pursuing education and later on in employment. A school girl who sees marriage and raising children as her main tasks in life hardly has the ambition to further her education. In the same way, a woman who sees her job as a means of supplementing family income lacks serious career aspirations.

Another factor which affects the career of women is the attitude of their spouses. In a study made in one African country (Chijumba: 1982), it was found that the majority of spouses surveyed preferred their wives not to have higher status or salaries compared to themselves. They did not want them to travel, work late at the place of employment nor bring the work home. Fear was expressed that a wife with economic independence is more likely to claim equality.

## II. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

The majority of illiterate persons in the world are women. An added cause for concern is the fact that the difference in literacy rates between men and women is widening (Newland: 1979). Africa is typical in this regard. Where there are constraints, either financial or need for children's labour input, parents prefer to send their sons to school while daughters stay home to assist in household or farming chores, as the case may be.

Through positive government policy of free and compulsory universal primary education, some African countries have achieved almost proportional balances of girls and boys in primary schools (Ligate: 1981). Even in countries where female students enjoy high participation at the primary level of formal education, the situation deteriorates as one moves up the educational ladders into secondary levels. The proportion of female students drops. Some of the contributing factors are lower performance as a result of heavy drop-out rates because of pregnancy and early marriages. As a result of historical developments, where there are separate boys' and girls' schools, girls' schools usually provide sex-stereotyped education which limits the students' university

entrance to social science streams (Muro: 1982). Where there are co-educational boarding schools, the lack of sufficient boarding facilities for girls limits their intake.

In vocational training most girls congregate in traditionally female - stereotyped fields such as nursing, teaching and home economics. In commercial vocational education most female students take up secretarial training while male students enter accountancy and management fields. This enhances their opportunities for upward mobility into management positions after employment, while the women end up in dead-end secretarial jobs.

At the third or university level of education, the proportion of female students is even lower, with the majority entering liberal arts and education fields.

To sum up, in many African countries, past policies and the perpetuation of practices based on these policies, together with slow-changing attitudes, have resulted in current educational policies and practices which have adverse effects on the equal participation of women. In many cases the negative impact of the educational system is not recognized and analyzed. Stereotyped thinking and sexist attitudes are therefore perpetuated.

### III. WOMEN'S DUAL RESPONSIBILITIES

The situation where an employed woman also undertakes the major (if not a full) responsibility for the family welfare is a universal phenomenon in Africa. This dual responsibility, which actually forces women to work a double shift, has serious ramifications. Women face the conflicting demands of work and family. At work, this results in unrealized promotion and training opportunities and problems (real or imagined) with transfers and training. In addition to social and cultural attitudes, lack of time prevents women from cultivating informal networks which provide access to information and better career opportunities.

Even though employed women are overburdened with an excessive workload, there is reluctance on the part of their partners to share household and parenting responsibilities as these are perceived as "feminine" duties. For women with promising prospects for upward mobility, the attitude of their spouses (discussed earlier) can be a real constraint.

### IV. WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT: FOCUS ON MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The handicaps placed on women as a result of society's attitudes and the legacy of discrimination in the educational system are carried on to the employment arena. Newland notes: "In virtually all countries, women enter the job market with fewer marketable skills than do men. Their earnings reflect that handicap". Women occupy the lower rungs of the occupational ladders with less prospects for advancement compared to their male colleagues. Women's career choice is determined by society's attitudes towards the role of women, (Bass in Fidell: 1971).

In white collar office work, entry into the management and administration category is made easier for men by the type of jobs they occupy. For example, men who are clerks have higher chances of moving up than women who are typists, even though both may have comparable educational backgrounds. Similar sex-based upward movement patterns exist even in female-dominated professions, such as teaching, where the high proportion of female teachers is not reflected in higher levels of power and authority; school administrators and principals are mostly men.

In comparing the proportion of women among administrative personnel to that of women students, Boserup noted that the proportion of women in administrative posts is very much lower in developing countries. In countries with a low proportion of female students, less than 3 per cent of administrative personnel are women. Even in countries with equal numbers of male and female students, only just over 10 per cent of the administrative personnel are women. She writes: "In effect, administrative work is a male monopoly in developing countries, just as it is in nearly all industrialized countries". Sex-based differential treatments in recruitment, promotion and work assignment are also the norm in international organizations (Rogers: 1980).

Attitudes regarding women's employment have a major impact on their ability to realize their full potential at work. Women's careers are not taken seriously by employers and by some women themselves. Women's primary commitments are perceived as being to their families and their spouses' careers rather than their own careers. This places serious handicaps on the career development and promotion of women. Promotions are less frequent and salary increments are lower compared to men with similar qualifications. The justification given by the decision makers is that women have less career commitment and do not need the money as much as men. Married women are considered to have their husbands to support them and single women are not considered to have family responsibilities. This myth is difficult to dispel despite the reality of heavy financial responsibilities of women to their families specially those who are female heads of households. The lack of opportunity demotivates women, leading to lower interest in work and lower performance. 1/

In managerial occupations, managers occupying strategic positions have enhanced their opportunities while those occupying dead-end positions end up with low opportunities. Kanter writes that opportunity has a self-fulfilling prophecy, i.e. persons with low opportunities have depressed aspirations

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1/ Women managers attending training programmes at the Eastern and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI) noted that they stay longer in the same job compared with male colleagues. They usually have to prove exceptionally superior performance to earn promotions which are more easily accessible to their male colleagues. As their contributions are recognized and appreciated less and less, they put less and less effort into their jobs.

leading to low commitment and non-responsibility which result in low performance. Low performance leads the person through the vicious cycle to low opportunity (Kanter: 1977). Decision-makers (mostly men), under the influence of sex-stereotyped attitudes, place women managers in low-opportunity positions which lead the women into the vicious cycle making them manifest behaviour pattern of trapped persons. Such responses are incorrectly labelled as "feminine".

The socialization system within the formal and informal organization structure creates problems of interpersonal interaction which affect the performance of women managers. The attitudes of superiors, peers and subordinates have a strong impact on women managers' performance. Superiors with sexist attitudes usually assign less challenging tasks to women managers and insist on close supervision and control. This curtails the women's opportunity for developing self-confidence and knowledge. In relation to peers, the main limitation to women managers is the social and cultural modes which tend to exclude them from informal networks where much support and information is traded.

Women's access to powerful positions is limited as a result of their limited opportunities to perform activities which enhance power (such as extraordinary activities or activities which provide visibility) and to form alliances (through networks) to increase their power base and access to information. These women find themselves in the difficult position of not having authority commensurate with their responsibilities. Subordinates, whether male or female, know that their own opportunities are enhanced through association with powerful bosses. The preference for male supervisors is in reality a preference for powerful bosses (Kanter: 1977).

Additional constraints of women managers is the fact that important decisions regarding opportunities for transfers and training which have a major impact on their careers are made by superiors based on stereotyped thinking of women's roles, without due consultation with the concerned women managers. 2/ Of additional concern is the fact that men project their ideas of the roles of their own wives and mother to other women at work and to women in general.

Opportunities for self-improvement and enhanced knowledge base which training programmes provide are of great importance to managers' career development. The problems associated with consideration of women's dual responsibility for family and career discussed above impede women from taking

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2/ According to the women managers attending training programmes at ESAMI superiors assume that the women managers' family responsibilities make it impossible to have them transferred to locations away from their husbands and children or to go for training. The women managers are not given the chance to decide whether and how they can work out arrangements regarding their family responsibilities.

x part in training programmes which are held away from the home base. Moreover, employers prefer to invest in the training of their male managers. 3/

#### V. NEED FOR CHANGE

Analyzing and understanding the constraints faced by women in general and women managers in particular and the root causes for the problems is taken to redress the imbalances and negative impacts on women caused by attitudes, educational and employment patterns for women to participate as equal partners in development.

The barriers against opportunities for the advancement of women should be dismantled not only in order to give women their due but also in the interest of national development. The desired development targets in African countries cannot be achieved unless steps are taken to fully utilize the talents and capabilities of half of the human resources.

#### VI. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION FOR INCREASING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT

##### 1. Government

To overcome the inequities which are discussed above, sweeping changes have to be made at the national level through government policy and programme. National organizations of women and national machineries for women mandated to promote the interests of women have major roles to play in this task.

##### Recommended proposals for action

- (a) Provide free and compulsory universal education at primary levels and where possible at secondary levels.
- (b) Revise and redesign curricula to ensure they are non-sexist.
- (c) Provide equal education opportunities for both sexes in all fields of study. Remove constraints of adverse policies and lack of facilities which prevent female students from joining non-traditional female fields of study.
- (d) Provide incentives, guidance and counselling to have more female students take part in administrative and management studies.
- (e) Set up preferential admission policies for women students at higher institutions of learning, especially to non-traditional female areas.
- (f) Remove all legal discriminatory barriers affecting women's work. Review terms and conditions of service with a view to removing discriminatory provisions.

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3/ At ESAMI the proportion of women participating in management training programmes in 1982 was 12.8 per cent, a marked increase from 0.4 per cent in 1977. Most of the women participants come for programmes in health, information and women in development. Programmes which are sponsored by external agencies usually have more female participants than programmes where employers have to foot training costs.

- (g) Institute a system, through media and other means of communication, to shape attitudes on the changing role of women in society in general, and in employment, education and role in the family, in particular.
- (h) Commission studies and research on the position of women in general and women's role and special constraints in administration and management in particular.
- (i) Promote more equitable sharing of household responsibilities by both women and men.
- (j) Institute a system of preferential employment policies for women in all government ministries, agencies and public enterprises to redress past imbalances. Have the same policies apply to private organizations.
- (k) Encourage and support women entrepreneurs and women's economic groups through appropriate legislation, training, consultancy and provision of facilities such as credit.

## 2. Employing Organizations

Employing organizations, whether they are government ministries and agencies, public enterprises, private businesses or other non-governmental organizations, should play a major role in creating the environment for increased opportunities for women in management and administration.

### Recommended proposals for action

- (a) Provide equal opportunities for women professionals through non-discriminatory recruitment, compensation, job assignment, promotion and personal development programmes.
- (b) Recognize career aspiration of women and provide more access to women to strategic and high-level decision-making positions.
- (c) Emphasize the importance of training for improved performance and create more opportunities for women administrators and managers to receive more training.
- (d) Provide opportunities for upward mobility into management for women in secretarial and clerical jobs by training and promoting capable women.
- (e) Make provisions to minimize the constraints placed on women as a result of their dual responsibilities for work and family through instituting flexible work hours, day care centres and other measures.
- (f) Conduct studies within the organization to find out career mobility of men and women in management positions, level of performance, training opportunities, etc. to obtain actual facts on the existing situation, the problems encountered, as well as other factors.

- (g) Based on results of study, establish policies which enhance the hiring of more women, better promotion and training opportunities for women, with particular emphasis on management.

### 3. Organizations of professional women

Professional women's organizations have an important role to play in promoting the advancement of more women up the professional career ladder.

#### Recommended proposals for action

- (a) Organize seminars, workshops and training programmes to enhance women professionals' management capabilities and to discuss issues and problems of attitudes towards women at work and factors dealing with their dual responsibility for work and family.
- (b) Provide legal service and counselling to women on employment related issues.
- (c) Provide a network of information and support in promoting professional women's career advancement.
- (d) Create a forum where successful women professionals share experience with and provide 'role models' for younger women.
- (e) Lobby with government for equal opportunities for women in employment and education.
- (f) Offer fellowships to female students pursuing careers in administration and management and other non-traditional fields.
- (g) Encourage studies on the roles of women in administration and management.
- (h) Fight for the elimination of discrimination against women and sexual harassment in the work place.

### 4. National and regional management training institution

Management and administration training institutions provide the means through which individuals with management responsibilities improve their skills and capabilities for improved performance and career development. These institutes can have important positive impacts on the advancement of women in the management professions.

#### Recommended proposals for action

- (a) Take active measures to solicit the participation of more women candidates in their training programmes.
- (b) Offer special fellowships to women to attend management training programmes.

- (c) In all their programmes, introduce sessions dealing with attitudes and roles of men and women at work to sensitize male managers and initiate a problem-solving approach to issues.
- (d) Offer special programmes for women managers and women aspiring to management positions on issues and roles of women in management.
- (e) Conduct comparative studies into the roles of men and women in management.

5. International organizations

Regional and international organizations with mandates to advance women's participation in all aspects of economic and social activities have important roles.

Recommended proposals for action

- (a) Encourage management training for women. Institute fellowships for training women in administration and management - both for university degrees and for short term training.
- (b) Hold workshops and seminars focusing on women's roles in administration and management and encourage regional and national workshops to develop awareness and sensitize decision-makers.
- (c) Promote research related to women's employment, in general, and women's role in administration and management, in particular.
- (d) Set a good example by providing equal employment opportunities for women professionals in their own organizations and encourage national governments and organizations to adopt similar policies.

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Paper 19

WOMEN AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

A CASE STUDY FROM INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of India not only provides for equal rights and privileges for women and men, but also for making special provisions for women - general as well as special programmes for the welfare of women. The Five Year Plans have laid special emphasis on providing minimum health facilities, integrated with family welfare and nutrition, acceleration of women's education, increase in the labour force and welfare services for women in need. Various welfare and development schemes have been introduced to improve the living conditions of women and to increase their access to and control over material and social resources, e.g. social welfare programmes, supplementary nutrition for pregnant and nursing mothers, increasing enrolment of girls in schools by providing incentives, etc. Special steps have also been taken to remove, legal, social and other constraints to enable them to make use of the rights and opportunities becoming available to them.

Despite all these developmental measures and the constitutional legal guarantees, women have lagged behind in almost all sectors, as shown in the tables.

The low status of women in large segments of Indian society is mainly due to lack of independent employment and income. The process of change to raise the status of women under various spheres of socio-economic activities is possible only if women's interests are safeguarded and integrated into the national developmental plan.

The basic approach to development in the plan is the family - 'Family as a unit of development'. It has been felt that, since women are the vulnerable members of the family, special attention to women is necessary for the economic emancipation of the family. In order to achieve the family-centred poverty alleviation programmes, specific attention should therefore be given to incorporating women's interests more generally in the plan.

Keeping this in mind, the Ministry of Social Welfare has sponsored a study by the Institute of Social Studies entitled "Integrating Women's Interest into Development Planning". This note summarizes the main points of that study.

The project studies various schemes such as economic, social and health schemes that are in operation in the present plan. The study focusses on the effectiveness of these schemes in benefitting the poorer families at the grassroot level as well as on problems and lacunas in the actual implementation of the paper plan. This is supported both by the statistical information collected from various sources such as the Census of India and departmental data at State, District and Taluk levels. National sample surveys as well as the household data were collected during the field visits made for the study. Based on the above, it aims at indicating alternative strategies which can be envisaged to incorporate the interests of women more adequately into the national plan.

Before going into the areas of integration, it is necessary to spell out what is meant by integration of women in development. Integration implies including, in an organic sense, groups who are hitherto excluded from some or all activities in society or in the productive process. It has been found that women who participate in the non-monetized sectors of economy are perceived as non-participants in the production activities of the country, e.g. women who are working on their own land. This results in the non-accounting of women's contribution to national production and employment in the census and other socio-economic statistics.

In this paper, we will be concentrating on integrating women from among the poorer sections of society in the programme for providing employment opportunities, training in skills and basic supportive facilities to women who are already engaged in one kind of activity or the other. It is based on primary and secondary data specially collected and analysed for the study. The paper is organized under six chapters as follows:

- (i) The planning process in India;
- (ii) Methodology;
- (iii) Women's employment;
- (iv) Utilization of schemes by individuals;
- (v) Problems in utilizing the schemes;
- (vi) Suggestions for action

Throughout the study, we will be concentrating on women from the poorest sections of the society. Implications are drawn for incorporating the women's angle into plans, both in terms of selecting areas of inclusion and the infra-structure required to support these areas in the plans, as well as the ideological and long-term implications in planning for women in development.

## I. THE PLANNING PROCESS IN INDIA

India is divided into a number of States on a linguistic basis. The States are further classified into districts and the districts into taluks. The main objective of the planning process is to improve the living standards

of weaker sections, by providing multi-sectoral activities. The local level of decentralised planning is presumed to be an instrument to translate these objectives of planning. Here, we shall be highlighting the plan process at the State and district level, as perceived in Karnataka.

Decentralized planning is done at two levels - one at the State and the other at the district. This two-tier planning is done to remove imbalance in the development of the various districts and taluks. Under this process State Plan Schemes are bifurcated into State Sector Schemes and District Sector Schemes broadly, by applying the principle whether a particular scheme is of benefit to only one district or would promote the socio-economic interest of the people in more than one district. For example, plans for agriculture, forests, primary and secondary education, health, social welfare, etc. are capable of being broken down into district components and they are usually conceived in that manner. On the other hand, plans for energy development, major and medium irrigation, major and medium industries, professional and technical education, research and training etc., are formulated and implemented for the State as a whole. (Schemes in other sectors that do not figure in the above classification are generally treated as State level programmes).

From the total State Plan outlays that cover the district Sector Schemes, district outlays are worked out at the State level by the District and Regional Planning Unit of the State Planning Department. The amounts so allocated are then distributed under the different heads which are a part of the district plan.

The State Plan has two components - a divisible component of roughly 18 per cent of the State Plan, comprising the district plans and the remaining 82 per cent of the indivisible component, as reflected in the State level outlay. The share of each district in the District sector outlay is worked out on the basis of an objective formula giving weight to population and various indicators such as backwardness in agriculture, irrigation, industrial output, communications, financial infrastructure, medical health facilities, power supply, etc.; 50 per cent of the funds are distributed on the basis of population and the remaining 50 per cent on the basis of backwardness in various sectors of the district.

Subject to the resources allocated at the State level, District Annual Plans are prepared at the district level by the District Planning committee as per the guidelines given by the Planning Secretary. This committee comprises the Deputy Commissioner as Chairman, the District Planning Officer as Secretary, and the Project Director, the General Manager of District Development, the Assistant District Publicity Officer and the District Statistical Officer as members. The concerned heads of departments at the district level formulate the programmes against the outlay communicated by the District Planning Committee. These proposals are placed before the respective District Development Council (DDC) for approval. The district plan as approved by the DDC will be sent to the State Government for final approval. At the State level, the District Plans are scrutinized by the concerned State Heads of Departments and final allocations are determined. The State heads of departments also scrutinize the sectoral programmes of

all the districts and make necessary modifications to suit the State priorities and allocations already made to different sectors.

If women's interests are to be organically built into the plan, it would be necessary to take cognizance of their needs at both the State and District level. Admittedly, projects in power, industry or major irrigation sectors have to satisfy a multiplicity of objectives and it is not often obvious how exactly the needs of women could be met in their formulation or execution.

But a conscious approach to cover women as both participants in the State's labour force, and beneficiaries of the products of their projects can alter the situation materially. In so far as district plans are concerned, it is obvious that any area-specific plan can provide specifically for women. For both these purposes, it is necessary to have a clear perception of what the present situation regarding women's employment is, and the possible avenues for their betterment.

## II. METHODOLOGY

The ISST study on incorporating women into development planning was taken up in 1981 in Karnataka. Several rounds of discussion were first held with officials at the State level, with two purposes in view: (i) to obtain an understanding of the perspective within which the schemes were conceived and built into the Annual Plans; and (ii) to obtain a detailed view of the administrative constraints as perceived by the functionaries. These discussions were utilized both to collect the secondary data relevant for an appreciation of the prevailing situation and to canvass the administration's views on a variety of other connected matters - such as the design for field surveys, mode of data collection, district-wise dispersal of schemes, selection of benefit-oriented schemes for detailed study and provision of facilities for conducting field enquiries by the ISST team.

Based on these discussions and other studies, three separate blocks for field study were chosen in Karnataka - Udupi taluk in Dakshina Kannada, Gulbarga taluk in Gulbarga district, Kanakapura taluk in Bangalore District. Within the selected blocks of Udupi, Gulbarga and Kanakapura, villages were selected on the basis of fair geographic distribution and existence of one or the other development schemes. Altogether 40 villages were surveyed, distributed as follows:

NATURE OF HOUSEHOLDS: COMPARATIVE TABLE

TALUK	No. of village centres covered	Number of households surveyed	Sampling procedure
UDUPI TALUK	12	606	Stratified random sampling without replacement.
GULBARGA TALUK	10	427	Purposive sampling
CHITTAPUR TALUK	2	48	Purposive sampling
KANAKAPURA TALUK	18	583	Purposive sampling

Within these villages, except in the Udipi block, the household samples were selected partly from the list of beneficiary households (purposive sampling) and partly from the non-beneficiary households (random sampling). In Udipi, however, a 10 per cent sample of households in each village (subject to a maximum of 80 in any one village) was chosen, applying the method of random selection without replacement to the list of households classified according to land-holding. Altogether, 1953 households in Karnataka have been surveyed.

Information was obtained by means of three separate questionnaires which were canvassed at the level of the household, the project-level functionaries and village officials.

The household questionnaire elicited information on the economic, demographic and social characteristics of the household and the extent of utilization of various development schemes, particularly those specific to women and children. In addition to this, information was collected on utilization of other health and education facilities by children; education, employment, earnings, status of women in the household and their time utilization pattern. Both female and male members of the selected household were interviewed: the principal female respondent was usually the eldest woman of the house, or, if she was not available, the next elder one. Other members of the household who were present at the time of interview also expressed their views on both personal and household questionnaires.

The village questionnaire, canvassed with village officers such as the village accountant, the panchayat president, or any other knowledgeable person, dealt with details pertaining to population, migration, basic amenities, agricultural patterns, industrial development, education, etc., which helped to prepare profiles of the villages. On assessment of the schemes being implemented at the village, taluk and district level, information obtained from the functionary questionnaires served to supplement the data obtained from the household survey.

Additional information was also obtained through meetings and discussions with different groups, such as agricultural labourers, beedi workers, fisherwomen etc., and discussion with taluk level officials.

All of this quantitative and qualitative information was analysed to show the utilization patterns of different schemes and their relation to differences in occupation, caste, assets, income and education groups. Qualitative information on the reasons for non-utilization, administrative and structural constraints in implementation, level of awareness, etc., have also been analysed. The principal findings are summarized in the later section.

### III. WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

The labour force or the working population plays an important role in the growth of economy. Work has been defined as participation in any economically productive activity. Workers are those who work even for a short time and contribute to the economy of the country. Women also constitute a

portion of their labour force. They also work in some economically productive activities e.g. agriculture, household and non-household industry and the like.

Table 1 explains the work participation rate for both men and women, all India and Karnataka for the years 1961/1971 and 1981.

As can be seen from the table, women's participation in work is much less than men's. This may be due to the dual role she has to play - both as producer of income and domestic worker. In addition, it may be due to their lower mobility and flexibility in the job market.

We have now a brief summary of the situation in Karnataka and in the two field survey districts of Dakshina Kannada and Udipi, in respect of women's employment. This part is based mainly on secondary data, available in the Census of India, with some references to primary data produced by the field surveys, wherever necessary.

In order to identify sectors where women's employment opportunities can be increased, it is necessary to first know the trends of female employment over a period of time. This data is available from the Census of India. It was decided to analyse the situation of women's employment between 1961, 1971 and 1981. It should be mentioned at the outset that the definition of a 'worker' varies between 1961 and 1971. 1/ The extremely stringent definition of 'worker' in the 1971 census led to the exclusion of a large number of female workers, especially those working as unpaid family labour on farms and in household industry. This resulted in an under-estimation of the female work participation rate (FWPR i.e., female workers as a proportion of the total female population) in 1971. It is not possible, therefore, to place much reliance on changes in the female worker rate between 1961 and 1971. Thus, for the analysis of women, we have largely relied on 1961 data and examined the changes between 1961 and 1981.

The FWPR in Karnataka State is higher than the All India rate (141.99 against 118.65). The corresponding rate for Dakshina Kannada District is significantly higher than the State average - 289.46 and 146.78 for Gulbarga district. The low female rate for Gulbarga district is, as in the case of the male rate, partially explained by its high urban population.

The female worker rate declined both at the All India and at the State level between 1961 and 1981; both rural and urban rates fell, though the former fell more sharply. In Dakshina Kannada and Udipi, the rural and total rate fell, but the urban rate increased. This increase may be due to the growth of jobs in industry.

Gulbarga district experienced the opposite phenomenon. The female urban rate fell sharply, while the rural rate increased and the total remained unchanged. Gulbarga taluk experienced a decline in both rural and urban rates. This indicates the slow rate of industrial growth in the urban areas of the district, and also that more women are working in the rural areas.

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1/ Indian Five Year Plans 1951 - onwards. Planning Commission, Yojana Bhavan, Parliament Street, New Delhi 110001.

TABLE 1

The table below gives participation rates  
ALL INDIA and KARNATAKA 1961, 1971 and 1981

ALL INDIA

	CENSUS-1961			CENSUS-1971			CENSUS-1981		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	42.97	57.16	27.93	34.17	52.75	14.22	37.55	53.91	20.85
RURAL	45.09	58.30	31.42	35.33	53.78	15.92	39.46	54.32	23.89
URBAN	33.47	52.37	11.16	29.06	48.88	7.18	31.41	49.70	10.64

KARNATAKA

	1961-CENSUS			1971-CENSUS			1981-CENSUS		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	45.48	58.38	32.02	36.06	54.61	16.75	40.24	54.21	25.43
RURAL	48.76	60.40	36.79	38.08	56.65	18.96	44.10	57.11	30.81
URBAN	34.06	51.57	14.87	29.94	48.93	9.01	38.75	48.27	11.82

NOTE: Proportion of workers to total population and not the proportion of the labour force to the total population.

When compared with our primary survey data, the FWPR in Udipi taluk was 49.14 and 62.71 in Gulbarga taluk. The ratios in our sample are much higher for the simple reason that all of the household studies belong to the relatively poor sections in rural areas. The ration in Gulbarga is further enhanced by the large weight given to households selected from the list of households benefitting from schemes specially devoted to improving the living conditions of women and children in the underprivileged section of the community.

It would also be pointed out that the ratios mentioned above are all 'crude' in the sense that they are based on a simple head count. No distinction is drawn between part-time and whole-time work, nor between remunerative work done within the household and that undertaken outside for a formal wage.

An analysis of the occupational distribution of the workers reveals that among the cultivators, the FWPR, when compared with the All India average (47.7) is marginally higher in Karnataka State (48.2); among the districts, it is much higher in Dakshina Kannada than in Gulbarga. This may be due to a

socio-cultural factor peculiar to Dakshina Kannada - the practice of Aliya Santana. As among the Nairs of Kerala, Aliya Santana is a matrilocal and matrilineal system where property is inherited through the female line; to the extent that the system was still strong in 1961, it would account for the fact that the female cultivator rate was slightly higher than the male rate.

The female cultivator rate was much below the State average in Gulbarga district. This is not unfamiliar in dry grain areas, where women tend to work more as agricultural wage labourers than as unpaid family labour, to the extent that such wage work is available.

In 1981 the FWPR for cultivators in Udipi taluk (rural) is 8.51 and in Gulbarga taluk is 5.42. 2/ Our survey data shows that the corresponding rates in Udipi taluk is 12.95 and 13.44 in Gulbarga taluk. The difference in Udipi taluk can be attributed to the fact that our ratios are based on a simple head count. The female agricultural labour rate was higher in Karnataka State than the All India average in 1961; the rate in Dakshina Kannada was higher than the State average. The rate in Gulbarga district was even higher.

The above data indicated that, despite the high land inequality and population density, the availability of alternative work outside agriculture lowers the agricultural labour rate in Dakshina Kannada. As compared to Gulbarga, and of course, the greater rural impoverishment, as evidenced by lower per capita income in Gulbarga and the higher flow of remittances into Dakshina Kannada would also lead to a higher female agricultural labour in the former relative to the latter.

This is borne out by our survey data too. It should also be noticed that there are more women working as agricultural labourers than men. This is partly because in the large number of households having marginal holdings, work on their own farms may not be available for all the members of the households. Generally, while men work on their own land, women would work as agricultural labourers on the land of others. The FWPR in household industry was higher in Dakshina Kannada than in Gulbarga district. Between 1961 and 1981, both the male and the female rate appear to have declined in the State and in Gulbarga on the basis of main workers alone. But we cannot be confident of this unless we know the distribution of marginal workers. The rate increased in Dakshina Kannada and Udipi, especially sharply for women. This is also brought out in the study which shows that 9.86 per cent of women are engaged in beedi rolling. It should be mentioned here that Dakshina Kannada ranks first in the State in the number of household industries, most of them being tobacco units. From the women's perspective, since industry in general and beedi rolling in particular tend to be female-intensive, the potential for female industrial employment is fairly high.

To substantiate the above, the following are the significant features in the status of women's employment that were brought out in the survey.

1. Women are generally working as agricultural labourers, as unpaid agriculture labour on their own farms as well as paid labourers on others' land (see Table 2). Besides agriculture and fishing, a sizeable portion of

2/ Jain, Devaki, Women in the Sixth Plan - Yojana, Vol. XXV 19, 16-31, Oct. 1981. pp 8-12.

women are employed in beedi industry and handloom weaving. These areas of work are more popular because they provide opportunities for work within their own village farms or houses. Also other avenues for employment are either generally inaccessible to women or they are physically harder. Moreover, jobs that require specific skills are not open for women because of lack of necessary training.

2. The duration of work for women is on an average less than that for men. The indirect evidence available shows that a sizeable number of women are in agriculture (either as labourers or cultivators) and that the demand for their labour is greatest for specific operations like transplanting, cutting and building. Hence, for the greater part of the year they are in the state of disguised unemployment.

3. Data shows that household work occupies an average of 3-5 hours of women's daily routine. Thus the time spent on gainful employment either within or outside the home is less than that of the man, who puts in a full day's work. (See Table 3).

4. Women's wage rates are less than men's, either because they do less skilled work or because they are traditionally paid less.

5. The bulk of the female working population belongs to the age group of 15-60 years. This is because most girls start working from 15 years of age. The majority of women in the labour force belong to families with an annual income exceeding RS.5000/-. At the present cost of living even those households with an annual income of around Rs.5000/- can hardly be considered as being above the poverty line, specially when the household size is large. (See. Table 4).

6. Data have shown where opportunities for training which lead to employment exist; women have not been able to take advantage of these. This is due to various reasons:

- Lack of awareness;
- Lack of transport facilities;
- Lack of access;
- Lack of scheme within the village;
- Lack of incentives;
- Lack of accommodation..

#### IV. UTILIZATION OF SCHEMES BY INDIVIDUALS

Utilization of development schemes as reported by households will give us the extent of the impact these schemes have had on households and also on individuals. These responses are classified below:

1. Training Schemes
2. Economic and Employment Schemes
3. Social Welfare and Mahila Mandal Schemes

# 1. Training Schemes

Of the total households surveyed in Udipi taluk (606) and Gulbarga taluk (427) only 46 (7.59 percent) households in Udipi and 27 (6.32 per cent) households in Gulbarga have reported having utilized any of the training schemes. Table 2 below gives the position with regard to utilization of the training schemes by individuals.

TABLE 2

TALUK	SEX	Agri- culture	Animal Husban- dary	Horti- cult- ure	Seri- cul- ture	TRY SEM	Khadi and Vill- age	No. of benefi- ciaries	Total of benefi- ciaries
UDIPI	M	21	6	8	-	-	2	37 (78.72)	47
	F	-	2	1	-	5	2	10 (21.27)	
GULBARGA	M	17	1	-	2	7	-	27 (100.0)	27
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage of beneficiaries to total beneficiaries.

TRYSEM: Training of Rural Youth for Self-employment.

It will be seen that utilization of training scheme is very low among women in Udipi (21.27 per cent) and nil in Gulbarga (0.00).

Looking at the pattern of distribution of these beneficiaries over household variables such as assets and income, we find in Udipi taluk that of the total users among women (10), 50 per cent are from better-off groups such as marginal farmers with animals, and those with annual income of Rs.5001/-. Thus, women from better-off groups have better access to the training schemes than women from poorer households. The reasons for this are apparently as follows:

1. Women are not aware of the scheme;
2. Women have no transport;
3. The scheme is not available in the village; or
4. Functionaries are not easily accessible.

We also found that sufficient hostel or lodging facilities were not made available to women to stay close to training centres or the stipend given was not sufficient for maintenance. All of this has contributed to lack of interest by women in undergoing training; this is more so in the less privileged or poorer households.

Another point worth noting is that the present training programmes offered to women are of not much practical value to them in improving their economic status. Also, follow-up measures are not adequate and women are unable to carry on their own work after the training is over. Considering the fact that women are not as mobile as men in India, as they have to share the additional responsibility of household work, a new approach to training programmes has to be developed so that women can engage in some gainful work within the home or close to it.

## 2. Economic and employment schemes

In Udipi taluk, of the total households, 257 (42.40 per cent) households have utilized any of the economic and employment schemes, whereas in Gulbarga taluk, 258 (60.42 per cent) households have utilized one or more of these. One has to be careful in interpreting the data here as the sampling frame is different in Udipi (stratified random sampling) and Gulbarga (purposive) taluk. Table 3 below gives the comparative picture regarding utilisation of economic and employment schemes by individuals:

TABLE 3

TALUK	SEX	ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT SCHEME							No. of beneficiaries	Total of beneficiaries
		JH	IRDP	ITDP	CO-OPS	EAS/NREP	Banks	AOA/TDB		
UDIPI	M	63	14	26	16	8	30	3	100 (75.09)	265
	F	33	11	3	6	4	6	3	66 (24.90)	
GULBARGA	M	52	143	1	3	23	16	8	245 (89.09)	275
	F	2	7	-	1	14	1	5	30 (10.90)	

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage of beneficiaries to total beneficiaries.

JH: Janatha Housing

IRDP: Integrated Rural Development Programme

ITDP: Integrated Tribal Development Programme

EAS/NREP: Employment Affirmations Scheme/National Rural

AOA/TDR: Any other Agencies/Taluk Development Board.

From Table 3 above, we note that of the total economic and employment scheme users, 75 per cent are male, 25 per cent are female in Udipi and 89 per cent are male, 11 per cent are female in Gulbarga. Once again it is seen that women are much below men with regard to utilization of economic and employment schemes.

Examining the pattern of distribution of these beneficiaries over household variables such as assets caste, education and annual income, we find that in Udipi taluk marginal farmers with animals having primary education and above the poverty-group categories have utilized more than other household categories. Again, the indication is that utilization of economic and employment schemes is higher by the privileged groups of society than the less privileged.

When we look at the Gulbarga taluk data, the argument that less privileged groups have also benefitted from employment and economic schemes stands out very strongly. The distribution of economic and employment schemes beneficiaries over household variables in Gulbarga are much different from Udipi; here landless with animals, SC and ST, illiterates and agricultural labour household categories have benefitted more than other household categories. A fairly good number of beneficiaries are also in the below and above poverty group.

Another factor worth considering here concerns the utilization of schemes by poor households, especially by women. Women in poor households are also breadwinners (main or marginal) and their income constitutes a substantial part of the household expenditure, especially on diet. These women of poor households cannot afford to lose a day's wage or time to get the scheme sanctioned; hence, they are not interested in utilizing the scheme.

We also found out that, especially in poor households, there is no one at home to look after the cow or goat/sheep allocated to them. Hence, children have to sacrifice their education to see that cattle are taken out for grazing and care. This is more so in poor households where both male and female go out to work. The question of how to bring in more women from poor households to take up schemes has to be probed further.

### 3. Social Welfare and Mahila Mandal schemes

Out of the total households only 23 (3.79 per cent) in Udipi and 13 (3.04 per cent) in Gulbarga have utilized social welfare schemes. Table 4 below gives the comparative picture regarding utilization of social welfare schemes by individuals.

From Table 4 we see that, of the total beneficiaries of social welfare, 13 per cent are male, 87 per cent are female in Udipi and 46 per cent are male, 54 per cent are female in Gulbarga. This gives an impression that even though the utilization of social welfare schemes is poor, a good number of females benefitted from them in Udipi and Gulbarga.

TABLE 4

TALUK	SEX	SOCIAL WELFARE SCHEMES								No. of benefi- ciaries	Total of benefici- aries
		1	3	5	7	9	11	14			
UDUPI	M	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 (13.04)	23
	F	1	2	-	1	3	2	1	2	20 (86.95)	
GULBARGA	M	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	6 (46.15)	13
	F	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	7 (53.84)	

Note: Figures in brackets indicate percentage of beneficiaries to total beneficiaries.

- SCHEMES:
1. Scholarship for physically handicapped.
  2. Monthly financial allowance to physically handicapped.
  5. Old age pension.
  7. Financial assistance for needy women to take up training.
  8. Training in tailoring and other crafts for SC women.
  9. Supply of sewing machines and other equipment.
  11. Vocational training centre for women on various crafts.
  14. Nutrition and cooking demonstration camps.

It is also worth noting that, of all the social welfare schemes, old age pension is more popular among users (39 per cent in Udupi, 46 per cent in Gulbarga) and that other welfare schemes have not made much impact.

After a close look at the distribution of social welfare, we find that the privileged group of women benefitted most in Udupi, whereas below poverty agricultural labourers families benefitted most in Gulbarga.

Now looking at the utilization of Mahila Mandal by households in Udupi and Gulbarga, we find that out of the total households 57 (9.40 per cent) in Udupi and (4.070) per cent) households in Gulbarga have utilized the Mahila Mandal scheme.

The basic work of Mahila Mandal which is a grass-root organization for women at the village level to improve the economic and social conditions of women are:

1. Giving training to women in handcrafts, tailoring, etc.
2. Conducting adult education classes.
3. Conducting Balwadis for (0-6) aged children.
4. Conducting meetings and other such activities.

We have found out that women from the better-off group, who find leisure time for such activities, are utilizing Mahila Mandal most in Udipi and Gulbarga. The women from poor and illiterate households are reluctant to utilize any or some of the services offered by Mahila Mandal because they feel Mahila Mandal schemes are meant for the rich and educated or they have no time or they have to go out for wage work or they are just not interested.

Thus, it is a fact that women from poor and illiterate households have no access to Mahila Mandals services.

#### V. PROBLEMS IN UTILIZING THE SCHEMES

Problems related to women's employment are not isolated and solutions to these are part and parcel of the solutions to the problems of poverty and unemployment in general. In evaluating these schemes however, it is seen that there are serious obstacles which prevent women from adequately utilizing these schemes.

The following are some of the problems faced by the households in general and women in particular in utilizing the development schemes, as seen in the survey:

1. It was found that the utilization of the development schemes is poor not because there is no felt need for it but due to lack of awareness about these schemes among the target population. (e.g. NREP - women did not know of their eligibility). Most women in the sample are not aware that they are eligible for work under EAS/NREP. Though they were aware that the Panchayat was in a position to provide work, women expressed their helplessness to demand and obtain the facility.
2. In order to obtain the benefits under schemes such as the IRDP, frequent visits to the taluk office to meet the concerned officers are necessary. Women making a trip usually have to forgo a days work and wage which they can ill-afford.
3. Further, there is hesitation among women to meet the officers and enquire on the details of the scheme. They are often shy and reluctant as they are generally illiterate and feel that they would not be properly treated by the concerned officials. This problem is further compounded if there are no men in the household to meet the functionaries to get the schemes sanctioned. Procedures for utilizing the schemes are thus tedious and expensive.
4. In spite of the provision that loans of Rs.5000/- can be issued without security, banks in most cases ask for security while granting loans. Since most of the women are not property owners, in households where there are no male members or principal male earners women find it difficult to find someone to stand security.
5. Mahila Mandal, which is one of the social welfare schemes meant to benefit poor women, is by and large not a popular institution. Poor women feel that it is an institution meant for the rich and the educated. In addition, working women do not find time to attend the Mandals. The activities

of the Mandal are not relevant and do not help the women in any way. Any training scheme sponsored through Mahila Mandals does not reach the women who need it most.

Many of the employment schemes are not coordinated at the local level. For example, it was found in the course of the survey that the EAS/NREP, which is designed for filling in activity for seasonal unemployment, is carried out parallel to agricultural operations. The latter paid more and hence women preferred it. Also, although the programme is visualized as non-discriminatory in terms of payment, women reported that in actual practice women were paid only 60 per cent of the male wage.

Experience of previous unfulfilled promises of benefits to the needy has resulted in disillusionment and lack of interest in using development schemes. In order to overcome this problem and to ensure that the development schemes are more efficiently used, a few suggestions have been incorporated in this paper.

#### VI. SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

As already indicated, women's problems of employment are not isolated and need to be tackled as part of the problem of the total population. However, their special difficulties of lack of mobility and household workload should be taken into consideration in any scheme providing additional employment.

Based on the annual trends on female employment and the problems faced in utilizing government schemes meant for helping the population, the following broad suggestions are made:

1. Broadening of employment opportunities in areas other than agriculture, such as construction activity, decentralized industry, and services, including trading. Women have also to be provided special facilities for acquiring the requisite skills and for travel to work.
2. As opportunities for gainful employment are created, the amount of hours spent on household work needs to be reduced by providing basic facilities for fuel, drinking water, and child care.
3. Increased employment for women can be achieved through self-employment programmes. These must involve increasing awareness of schemes; providing village level facilities for utilization of schemes; and bank loans of Rs.5000/- to be enforced properly.
  - a) Schemes which provide loans and facilities to women have to be made more accessible. A massive programme of educating women - through public meetings, adult education programmes, providing of information, both at weekly market centres, etc., can help reach a larger number of women at one time.
  - b) Women should be able to get information from the village level workers or through other easy communication systems by which appointments with functionaries can be made in the villages. Officials of the schemes must

be present in the village to answer questions and hold discussion.

c) Officials from banks and other loan agencies need to be aware of the need to be more flexible in loan-granting processes.

d) Training must be suited to the loans given. For example, women given loans for poultry must be given training in poultry so that the chances of the schemes failing are reduced.

4. Employment - a few industries which can provide home work to the women and develop these on a wide scale at the village level must be identified.

5. Strengthening of the NREP:

The programme is conceptually good but the lacuna have to be filled and the employment component made stronger. Leaving the work of the NREP to the BDO is not realistic, and needs monitoring at a higher level.

6. It is further suggested that the co-operation of voluntary organizations could be sought in implementing these schemes, as it was felt that the implementation would be more effective.

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