INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND WOMEN'S ISSUES (1980-1986)
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I. PRE-1980 Strategies

What is development and what are the inherent problems? Why should women be incorporated into strategies determining the development planning process, and what does it entail? Furthermore, why should women be perceived as a special group set apart from the rest of the global population? These are just some of the questions which need to be answered before women can be included in development strategies and society can advance towards greater peace and equality.

There have been a total of three international development strategies (IDS) thus far. The need for an International Development Strategy first became apparent during the 1960s. This need was translated into action when the General Assembly declared the 1960s as the first United Nations Development Decade. It focused on helping the growth of the world's developing countries. However, the inadequacy of the decade was soon obvious. There was a need for a plan or "strategy" to coordinate and optimize the effects of a wide range of national policies. Consequently, a second international strategy to guide governments was adopted in the 1970s for the Second Development Decade. Finally, learning from its flaws, a third IDS was formulated for the 80s.
A. CONTENT OF PAST STRATEGIES

So why should we even talk about strategies? Why are they important? The answer lies in learning from their shortfalls in order to ameliorate the whole development process. In general, these strategies, focused on macro level indicators like GNP and did not specifically incorporate women into the envisioned growth. For example, this fact is clearly illustrated in the goals of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, despite its brief mention of women. An average annual rate of growth in gross product greater than or equal to six per cent was desired for developing countries to imply an average annual expansion of:

(a) four per cent in agricultural output;
(b) eight per cent in manufacturing output.

For attaining the over-all growth target of at least six per cent per annum, there should be an average annual expansion of:

(a) 0.5 percent in the ratio of gross domestic saving to the gross product so that this ratio rises to around 20 percent by 1980;
(b) Somewhat less that 7 per cent in imports and somewhat higher than 7 per cent in exports.(1)

As far as specific policy measures were concerned, the Strategy made proposals for international trade with an export-oriented emphasis without ever referring to making provisions for women in trade. This trend continued for other sectors like science and technology as well. Accompanied with this,
the growth objectives of development which were laid down were very general in orientation. (See Annex I for actual objectives.) Only one objective even mentioned women in any way: "(h) The full integration of women in the total development effort should be encouraged." (2)

What does the issue of integration involve? Most governments view development as a "top-down" process. A common paternalistic government position is to view the problem of exclusion as a question of "integration", as of "supplemental" income, or as of "assistance" on welfare issues. All these approaches assume women to be backward elements of society and their common role as head of the household is ignored. Thus the "top-down" process does not transform asymmetrical relationships shared by men and women.

Instead the gap between intellectual and manual work widens as well as the one for the public and private spheres, and productive and reproductive spheres. "Top-down" is one-dimensional by nature since it views development as the transformation of the workplace from the household to the market.

If this narrow approach did not exclude women from national development strategies/plans, every sector of the economy could benefit from their contributions and result in an overall improved health of the economy. In subsistence agriculture alone, covering about 52 sample countries, women constitute greater than forty percent of the agricultural labor force in 24 of these countries. Their contribution is far more substantive than recognized. Although women are ignored in development plans, they are storehouses of valuable technical knowledge. They could easily impart training compatible with appropriate environmental and energy approaches to agriculture. Not exclusively interested in subsistence agriculture, women
farmers could contribute to cash crops if the serious constraints they face were removed.

Another problem has been that one strategy cannot be indiscriminately applied to all the countries involved. Developing countries are characterized by a diversity of circumstances. They range in size from tiny populations in Guyana and Mauritius to giants like India. "They differ in economic structure from predominantly subsistence economies, like Somalia and Paraguay, to those with an important industrial component, like Brazil and Turkey. Some, like Venezuela and Libya, are blessed with an easily marketable international resource that gives them ample access to foreign exchange, while most, like Jordan and Pakistan, have to struggle mightily to earn less than enough foreign exchange to keep their development moving. Some, like Chile, have a common language and a reasonably homogenous culture, while others, like the Congo, speak so many tongues and are composed of such diverse tribal elements that a national identity is very hard to establish. In political structure, they are not arrayed along any single spectrum from left to right but include a bewildering variety, some with power centralized, and others widely dispersed, some with one dominant party and others with many, some with attempts at tight governmental control over the economy and others with freer reign for private activities, some, like contemporary Indonesia, open to assistance and influence from almost any part of the international community and others, like Burma, somewhat withdrawn and resistant to counsel from abroad." (3)
Keeping this thought in mind, while each one of the three strategies primarily emphasized growth of the national economy, some progress has been attained. Prior to the formulation of the Third IDS, there was a paucity of consideration of women, as is glaringly demonstrated from the sole sentence pertaining to women included in the Second IDS. In the Third IDS, for the first time, the economic and social contributions of women were reflected in its preparation and implementation.

B. EXPERIENCES OF THE 70s

Until this point, what had been the environment for women in development and what was the problem with the Second IDS?

Three years after the beginning of the 1970s decade, the world economy found itself in turmoil. Prices of vital commodities like energy and food skyrocketed. Many countries suffered from harsh combinations of high inflation, massive unemployment, and economic recession. Achievements were not equally shared among developing countries. While some economies did grow rapidly as envisioned, the poorest ones barely kept pace with the growth of their populations.

The relevance of the IDS for the 1970s was further reduced by the General Assembly’s call in 1974, for the creation of a "New International Economic Order." It questioned the world structure and reference for global development efforts. Desiring to recast international economic relations in a more equitable mould, it created reservations among major economic powers about the policies recommended under the aegis of the New International Economic Order.
In general the 1970s were a time of turbulence. Most significantly, the Bretton Woods system collapsed in the early 1970s. Consequently, the framework of international economic and monetary relationships which had been in operation for roughly 30 years, began to crack under the strain of serious fundamental flaws and was no longer acceptable.

Again the same need for construction and reconstruction of international economic institutions was felt. The number of parties involved and the differences of goals and national perceptions among the parties was much greater than that at the end of the Second World War. Effective and equitable management of the global economy can only be achieved through improvements in the various sectors. In turn, this lesson learned cannot be translated into positive action until the contributions and position of women in each sector are considered.

This deterioration in the global situation was not all negative though. It resulted in a time of general awareness and consciousness raising of the position accorded to women. The situation in the Second IDS was deemed unsatisfactory and action was taken. In 1975 the World Conference of the International Women's Year was held in Mexico and 1975 was declared as the International Women's Year. This was a landmark event and did much to direct the world's attention to the problems and inequity faced by women. Two principal documents were adopted: the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, and the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the objectives of International Women's Year. Following the impetus started, the World Conference of the United...
Nations' Decade for Women was held in 1980 in Copenhagen. Here, the Program of Action for the Second Half of the Decade was adopted, which includes sections on action at the national/international/regional levels.

C. ISSUES EXCLUDED FROM STRATEGIES

It has been argued that limitations of past strategies have consisted of misconception of what is to be achieved. (Max Millikan, 1970) The problem is supposedly one of production rather than mere distribution because there are too many poor people to make it feasible to redistribute resources from rich to poor countries. In past experiences, developing countries have experienced economic growth coupled with persistent unemployment. So provision of employment is one of the ultimate goals of the development process. Until this occurs, women's exclusion will remain a problem in development strategies.

Another flaw can be attributed to the geographical applicability of strategies. The usual economic indicators tell us a good deal about national levels of output, but they reveal very little about how the life styles of individuals in different segments of the population are affected by development. Variation in breadth of participation unveils three objectives. First is the classic goal of spreading as widely as possible in the adult population opportunities to participate meaningfully in making decisions that determine the directions in which the society will move. Developed societies involve a larger fraction of the population in their activities than traditional ones. Consequently, a successful strategy should take into account the
different segments of the population (especially increased women's participation) instead of generalizing for everyone as has been the case thus far.

The second type of participation concerns participation in the fruits of the development process itself. The goals for which development strategies are designed must clearly include explicit attention to the equitable distribution of the fruits of the development process. Present inequity in society is only perpetuated if this is not done, without which women will continue to benefit less than men from development strategies.

The third aspect of participation is participation in the key activities through which development is implemented. Provisions should be made for people to participate in development decisions which affect their lives. Thus far women have not been able to contribute input for formulating strategies which affect them too, often adversely as a result of this neglect. Maximization of opportunities for human creativity should be encouraged.

Because people everywhere vary, a maze of interdependent objectives exists, which can be mutually reinforcing or competitive, depending on the circumstances. It is obvious that one cannot generalize about economic development strategies. In light of the variety of circumstances: economic, social, political, and cultural, in which the countries of the developing countries find themselves, one realizes the futility of a general development strategy broadly applicable to the developing world and women. Every case calls for its own specially tailored set of instruments and measures designed for the peculiarities of each complex economy and culture. On the other hand,
while enough similarities exist to justify a general development strategy, what is more important here than a strategy, is a framework to ensure that individual strategies will be both comprehensive and compatible.

The existing imbalances for women could be eliminated through priorities for the 80s based on the following long-run goals influenced by the lessons of the 70s:

(a) To reduce the extremes of economic inequality between countries by accelerating economic growth in the developing countries, especially in the poorer countries, and more generally, by ensuring that international economic institutions develop in ways which ensure a greater share of benefits and greater participation in decision-making for their poorer and weaker members. The elimination, in all countries, of the worst aspects of poverty by the end of the century should be made an integral aspect of this goal.

(b) Structural change to ensure a more rational balance within and between countries in the further development within certain key sectors, such as energy and food, such as armaments production and military activities. The Lima Declaration has already specified the need for a better balance in the structure of world production;

(c) The further development and strengthening of institutions of international economic management on the lines outlined above, especially to provide a continuing and orderly process of structural adjustment.

In summary, the troubled times of the 70s were important in focusing attention towards women. They provided the atmosphere necessary for the inclusion of women in the Third IDS.
B. SHIFT OF POLICIES TOWARDS WOMEN

"The history of development debates in national and international fora on IDS demonstrates that serious research and concrete programs on women connected with international issues are relatively recent phenomena. It was in the Copenhagen Program of Action (July 1975) that explicit reference was made to link women with the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and international strategies. It was recognized that national policies have profound economic and social implications for women's work in the production process, depending upon the type of development strategy adopted." (4)

The new strategy in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 28-11/23 of 15 September 1980 on an IDS for the Third United Nations Development Decade states that women are more adversely affected than men by international economic problems. Furthermore, it highlights serious constraints on the economic participation of women and attributes them to (a) being "international in character" and (b) derived from "the pattern of relationships between developing and developed countries. As discussed earlier, as a result of the 70s, this strategy represents a move towards enhanced consideration of women."
II. THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY (IDS)

A. PROVISIONS FROM DEVELOPMENT PLANS AFFECTING WOMEN (1980-1996)

In general the most successful strategies/plans have been those which established short-run modest goals. They were designed to fully account for the absorptive capacity of the participating individuals and institutions. Careful sectoral analysis was done (including women's role) prior to formulating appropriate and relevant strategies. The true social and economic role of women has to be realized before change and development can occur. Self-reliance has not worked due to a lack of self-identification of the developmental role.

Developed countries stressed legislation to outlaw sex-based discrimination and increase training and access to science and technology. They provided incentives for men to share domestic work.

Centrally Planned Economies emphasized an increase in women's leisure time and participation. They envisioned national activities to improve services, social and health care, child-care facilities and housing conditions by upgrading the material situation of women through technical goods, and maternity and parenthood protection. It is hoped that peace will be promoted by means of participation in national development.

Developing Countries on the other hand concentrated on income-generating projects, improved access of rural women to resources, and support of the informal and small business sectors. Health and education
policies, adult literacy programs, and technical and vocational training for women were advocated. Focus was also added to nutrition and family planning.

Not much over a decade ago, development plans (determined by strategy) incorporated quantitative targets for the entire economy rather than for different social groups. Inclusion of basic policy and research elements, vital for the improvement in economic status of women was not done until recently. Posing inter-related questions which overcome barriers set up by different regions, income classes and countries with different socio-economic systems, is essential. Without this quest for answers, economic policy implications of the contribution of women to development cannot be qualified. For example, what are the inter-relationships between general development strategies and the specific allocation of resources to sectors which employ women? These multiple inter-relationships are complex and eventually influence labor force participation rates for women. At least positive action has been taken in the right direction by asking the appropriate questions.

A United Nations Questionnaire was sent to governments at the end of the 1975 Nairobi World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. Out of the ninety-two governments which responded, only ten had formulated development plans referring to women post-1980. Only thirty-one even had some sort of development plan. In light of this information, one can appreciate just how special and rare the following countries are which have incorporated women into their development plans in some form or another.
1. BANGLADESH

"The policy climate in the executive branch of the Government is favorable to women's concerns. Since 1972 programs for women have been included in all Development Plans. These have been based on the commitment to increase women's participation in order to promote economic development as well as the need for social welfare.

The third Five Year Plan (1986-90) states: 'To ensure a balanced socio-economic growth...equal participation of women is an absolute necessity.' The objectives of this Plan are:

- to reduce the imbalance between the development of men and women through increased participation of women in income-generating activities;

- to motivate women for greater participation in education (both formal and non-formal) and skill training;

- to expand credit facilities for women to enable them to become self-employed;

- to expand accommodation facilities for job seeking and career women and to expand community-based day care facilities for the children of working women;

- to provide leadership and managerial training to women at various levels;
to take measures for moral, physical and cultural development of children; and

to train and rehabilitate socially handicapped and deserted women.

The Plan allocated Tk500m (US$16.5m) directly to the Directorate of Women's Affairs, an increase of Tk220m (US$7.3m) from the Second Plan. Another Tk500m is to be used for women's programs by other ministries such as Local Government, Finance, Agriculture, etc."(5). To see planned programs of the Directorate of Women's Affairs, please see Annex 3.

2. CHINA

The Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85) for the Development of the National Economy stipulated further training for both men and women by rotation. Urban working people who are middle-school graduates were expected to achieve college level through this program. In the countryside, in addition to receiving a general education women would also receive training to improve their techniques in productive activities geared to local sources. Some of these involved scientific farming, breeding domestic fowls and animals, braiding, weaving, embroidery, and other specialized skills.

3. INDIA

Securing a fair share of employment opportunities for women was the objective of the Sixth National Development Plan (1978-83) in India. It was important in its recognition of the importance of enhancing employment
opportunities in order to better the status of women. Enrolling approximately forty-eight million women in twenty-three non-farm sectors, the Plan encouraged industries outside agriculture to stimulate their employment. It also recognized the need to promote employment in "women-preferred jobs" like office work and work in the textile, chemical and electronics industries.

4. Jordan

The development plan for 1981-85 set forth some of the following main objectives:

1. To increase real per capita income.
2. To expand public services in various regions.
3. To reduce interpersonal disparities in income.
4. To reduce regional disparities and achieve a better distribution of population.
5. To expand educational and training programs and raise female participation in the development process.

In 1982 a new Municipal Law was ratified. It gave women the right to vote and run for municipal or village council elections. It was to be followed by the draft Labor Law, which increases maternal leave in addition to providing various incentives to women to join the labor force. An example of such a policy is stipulating that any establishment employing twenty or more women should have a day-care center for children.
The Five-Year Development Plan includes projects for new vocational centers for females. The Ministry of Education has focused more attention on giving literacy and adult education classes to females. Consequently the number of women attending universities has risen. In food production and rural development, projects have been implemented which 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. As far as the mass media is concerned, several national TV and radio programs have been devoted to making the population more receptive and aware of the new development programs for women and their integration.

5. KENYA

As communicated verbally, the current development plan is broken up into sections which specifically deal with women's issues. Formulated in 1985, it is supposed to have been put into action in 1986.

6. MOROCCO

The Ministry of Social Affairs has included women in the current development plan for Morocco, which extends up to the year 1992. Approval is still pending, but the picture looks optimistic. One must note that this information was not obtained from a published source, but was communicated verbally.
7. **PHILIPPINES**

The Philippine Development Plan for 1978-1982, formulated by the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), "included an explicit provision on women particularly under the social welfare policy, although women were classified as among the most disadvantaged groups.

Paragraph 6.6 (Social Welfare Policy) states:

'The State will pursue an integrated social development to promote total human development. Consequently, the national social welfare policy will cover the areas of land reform, health, nutrition, housing, education and culture, manpower development, youth and sports development, children, women and welfare workers, cultural minority, social security and other social concerns.'

The Plan likewise recognized the changing role of women in modern society, stating that:

'Whereas previously the traditional role as wife and mother was expected and rewarded, now women are clearly among those pressured to succeed in modern competitive society. More time is available for the mother to engage in professional activity as the community takes over some of her original functions in the care of children.'
The policy framework of the 1978-1982 Philippine Development plan covered not only economic concerns but also social development which cogently stressed the improvement in the quality of the Filipino family.

For the planning period 1983-1987, there was a noticeable shift in the mode of the Plan as it became more indicative in character; details of sectoral programs and projects were relegated to agency plans. The new Director General justified this as 'to provide implementing agencies with greater flexibility in adjusting their programs to changing circumstances in order that efficiency may be met and maintained.' The few provisions on women contained in this Plan concerned those belonging to the nutritionally at-risk group; pregnant and lactating mothers. Within this indicative character of the Plan, women were no longer classified with the 'most disadvantaged.'

The Updated Philippine Development Plan, 1984-1987 (and incidently again with another change in the NEDA directorship) talks about women in at least three chapters: health and nutrition; education, manpower and labor; and population and social services. The Plan pays particular attention to women in rural areas expressing concern for the advancement of their status (and consequently to promote fertility reduction and outmigration) by way of training in project development, implementation and evaluation to enable them to profitably engage in productive activities. As workers with special needs, the Plan emphatically states that 'women's participation in the labor market will be increased through the provision of greater opportunities for employment and the development of concomittant support systems, i.e., day care centers.'"(6)
8. Rwanda

The Rwanda Development Plan (1982-87) is important because it recognized that women contribute substantively to both farm and non-farm occupations. In addition to providing the infrastructure for special protective legislation for working women, it also targets training of women in skills. Their work in the agricultural sector is also evaluated.

As far as the rural sector is concerned, strategies are formulated for improving productivity in cash crops. More importantly, it notes women's marginal role in the modern urban sector and in public service jobs. This is perhaps the first time that the need for integrated rural development with women's participation has been stressed, and that women in Rwanda have been considered in national policy planning.

9. USSR

The Eleventh five Year Plan (1981-1985) consists of a system amalgamating public guarantees and benefits for women and children. Some of the most significant policies and measures include the following:
- guarantees in the field of labor relations (prohibiting any job discrimination against women, equal pay for equal work, prohibition of the use of women's labor in arduous and dangerous occupations);
- ensuring equality of access to free education, vocational and professional training;
- state care of the health of working mothers and children, a system of free medical care and development of pre-school child care and other forms of public health services and assistance to the family in bringing up children;
- material and moral support for motherhood and childhood, including allowances for families with many children, and for the care of sick children and the gradual reduction of working time for mothers with small children; and
- granting of maternity and other social security benefits for mothers with young children, including pension and tax benefits for dependents.

Benefits and allowances from the Public Consumption Fund totalled one-hundred-and-twenty-eight thousand roubles in 1982. They were utilized to provide free education and medical care, low rents, mother-and-child care services, and pensions for workers who have reached retirement age.

10. YUGOSLAVIA

Women participate in the planning process as self-managers, 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: communes, republics, and the Federation. Due to this plans are only formulated for five consecutive years at a time. While they do not explicitly incorporate women's issues, they do relegate official planning tasks. For example: demographic and employment trends, developments in education, culture, health, social child care, housing conditions, catering for workers and children, workers' transportation, sports
and relaxation, etc. As one descends to lower socio-economic levels, the tasks are more detailed.

In 1982 the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, prescribed inter alia, the main objectives for the political struggle and activities regarding the promotion of the role and status of women in society. In July 1983, the Yugoslav Federal Assembly adopted the Long-range Program of Economics, which spells out numerous tasks for social organizations to do just that.

* Please note that the above country information was obtained from secondary sources and not the actual development plans themselves.

B. ANALYSIS OF SIMILARITIES AND THE CONCEPT OF SELF-RELIANCE

All the country studies shared the common concept of self-reliance. While there is no doubt of its importance, does it extend to women? I hope to answer this question in this section. By definition self-reliance is simply the search for appropriate and alternative development strategies which consider the specific economic, social and political condition in each developing country. More intensive cooperation among developing countries is desired, providing the basis for appropriate integration in global development. The strengthening of cooperation with developed countries would ideologically result from these stronger economic and political ties in a utopian world.
Individual self-reliance presupposes the autonomy of each country in deciding its own development, stemming from its full awareness of its own resources and development needs. The main aim of a self-reliant development policy is to find adequate economic and social development paths, which will define, develop or preserve the authentic values of each society and intensify the whole development process, and lead to the general improvement of living conditions for the population. A successful implementation of this strategy presupposes the full mobilization of all domestic creative forces and resources, including women as fifty percent of the population. Unfortunately, while self-reliance is grandiose in concept, in practice it has not found success. What accounts for its inadequacy? The basic flaw lies in initiation of self-help projects by development plans. Self-reliance is not synonymous with self-help, which is commonly misunderstood. Partial programs such as the manufacture of souvenirs or sewing, cannot by themselves, guarantee genuine social and productive integration of women in development.

In order to truly achieve self-reliance, while formulating strategies, projects and programs, each individual country and area profile must be considered. A variety of developing countries exist, each one diverse from the other. Consequently, they cannot be lumped under one approach just because they happen to belong to the same classification category. Different parameters will affect women's status and participatory role in each country situation. Every development program should be based upon each individual country's willingness to change the general social, economic, technological, and organizational structure of the agricultural sector.
Self-reliance involves interdependence. An individual must be self-reliant and many such individuals combined together form a collective self-reliance. Everything and everyone is interrelated. Not only are men and women connected in their relationships, but they must also be interlinked in a manner involving equal representation. Until this occurs and women are also represented in the highest levels of decision making so that their perspective is accorded a place in development strategy/planning, self-reliance cannot work.

III. SELECTED ECONOMIC SECTORS INCLUDED IN THE THIRD IDS

A. REASONS FOR EXCLUSION OF WOMEN

Despite an improvement in the Third IDS, it still continues to exclude women to a large degree. One may very well ask if conditions can be improved through development plans, then why have women been excluded from them? The answer lies in the nature of the plans themselves. A method of rapid development was initially sought in less developed countries. This led to the concentration of most of the national resources in the public and monetized sphere of society, which is traditionally male, vs. the private or domestic sphere which is a female domain. This wrong perception originated from viewing females as mothers and homemakers, and not recognizing their role as read winners.
Notwithstanding the fact that many practical projects have been launched in developing countries, primarily in the fields of rural development and education, international cooperation affecting women has not yet reached the level of an integrated approach to development. Although women are included in all areas of human activity, the sectoral approach which partly separates women prevails. It dominates because it has not completely analyzed their role in production, reproduction, and development. Underestimation of female-headed households results from the definitional bias inherent in concepts like the household head, who is usually thought of as being male.

1. DATA PROBLEMS

Yet even a more basic problem than that of conceptualization is the lack of adequate data, without which no hypothesis can be tested. An appropriate analogy would be that of a doctor attempting to cure a patient without properly having diagnosed the disease. The majority of existing census and survey data is inaccurate and incomplete. This flaw stems from the fact that women's activities tend to be in non-market sectors/the informal "hidden" economy or the domestic domain, the importance of which was underestimated by economists in the past.

Even if the census data were good, the manner in which it has been collected and the categories defined, both, hide the women from planners. Usually this concealment effectively excludes the productive activities of women. Consequently, female labor force participation data consistently exhibits low levels because women tend to be only marginally involved in the
data collection process as survey designers, interviewers, and respondents. Also, labor force questions and questionnaires tend to be inappropriately worded and constructed for obtaining accurate information for women.

Apart from the informational and definitional problems, women are excluded from development plans on the grounds of bad assessment of their role and government policy. Often planning for women's programs is spontaneous and does not assess their needs adequately. Some projects are not even planned with consideration of the participation of the target groups; consequently, these projects are occasionally not fully implemented. To top it off, monitoring and evaluation of projects is not good. Strengthening of data collection and cross population analysis is sorely needed to determine the participation of women in development. A monitoring system for data collection and analysis and dissemination of information needs to be designed.

Government policy is unrealistic, which is not surprising following the methods of assessment. For example, when governments offer classes in cooking, food preservation, sewing, certain health services, etc., they are emphasizing the wrong skills. These activities are not what women need to be integrated into the economy. They accord women's productive role lower priority. Instead, government policies should emphasize women's career orientation. Such policies only serve as a setback to development and hinder integration into the economy. In practice, policies cannot take shape in the elaboration
of a book-plan. Planning can no longer be conceived as a normative process. It must go beyond economically oriented perspectives to those having a greater socio-cultural nature.

The difficulty in planning for women is that most national planning is done on a sector basis: health, education, trade, etc. There is no focal point to ensure that women's concerns are reflected in national development plans. Secondly, even if they are included, women's concerns are often omitted from the next stage in the planning process which follows the drawing up and approval of long-run development plans. Writing up of projects which will actually fulfill the theoretical goals and targets set in development plans is not done. Once again a sector basis handicap prevails. Also, in a strictly economic cost-benefit analysis, returns on women's projects may not be immediately obvious on a commercial scale. Consequently, these projects are rejected. This would not happen if true socio-economic costs were considered.

2. LEGISLATIVE CONSTRAINTS

Even if correct policy results in legislation, sharp contrasts between legislative change and effective implementation of these changes prevent the full participation of women in society. Fear of recrimination or intimidation often hinders exercise of full legal rights. One one hand, documents are unanimously adopted on the part of governments while, on the other hand, there is an almost complete lack of activity in the implementation of already proposed and adopted forms.
Ignoring this obstacle, the legal systems themselves suffer with problems. Some countries have customary provisions and conflicting legal systems. Civil, penal, commercial codes and certain administrative rules and regulations are discriminatory. This inequality magnifies itself especially in the case of married women where their status is concerned.

Not only are there sexually blind policy and legislation constraints, but women themselves limit their development too. Traditionally occupying a dominant role in agriculture (especially in developing countries), the very nature of the agricultural system imposes restraints upon them. The farms are small in size and it is difficult to obtain more land. There is an absence of contact with male agricultural extension workers. These factors combine together and make it impossible for women farmers to bear the burden of large World Bank project loans that are available, that is, within the confines of their small-farm operations. Without access to credit, transforming their farming ventures into profitable schemes is impossible.

3. EDUCATION

Illiteracy is another major obstacle preventing women's involvement in national development. By virtue of being unable to read and write, they cannot accrue the benefits of development. This handicap is enhanced by the high rate of school drop-outs. In the third world, girls normally drop out of school at an early age to get married or work on the farm.
If educated, women tend to concentrate themselves in female professions like nursing and teaching. These do not enable them to be included in a pool of eligibles. Once more they are excluded from development planning because of the nature of their education.

4. REGIONAL CONSTRAINTS

Obstacles to development also vary from country to country. Centrally Planned Economies' (CPEs) most common complaint is that of the lack of education and time. Yugoslavia is a perfect case study for this phenomenon. In developed countries preoccupation with family needs is a serious problem. The lack of time combined with a negative attitude towards women's involvement in human settlement issues effectively blocks significant progress for women. In developing countries a plethora of problems restrict women: financial difficulties, lack of technical expertise, the traditional role of women, heavy work-load in agricultural and industrial sectors, a low level of education and lack of transportation facilities, reluctance of qualified workers to train women in remote areas, overburdening with household chores, lack of collateral, and a profusion of NGOs with conflicting objectives comprise only a fraction of the chaotic situation.

Women must no longer be granted low priority in policy making. Perceived as a welfare problem, they are excluded from planning. The notion that women are a cost to society and do not make any contribution must be erased. For this to happen consciousness of the growing interdependence between the social and economic aspects of development must be raised.
Not only must awareness of women's worth be raised, but also that of actions taken in their favor. For example, many important documents adopted within the United Nations and strongly backed by NACs and DCs, e.g. Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies, have also been endorsed by Ministerial Conference of NACs in Luanda (1985), and non-aligned countries were called upon to take all proper measures for their realization. The fact that they remain known to smaller groups only which have taken an active part in preparation of the international conferences of non-aligned countries and others, is one of the obstacles to the implementation and attainment of adopted programs and objectives.

In summary, there are a number of explanations for the neglect of women at the identification stage of a project:
- ideological bias;
- lack of base-line information about project participants and beneficiaries;
- administrative convenience in assuming that beneficiaries are a homogenous group;
- assumption that all members of a family (men, women, and children) will benefit from a project;

Too many aid administrators view women in developing countries as prototypes of the "farm-wives" in their own countries. (17)
B. IMPACT OF EXCLUSION ON WOMEN'S ECONOMIC STATUS

While policies and legislation tend to discriminate against women on paper, when they are actually implemented, in practice, the impact is quite adverse. Officially women constitute one-third of the world's labor force, yet they perform two-thirds of its work-hours and comprise fifty percent of the population. However, they only receive ten percent of the world's income and own less than one percent of the world's property. Their incomes are low, which is accounted for partly by the method of calculating GNP and omission in official statistics due to the following reasons: unrecorded domestic tasks, unpaid labor on farm/family enterprises, and labor force done within a patron-client relationship. Existing data grossly underestimate the contribution of women. Whatever the reasons, the impact is quite severe. In the Third World, out of a total of two billion people, 800 million of these, or roughly 40 percent, are poor. The majority of this perpetually poor segment of humanity is comprised of women.

Population structure vis-a-vis attempts to incorporate women into the national development process is an important determinant of impact. The deteriorating terms of trade between developing and developed countries are a good example. A substantive portion of the women world-wide are heads of households and lack regular male support. Often they lack skills, training and support services needed to enable them to provide adequately for their families. Consequently, a male does not share equally in the disciplining/socializing of offspring. This is burdensome for the women who
must cope with hardship in an unequally worsening economic situation and hardship with responsibilities at home.

Biased concepts dealing with women's lives, such as productive labor, sexual division of labor and family, etc. have added to the chaos and misrepresentation. The final result has been an obscurity of these issues rather than their clarification.

1. FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

"The IDS makes no direct reference to women under this important heading, except to emphasize the need to 'promote interaction between expansion of food production and socio-economic reforms, with a view to achieving an integrated rural development' (section V, para 3). Thus, it addresses itself to wider problems of the rural poor without specifically examining the plight of women in rural areas of the developing world."(7) The next logical question to ask would be one inquiring into the plight of women, which varies with subsistence and commercial agriculture in the Third World: 70-90 per cent of the women work and live in the rural areas.

As viewed by Mayra Buvinic, "double-shifts" are an outcome of traditional development theories. The process of development has led to economic marginalization of women in the transition of society from subsistence agriculture to a cash-crop economy. Women continue to perform the majority of the work, yet they cannot reap the benefits due to minimal access
to cash crops. Cash crops are still considered men's work. As a result, women have not benefitted from the trickle-down approach to development as had been hoped.

A good example of the impact of exclusion of women is Africa, where investment and research development were concentrated on cash crops instead of traditional subsistence agriculture. Therefore means of increasing agricultural output were not applied. For example, application of fertilizers and improved irrigation practices could have raised yields. However these activities, falling in the woman's domain, required access to credit, which was socially impossible for them to achieve. Consequently, they were unable to purchase such inputs in addition to being powerless to use political leverage to press for infrastructural improvements. Where cash crops were grown by men, land used for community food was now allocated to cash crops and income generation.

The women attempted to maintain food availability for a growing population, which resulted in greater exploitation of the land by existing labor intensive methods. In the long-run this has begun to manifest itself in the form of massive environmental degradation of vast tracts of territory south of the Sahara. Comprising the bulk of the rural population, millions of women and children are now reduced to the status (or lack thereof) of "environmental refugees". They were left with no recourse but to flee the land which had been their source of livelihood, culture, and continued existence.

One must not forget that though modern technology combined with cultural attitudes may free women from the responsibility of cash crops, they
are still responsible for subsistence production, a vital sector for continued subsistence of life. As demonstrated repeatedly, women's dual position has caused a decline in the willingness to provide labor combined with the suffering of families' nutrition.

They are left with a double burden and a dual life due to a less than complete absorption of the private world of family-related activities into the public realm. Unfortunately women's traditional activities are incorporated into the political system later than men's. This has led to the fragmentation of women's lives. They are basically out of tune with the demands of public life as it is organized in most countries. The current development process is to blame. Please see Annex 4 for examples of this happening in Burkino Faso and Kenya.

On the whole, the agricultural infrastructure does not provide viable opportunities for women. Male domination of property rights and marketing board payments inhibit women's access to credit. In some countries women cannot apply for loans or own property. As is the case in some places, even where they inherit land, they tend to cultivate on behalf of a male member as was pointed out in an ILO study of a Hausa village in Northern Nigeria. Consequently their capacity as income generators cannot fulfill its potential.
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Yet there is every reason justifying increased access to credit for women. For example, in a World Bank urban development project in El Salvador, aimed at increasing women's demand for formal credit, review of the project showed that the credit component was very successful. Resulting from credit to women, family incomes rose between 15 and 100 per cent. They averaged around 35 to 40 per cent where the design had envisioned an increase of 10 per cent only. On the whole, an improvement in family welfare was seen coupled with less dependence on the part of women on the infrequent contributions of male members to the household.
In Bangladesh, it was found that the "repayment rate of women participating in a rural development program which requires no collateral has been excellent. With two exceptions all loans have been fully repaid."(8)

The FAO points out that "emphasis on reaching the men may change the mix of crops grown. In Bangladesh, for example, women grow vegetables, fruits and spices for home use, while the men grow rice and meat. Training and credit directed only to men have caused a shift in emphasis to their crops - with a potentially adverse effect on the diversity of food and nutrition of the family."(9)

What is the solution to all the problems? Agrarian reforms are not the answer since they usually suppress customary rights and give exclusive ownership to men. National government policies are not implemented efficiently either. Their main aim is to maintain cheap food prices in the urban sector, which manifests itself in low prices for crops that women cultivate. This aggravates the existing situation where women rarely reap the benefits from modernized production anyways, since agricultural extension services, technical inputs, and technical assistance are aimed at men. Consequently, a strategy should be devised which gives ownership of land, adequate training, and a fair pricing system to women.

2. INDUSTRY

The above mentioned situation leads to the question of industry. Resulting from a loss of income in subsistence agriculture, crafts, petty trade, etc., women become wage laborers in export-oriented agriculture and in
agro-industries. Many of these are owned by transnational corporations and offer women wages lower than men's, and often lower than minimum wage. The third IDS states that "industrialization policies should have as one of their aims, productive employment generation and the integration and equal participation of women in industrial development programs."(10)

Industrialization is a double-edged sword for women, specifically for those in the Third World. It either views them as cheap sources of labor enabling competition with prices in the world market, or it generates very little employment specifically pertaining to them. The latter idea needs some explanation. For most developing countries industrialization has increased their debt burden due to the high cost of capital inputs and patents. Capital-intensive forms of production do not produce enough increased employment. Furthermore, the jobs which are created are for skilled technicians, engineers, etc, and women are excluded. This inequity in employment magnifies tension between men and women in the workforce. Even when jobs do open up, they are not very promising. Usually they are boring and repetitive, and are based on the concept of women's "nimble" fingers to perform mechanical tasks which do not require high levels of skill. At a certain stage of industrialization and urbanization, white collar jobs open up, and middle-class women enter the labor force, who would not have worked before because previously these were not jobs commensurate with their status open to them. Their entry into the labor force become a horizontal move, instead of a desired vertical move up for women of lower class status. Thus, the increase in white collar jobs does into really open up jobs for the women in the lower economic strata.
Even rapid industrialization, which has expanded employment opportunities in the developing countries, has not fully benefitted working women since they often lose traditional sources of income without getting new jobs. This has shown to be true in industrializing economies like Brazil, India, Mexico, and Nigeria. Various studies reveal that women are increasingly confined to home work, as in the textiles, clothing, and tobacco industries, and in marginal service jobs in the urban informal sector where employment is casual and irregular and where incomes are low.

As far as sheer numbers are concerned, except for certain export oriented countries at the country level, the number of women industrial workers is negligible. They are limited to low productive industries or labor intensive industries. The wages are low and the working condition inadequate. Women are treated as a "reserve supply of labor." This misconception implies a misuse of human resources. An integral approach would rectify the imbalance between the rural and urban sector so that women would no longer be excluded from the industrialization process. Society could benefit and enjoy maximum utility with appropriate utilization of manpower.

Recently, unemployment in the industrialized market has experienced growth. This decline in employment can be attributed to recession or women being displaced from the formal sector to the peripheral employment market. For developing countries it involved a shift to the informal sectors of subsistence agriculture, handicrafts, etc.

Due to the nature of developed countries' economies, industrialization did not result in active participation of women in international trade. Low
family standards and competition for cheap labor forced women to sell their labor cheaply. This coercion, encouraged from a purely macro-economic viewpoint, was pursued because it resulted in lower prices and thus an easier ability to competitively export (at a cost to female workers). Increased capability to export products combined with low production costs enabled businesses to break stiff developed country protectionist barriers, which was in accordance with the IDS strategy for "better" world trade for developing countries. Women had to pay the price for supposedly "better national health" of the economy. (Please see Annex 5 for the closely linked issue of export processing. A thorough case study of Korea is included.)

3. TECHNOLOGIES AFFECTING WOMEN

As far as the market industry is concerned, technology is responsible for the women's conditions mentioned in the previous section. The export-oriented industry in turn leads to factor price distortion due to its capital intensive nature. This results from technology designed for other (North) factor endowments. A typical case study of this phenomenon is Africa, where dependence on imported equipment and machinery is a prime example of inappropriate technology. It has destroyed development of a domestic capacity to generate new technologies which would satisfy the basic needs of the populace. The African economy is not oriented towards intermediate goods like fertilizer/steel/cement where it is forced to be dependent on foreign economies for manufactured inputs.
"The statement in the IDS that 'scientific and technological development should involve and benefit men and women equally' and that there should be 'equal access for men and women to scientific training and to the respective professional careers' requires that action be taken at three levels: first, technological research and innovations should reduce their heavy manual work; secondly, the introduction of new agricultural varieties should decrease rather than increase their work; and thirdly, new technologies, often labour-saving, if indiscriminately applied, will affect their working conditions and cause new types of health hazards and definitely change life-styles."(11)

Women should be integrated into modern technology for new crops and improved varieties, rotation of crops, mixed farming, mixed and intercropping systems, low-cost soil fertility techniques, soil and water conservation methods, and other modern improvements. Their involvement in construction management and maintenance of irrigation schemes would also contribute positively to the agricultural sector. With provision of wells, piped water, electricity, energy, simple machinery, etc., the time spent by women in basic tasks could be drastically reduced. This available time could mobilize them more easily to work on community development programs/national and local programs. (Please see Annex 6 for a complete study on agricultural technology with a case study on rice-farming systems in Africa.)

a. URBAN-RURAL

However, this is not what is occurring. Technological change is viewed as displacing women in the labor market, both in agriculture and industry. It is
argued that women in rural households lack access to technology due to one or another of the following reasons: knowledge of available technology, purchasing power/credit to obtain it, skill required to use it, and decision-making power over the proceeds derived from its use (Agarwal 1981, Kelkar, Cain 1981, Dey 1982, Ventra-Dias 1983).

In rural land-owning households, technological adoption by and/or for the benefit of women is potentially very promising and in practice extremely disappointing. As pointed out by Whitehead (1982:3), it is usually the technological innovations introduced into the rural production system as a whole, instead of those specifically directed at women, which have the greatest impact on their lives. These may include feeder roads, water and electricity supplies, etc. The effects on young women in a Mexican village, of the opening of a feeder road and the inauguration of a regular bus service, were documented by Elmendorf (1981). It was observed that the young women gained mobility and new role identifications, which in turn altered their productive activities and fertility pattern as well.

A wide array of technological devices do exist which could reduce women's labor-intensive activities in transformation work, for example, for food processing: grinders, graters, oil extractors, improved stoves, solar cookers, low cost refrigeration; for water supplies: pumps; for transport: handcarts, wheelbarrows, etc. (12). Yet disappointingly, these "appropriate technologies" have frequently not been as successful as originally hoped because of limited dissemination, limited access or poor design. While the male bias in society generates insensitivity to women's needs on the whole, the failure to disseminate the existing suitable technology, is mostly
attributable to male domination and control of the agricultural extension services. For example, the majority of the extension officers in sub-Saharan African countries are male and are usually found to be focussing their efforts solely on male farmers (13).

b. TRADITIONAL AND NEW

Even in regions where rural women work longer hours than men and are comparatively more active in field production, the introduction of new production technologies has tended to be directed solely at men. More often than not, new production technologies have imposed grave strain on women's workloads. Resulting from women's reduced labor time due to a new technological adoption in a particular task, she may not be able to benefit from increased leisure or consumption because of the structure of her household responsibilities. Consequently, another household member may usurp her gains. Furthermore, considering women's simultaneous and ubiquitous execution of multiple chores, technology directed at lightening a specific task may not reduce a woman's total labor time.(14)

Not only are women adversely affected by new technologies, but they also face limitations in adopting them. It comes as no surprise that women are rarely involved in maintenance and control of technology.(15) Part of the limitations they face arise out of the rural setting per se. For example, often there is on one capable in the village, male or female, who can repair a broken down water pump, a malfunctioning radio or a lorry.
As far as inventions are concerned, scarce official encouragement is extended to village inventors, let alone female ones. Most inventors, scientists, and engineers who have participated in the industrialization process have been men. This comes as no surprise in view of the allocation of roles between men and women in reproduction and production. Government policies in the field of science education are instrumental in denying, instead of providing women with opportunities to become scientists. Women must be socialised and encouraged from childhood to contribute in greater numbers to the sciences. One exception to this situation is the effort currently being made by CHANGE, the London-based Science Policy Foundation newsletter, to identify inventions coming from rural people in developing countries by sponsoring a competition.

When craft traditions are weak in a society, the situation is further aggravated. In this case the rural inhabitants are subject to a technicist attitude in which technical expertise is made synonymous with outside intervention. Even "appropriate technology" represents initiatives by outsiders, who only have a rudimentary awareness of what is generally required. They do not possess a very comprehensive knowledge of available local materials and the intricacies of the cultural, social, and economic environment.

Men typically dominate the limited amount of maintenance of technology that does occur on the part of the villagers. Their comparatively broader range of experience outside the village, and superior literacy and education levels, put them in a position of knowing or at least appearing to know.
Interestingly, the industrial nature of the green revolution is resulting in severe restrictions on women's property rights. Areas which had usufruct rights over land, and which therefore gave women freer access to land, are going the way of patriarchy, as large-scale agricultural production, green revolution technology, and the beginnings of a market in land emerge. In this process women's independent productive capacities are being undermined. This tendency is of growing importance, especially in Africa.

As far as the structure of society is concerned, household prosperity stemming from the adoption of green revolution technology, may instigate what at first glance appears to be a heightened sense of familial responsibility. Prosperous men have their wives go into purdah, relieving the women of doing agricultural field work. But the rationale behind such action is not so altruistic. It often embodies the man's desire for enhanced social status. Purdah is a status symbol in some countries like North India and Pakistan, and advertises the fact that the male household head does not need to have "his women" toiling in the fields (Shahid 1981). Disregarding the artificiality of false status, this represents an active form of women's repression.

In the household itself, submitted to the pressures of rapid technological change and lack of concurrent and conducive social change, severe strains are felt. In the event of marital break-up, a woman usually has few claims to property and her "fallback position"(17) can be very unenviable. In many rural societies, she is expected to return to her own family and often has to live under social ostracism and disgrace as well as material deprivation.

Yet technological advancements have not affected all women equally adversely. Women in formal sector households have benefitted from human
reproduction technology. Infant mortality rates are exceedingly low, and the women are inclined towards using modern forms of birth control and desire fewer children. An attitude of what Boserup terms as "responsible parenting" has been cultivated. It involves the idea that the quality, not the quantity of children, is what matters. Children's education is often treated as something akin to a household investment. During the pre-school years, it is frequently considered important that the mother devote as much time as possible to childcare. The reasoning behind this attitude is that her children will attain good social training as a result; hence a woman's time is still very child-centered, but not necessarily full of pregnancies and breastfeeding.

However, for the most part, the consequences are formidable, whatever sector they may be in. In both rural and urban regions, the gradual dissolution of the importance of traditional social constraints on women's productive role in the community and market will not be significant enough to guarantee women's access to technology. In order to gain a better bargaining position for pursuing their capabilities in the household, market, and state of the 21st century, women's science and technical education is indispensable.

4. DECISION-MAKING AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Until now I have been mentioning the unacceptable position of women in various sectors of the economy. Much material published by the United Nations and ILO has discussed their inadequate representation at the political level and their non-participation in national decision-making bodies and agencies, management boards and trade unions. Women are being short changed by being
unable to participate in collective bargaining, or supervisory committees/councils, or trade unions. This results in an adverse effect on their working conditions and lives in general.

One may very well wonder what it is about the nature of policy-making which excludes women. The problem lies in their lack of representation. For example, an organizational map of Europe from a women's perspective would take this form:

"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 no 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 level. Men are represented through class organizations which have access to the political market (Offe in Berger 1981, 138)."

More importantly, a step above the national level, women are excluded from a broad, macro international level as well when strategies are formulated. Aggravation of the global political situation is diverting material and human resources which are needed for development; i.e., imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, expansionism, apartheid, all other forms of racism and discrimination, exploitation, policies of force and all forms of manifestations of foreign occupation, domination and hegemony, and the growing gap between developed countries and developing countries.
How can women overcome all of these obstacles? Obtaining formal education is an appropriate place to begin. Over one billion women in the Third World today are unable to read and write. For some countries as much as 90 percent of the female population is illiterate. Unfortunately, their illiteracy has been on the rise recently.

People need to realize that one of the best investments for the future economic growth and improved welfare of a country is educating the female population. Statistically it has been shown that a correlation does exist between fewer premature deaths associated with an increase in the mother's level of education. Nutrition surveys have repeatedly stressed that on the whole, families are better fed when mothers are educated. (This correlation is sometimes questioned, but according to verbal contact with Richard Anchor, it seems to hold.)

Unless something is done immediately, the "human capital" of the world will be wasted or under-utilized without the development of women's access to resources and decision-making. After all, they are the ones being affected by strategies and decisions. Why shouldn't they have a hand in determining forces that will influence their lives? Only they know best where this factor is applicable.

5. WORLD TRADE CONDITIONS AFFECTING WOMEN

Much discussion has taken place regarding the improvement of terms of trade between rich and poor countries, and better and stable prices for
countries relying heavily on primary exports like tea, coffee, rubber. This
has been known to lower women's wages in many developing countries.

What is clear though, is that due to an unequal world system, working men
and women are not receiving the best deal possible from appropriate
international policies (mandated by strategies) through which "extra" profits
are reinvested and remain within the country. Barriers and restrictions on
trade for developing countries severely hamper profitability and success.

In trade the position of women in developing countries has generally not
been considered. Although international trade influences national economies,
women participate solely at a national level. They are viewed as sources of
cheap labor and experience low standards of living; thus, while the
quantitative aspects of development are met, the qualitative ones are not.
However, if women were incorporated into development strategies/planning,
qualitative improvement of mutual trade would result. If developing countries
opt for higher stages of industrial processing, higher forms of economic
cooperation and diversification in production, they would find it easier to
compete in the world market. Greater ability and potential to compete will in
turn reduce pressure for cheap delivery of goods based on underpaid female
labor. Therefore the notion of collective self-reliance would definitely aid
women.

There has been a worldwide decline in economic activity. Politically,
certain developed countries have lacked the will to attempt to rectify the
unjust situation. Protectionism against developing countries' exports is
popular in all its forms. In general a deterioration in the terms of trade
has been observed and monetary instability, high interest rates, and an-
inadequate flow of official development assistance on acceptable (soft) terms have resulted in further aggravation of the existing problems. The '80s have been riddled with the debt crisis, poverty, continued population growth, rising divorce rates, increasing migration from developing countries to developed countries, and the growing incidence of female-headed households.

With a generally worsening economic situation everyone suffers, but women are the most drastically affected group. Any policies aimed at amelioration are formulated with the concept of equality for all in mind. Unfortunately this is not true and such policies cannot work in a world where women suffer from inequality. Instead these policies widen the gap between men and women. Women are the group who have been the most adversely affected by the bad economic state. Their poverty has only increased.

According to McCormack all development theories continue to consider equality between sexes. Consequently even the newest notions about development with equity fail to consider equality for women. As the poorest of the poor, women have been the hardest hit by so-called stabilization policies, 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 when many third world countries cannot efficiently compete stemming from a lack of comparative advantage. As a result these policies are regressive for growth and equity. The gap in income distribution and absolute poverty has increased concurrently with a reduction in social spendings and subsidies for basic goods.
The neo-classical economic approach of export promotion stimulates industries which are disassociated from domestic market expansion. This further aggravates depression of domestic markets resulting from devaluation and export subsidies. Consequently women remain excluded from productive sectors. Even if women were employed in export-oriented industries, they would still be excluded. Such industries only employ women in the lower echelons of the production process and do not let women unionize, which has its own implications.

World recession, discussed earlier, has wreaked havoc in the employment situation. Contrary to logic, improvement in educational opportunities, specifically for women in higher and middle socio-economic strata has not been followed by a parallel increase in levels of employment. Surprisingly this trend continues even in developing countries with relatively high rates of industrialization.

6. CONCLUSION OF SECTOR ANALYSIS

Sectors benefitting from the incorporation of women could be listed forever. Society has much to gain from equal participation of both men and women. In view of the proportion of women comprising the total population, women's issues should be built into the macroeconomic analysis of developing countries. As far as purely economic incentives are concerned, an increase in the productivity of women is an ideal means of tapping a large pool of potential labor power. This action would raise the economic productivity for the entire economy and women's self-reliance would be developed. All participants would benefit.
The participatory approach to development hopes that women will play a role in the articulation of project goals and working towards achieving them. Potentially, a "ripple effect" could occur. Initial input in women would start a chain reaction. Those women in turn would train others and the process would continue to replicate itself. At the moment though, they are prevented from doing so due to lack of institutional support such as labor unions to get them into politics.

Women are already incorporated into the development process through their dual role as reproducers and producers, regardless of statistical visibility in the GDP. They are also beneficiaries and reproducers of the labor force in the economy. Consequently, due to their dual role, they affect the development process and are themselves affected by it both positively and negatively. A definite interrelationship exists between the reproductive and productive roles. Therefore we should capitalize in women's multi-roles as assets that can enhance development. They form a crucial part of the human resources required for national food production plans.

IV. CONCLUSION

A. IMPORTANCE OF A STRATEGY

As stated in the 1975 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: "Without the full and equal participation of women in international relations, particularly in
decision-making concerning peace, processes of negotiation, conciliation and 
(other peaceful settlements of disputes) (resolution of conflicts), (ending of 
the arms race, including the prevention of its expansion to outer space), the 
democratization of (human and) international (economic) relations remains 
incomplete. All of these are reflected in the concept of 'peace' that not 
only means the absence of war, violence and hostilities, at international and 
national levels, but (also) (is inseparably linked with) social justice and 
equality with regard to the distribution of resources, power and benefits 
within society.)".

Yes, women do face unequal conditions in the economy, but how is a 
strategy important in being able to solve this problem? A strategy is simply 
a macro level approach to finding a solution. It identifies the problem and 
makes policy recommendations. These in turn are implemented in the forms of 
programs and projects. A strategy by itself can achieve nothing, but it is 
instrumental in shaping action. Just how important strategy is will be made 
evident from the following simple example.

In Egypt, for the National Plan covering the time period 1982-3--1986/87, 
women's participation in economic activity is less than 10 per cent. An 
improvement is not foreseen in the future. Tradition opposes women's 
employment and their double burden is made worse by the absence of social 
services. This in turn has serious repercussions on their careers. Unequal 
access to education, acquisition of technical knowledge and other skills 
generate persistent inequalities for access to employment, promotion and 
choice of career. In the informal sector, the level of exploitation is high.
Working conditions are inhuman, the rates of illiteracy and fertility are high, socio-cultural constraints prevent full participation of women, and they have a low family status.

A double strategy is called for in this particular situation, wherein lies its importance:

1. radical transformation of economic, social and cultural structures which tend to perpetuate the underdevelopment of both men and women;
2. direct actions enabling rural women and those of the less favored classes to be considered as actors and beneficiaries in the development process, by planners and decision-makers.

First, the problem was identified and then a strategy was devised.

Women must be integrated not only socially and politically, but they must also be included in the decision-making procedure so that women's issues can be addressed in the planning process. Realistically, only increased participation of women in decision-making can result in integrating women as the beneficiaries of strategies and planning.

The problem lies not in the participation of women, but in common misconception of their role as being an inactive one in the economy. Women's work is mostly invisible as far as statistics are concerned. It is largely unrecognized due to its non-renumerative nature. Under the present world economic system, most activities in the non-monetized sector are not included in Gross National Product (GNP); consequently, although women are very much a part of the labor force, they are not the focus of the decision-making process.
Furthermore, the very definition of labor force activity by the International Labor Organization (ILO) is inadequate. It words it as follows: All persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labor 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 Labor Statisticians, 1962). 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 only consumption (ILO 1962).

This definition does not include activities of self-consumption such as subsistence agriculture, home construction and improvement, milking animals, and processing food for family use. Once again, exclusion of women is strengthened through non-recognition of the informal economy.

Therefore development should measure provision of more equitable opportunities for men and women. In the short run women should be included in GNP and in the long run, emphasis on GNP as an indicator of development should be eliminated. First, by recognizing their contribution to the economy, the importance of including women in strategies will be highlighted. Only once that this does occur, can one dispose of GNP as an incomplete indicator. Unfortunately this has not been the case for most development plans, which only increases the urgent need to change existing methods of formulating development strategies in order not to ignore women.

How can society overlook the important role of women? They contribute far too much to be treated in such a manner. (Please see Annex 7 for some of
development strategies exhibit a definite lack of receptivity to social, cultural, and political aspects. It cannot solely be an economically oriented process. Human productive and reproductive activities must also be included in the informal sector of the economy. To be successful, a development strategy has to combine both macroeconomic and social objectives and examine the impact on various groups of society, including women. Gaps in macro level policies and plans can be bridged through inclusion of women's concerns in strategy/planning.

B. LINKS WITH DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

The term planning has come up a number of times now. How is it linked to strategies and what is its importance? A development plan is the means by which a strategy can be put into action. While a strategy encompasses conceptual theory, a plan is the practical for the theory.

By a conventional definition, development planning involves a general improvement in the material and social well-being of society as a whole. While this concept incorporates higher GNP/capita, the following reforms are also necessary: 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 benefits. While these objectives refer to specific goals, from a macroeconomic viewpoint, planning implies the optimal allocation of resources. In order to promote development, this is especially so for capital investment among the various sectors of the economy.
A basic inescapable fact is that countries must formulate development plans to liberate men and women. Their relationship and interaction must be altered to truly achieve prosperity in a country. For this change to occur and for development planning to be used as a means of altering current conservative systems, we must learn how to develop learning systems.

If used properly, development planning can improve upon many ills of society, especially some of the following for women. They suffer from unsatisfactory participation in socio-economic life, low level skills among employed women, lack of mobility stemming from transportation constraints, concentration of the female labor-force in certain economic branches and in non-economic activities, relics of social behavior from the patriarchal form of families: especially in backward rural areas, too low a degree of socialization of certain traditional household functions and family duties, and the unsolved question of the burdens and costs of biological reproduction. These costs still not have been treated completely as a composite part of the social reproduction cost which has to be borne by society as a whole.

What it all boils down to is that countries plan development to attain improvements in the living conditions of all categories of the population, including women. An increase in the active and equal participation of all in the development process (specifically through the realm 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 such as human equality, freedom and dignity, as well as a promotion of the participation of all people in the decision-making process concerning development, are the desired results. Development plans are simply the tool of strategies with which improvement of society can be sought with proper use.

"The argument that when a surplus population, and consequently a surplus labor force exists, the priority for employment should be given to men is simplistic as it attempts to solve a fundamental problem with a temporary measure that protects the interests of those in power. Nor does this argument take into consideration the long-term disadvantages of a purely male orientation that relegates women, (often more than 50 per cent of the national population), to a secondary position, thereby perpetuating all the factors that created rapid population growth, i.e. lack of economic opportunities, detrimental attitudes, etc. These, in turn, perpetuate poverty and unemployment." (UNIDO 1981:22).
(a) Each developing country should formulate its national employment objectives so as to absorb an increasing proportion of its working population in modern-type activities and to reduce significantly unemployment and underemployment;

(b) Particular attention should be paid to achieving enrollment of all children of primary school age, improvement in the quality of education at all levels, a substantial reduction in illiteracy, the reorientation of educational programs to serve development needs, and as appropriate, the establishment and expansion of scientific and technological institutions;

(c) Each developing country should formulate a coherent health program for the prevention and treatment of diseases and for raising general levels of health and sanitation;

(d) Levels of nutrition should be improved in terms of the average caloric intake and the protein content, with special emphasis being placed on the needs of vulnerable groups of population;

(e) Housing facilities should be expanded and improved, especially for the low-income groups and with a view to remedying the ills of unplanned urban growth and lagging rural areas;

(f) The well-being of children should be fostered;

(g) The full participation of youth in the development process should be ensured;
IIALY

A program has been commenced under which union women attend university courses in the evening. This is included in a special arrangement called "the 150 hours". While it has been a success, its major flaw has been a lack of orientation towards training for leadership.

Kenya

The Women's Bureau has been offering better educational and training facilities to women in order to involve them in development projects and to encourage collection of data on the situation of women, especially in rural areas. It set up animal husbandry and horticultural pilot projects in both agricultural and non-agricultural areas. Income generating activities stressed self-help. For example, women could be encouraged to sell groundnuts, raise goats, or weave fibers. By 1984, training had been imparted to over five-thousand women's groups covering many diverse areas. It resulted in an increase in the number of women leaders and extension workers in different economic sectors.

In 1982 membership had expanded to encompass 11,125 women's groups, from which 1,267,121 women were involved in fighting illiteracy. Adult literacy classes enjoyed an enrollment of 273,000 women out of a total enrollment of 347,000.

The Bureau maintains liaison with non-governmental organizations like the National Council of Women in Kenya (NCWK), Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization (MYWO), and the Professional and Business Women of Kenya Association (KUWA). These bodies hear the socio-economic and cultural plight of women and grant it consideration in national development planning.

Pakistan

In 1979, a women's division was created in the Cabinet Secretariat under the direct supervision of the President. Comprised of five wings incorporating research, program monitoring and evaluation, it has planned programs to expand literacy and development of income-generating skills of women. Since its inception it can boast of at least six national conferences to its credit dealing with issues like "women's participation in scientific and technological developments" (Quetta, 27-30 October 1981).

PERU

On May 25, 1983 the Office of Women was established by the government. Its purpose is to be a consulting organ to the General Draft of Justice of the Ministry of Justice. The functions if this office include the following:

1. Protect the constitutional rights of women.
2. Formulate, propose, and co-ordinate policies and action for promotion of women.
3. Execute and promote studies and research in relation to the situation and status of women in Peru, and disseminate such information, as well as systemizing pertinent legislation.
4. Elaborate and implement, where deemed appropriate, pilot projects related to the situation and status of women in accordance with constitutional stipulations.
5. Stimulate the promulgation of legal and normative instruments directed at achieving the integral development of women.
6. Express opinions on issues concerning the situation and condition of women in Peru.
7. 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.
8. Other objectives as may be designated by the General Director of Justice and the Minister's Office.

In addition to this organ and other government entities, the Co-operative Committee with the Interamerican Commission on Women (CIM) of the Organization of America States is also present in Peru. It is a specialized intergovernmental organization.

Despite these organizations, in practice women were not incorporated into national development planning. SENATI was created in 1983 as an institution dedicated to technical training. While it is not exclusively for women, it deserves mention because it does train women in non-traditional occupations.

Furthermore, in 1982-83, the Secretariat for Women's Affairs of the Federation of New Towns and Popular Housing Tracts (FEDERPJM) of Lima organized series of "Schools for Women". These provided training in organizing, working in groups, and developing community work plans.

**PHILIPPINES**

In 1982, Balikatan sa Kaunlaran (BSK), a government-initiated but privately-run organization, acquired a legal personality by incorporation and became independent of the NCRFW. As an NGO, it formed a Board of Trustees representing the thirteen regions of the country. To maintain the NCRFW and BSK tie-up, the BSK By-Laws specifies that five of its eighteen trustees are to be filled by NCRFW officials through which means the programs of NCRFW designed for the rural women are assured continuous implementation and support by the BSK members." (This whole section was extracted from the INTRAW folder on *Women in Development Plans* dated June 1987.)

The department of Women of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines is a more specialized NGO. It is particularly concerned with women workers. In 1980 it expanded its existing programs to include the following objectives:
- to impart the basics of trade unionism
- to promote understanding of issues of interest to women workers
- to stimulate awareness of the problems of working women
- to assist women workers to decide and develop a plan of action
- to develop positive attitudes and values
The Rural Improvement Clubs of the Philippines serve as volunteer core groups to harness rural women's potential through various development-oriented community programs and barangays. As of 1982, members of this organization numbered approximately three-hundred-thousand, comprising six thousand-nine-hundred-and-eighty-one clubs all located in all the provinces of the country. This organization is supported at all levels by the government field workers in home economics of the Ministry of Agriculture. The RICs have the following five broad categories of programs:

- Food and Nutrition - undertakes projects to improve knowledge, attitudes and practices in family nutrition with emphasis on the prevention of malnutrition among infants, the utilization of indigenous foods and homestead food production.

- Income Generation - includes projects that develop microbusiness management using available raw materials to augment family income.

- Child Development and Family Life - helps foster sound family relationships and well-being including positive Filipino values.

- Resources Utilization - helps optimize utilization levels of energy, water and material resources

- Household Economics and Environmental Sanitation - aims to increase awareness for effective income management, improve housekeeping and health and sanitation.

Outside the Civic Assembly of Women of the Philippines, more popular women's groups emerged around the 1980s. An example of these would be GABRIELA, WOMEN, TW-MAE-W and NOW. They are composed of groups of women from various sectors: professional, business, rural and urban poor, relatives and sympathizers of political detainees, religious, etc. Within the context of a socio-political focus which includes the welfare of women, they conduct protest marches, fora and dialogues, and disseminate information materials. These all serve to ventilate issues about which they demand action.

**IRINIDAD AND LEBEDD**

Legal reform was passed in 1982 to "remove lingering discriminatory provisions." Schooling was deemed compulsory for both boys and girls between the ages of six and twelve. Men and women are now 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. Also, the Matrimonial Proceedings and Property Act were updated to allow a divorce following a minimum five year separation, even if the respondent did not consent.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Allocation (TK million)</th>
<th>(US$m)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Skill Development and Training Production Centers. Training-cum</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>4.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>production centers to give wider coverage to the unemployed and</td>
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<tr>
<td>destitute women. Training areas: poultry, dairy, livestock, garments,</td>
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<tr>
<td>handicraft and food processing. Training are also given in family</td>
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<td>planning, adult education, nutrition, basic health, cooperative</td>
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<tr>
<td>management, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Services for Women. The acute accommodation problem of many</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working women requires work on the second phase of the Career Women's</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hostel, Dhaka and completion of Khulna Hostel.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Services for Children. Day Care for working mothers with low</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay. UNICEF assistance is available for project &quot;Development of Day</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Care Services&quot; (2and Phase) during TFYP period.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4. Strengthening of women's academy and the Bangladesh Jatiya Mahila</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sangetha or National Federation of Women (BJMS). To be</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>strengthened for maximum utilization of available resources, for skill</td>
<td></td>
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<td>development, in-service training and refresher training.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Allocation (TK million)</td>
<td>Allocation (US$m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Rehabilitation of socially handicapped women. Focuses on delinquent minor and teen-aged women, women beggars, prostitutes and destitutes as well as “anti-socials” for purposes of rehabilitation as useful and productive members of society; to provide care, protection, education and training for meaningful re-entry into society.</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Evaluation Studies. In order to measure impact and performance of women's development projects.</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Credit Revolving Fund.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Spillover from Second Five Year Plan.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. For winding up projects.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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16.5

* This entire annex was extracted from INSTRAW's folder on Women in Development Plans.
ANNEX 4

In one example of Burkina Faso, the program of production established by the resettlement authority imposed intense agricultural work for men and women for ten months of the year. Consequently, women were also deprived of fields on which to cultivate condiments, important nutritional components of the family diet. In the new development projects, land was not made available to women either on the basis of customary usage or according to the new modes of acquiring land. According to the number of "active" family members who worked on the commercial food crops, each family only received one hectare of village land on which to construct its dwelling and arable land of about one hectare. With this set up, women found themselves completely deprived of personal agricultural resources.

Given the importance of personal resources, for the financial and nutritional well-being of families, certain women managed to get their husbands to let them use a plot of land. But it must be noted that this was usually village land without promising arable potential.

Market infrastructure was also lacking in the resettlement areas; thus, depriving women of at least 50 per cent of their economic power. To make matters worse, water and fuelwood were further away than in their former villages. It goes without saying that this work load excluded the possibility of being able to attend health education or literacy classes. Initially, no investment in wells or grain mills has been planned to decrease their burden.

Kenya provides another example of targeting men instead of women for rural development projects. An irrigation/settlement project was aimed at men even though women perform the majority of the work in rainfed agriculture. Mechanization of land preparation relieved men of physically demanding labor, but the introduction of irrigation increased the workload of women. Prior to the implementation of this project, decisions concerning disposal of crops and proceeds had been allocated as women's domain. With the project, this shifted to men, and women no longer accrued the remunerative benefits.
Export processing is an issue that links very closely the concerns of women from the First World and women from the Third World. What it boils down to is that women in the First World are looking for/getting displaced from jobs, and women in the Third World are getting jobs. This quantitative employment approach does not take into account the greatly varied working conditions in the Third World. Examining the semiconductor industry, cultural factors and working conditions contribute to the fact that not very many women are allowed to stay on or are unable to stay on after their mid-twenties. Culturally, there is pressure for women to move back into the family and to not work anymore. Physically, their eyesight is gone. They are working over microscopes sixty hours a week or more for several years and their eyesight does not last. That may change because of the increase in automated equipment in Asia, but at this point it still seems to be the general characteristic. A 1984 Korean survey of the effects of microscope work found that about 47 per cent of the operatives were near-sighted and 19 per cent had astigmatism, although they had had 20-20 vision when they were initially hired, only a few years previously.

Female microchip workers are also exposed to suspected carcinogens that could continue to harm their health over the coming decades, while some of the chemicals used may impair their reproductive systems which, in turn, may endanger future generations.

The problem is that the women workers are not aware of the existence of these invisible hazards, or tend to disregard them. Many even refuse to wear protective masks because these impede the attainment of high productive quotas.

Apart from this, there are other hazards, such as the use of chemicals, although more chemicals are used in the wafer fabrication stage within the United States. Solvents are used to clean components and equipment, yet even in "clean rooms" workers are exposed to toxic fumes. So working conditions are definitely a problem. Often safety standards are not enforced as strictly in the Third World as they are in the First World.

Not every aspect is negative though. Within industrializing Asia, many women workers do value some of the freedoms and some of the access to consumer goods that they may gain as a result of work in the factory. However, one must not forget that these gains are short-run phenomena only. In many cases, the traditional family structures which have held them down are merely replaced by factory paternalism. Some companies have gone as far as installing the factory manager as a father figure. Others, opting not to exploit traditional culture, have distributed cosmetics and play rock-and-roll music to try to build up the loyalty of the women. All this does not point to any genuine evidence implying the liberation of women in the long-run, except perhaps in the workers’ long-run reaction to inadequate working conditions.

The nature of the semiconductor industry itself is very limiting. Semiconductor factories are in the middle of an assembly line and are totally dependent upon the designs and marketing of the multinational firms that control the industry. It is impossible for a country to develop its own independent semiconductor industry. Even if technology is transferred, it is so far behind the state of the art that it is similar to countries setting up steel mills 20 years ago. Fabricating steel was possible for them, but that did not really rank them in the international marketplace.
Consequently, the only way in which that this export strategy is economically "profitable" is if factory workers are paid less than what is required to consume their product. Therefore the whole assumption and philosophy behind export assembly is that workers will never purchase the products that use sophisticated chips. While there is a small market for consumer items like transistor radios in some countries, for the most part, women who produce chips will not be the ones found buying items like personal computers. It is pretty clear even to the most casual observer that export assembly generates economic activity, but alternative strategies really might present a more viable option.

Also, international cooperation has been limited by the tactics used by companies. For numerous years they have been telling women in the North, who comprise the bulk of the production workforce, that they had better not join a union, otherwise cheaper labor can be obtained as an alternative in Asia. Asian workers too have been played off against each other. For example, Korean assemblers may be told that women in the Philippines work twice as hard for half as much money and vice-versa. This kind of division has effectively prevented any form of international cooperation which could lead to sorely needed higher wages. Not only are they low, but there is also a wage gap. As measured by analysis of data published in the 1982 edition of the ILO Year Book of Labor Statistics, the gap between men's and women's wages ranges from over 50 per cent in some countries to a narrow differential in Sweden's manufacturing industries where the ratio of women's earnings as compared to those of their male colleagues is 90.1 per cent.

Linked with bad wages is also the problem of long working hours associated with export led industry. Women of the Republic of Korea had the longest working week in 1983 with 55 hours, more than twice as long as that of their counterparts in Norway whose working week was only 24.9 hours. (18) Between 1960 and 1980 in Korea, the number of female workers in the second sector labor force increased 7.4 times (from 160 thousand to 1178 thousand); male workers in the same sector increased 6.3 times (from 303 thousand to 1918 thousand). In comparison, the rates of increase in the tertiary sector were 2.1 times for female workers, and 4.0 for male workers.

Thus, two discernable impacts of Korean export-led, labor intensive industrialization on female labor force participation can be identified. One is the absorption of a significant number of economically active women into the rapidly expanding industrial sector, primarily into the export industries. The other, which is less visible, but no less significant, is that the burden of farming falls disproportionately on women who are left in rural villages as the increased numbers of able-bodied workers desert back-breaking farming for city jobs. Correspondingly, the share of women in the total agricultural labor force increased from 36 per cent in 1965 to 43 per cent in 1980.

In summary, using contemporary Korea as an example again; in order to show industrialization patterns, the urban based, export-linked capital accumulation is related to women's economic activities in three ways:

"(1) a dramatic increase of factory work in the city in which predominantly young single women were employed;
(2) intensified agricultural work among rural women; and
(3) a noticeable increase of white-collar jobs for a small proportion of women." (19)
ANNEX 6

In the agricultural sector, especially in Latin America, plantation managers are tending to abandon their dependence on resident laborers and their families (ILO 1983). Agri-business with more mechanized production is becoming more predominant, resulting in a reduction in labor demand and the casualisation of the labor force to fit the seasonal needs of crop production to avoid labor overheads. This strategy imposes harsh strain on rural households who have grown to rely on wage incomes.

In Asia, the existence of female laborers in rural areas, the majority or which are landless, is more common. It has been suggested the higher productivity of Javanese rice production relative to that of Bangladesh results from more extensive use of female labor in field production. 40 per cent of the labor used in Java is female, compared to Bangladesh where women's labor is confined to post-harvest work as a rule. In traditional agricultural methods, the Javanese use 60 per cent more labor and achieve 57 per cent higher productivity than Bangladesh. The gap is reduced to 221 per cent and 25 per cent respectively with the use of green revolution technology. Cheap female labor appears to be vital for Java's performance. Women's wages are lower than men's and they often are involved in labor contracts which approach an "attenuated form of sharecropping." One can safely assume that the more vulnerable position of women in (Java's) economy and society combined with the lower mobility of women with children (comparative to men) means that they can more easily be included in types of dependency relations which are very convenient to the employer in terms of labor management and control.

In many cases, the effect of labor-saving green revolution technology has created massive female labor redundancy. For example, new pesticides in a province in India displaced female laborers who were used to being hired for weeding four hours a day during the growing season. Also, the switch from female harvestors using small knives to male harvestors using sickles has happened in some places. Consequently, women have lost much money in laborer's wages.

Rice farming systems in Africa present an interesting case study for the impact of technology on women. Attempts to transfer to Africa labor-saving equipment, new seeds and agronomic practices developed in Asia have often met with disappointing results because they were inappropriate for African conditions. One type of problem is technical; for example, the breakdown in resistance of Asian seed varieties to blast (Pyricularia oryzae), a common disease in Africa.

Another type of problem, however, results from transfer of inappropriate technologies to the socio-economic organization of production and consumption. It can be attributed to the inaccurate assumption that the European or Asian-style "family-farm" consisting of one household purse only, also exists in Africa. This is just not true.

While many examples of successful introduction of new new rice technologies do exist, numerous research and development projects have had disheartening or downright negative results. These are attributable to failure on the part of scientists and planners to appreciate the complexity of the farming systems.

A farming systems approach requires sensitivity to the following points: 

(a) Planners and scientists have different educational backgrounds from
farmers and different perspectives of the purpose and role of household level agricultural development within the context of overall national development objectives. To bridge this gap, planners, scientists, and people implementing projects need to consult and work closely with both men and women farmers who have considerable skills in their own spheres and who are generally articulate in expressing their needs if given the chance. The case studies show that women farmers are rarely consulted. In only one example, that of a project constructing causeways in a mangrove rice swamp in The Gambia, did project engineers and management work with women farmers in building some sluice gates and canals, and this was due to the women's initiative in requesting a meeting with the project staff and asking for help. This suggests that farmers are receptive to planning and implementing projects with the "experts" and it is the latter who often need to take more initiative in meeting the farmers half-way.

(b) Planners and scientists also need to take account of the fact that men and women often have conflicting interests over the control of resources and incomes within the household, with women generally having less economic and sociopolitical power to protect their interests. Thus those planning and implementing projects may at times need to intervene to protect women farmers. (20)

An example of inappropriate technology not taking this into consideration is in the Ivory Coast. Women complained that the stalks of new seed varieties were too short. Consequently, they were unable to harvest by sickle as is customary, but with a small knife since their upland fields are full of tree stumps hidden by the rice. However, due to this being a slow process, cutting the short rice varieties requires extensive periods of back-bending work.

As shown by studies, to date, more rice technologies resulting in negative effects for women have been introduced. Mechanized ploughing has decreased men's labor input in Madagascar, which has allowed an expansion in the area under cultivation. This in turn increased demand for female labor in transplanting and weeding. In the Banfora region of Burkina Faso, the swamp rice development project imposes significantly more intensive cultivation practices (line transplanting, fertilizers, careful weeding, water control). Due to rice production being wholly the women's responsibility, this has greatly increased their workload. Concurrently, they are still expected to contribute the same amount of labor input on the upland crops with the result that they are now working harder and spending longer hours in the fields than before.

Such rice development programs and projects will lead to serious negative consequences for the women and their families (unless they are able to undertake alternative income generating activities) if they result in a loss of women's traditional rights to rice land and control of personal crop. To begin with, they will probably be unable to meet their customary obligations to their families, the heart of which lies in the provision of vegetables, meat and fish in addition to other cooking ingredients and condiments. Men are of no help their inability to provide these things. They have absolutely no obligation do so., as the extreme examples of settlement schemes in Burkina Faso and Kenya demonstrate. An impoverished diet, reinforcing already existing malnutrition would be the only result.

Women would no longer be capable of providing for themselves a whole range of things which they currently do, such as clothes, cooking utensils,
bedding, religious and ceremonial expenses, soap, and personal items. This would render them economically dependent on their husbands. Since the tradition of men providing for these expenses is not customary, they may decline from giving their wives adequate money.

Lastly, women would be deprived of the social and personal esteem obtained from being good rice farmers. They would lose their independent role as rice farmers, which would lower their self-respect and undercut their social status. Such negative effects are already visible in some countries. For example, dissatisfied women are out-migrating in increasing numbers from the forest region of the Ivory Coast, the Mwea Irrigation Scheme in Kenya, and the Diola in the Casamance region of Senegal.
ANNEX 7

SOME FUNCTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF WOMEN

1. Provision of the basic elements of human physical survival: food, clothing and shelter.
2. Maintenance of a healthy and clean environment.
3. Preservation of family assets and possessions.
4. Provision of emotional security.
5. Provision of intellectual, religious, moral and ethical stimuli.
6. Provision of the social security by forging harmonious social linkages between her family and the outside community.
Footnotes

2. Ibid: 4-5.
5. INOSRAW folder, Bangladesh.
6. "
8. Weekes-Vagliani. _The Integration of Women in Development Projects_: 15.
17. Sen 1984 in Bryceson, Deborah Fahy. Women and Technology in Developing Countries.
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I. UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS
   A. GENERAL


   This publication reports on the national seminar on the "Integration of Women in Development" held in Dhaka. It reproduces the four main papers presented at the seminar. They research the following topics pertaining to Bangladesh: Women and Education, Women and Employment, Women, Nutrition and Health; and Women and Public Policy.


   This publication begins with a preamble highlighting some of the problems faced by developing countries. It then lists the goals and objectives of the strategy followed by proposed policy measures. These measures encompass international trade, science and technology, and human development. It goes into some length about production, shipping, restraints in developing countries, and the importance of developed countries' cooperation.


   This is the actual text for the third development strategy. It consists of a preamble, goals and objectives, policy measures, and review and appraisal of the implementation of the new International Development Strategy.


   In this book a strategy of development for the '70s is approached. It analyses various concepts associated with them. Increased investment is required for development, which can be achieved either through increased domestic saving or foreign exchange earnings, each one of which has its own particular constraints. Productivity has been shown to increase with capital investment. Once a development strategy does take-off, planners must bear in mind the rate of saving, supply and demand balance, and the achievement in some kinds of production of economies of scale. Trade is important for growth, which once set in motion, must be accompanied by equity.

   Concurrently, a balance must be struck between agriculture and industry.

This was prepared as a result of the Second Regional Conference on the Integration of Women in Development in Lusaka, Zambia on 3-7 December 1979. It presents a report of the conference and then a directory of regional machineries/institutions, etc. in various parts of Africa and what they do.


This publication records the proceedings of the conference. It presents decisions of the conference, historical background of the conference, attendance and organization work, summary of the general debate, reports of subsidiary bodies of the conference and action taken on these reports by the conference, and adoption of the report of the Conference.


This is the complete text of the strategies adopted by the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women. They basically cover obstacles, basic strategies, and measures of implementation for the following broad categories: equality, development, peace, areas of special concern, and international and regional cooperation.


This is a big compilation of all the topics discussed at the conference. It includes many subjects like apartheid, education, refugees, etc. In general, it presents a picture of the position of women in the world.


This publication is exactly what its name suggests. It presents an overview on the role of women in development, agriculture, industrial development, money and finance, science and technology, trade, and conservation of energy resources. Finally the concept of self-reliance and the integration of women into development is discussed.

This survey is the result of the Assembly's recommendations to conduct one covering the following: the present role of women as active agents of development in each sector, an assessment of the benefits accruing to women as a result of their participation in development, namely income, conditions of work and decision-making; ways and means of improving women's role as agents and beneficiaries of development at the national, regional and international levels; and the potential impact of such improvements on the achievement of overall development goals.

8. SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

1. AFRICAN TRAINING AND RESEARCH CENTER FOR WOMEN


This is a very thorough study analysing women's position in the industrial development decade in Africa. It discusses aspects like factors affecting women's participation, general strategies, policy recommendations, etc. Macro level issues and enterprise level issues are researched and case studies are presented.

2. FAO PUBLICATIONS


This study focuses on women's roles in rice production, post-harvest work and marketing. It looks into the implications for expanding production and raising productivity and incomes under different cultivation conditions. Emphasizing the role of women, it examines the various aspects of their traditional roles in rice farming systems by using data gathered through case studies undertaken in selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Finally, this paper suggests recommendations for government policy, research, project design, monitoring and evaluation, etc.


This paper accounts for FAO's concept of food security encompassing the following three elements: increased food production, stability of supplies, and accessibility of food. It reviews women's responsibilities for cash and staple crop production, for secondary and gathered foods, for animal production, fisheries, and food handling within the context of food security. Constraints are examined and possible remedies are outlined. In addition to proposed measures to increase women farmer's output and efficiency in food production, governmental and international initiative that could strengthen general policy related to women and food security is also suggested.
3. ILO PUBLICATIONS


This is a short, but highly informative paper on the position of women in the workforce. Apart from the wage gap, regional and national trends, demographic policies, participation in trade unions, and ILO standards are discussed.


This is an analysis of the situation in selected industrial market economy countries. It reviews the measures - whether of a legal nature, affecting employment or vocational training policy or taken by employers or workers' organizations - which have been taken in selected countries to broaden the employment opportunities which are open to women.


These are issues of a regularly published ILO publication dealing specifically with women's issues in the working world. They discuss areas of promotion of equality, jobs and skills, at the workplace, participation in decision-making, recent developments, and recently published official documents pertaining to women.

4. INSTRAW PUBLICATIONS


This paper was presented at a seminar in New Delhi. It is the preliminary result of a survey being done at a global and regional level of academic and other centers that offer programs, courses on women related issues. Discussing development, the content and institutional contexts of Women's Studies in five regions, it also mentions constraints that have hindered or encouraged its development. The interrelationship between research, teaching, public awareness and policy making is emphasized.

Bryceson, Deborah Fahy. Women and Technology in Developing Countries: Technological Change And Women's Capabilities and Bargaining Positions, Dominican Republic, 1985.

This study supplies empirical evidence to the women's technology issue by considering women with respect to technology in its wider sense: objects, techniques, skills and processes which facilitate human activity. These can
be further examined in terms of reducing human energy expenditure, reducing labor time, improving spatial mobility, and alleviating material uncertainty. The importance of this study lies in its examination of the social constraints exerted on women's relationship to technology through the social institutions of households, community, market, and state.


This study examines how in spite of carrying a much greater burden of household responsibilities than their counterparts of the pre-industrial age, modern women in their traditional role have become economically inferior to the modern men. The impact of monetary relations upon women stems from the nature of the monetary systems themselves and their directional effects. They have wrought structural changes in women's household production patterns. The impact of monetary policies upon women and their response to the engendered changes depends upon the strength of women's linkages to the markets. Social class is an important factor too for impact.


In this book long-term trends in the world economy are analyzed to show their effect on the economic position of women in developing countries. Two perspectives are approached: the position of women who are wage earners and therefore gainfully employed, and the role of women who work in unpaid labor such as household work, farm work, etc. Employment trends are examined sector by sector.

Marei, Wafaa. The Importance of Research and Training to the Integration of Women in Development, Dominican Republic, 1985.

The focus of this study is the importance of undertaking research and training activities for the process of integration of women in development (WID). Research uncovers the existence or non-existence of particular information, issues, and problems associated with it that were not visible prior to having undertaken the research. Both research and training efforts are relevant to the integration of WID since they offer constructive actions for the incorporation of women.


Impact on women of certain key trends in investment, production, and trade in the developing countries is covered. Some developing countries can no longer be typified as mainly primary commodity exporters since they have become predominantly manufactured exporters. Also, despite an overall growth in food production, the number of people without adequate food has risen. The effects
of trends like this have not been distributed evenly. Almost always women end up with a heavier share of the burden.


This paper provides an overview on key analytical issues and constraints on the role of African women in food and agriculture. It focuses on the idea that insufficient attention has been paid to their role whilst searching for solutions to Africa’s food problems. A number of policy options and strategies aimed at redressing the stagnation, negative growth and deterioration experienced by the African economies over the past two decades in their food and agriculture sector, are presented.


This study is a compilation of the papers presented at the conference held in Santo Domingo in December 1983. On the whole, these papers study the incorporation of women in development planning and the problems associated with achieving this goal. For example, the need for equitable data. Some of the papers present case studies of the experiences of selected countries.


In this report experiences relating to the use of women in development and guidelines/checklists are discussed. Their common goals and objectives, peace, applications, monitoring and evaluation, follow-up plans of action, etc. are analysed.


This study discusses the determinants of the world economy and women’s situation. It appraises the present situation of women in international economic relations and suggests directions for future changes. The fact that the role of women in international economic relations is primarily not a question of feminism, or even equality between human beings, but a question of dire economic necessity is stressed. Macro and micro economy linkages and their consequent impact on the role and status of women must be studied both in the traditional context and for emerging international economic structures. The current crisis is examined and the search towards future changes is suggested.
The Integration of Women into Development Planning. Dominican Republic, 1984.

This pamphlet summarizes the interregional seminar held in Santo Domingo on 5-11 December 1983. It is informative about INTEGRAL's role in the debate on women and development planning and lists recommendations made at this seminar.


Every INTEGRAL study relevant to women in international economic relations is summarized.


This folder was prepared for an interdisciplinary seminar held at Concordia University in Canada. It provides a very thorough summary of what the problem of women in development plans is, which is backed up by some case studies. Extracts of selected country development/organization plans are provided and the place of WID/guidelines/checklists is discussed.


Statistics are provided to give profiles of working women. The study is partitioned off into the areas of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, European Market Economy Countries, North America, Oceania, and Eastern Europe.

5. JOURNALS


This is a regularly published journal directed at those involved directly in the formulation and implementation of development policies and those concerned with the cause of development. This particular issue examines among many issues, development trends since 1960 and the problems of integrating the developing world.

6. NGOs
   a. ARTICLES

This article shows how the manner in which low-income families adapt to their environment can have major implications for the effectiveness of development programs involving them. It takes into account production and distribution patterns and decision making within the family.

b. TRAINING KITS


This is a training kit intended to inform and train people about women and development. It provides guidelines for program and project planning, and for a seminar. Briefly summarizing background articles, the role of women in decision-making, food, and industry, it also suggests further reading.

7. UNESCO

Informal Meeting on the Identification of Issues Concerning Women and their Consideration in Development Planning. Final Report. San Marino, 1985, not to be quoted without permission from UNESCO.

Within the framework of the Second Medium-Term Plan (1984-89), according to the Approved Program and Budget for 1984-85, the Unesco Secretariat, through its Division for Soci-Economic Analysis has undertaken a number of activities for the development of planning methodologies to integrate women's concerns into national policy formulation and development plans. The meeting had two main aims. The first one was to investigate if the concerns and the priorities of women were taken into consideration in development planning in some countries and if so to analyze and evaluate the methodologies utilized. The second aim was to single out methodological difficulties encountered in incorporating women's concerns in national policy formulation and national development plans combined.

b. INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

a. OECD PUBLICATIONS


This book is a study focusing on women and combines survey data and anthropological materials to bring a new perspective to bear on the problems of breaking into the vicious circle of hunger, poverty, illiteracy, and early childbearing. Dr. Vagliani has developed a methodology to use existing data which has recently been made available for Malaysia, Fiji, Sri Lanka, and the Dominican Republic.

This paper researches human resources, especially women's contribution to them. After general consideration for a framework of project analysis are delineated, three types of projects are reviewed. These include the following: general agro-food projects, women's component projects, and will women-specific projects be of help. Major issues in implementing, monitoring, and accountability are explored. Finally, tentative conclusions are reached and future research is suggested.

II. Non-UN SOURCES
A. Articles


This article is an after-thought to the 1982 Dakar Seminar on *Another Development With Women*, where the author delivered the keynote address. It presents "the view from below and within." This publication is divided into the following sections: the three immobilities, work and non-work, and learning from women as food producers, industrial workers, health providers, and educators. It concludes with "what are women up against."


This is a concise but very thought provoking article about consideration of women in the Third International Development Strategy and their position in food and agriculture, participation and human resources development, and trade. It leaves the reader wondering about the questions which have not been studied for women for the above mentioned sectors.


This article examines female participation in production oriented primarily to the national market, on medium-scale freehold farms in Zimbabwe's purchase lands. The importance of differentiating women's role in commercial agriculture from their roles in general development development is emphasized.

This study investigates the relationship between economic development and women's work in the rapidly industrializing country of the Republic of Korea. The form of integration of women is considered to be the most problematic. Change in women's economic activities in relation to the pattern of economic growth in Korea is investigated.


After a critique of what Staudt calls liberal feminism, she outlines Marxist-feminist approaches which she concludes to now be at a theoretical impasse. The state, bureaucracy and the ways they institutionalize male privilege are focused upon. The discussion of liberal feminism in women and development needs re-examination.

B. Author

Papers and commentaries related to theories of development are compiled. They all emphasize the role of women in relation to social change on all continents. Recent case material accumulated by feminist scholars is drawn upon, which covers a range of interdisciplinary analyses of the relationship between theory and policy. By different countries following development theory's recommendations for promoting economic growth, the resulting rationalization and consolidation of resources have been shown to produce similar consequences for women despite substantial differences in national goals.

C. Banks


The above three papers examine overall development policies and the role of women in development in each one of the following countries: Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Thailand. Looking at the role of women in the labor force, they discuss the constraints faced by them, along with their implications. They then proceed to study WID programs, first at the national level, and then by international assistance.
D. GOVERNMENTS
Ministry of Agriculture. Integrated_Program_for_Rural_Women, Quezon City, 1983.

This manual was compiled to be of use to every Home Economics Extension Worker. It aims to provide guidelines for improving the quality of life of the Filipino family, particularly the farm family. Of special interest is the Ministry of Agriculture Nutrition and Home Extension Program for Rural Women.


In this book the following issues are examined subject by subject for Sweden: problems and obstacles, action taken and proposed measures, and future equality-promoting work. These subjects include the following: organization, education and training, working life, family policy and family law, housing and community planning, health and social problems, representation, moulding of public opinion, and international cooperation.


Population Planning is discussed within the context of Pakistan's Fifth Five-Year Plan. The study is divided into the following broad categories: economic sectors, population planning, education and training, health, social welfare, and physical planning and housing. Approach for the Sixth Five-Year Plan is also discussed.

E. RESEARCH INSTITUTES


Each one of these reports discusses The Women and Development Unit's activities in the Caribbean region. What has been already done and what needs to be done are discussed.
This is a compilation of many papers regarding the issue of women and industrialization. It is divided into the following main categories: current issues of women's participation in industrial work (theory and research), opportunities and challenges of global economic interdependence (multinational corporations and women), the socioeconomic context of women's work, women and industrial work in the third world (case studies from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East), education and training, and helping women workers (programs by and for women).


Various sessions held at the symposium are summarized. They focused on three major areas of activities: political, economic, and social. Women's share in promoting peace and development is repeatedly stressed.


This kit concisely summarizes women's activities in various parts of the world and what is being achieved by various groups. It scrutinizes the following regions: Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, and The North. Also, issues of funding, networking, and development policy are discussed.


This study is a result of the "Group-Country Workshop" in which delegates from six Southeast Asian nations participated. Followed up by visits to these countries by consultants, various ideas were presented towards improving the lot of women in the respective areas. Women in agriculture and rural development were focused upon along with the national machineries affecting them. The remainder of the study concentrates on areas of action by the CIRDAP, inter-country project proposals, and some project ideas. Concluding remarks include the observation that CIRDAP could play an important role in promoting regional cooperation in the project on integration of women in agricultural and rural development. The specifications and financial implications still have to be worked out though.

This report examines the employment problem in the Dominican Republic. The economic status of the Dominican women is definitely affected by the history and importance of industrial free zones. Employed in them, they face benefits and many limitations as well. Finally, recommendations are made for improvements in worker services in the zones.

The Role of Women in Developing Countries: A Study. International Center for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries, Yugoslavia, 1985.

This study was prepared in response to a request "to prepare a study on the role of women in developing countries and on areas of cooperation, exchange of information, and sharing of experiences in this field which may be used as a reference in the preparations for the World Conference on Women, scheduled for 1985." It approaches the role of women in developing countries conceptually. Sectoral issues concerning the role of women in developing countries are analyzed. Women do not adequately participate in decision-making institutions. Also, increased international cooperation among and with developing and developed countries is required for the advancement of women.


This publication is one of seventeen sectoral studies within the Research Program on South-South Cooperation. It examines various sectors from the point of view of an integrative approach and makes recommendations for innovative development policies. Forms for promotion of South-South Cooperation are discussed. Then analysis of the experiences and evaluation of the results of women in development is done. Finally, various decisions and recommendations are summarized.


The focus of this study is the importance of undertaking research and training activities for the process of integration of women in development (WID). Research uncovers the existence or non-existence of particular information, issues, and problems associated with it that were not visible prior to having undertaken the research. Both research and training efforts are relevant to the integration of WID since they offer constructive actions for the incorporation of women.
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