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ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION
WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

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The Economic and Social Context

The countries in the region are all committed to strengthening the domestic agricultural sector, to export promotion, to developing a policy of industrialization, to developing locally controlled financial institutions, to increasing vocational and technical training, and to the principle of regionalism. In few instances have governments, however, applied any of these programmes specifically to women, who constitute at least one-half of the region's population and two-fifths of its labour force.

Recognizing the need to utilize all resources in the development process, concern with the role and status of rural women has become a critical issue on the agenda of many of the countries of the Caribbean. The incorporation of gender issues in the development agenda stems from the fact that women participate in agricultural development at various levels: a) as farmers and producers of crops and livestock and users of technology; b) as food marketing, processing and storage workers; and c) as agricultural labourers.

Women are one of the Caribbean's untapped resources. There are approximately 2.5 million women in the English-speaking Caribbean and their participation in the development of their societies is a direct result of historical legacy, cultural heritage and the existing socio-economic conditions of their countries. A significant percent of all households are headed by women, the majority of whom are engaged in agriculture, in low-paid, low-skilled jobs and/or in the informal sectors of the economy.

Contemporary agricultural production in the Caribbean ranges from the traditional subsistence modes to highly mechanized systems. Between these extremes are numerous variations based on the technological advancements of individual agricultural communities, historical labour patterns, the sexual division of labour, the colonial experience and the type of crops grown. As emphasis has shifted from domestic production to international market concerns, the types of crops grown and the methods of cultivation have changed. Such changes in turn have modified labour patterns and influenced women's involvement in agriculture.

This chapter will review the socio-economic situation of Caribbean women under different systems of agricultural production.

A. The Historical Legacy

The peculiarities of farming systems in the Caribbean have their origins in the history of colonialism and the dominance of the plantation system. During colonialism, most of the land became the private property of the planters who were often absentee landlords living in far-away



metropolises. Some of the lands were also owned and cultivated by external companies. Only land which was abandoned or situated on the borders of plantations was available to the indigenous population. Moreover, in a general sense, the plantocracy constituted the ruling class of these societies although and from the second quarter of this century its considerable powers were modified by rising nationalism or independence, in many of these countries the plantations have continued to exist under private ownership.

The development of sugar plantations in the Caribbean in the seventeenth century created a demand for labour which was met by the importation of slaves from West Africa. At first, male slaves were more numerous, but by the end of the eighteenth century the slave sex ratio was balanced. The gender division of the labour amongst these slaves was decided not by slave memories of African traditions but by their European slaveowners and their beliefs. Planters were aware that women worked in agriculture in Africa and used this knowledge as justification for their utilization as field labourers in the West Indies.

The cost of feeding a large slave labour force persuaded many planters to allow some measure of peasant-like activities to develop. Mintz has shown that as early as 1672 in Jamaica, male and female slaves were cultivating subsistence plots on weekends. Slave women were involved in buying and selling the surplus production on Sunday mornings at public markets (Mintz 1964:25-51). This growth of marginal production and internal trade within the plantation slave economy, and its concomitant gender division of labour, occurred to varying degrees on other Caribbean islands, including Montserrat, Tobago, Saint Vincent, Dominica, Grenada, Barbados and Saint Christopher (Edwards, 1980). The Sunday market was so important that the stringent laws restricting the mobility of slaves were relaxed during market days. In a wider social context, it may be noted that the usual mobility of market women enabled them to facilitate communication among the plantations, a significant feature in organized slave resistance as well as the development of a creole society.

1. Gender Roles and High Female Sex Ratios

With the ending of slave apprenticeship in 1838, many women ex-slaves retired from the field to duties of the house (Momsen, 1841), while regional differences in wages promoted considerable migration among the ex-slaves, generally of males. Food prices rose rapidly and women were forced to return to agricultural work in order to feed their families. In Trinidad and Guyana, mainly, and to a lesser extent in other countries, at this time, labour demand was being met by indentured labourers from India. The indentured labourers of both sexes were in reality treated no differently from slaves. In addition to field work, indentured women were responsible for childcare, housework and general family maintenance. Thus, plantation labour did not differentiate between ethnicity or gender.

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With the ending of slavery and then of indentureship, gender roles in agriculture in the Caribbean were determined primarily by two factors: migration and type of agriculture. Migration was gender specific with more men than women emigrating in search of employment. Consequently, the female sex ratio for the last century was relatively high. In the late nineteenth century, as men left the smaller islands in search of employment elsewhere, the agricultural workforce became predominantly female. Brizan, for instance, indicates a ratio of 132 female to 100 male agricultural workers in Grenada at that time (Brizan, 1985).

2. Women and Changes in the Agricultural Labour Force

The decade following slave emancipation was marked by a rapid decline in the agricultural labour force. Women amongst ex-slaves moved into domestic occupations and sought education for their children and, where land was available, men became small farmers. The economic difficulties of the mid-nineteenth century resulted in a slight increase in rural labour, followed by a century of relative stability in the absolute numbers of agricultural workers in most of the islands of the Caribbean. The food shortages of the Second World War brought the agricultural labour force to its highest level since slavery, but this peak was followed by a rapid decline as alternative occupations became available to the rural households (Momsen, 1969). Within this overall trend, the participation of women fluctuated as a reserve labour force responding both to seasonal and to longer-term shortages in agriculture.

In Jamaica, from 1890 onwards, the rural people began to migrate to the towns (Eisner, 1969). Women led this rural/urban drift and their participation in the Jamaican agricultural labour force fell from 42.9 percent in 1889 to 19.9 percent in 1943 (Roberts, 1957). In the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean, the decline in female participation in the agricultural labour force did not come until after 1946. In Saint Lucia, for instance, the female farming population has declined from 29.9 percent in 1970 to 24.6 in 1987. In Monserrat, although the number of male agricultural workers increased between 1970 and 1980, the number of women workers decreased and the female percentage of the agricultural labour force declined from 33.4 to 22.6. This was a result of male return to agriculture and increased female employment opportunities in the non-agricultural sectors. As the tourism and manufacturing sectors of the Caribbean economy expanded, agriculture declined as an employer and women, especially the younger, better-educated ones, moved into these growing sectors. Thus, by 1970 only about a third of the workers in agriculture were women.

In general, as the economic base of many of the countries in the region expands, rural women are being attracted out of agriculture into other non-agricultural sectors and principally the enclave industrial sector. At the same time, as the rate of the male migration (transient or otherwise) increases, women are forced to take over the management of farms. Thus an interesting phenomenon is taking place. While there is, to some extent, a de-feminization of agriculture as women are

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seeking employment outside the agricultural sector, there is at the same time a certain feminization of agriculture taking place at the level of farm proprietorship. Fortunately, the push (from the agricultural sector into other non-agricultural sectors) and the pull (into the agricultural sector because of the vacuum created by male migration) have not had any disastrous effects. This is primarily because the push and pull of agriculture attract different types of women. Women who leave the agricultural sector are usually younger and have achieved at least a minimal level of education. The women who remain in or who return to agriculture, on the other hand, are older and with relatively low levels of education.

B. Present Socio-economic Conditions.

1. Participation in Agrarian Production

Women's role in the food production system is primarily geared towards the planting and production, processing, packaging and marketing of traditional food items for local consumption. Thus, it is not surprising that many of the female farmers prefer to cultivate short-term subsistence crops which they themselves can market. This does not, on the other hand, eliminate women from cultivating export-oriented cash crops -banana, sugar cane, cocoa, coffee, to mention a few.

Nearly all adult rural women in the Caribbean engage in varied farming and marketing activities and produce much of the food that their families consume. Women in the Caribbean spend approximately 30 percent of their time in field work and women's work accounts for at least 50 percent of all farm labour. Between 30 to 40 percent of the agricultural labour force in the region is female. They perform the lowest-paid tasks of weeding, hoeing, and 'heading' produce.

Jamaican women play an important role in food production as small producers and as agricultural labourers. In an agro-socio-economic survey conducted in six parishes in Jamaica, 6,269 farmers were interviewed. Of these, 45 percent were women (Ministry of Agriculture, 1982). The 1978 agricultural census shows that, of the total of 182,169 farms island-wide having single holders, 35,188 or 19 percent were operated by women.

3. Holdings and their Management

In general terms, female farming, especially in the smaller islands, is most common on subsistence holdings of less than five acres and less so on larger, commercially oriented holdings. The 1987 Agricultural Census for Saint Lucia, for instance, reports that of a total of 11,504 farmers in the entire country, only 122 women (0.9%) had holdings of more than five acres. Eighty-four percent of the female farmers operate less than five acres of land; a further 11.4 percent were

reported as being landless. In Jamaica, the land owned by women represented only 12 percent of the total cultivated land (Agricultural Census, 1978/1979).

An examination of the structural characteristics of farms operated by women shows that these farms are usually smaller, have poor quality land and are less likely to include rented land. Female farmers tend to have labour problems and to depend on the land for subsistence rather than for commercial production. The overall picture of female-operated farms is that of marginality in terms of capital, land and labour resources, and largely reflects the economic insecurity of the matrilineal residence.

In addition to operating smaller holdings, female farmers tend also to specialize in short-term, quick-return subsistence food crops, roots and vegetables. Those who venture to operate larger holdings with export-oriented commercial crops, have either inherited the land from some male family member or acquired the necessary capital resources to practice extensive cultivation.

In many of the Caribbean agrarian systems, adult males have primary responsibility for deciding about the timing and nature of operations related to the cultivation of bananas, sugar cane, cotton and other cash crops (spices, citrus, root crops, fruits and vegetables for export) and the maintenance and sale of livestock. While women contribute much of the labour in such activities as planting, weeding, harvesting and marketing, the allocation of labour is determined by the husband or any other male relative.

However, the results of a survey in the Central region of Jamaica, estimate that women farmers manage about 22 percent of farm holdings. Even when they are not principal operators, 47 percent of the male spouses said that the women assisted in farming operations and 21 percent reported collaboration in at least planting and weeding (USAID, 1979). Women were also involved in farm management and decision-making. Sixty-five percent of the male respondents said that they usually consulted their wives on changing cropping patterns.

3. The Double-day System

Women are involved in multiple work roles: agriculture, childcare, home maintenance within the farm household, etc. And, because of stereotypic notions of these roles, they confront specific problems in becoming more efficient food producers. A serious constraint is the double-day which all rural women are subjected to. Knudson and Yates (1981) in their survey on Saint Lucia, found that women worked five to six hours a day on the farm, three to four hours on housework, and two to five hours on childcare. Occasionally, time is also spent on marketing the farm produce. It is not surprising that 22 percent of the women in this survey felt that they had no leisure at all.

The amount of work done by men and women varies with the economic status of the farmer, type of farming, seasons, importance of off-farm employment and the sex of the farm operator. Both Edwards (1961) working in Jamaica and McMillan (1967) in Trinidad, found that women's role on the farm differed according to the male partner's economic status: in poor families women perform all field tasks; as their socio-economic status increases, dependence on female and child labour declines.

4. Land, Capital and Labour Constraints

The major constraints faced by farm women in the Caribbean are land, capital and labour. A survey in Saint Lucia found that more than 70% of the respondents claimed that they cultivated only that amount of land which the family labour pool could maintain. Likewise, capital resources managed by the female farmer were limited and so were credit availability and the attention received from extension officers.

The more physically demanding farm activities, such as land clearing and land preparation, are performed by male labour which, in many cases, is not available within the farm household itself. Consequently, the farmer has to depend on available labour: hired or that of friends and relatives from the community. Such dependence for labour from outside the household for crucial farm activities often results in farm operations not being completed in time. Hence, the level of production of the majority of the female farmers tends to be lower. Below are a few testimonials to illustrate aspects of this phenomenon.

"A" is a Grenadian farmer -64 years old- who cultivates bananas and cocoa in addition to a wide range of tubers and vegetables. Her holding is 2 acres in size and all the tree crops are fully established. Furthermore she has a livestock component of pigs and poultry. She lives with an aged and sick mother; she is the sole contributor of family labour. From time to time she is aided by a little boy who lives with her occasionally. According to a time series data (between April 1980 and March 1981) on her farm activities, a total of 59 labour days were spent on the farm. Of the 59 labour days, the farmer contributed 29 days, the remaining 30 days came from hired and/or exchange labour. A total of 21 days of the hired and exchange labour went towards land clearing, land preparation and the construction of drains. All these activities are never performed by women.

"B" is a 42 year old Vincentian who cultivates a wide range of vegetables and tubers on one acre of land which she sharecrops. In order to supplement her income from farming, she runs a small liquor shop, more commonly called a rum shop. She also runs a week-end meat stall. During the recording period, a total of 138 days were spent on the farm. The family labour

(including the farmer's own) contributed 67 days; the remaining 71 labour days were hired. Much of the hired labour (51 days) went into land preparation.

#C" is a 48 years old Montserratian who works 4 acres of rented land. She cultivates a variety of vegetables, tubers, legumes and a scattering of bananas. She markets her produce at the central market. All six of her children are grown and contribute quite substantially to farm labour and to the farm family's income. Between May 1980 and May 1981, a total of 56 labour days were spent on the farm. Of this total, 44 days constituted labour from the farmer and her family. Only 12 days were hired. The use of hired labour, in this case, was remarkably low because of: 1) the contribution of family labour, 2) there was no need for land clearing because the farm was already fully established, and 3) the land that was being worked was very flat and the farmer rented tractor services for land preparation.

5. Employment

Employment data on women in agriculture are not readily available and are subject to the usual caveats concerning the effect of enumerator's and interviewees' attitudes, as well as the under-reporting of women's economic rates in agriculture (Dixon, 1985). This is further complicated by the fact that most women tend to regard themselves as housewives, rather than farm operators or farm workers, even if they devote more than 50 percent of their time to farming activities. For instance, in an Area Focused Study that was carried out by CARDI in Saint Lucia, only 2 percent of the respondents defined themselves as farmers or farm workers. Yet 32 percent of them said that they either made their own farming decisions or made joint decisions with their spouses or partners and that they spent at least half of their time in farm-related activities.

While official statistics show that there has been a decline in the female agricultural labour force, it has been proven that agricultural labouring remains the main source of income for poor rural women. Furthermore, recent agricultural surveys indicate the continuing and considerable participation of women in agricultural employment. Le Franc (1980) found that women formed 50 percent of the unpaid family workers and 38 percent of the paid workers in Grenada's agriculture; 47 percent of the unpaid workers and 41 percent of the paid workers in Saint Vincent; and 34 percent of the unpaid and 35 percent of the paid workers in Saint Lucia. In Barbados, although agriculture's share of employment almost halved between 1970 and 1980, the proportion of women workers fell only from 38 to 36 percent (Barbados, 1985). In Jamaica, women represented 52 percent of all employees in banana plantations. Their duties included planting, fertilizer application and weeding, as well as carrying bunches, pruning, sleeving and deflowering, etc. Women were also involved in the boxing plants. In fact, they made up about 75 percent of the workers in the boxing plant.

In the Caribbean, female employment has been boosted by the establishment of off-shore production plants and the expansion of the demand for female labour in garment production and electronics industries. Young women in the region comprise approximately 90 percent of all labour in export-oriented industries of textiles, garments and electronics. At least half of this labour force are rural women because many of the industrial sites for enclave export production are located in rural areas.



The concern of industrial policy to attract industries has led many of the governments to pay more attention to advertising the countries' cheap labour and tax concessions than to assessing the effects of industrialization on the rural labour force. These industries are often seen as improvements to the drudgery of rural agriculture, but they offer no secure future for women, many of whom are fired after a short period of gaining employment. The women are easily replaceable, learn no real skills, and the "footloose" character of these transient industries offers little long-term contribution to the national economies.

7. Marketing and Trading

In addition to their important participation in agricultural and industrial production, Caribbean rural women continue to play a significant role in the internal marketing systems of their countries. For Caribbean women, since the latter days of slavery, the internal and regional marketing systems have proved themselves to be a tried and tested means of survival. It is one which guarantees them a degree of independence in spite of the risk inherent to all marketing ventures.

Such internal and regional marketing are important mechanisms in the distribution of food and other essential items. Caribbean women have, at great cost to themselves, taken on the risk of the trade, and maintained food supply and security, an important political consideration for the countries of the region.

Women trafficker/hucksters deal with an entire range of constraints. Many have developed different strategies to deal with these constraints. Some have developed formal organizations to have government assistance - the Dominica Hucksters' Association - while others have had to operate without such organization and with little or no government support, as in the case of the Saint Vicent traffickers. In Jamaica, a survey of higglers in 1977 estimated that women traders handled approximately 80 percent of the marketing of fruits, vegetables and staples on the island. According to the survey, about 30 percent of the post-harvest losses of female farmers are caused by conditions associated with marketing (Smickle and Taylor 1977).

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C. A Policy Outlook

The structuring of development programmes and goals, in the Caribbean, has failed to promote attitudes and opportunities that enhance the full participation of women in the social and economic transformation of their societies. There has, therefore, to be structural transformation of institutions and new priorities in the allocation of scarce resources for there to be a change beneficial to rural women in the Caribbean.



The extent and depth of women's participation in the economy has several implications for the design of the rural development plans and programmes. Among the most important are those relating to training, extension and functional education. The high degree of women's involvement in family farm management has generally been ignored in the Caribbean and no specific efforts have been made to integrate women in agricultural or other training programmes. Women's participation in the development process can be effective only through special efforts to involve women in training and extension in all agricultural, animal husbandry, resource conservation and forestry programmes.

Caribbean rural women should be equipped with skills that they need when they interact with government structures, the legal systems and development bureaucracies. Women's adult education should be strengthened and focused around reading, writing and accounting skills which are required for such actions as filling out loan applications, reading extension material and conducting small-scale business. The most productive approach would be to integrate literacy and numeracy training with practical on-the-job training in income-generation activities.

Bringing rural women more actively into the market economy is an effective step towards more efficient use of local resources and a means of improving women's status and economic security. However, in recommending employment opportunities for rural women in the Caribbean, there are several issues that need to be taken into account.

In terms of time spent in home production, Caribbean rural women are already over-employed and have little or no extra time available. Employment opportunities should place emphasis on increasing the efficiency and economic productivity of work time, rather than filling in unemployed time with additional low-productivity domestic or public work activities. The second point is that the primacy of the agricultural labour demands must be recognized and employment schemes designed with enough flexibility to allow for considerable seasonal fluctuation in the labour pool.

For most rural women in the Caribbean participation in programmes in health and family planning, education, nutrition and child care, etc. is seen as a luxury they cannot afford. Unless the



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time women spend away from the farm household and agricultural chores can bring in some visible contribution to the family income, neither they nor their households will feel that the time is justified. The variation in seasonal workloads, as well as the daily schedules of essential domestic work, must be kept in mind in the design and timing of extension training or adult education.

Unless women's current work load is reduced through increasing their efficiency and productivity, women have little or no time to participate in the extension, training and income-generation programmes suggested above. High priority should be given to the development, adaptation and delivery of appropriate technology. Programmes introducing new technology should try to involve women directly in its diffusion, and make sure that female labour is not displaced by male labour in the process of technological change.

Existing legislation also needs to be reviewed with a view to removing injustices regarding women's access to resources and status in agriculture. Special attention should be given to legal issues in access to land, to supporting services and to appropriate technology.

From: FAO: Caribbean Women in Agriculture (Santiago de Chile) 1988 pp 29 - 36.

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Women in the World Economy

Towards innovative development policies

In the web of international economic relations, what role do women play? How are women faring in the world-wide crisis? A newly published book* -an INSTRAW study prepared by Susan Joekeas as synthesis of several studies previously commissioned-analyzes the impact that current long-term trends in the world economy are having on women in developing countries. The last chapter presents a number of policy recommendations based on research finding. An excerpt follows:



The present international economic climate is fundamentally inimical to development. Employment prospects have deteriorated drastically since 1980. Real interest rates are unprecedentedly high; the flow of external finance for development investment has almost dried up; and prices of commodities have either fluctuated widely or fallen in a sustained way. Instability and uncertainty are the order of the day for the majority of countries.

There is great inequity in the allocation of world economic resources. Several areas of wastage are particularly evident (...) Concerted and harmonized international action is urgently needed to solve the chronic external debt burden of many developing countries. This is a common responsibility of the community and one that cannot be resolved by approaching individual countries' difficulties piecemeal with short term palliatives. Only with comprehensive reform and renegotiation of the international financial system can capital be diverted from destabilising speculative activity and made available for investment purposes.

Women as workers

Women themselves can be said to represent a major underutilized resource on the world scale. For a host of cultural, social and economic reasons -self-perpetuating unless action is taken to break the cycle - restrictions are placed on the disposition and rewards of women's labour, depressing female productivity. Female labour remains for the most part underproductive, undereducated and underpaid.

Improvement in women's economic position is directly relevant to the international dimension. In the first place, increases in women's participation in the modern sector are associated with greater competitiveness in international markets, as the experience of many developing countries has shown. Measures are needed here to facilitate women's economic participation through education and social facilities. Relying on poverty and economic necessity to force more women into employment, at the cost of increases in their total work burden, will not be effective.

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Gains and losses

A conclusion of this study has been that over the past twenty years or so the expansion of the international economy has contributed to a rise in the level of gainful employment for women in developing countries, and influenced the sectoral composition of women's job in favour of industry. Since industrial wages are generally higher than agricultural or service sector wages, increased international trade has helped to raise women's earnings relative to men's in some occupations.

In that broad sense, international exchanges have been favourable to women's economic positions. Women have gained most in terms of net employment creation in countries that have developed as successful exporters of manufactures. But it does not follow that "export promotion" of manufactured goods as normally narrowly defined is the answer for policy, given the current state of the world economy. If, as in the present, world trade remains almost stagnant, increased supplies will merely cut into the shares of pre-existing exporters.

Furthermore, in the two product areas where developing country manufactures are concentrated (textiles and electronics), there are protectionist barriers in rich importing countries on the one hand and technological changes undermining the comparative advantage of developing countries on the other. These factors diminish the export prospects of developing countries.

We have shown that the international dimension is relevant to women across all sectors, even in many activities apparently remote from international markets. What is required accordingly are wide ranging policies to consolidate women's positions where advances have already been made, to reverse the harmful effects of international influences and to attack conditions which perpetuate women's inferior position to men once they are in paid employments.

Those predicted changes for the worse for women lie largely in the future. But there have been plenty of damaging effects already for women brought by international factors.

Prime among these is the economic devastation wrought in many developing countries outside East Asia, caught in the debt trap and suffering falls in output and personal incomes in the worst general recession for fifty years. There are indications that women have been particularly hard hit by these events in both their capacities as paid workers and as managers of household resources.

The gender dimension

In the meanwhile, "adjustment programmes" designed to lift countries out of economic crisis must take the gender dimension into account and trace their impact on women. Women's employment situation requires separate considerations because the stereotyped picture that women only provide extra income to families already supported by a male breadwinner is now far from universally valid.

A high and probably increasing proportion - recently about one quarter - of all households in developing countries are headed by women. Millions of children are thus dependent on women's incomes for a better life. Furthermore, there is increasing evidence that in low-income families, children's health and nutrition benefit more from women's than from men's earnings.

It is particularly important to take steps to consolidate women's position where international factors have already brought about some improvement. Present trends suggest that reversal may well otherwise set in.

Measures to improve women's position are often seen as threatening to other interests. Even when this is not immediately the case, as when measures to improve women's productivity in self-employment benefit consumers as much as the woman operator herself or when in aggregate, increases in women's productivity and incomes are of general benefit, the fact remains that such improvements seem likely to increase women's bargaining position.

Whether locally, nationally or internationally, enhancement of political as well as economic bargaining power is the ultimate objective as well as the most effective instrument for reform. Not women alone, but men, children and society as a whole stand to benefit from the change.

* Women in the World Economy, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987, 161 pages, English

Profiles of Working Women

1. Increasing Participation Rates

In 1985, there were more than 4.800 million inhabitants of which approximately 2.400 million were women. According to ILO estimates and projections, some four out of every ten were active, namely of a total active population of 1.920 million, 1.280 million were men and 640 million were women, which means that for every two working men there was one working woman. Also according to ILO and projections, in 1975 women formed 35 per cent of the world labour force, estimated at 575 million women workers. By 1980, their number had increased to 624 million. It is projected that at the turn of the century, women workers will number around 900 million.

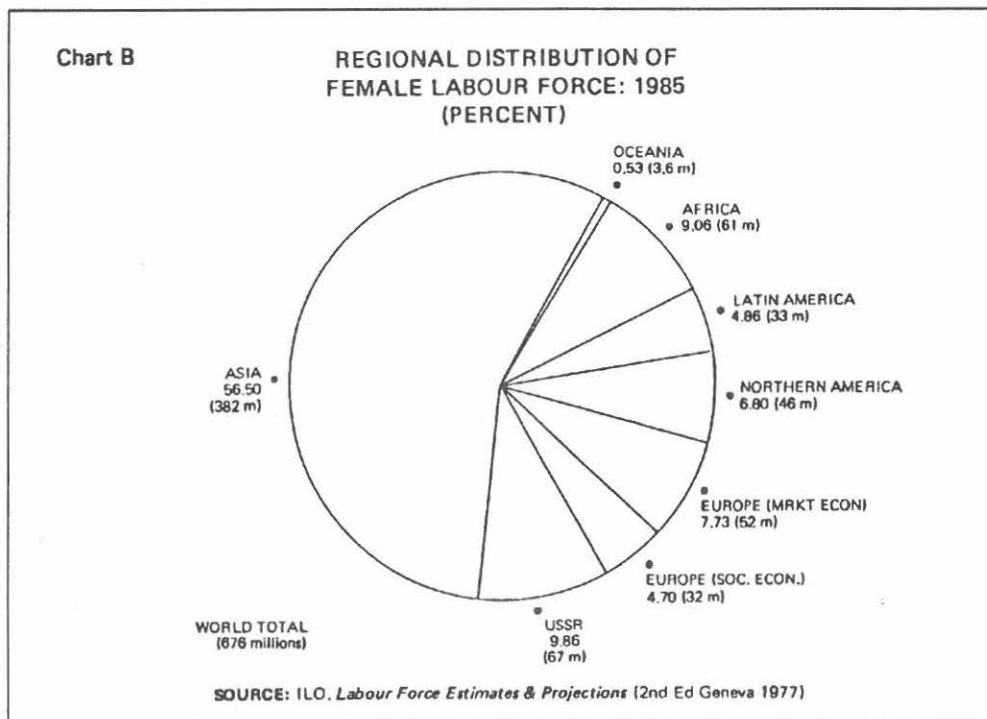
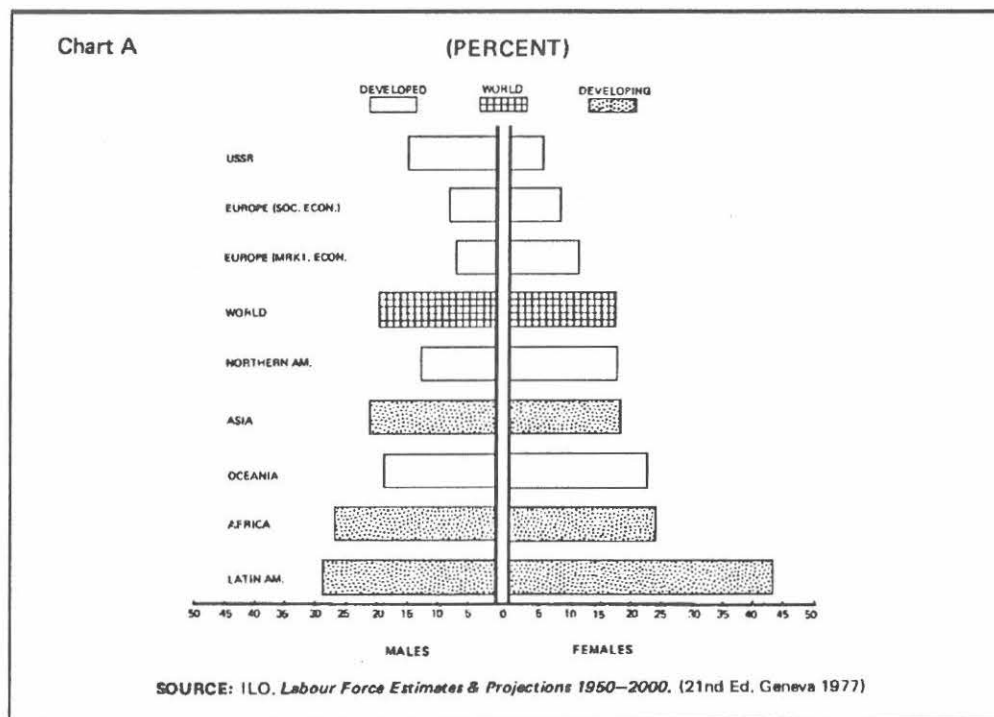
Female participation rates have increased substantially in most countries of the world since 1950 and these rates are generally expected to continue until the end of the century (Charts A and B).

The female labour force will show, at least up to 2000, a higher rate of increase than the male component in Europe, North America, South America, Australia and New Zealand. In Japan, East Asia, and some countries of Latin America and Oceania, the participation rates of both males and females will be approximately similar.

In Africa, on the other hand, it is the male labour force which is expected to show a slight increase. The URSS and other centrally planned economy countries are expected to maintain the highest activity rates and the highest female share in the labour force, compared to other regions of the world. According to ILO estimates and projections, male participation rates for all age groups will decline both in market economy and developing countries.

Wide variations exist among different geographical regions, within a country and different age groups. For example, in 1985, the highest female activity rates are shown in the URSS (44.0 per cent) and in other European centrally planned economies (44.0 per cent). The lowest are to be found in Latin America (15.4 per cent). In the same year, female activity rates were 28.5 per cent in European market economies, 34.3 per cent in North America, 22.9 per cent in Africa, and 27.9 per cent in Asia.

Major changes in many countries include increasing recorded female urban labour force participation, especially among working mothers in the age group 25 to 44 and at the same time reflecting greater numbers in the unemployment and underemployment in many regions. Significant developments which have influenced these trends include: the changing structures of world labour markets involving massive rural and international migration; the growth of the service and



industrial sectors in some countries; the decline of the labour force in agriculture; the relocation of labour-intensive industries; and the spread of new technologies changing the future of work.

Increases in the official labour force participation of women is closely linked to a complex set of social and economic changes which have made "paid work" outside the home more and more economically essential for the welfare of the family. While ILO estimates reflect variations in the distribution of "economically active" women among different regions, they also reveal that women in developing countries constitute a major part of the global female workforce. In 1975, women workers of Asia, Africa and Latin America accounted for 68.5 per cent of the total, showing a slight increase to 70.4 per cent in 1985 - about 476 million. Asia alone accounts for more than half of all "economically active" women (see Chart B).

A basic difficulty in statistical analysis of global estimates is the inadequacy of consistent methodologies and comparable data, in particular persistent biases in the recording and reporting of women's work at the point of collection, compilation and tabulation. It is now slowly being recognized that official labour force statistics often underestimate women's actual and real economic contribution, particularly in the employment structure with a substantial amount of household and family farm-based production both in some developed countries and in the subsistence sector of many developing countries.

2. Structural and Sectoral Changes

Changes in economic structure during the past decade have had differing impact on both women and men workers. Table 2 presents composition of the labour force by gender and main sector of activity over a decade (1970 to 1980) in 124 countries in three major regions of the world. These reveal regional and global decline in agriculture for both men and women, increase in the service sector, and a shift towards industrial employment, especially in the developing countries for women. During the Decade, the industrial sector continued to be a major provider of employment in all major economic regions of the world.

The proportion of women working in industry is constantly increasing both in industrial market economy countries and industrialised centrally planned economy countries.

Many developing countries embarked on rapid industrialization as a key factor in their development. As a result, in 1970, 17.9 per cent of the total global labour force was engaged in industry and which by 1980 had increased to 20.8 per cent. In the period 1970-80, the total number of women employed in industries rose by 37 per cent (35 million increase) outstripping the 34 per cent increase (85 million) in the number of men in active industrial employment. In the developing

countries, the increase was more striking; the absolute number expanded by more than 23 million or 56.5 per cent.

Providing jobs for the growing numbers of young people is becoming an increasingly salient problem. In several countries they form half or more of the unemployed and in some countries employment opportunities for young women are significantly less than they are for young men. Migration for employment during the past decade is an important issue for young women as well as men. Comparative statistics are not available to demonstrate whether or not, during economic crisis, more women are laid off than men and in which occupations. However, there is clear evidence that among those seeking jobs and in employment, women are worse off economically than men in various occupations. In spite of more employment opportunities for women in selected developing countries, their employment rates are also increasing.

An important feature of the global restructuring of employment affecting women workers in all parts of the world, has been the relocation of labour-intensive industries from industrially developed to developing countries in search of cheap labour, mostly young, unmarried and inexperienced in industrial work. Various multinational corporations have shifted their labour-intensive production processes, for example, to Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Textiles and clothing were among the first industries to be relocated, since they require little capital and if necessary can employ simple technology, either already available or easily transported. Other industries that followed were food processing, electronics and, in some cases, pharmaceutical products. In this process, various forms of subcontracting arrangements were made to relocate production, or subsidiaries set up foreign or partly local capital.

Table 2:

Composition of labour force by gender and main sector of activity
1970 and 1980¹

Major economic regions		Female				Male			
		AGR	IND	SER	TOTAL	AGR	IND	SER	TOTAL
('000s)									
Industrialized market economies	1970	11944	26696	66281	105021	23607	88029	85617	197253
	1980	9429	31834	81386	123099	18432	100014	99167	217613
Industrialized centrally planned economies	1970	27472	25681	33482	86635	25848	41324	26285	93457
	1980	20617	31719	43464	95800	20909	54281	32744	107934
Developing countries	1970	247078	41857	46590	335525	430054	121101	133463	684618
	1980	267327	65525	70170	403022	467641	181505	190273	839419
TOTAL	1970	286494	94234	146453	527181	479509	250454	245365	975328
	1980	297373	129078	195470	621921	506982	225800	322184	1164966
(percent)									
Industrialized market economies	1970	11.4	25.4	63.2	100.0	12.0	44.6	43.4	100.0
	1980	7.7	25.8	66.5	100.0	8.5	45.9	45.6	100.0
Industrialized centrally planned economies	1970	31.7	29.6	38.6	100.0	27.7	44.2	28.1	100.0
	1980	21.5	33.1	45.4	100.0	19.4	50.3	30.3	100.0
Developing countries	1970	73.6	12.5	13.9	100.0	62.8	17.7	19.5	100.0
	1980	66.3	16.3	17.4	100.0	55.7	21.6	22.7	100.0
TOTAL	1970	54.3	17.9	27.8	100.0	49.2	25.7	25.1	100.0
	1980	47.8	20.8	31.4	100.0	43.5	28.8	27.7	100.0

(1) 124 countries with a population of over 1 million.

Source: ILO Bureau of Statistics.

In order to examine the sectoral changes in women's labour force participation at the global level, it is essential to place the situation in perspective, noting the differences and contrasts in women's and men's employment opportunities and treatment in various countries and economic regions.

2. Developing Countries

The largest number of women in most parts of the developing world continue to work in agriculture or related occupations. In some countries due to industrialization, more and more women are moving away from family farms to wage labour, while the number of landless women in some countries has rapidly increased. In some developing countries, there has also been large rural/urban migrations of men competing for scarce urban jobs and pushing women out of the labour force altogether. These data should be further refined when more information is available, keeping in mind that among regions and within countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there are vast differences in patterns of industrialization and consequently, employment opportunities. (Table 3).

Table 3				
Women's share in the labour force in selected developing countries: 1975 and 1980				
Country (year)	Women's share of the labour force in %			
			1975	1980
AFRICA				
Burundi	(1971-72)	OE	54.0	53.1
	(16.viii.79)	C		
Togo	(1.iii-30.IV.70)		20.0	44.0
	(1980)	OE		
Seychelles	(VIII.77)	C	36.8	42.1
	(IV.81)	OE		
Botswana	(31.VIII.71)	(De jure population)	53.9	40.3
	(12.VIII.81)	C		
Ethiopia	(1977)	OE	38.4	38.8
	(1980)	OE		
Cameroon	(9-24.IV.76)	C	39.9	37.5
	(1982)	OE		
Benin	(1975)	OE	46.2	36.4
	(20-31.III.79)	C		

Table 3 (Cont.)

Country (year)			Women's share of the labour force in %	
			1975	1980
Reunion	(16.X.74)	C	31.1	35.9
	(9.III.82)	C		
Zambia	(1977)	OE	28.4	28.2
	(1981)	OE		
Tunisia	(1976)	OE	20.1	20.1
	(V.80)	LFSS		
ASIA				
Thailand	(1.III.76)	LFSS	38.5	47.3
	(VI-IX.80)	LFSS		
Philippines	(1.V.75)	C	26.4	37.0
	(X-XII.78)	HS		
Korea, Rep of	(1.X.75)	C	38.8	36.6
	(1.XI.80)	C 15 %		
Peninsular Malaysia	(1976)	LFSS	35.0	36.0
	(1979)	LFSS		
Singapore	(VI.79)	LFSS	33.9	35.7
	(VI.82)	LFSS		
Hong Kong	(2.VIII.76)	C sample	35.0	35.4
	(9.III.81)	C		
Indonesia	(1976)	LFSS	38.7	33.0
	(31.X.80)	C		
Sri Lanka	(9.X.71)	C	35.4	28.1
	(1980-81)	LFSS		
Kuwait	(21.IV.75)	C	11.6	12.8
	(IV.80)	C		
Bahrain	(3.IV.71)	C	5.4	11.4
	(IV.81)	C		
LATIN AMERICA				
St. Lucia	(7.IV.70)	C	37.7	55.2
	(12.V.80)	C		
Jamaica	(1978)	LFSS	46.5	46.6
	(X.81)	LFSS		

Table 3 (Cont.)

Country (year)			Women's share of the labour force in %	
			1975	1980
Puerto Rico	(III.77)	LFSS	32.9	33.9
	(IV.83)	LFSS		
Trinidad Tobago	(VI.74)	LFSS	30.5	31.6
	(I-VI.81)	LFSS		
Venezuela	(VII-XII.77)	LFSS	27.4	26.9
	(I-VI.82)	HS		
Ecuador	(8.VI.74)	C sample	17.0	36.7
	(VI.81)	OE		
Colombia	(24.X.73)	C sample	26.2	26.2
	(1980)	HS		
Costa Rica	(14.V.73)		19.3	26.2
	(VII.82)	HS		
Peru	(4.VI.72)	C	20.7	25.4
	(12.VII.81)	C		
México	(VI.75)	OE	21.6	24.4
	(VI.79)	OE		
Bolivia	(29.IX.76)	C	22.4	23.2
	(VII.82)	OE		
Honduras	(6.III.74)		15.7	16.3
	(1982)	OE		
Guatemala	(26.III.73)		14.0	14.6
	(23.III.81)	C		

Source: ILO: Year Book of Labour Statistics, (Geneva), 1983, 1980, 1979, 1978, 1971, Table 1.

Africa as a region has been worst affected by the world economic crisis which has further deteriorated the economic and social condition of the majority of workers. More and more job-seekers are migrating to the towns; in the past, the majority were men, but more recently, there has been increasing evidence of women also migrating in search of employment. For example in cities such as Addis Ababa and Abidjan there are more female than male migrants. Of the total of 12.7 million refugees in Africa, the majority are women and children. Employment opportunities in both the modern and the traditional sectors are rapidly decreasing and unemployment and

underemployment rates in Africa are estimated to be the highest among all the developing regions, ranging between 50 and 70 per cent, and in some cases up to 90 per cent in rural areas.

In Africa, over 55 million women are estimated to be engaged in some form of "economic activity", mainly in agriculture, and in some cases in retail trade, thus accounting for about one-third of the recorded total labour force. The percentages are probably underestimated and do not take into account women's work in a range of tasks in food production. In the informal sector of many countries, women work on family farms, market trading and domestic processing and production. There are, however, sectoral differences among countries within the region. For example, in 1980, the female agricultural labour force increased in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Zaire. In the Republic of Congo, Gabon and Nigeria, the number of women in this sector appeared to decline.

Furthermore, there is widespread evidence of imbalance between the sexes in the modern sector of urban employment in which higher levels of schooling and training are required. Girls continue to have less access than boys to schooling at every level, especially the higher grades. Moreover, they drop out of school more frequently, often due to economic reasons. Several recent surveys have shown that women form only a small proportion of workers in the private and semi-public sectors. Even in the public sector they hold only 10 or 20 per cent of the jobs, mainly in the lower levels as primary-school-teachers, nurses and clerical workers.

In Asia, in many industrialized countries, international developments have led to economic difficulties with serious impact on the employment situation of both men and women workers. At the same time, evidence of land concentration and population growth have increased landlessness and consequently, dependence on wage labour. On the other hand, self-employment of women in agriculture has been affected by commercialization of farming, introduction of new technologies, changes in cropping patterns and innovations in organization. Both, the proportion of rural poor with access to assets and the average value of such assets is falling, leading to increasing poverty, especially affecting the majority of women working in agriculture (e.g. 70-80 per cent in Bangladesh, Nepal and Thailand). In India, where female labour force participation rates in the organised sector appear to have been declining, more and more women are becoming agricultural wage labourers, because of growing landlessness in rural areas. In Bangladesh, despite social seclusion, and in addition to their largely invisible work behind walls in seed selection, processing, winnowing and threshing, women are increasingly working in the fields and road construction.

In Asia, in the industrial sector, there is a significant shift from the earlier patterns of employment. For example, in the People's Republic of China, the total number of working women in the modern sector has risen from 31.280,000 (32.9 per cent of the total urban workforce) in 1978, to 40.930,000 (36.3 per cent of the total) in 1982. Women are working in textiles and various light industries, cultural and educational services, and also in increasing numbers in heavy industry in

the newly emerging electronic industry and institutes of scientific research. At the same time, women's participation in agricultural work and in many non-farm activities continues to be significant quantitatively and qualitatively. With the recent shift towards reliance on the family as a unit of production a new situation is emerging resulting in the spread of rural responsibility systems and domestic products.

In Latin America and the Caribbean the increase in female labour force participation rates are modest in comparison with those of other developing regions. However, they vary considerably from one country to another and are changing rapidly, showing important absolute and relative increases. The fastest growing and most dynamic part of the labour force is the urban female population aged 25-44, which increased by more than 56 per cent. Between 1970 and 1980, young women between 15-19 have tended to maintain their participation rates at about 24 per cent, while a statistic participation rate is observed among older women 55 and over, which has remained at 16 per cent. According to data from countries such as Brazil and Mexico, in 1980, the major increase in labour force participation is in the middle-age group. As in other regions, women are heavily concentrated in the services sector. In most countries of the region more than 70 per cent of women workers are at low levels, in wholesale and retail trade and in restaurants and hotels or community, social domestic and personal services.



In 22 countries of the region for which data was examined, 16.5 per cent of women are found in industrial activities, but there are large differences from one country to another, ranging from 30 per cent in Trinidad and Tobago to 1.7 per cent in the Netherlands Antilles.

The agricultural sector absorbs the smallest number of women workers only 13.9 per cent but again, with variations between countries. In the recent past there has been a relative decline of women in this sector.

Perhaps the most salient fact about women's employment is the low occupational status of the majority. Moreover, despite the important increase in the proportion of economically active females in this developing region, the numbers remain below those recorded in the rest of the world.

2b Industrialized Market Economy Countries

Of 22 market economy countries for which data are available, of the total of more than 200 million women, about 31 per cent were reported to be economically active in 1982. During the first half of the Decade for Women (1976-1981) more women than men were among the entrants into the labour force in most market economy countries. According to ILO projections, women's activity rates in the industrialized market economies are expected to continue to increase during

UNITED NATIONS <small>INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN</small>  INSTRAW	WOMEN, POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT THE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID)	UNITED NATIONS <small>FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES</small>  UNFPA

the coming decades for age groups 20-64 years, and to decrease for those under 20 and over 65. This should result in a slight increase in women's share of the labour force by the year 2000.

Since 1970 increase in female labour force participation rates has been especially marked, representing 63.2 per cent of the total labour force. By 1980, there were 136 million economically active women in the OECD countries, out of a totally active population of 351 million, that is 38.7 per cent. Over the past 30 years, during which the number of economically active men in OECD countries increased by 25 per cent, the comparable rise for women was 74 per cent.

In spite of recession which affected most of the OECD countries during the 1970s, the aggregate female participation rates continued to rise, growing at an average about for time faster than the male labour force. However, this great influx of women into the labour force was paralleled by a simultaneous increase in the number of unemployed women. While male unemployment rose at 8.2 per cent a year, female unemployment grew at 9.4 per cent, that is, on average, 15 per cent faster. But, they continue to be highly concentrated in the jobs requiring lower skills, with lower status and lower wages.

From: *Women in Economic Activity a Global Statistical Survey (1950-2000)* ILO, INSTRAW Santo Domingo 1985 pp 17-26

Ni Inocencia Mercedes ni Zacarías Nicasio estudiaron demografía. Tal vez no conocen el lenguaje enrevesado de las cifras que sitúan la población urbana del país de un porcentaje de 30.3 en 1950, a 52 en 1981, y el índice actual de desempleo en un 27.3 por ciento. Posiblemente no manejan estos datos con la destreza de unos tales Nelson Ramírez y Carmen Gómez, que laboran como director, uno, e investigadora la otra, del Instituto de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo (IEPD), que auspicia PROFAMILIA.

Pero Inocencio Mercedes, que habita en la comunidad rural de Cara Linda del municipio de Monte Plata, y Zacarías Nicasio, que vive en Los Llanos, Altamira, Puerto Plata, conocen el problema de la emigración campesina y lo plantean a su manera: "Si paseamos por los barrios marginados de nuestras ciudades -dice Inocencio- podemos ver a una gran cantidad de personas de marcado acento campesino que se desplazan de un lado a otro en busca de trabajo para ganar el sustento de su familia que casi siempre pasa de 5 miembros. Los niños y hasta incluso los mayores sufren de parásitos y enfermedades gastrointestinales causadas por el medio en que viven".

A su vez, Nicasio señala: "La migración campesina a la ciudad es un serio problema social que se palpa de manera ostensible en Santo Domingo y Santiago. Problema que tiene distintas causas, entre las cuales citaremos el bajo nivel de vida de nuestros campesinos que se van a las ciudades ilusionados por encontrar allí lo que le ha negado su propio ambiente, es decir, el campo".

"El triste resultado de esta emigración es que tampoco en la ciudad encuentra el soñado bienestar, y como no desea volver atrás, decide quedarse en los suburbios, formando los barrios marginados o cinturones de miseria donde vive en lamentables condiciones infrahumanas, pero en realidad el campo pierde un agricultor y la ciudad aumenta el número de habitantes, por cierto muy elevado, pero con una gran cantidad de desempleados".

Estos planteamientos de Inocencio Mercedes y Zacarías Nicasio podríamos comprobarlos de los censos nacionales realizados en el país en lo que va de siglo, y que nos muestran un desplazamiento continuo de personas desde las áreas rurales a las urbanas, lo que ha determinado un cambio radical en la proporción de residentes en campos y ciudades y la concentración de la población urbana en un número relativamente reducido de localidades.

En 1920, la única ciudad del país con 20 mil o más habitantes era Santo Domingo, cuya población representaba el 20.8 por ciento de los residentes en zonas urbanas, de acuerdo con el Boletín número 3 del IEPD. En 1950 a la indicada categoría sólo se había agregado la ciudad de Santiago, y entre ésta y la capital comprendían el 46.8 por ciento de la población urbana. Sin embargo, para diciembre de 1981 ya existían 19 ciudades de 20 mil habitantes, abarcando el 80.7 por ciento de la población definida como urbana.

"Merece destacarse aquí el hecho de que en 1981 Santo Domingo, con un millón 313 mil habitantes, tenía, más población que las restantes 18 ciudades de la categoría recién analizada tomadas en conjunto, las cuales sumaban un millón 55 mil personas. Esta tremenda desproporción refleja la gran atracción que ejerce la ciudad capital para aquellos que se ven compelidos a abandonar sus lugares de origen, lo que ha sido establecido en diversos estudios; así, el censo de 1970 mostró que el 40 por ciento del total de migrantes interprovinciales y el 62.5 por ciento de los que se dirigieron a zonas urbanas, estaban concentrados en Santo Domingo... Otra investigación realizada en 1978 encontró que el 49 por ciento de la población de Santo Domingo había nacido en otras localidades del país, lo que, tomando en cuenta los resultados del último censo significaría no menos de medio millón de personas (Boletín número 3, IEPD, páginas 10 y 11).

Inocencio y Zacarías y varias decenas de oyentes del programa radial de PROFAMILIA, "Hacia Una Nueva Familia", analizaron este fenómeno a partir de la pequeña radionovela "Mi tío Juan", de producción argentina, en la que se plantean las consecuencias de la emigración campesina en una humilde familia de origen rural que vive hacinada en uno de los famosos lateríos del bajo Buenos Aires.

Muchos otros oyentes coincidieron en señalar las causas del fenómeno en la injusta distribución de la tierra, los altos índices de desempleo que afecta mayormente a las zonas rurales del país, y en el efecto de demostración que ejerce la ciudad sobre el campo, en parte gracias al desarrollo de los medios de comunicación social, entre otros factores.

Mildred E. Vargas, de Laguna Salada, provincia Valverde, por ejemplo, plantea: "Mirando parte de nuestra realidad sociocultural, económica y política, podemos darnos cuenta de que existen unas grandes líneas divisorias: la tecnología, que divide la sociedad en tradicional y moderna; la riqueza, que divide al que posee propiedades del que no tiene nada, y la que divide lo nacional de lo extranjero".

"Esto causa que el pobre se avergüence de ser pobre, la sociedad lo desprecia y por todos los medios él busca la manera de salir de esta situación, adquiriendo cosas que le dan valor ante la sociedad. La tecnología cambia la forma de vivir...En el campo, como llega la comunicación radial, se oye hablar de ese mundo que se ve como fantástico, como una forma más fácil de vivir".

El análisis más simple y al mismo tiempo más dramático es el de Isabel Crisóstomo Vargas, del paraje La Jagua, El Toro, Puerto Plata.

"Yo soy una niña de 14 años y no tengo experiencia de una persona grande para hablar de estas cosas. Yo entiendo que la gente que se marcha del campo a la ciudad es con el propósito de conseguir mejores trabajos y tener la vida más moderna, porque yo sé que la vida del campo no es

igual que la de un pueblo. Se educa más a los niños, se conoce más, se ven vehículos diferentes; al contrario, en el campo es difícil ver vehículo. De noche en el pueblo se alumbran con luz eléctrica; sin embargo en el campo nos alumbramos con una lucesito".

A su vez, Felicia López, de San Pedro de Macorís, dice que "Los campesinos emigran a la ciudad porque en el campo no tienen la facilidad de sembrar la tierra que es el oficio que saben hacer, ya que los terratenientes tienen la mayor parte de las tierras que ellos tanto necesitan y emigran a la ciudad pensando que allí tendrán mayores oportunidades de vida".

Estos señalamientos son los mismos de Ramón Lamais Idalis, de Barahona; Malaquías Mejía, de la Isabela, Puerto Plata; Tomás Aquino Gómez, de La Herradura, Santiago; Rosa Aracelis Lizardo, de Moca; Rafaela Altagracia Martínez, de Navarrete, Santiago; Virginia Altagracia Calderón, del paraje El Rancho, El Seybo; Abrahán Pichardo Mejía, de Puerto Plata; Guillermina Martínez, de Yamasá; Yolanda Angeles, de Villa Trina, Moca; y de decenas de oyentes de todo el país que escribieron al programa de PROFAMILIA.

LA VIDA DE LA CIUDAD

Nos llama la atención el análisis de Valentina Venus, de la sección Mosobí, Monte Llano, Puerto Plata:

"La ciudad no es como la pintan. Se dice que en ella se gana dinero, que se trabaja, que siempre hay algo que hacer y que los productos alimenticios son más baratos. Todo esto es pura blasfemia, ya que según se gana se consume y siempre se consume y no siempre se gana".

"Pero otro de los motivos del campesino migrar a la ciudad es la comodidad y diversiones que ésta ofrece. Sí, claro, la ciudad tiene muchas comodidades que los campos no tienen, como de agua. Pero también la ciudad tiene algo que el campo no tiene y es la intranquilidad y el bullicio, lo que la hacen insoportable y que yo diría que un campesino no debiera de cambiar por el trinar de los pájaros y el volar de las aves. Una noche en el campo ¡es bellísima!, y oír la lira de un ruiseñor es algo indefinible e incomparable, las estrellas son un bello espectáculo en una noche oscura que no se puede cambiar por el ruido de una ciudad".

"La ciudad también ofrece la delincuencia juvenil y la drogadicción".

Esas aseveraciones no son más que simples aproximaciones a la situación que padecen los habitantes de los barrios marginados de las ciudades, fundamentalmente Santo Domingo, atraídos a emigrar de las zonas rurales por las creencias de que aumentarán significativamente su nivel de vida, y que sin embargo no encuentran colocación en el mercado de trabajo.

Según datos presentados por Carmen Gómez, en el boletín número 6 del IEPD, la ciudad de Santo Domingo está dividida en 93 sectores habitados con una desigual distribución de 1 millón 313 mil 172 habitantes que ocupan un espacio de 158 mil 438 kilómetros cuadrados. 31 de esos 93 barrios viven en condiciones de hacinamiento concentrando una población de 849 mil 021 personas que representan el 64.65 por ciento del total de la ciudad. "Esta gran masa ocupa sólo el 18.62 por ciento del área total, mientras el restante 35.35 por ciento de la población disfruta del 81.38 por ciento de esa área".

"Como consecuencia, la densidad promedio de los barrios con hacinamiento es de 28.773 habitantes por kilómetro cuadrado, cifra que es 8 veces superior a la de los barrios sin hacinamiento, cuya densidad promedio apenas alcanza a 3 mil 600 habitantes por kilómetro cuadrado".

"Hay que destacar que 9 barrios de la capital dominicana concentran más de un cuarto de millón de personas en tan sólo 6.7 Km.² Entre esos barrios hay tres cuya densidad es superior a las 50 mil personas por Km.²: Capotillo, 24 de Abril y La Zurza".

Veamos ahora el estudio realizado en 1981 en uno de esos barrios habitados en su mayor parte por migrantes campesinos, el Domingo Savio, citado también por Carmen Gómez:

-El 83 por ciento de las familias declaró que no era dueña del terreno donde vivía. Esta situación de no propiedad de la tierra es uno de los principales problemas barriales y desincentiva el mejoramiento de la vivienda.

-El tamaño promedio de las viviendas es de tres habitaciones y el de familia de 5 personas. El 30 por ciento de las casas sólo cuentan con letrina común, el 4% sólo tiene un sanitario común y el 5% carece de ambos.

-El 53% de las personas están desempleadas y el 19% subempleadas. El 54% de las familias tienen un ingreso mensual que varía entre 200 y 240 pesos.

Si bien es dramática la situación del barrio Domingo Savio, piense solamente en la de otras barriadas más pobladas, como La Zurza y 24 de Abril, en las que a simple vista las condiciones de vida son peores, donde proliferan el hacinamiento, la promiscuidad y las enfermedades.

"Nos parece evidente que ante la situación descrita urge la ejecución de medidas radicales de desincentivo a la migración rural -principalmente mediante una real y efectiva Reforma Agraria- programas de extensión y mejoramiento en la calidad de los servicios públicos, una descentralización de las inversiones públicas y privadas, un plan de creación masiva de empleos



justamente remunerados y una estrategia urbanística respetuosa tanto de la idiosincracia dominicana como de nuestro medio ecológico (Boletín número 6 del IEPD, página 9).

Para Roberto Best, el productor del programa radial de PROFAMILIA, lo más impresionante de esta experiencia es que los oyentes analizan la problemática desde el punto de vista de su comunidad, es decir, reflexionando sobre los barrios que ellos conocen, donde ellos mismos habitan o sus familiares, en los que la gente vive amontonada una encima de la otra.

"Como dice la novela que presentamos, el campesino sabe hacer muchas cosas, ¿pero qué sucede?, que en la ciudad muchas de ellas no funcionan. La gente ha reflexionado sobre esa problemática, y el planteamiento de Valentina Venus demuestra que el campesino tiene mucha sensibilidad en torno a las cosas del campo, de la naturaleza, y esa sensibilidad es la que nosotros tomamos en cuenta para elaborar este programa, que es eminentemente educativo, y la educación hay que hacerla respetando las inquietudes y los valores de la gente, no atropellando, como sucede en algunos casos".



Estoy sastifecho -continúa- porque creo que ahora tenemos a un oyente más consciente, que ha reflexionado sobre sus condiciones de vida, no solamente los que escribieron, sino también miles de los que no lo hicieron, que de seguro cuando van a discutir con el compadre o el amigo plantearán sus puntos de vista y el de los expertos que entrevistamos a propósito de la novela, lo que significa que cada oyente es un multiplicador, que se interesará por plantear soluciones a su problemática.

¿Cuándo llegarán esas soluciones que señala Roberto Best y que ya fueron planteadas por Carmen Gómez como "medidas radicales de desincentivo a la migración rural?" Tal vez en un futuro no muy lejano. Entonces Isabel Crisóstomo no tendrá que alumbrarse "con una lucesito" y el campesino podrá -como señala Valentina Venus- disfrutar en toda su dimensión y real significación "del trinar de los pájaros, la lira del ruiseñor y del bello sellado de estrellas en medio de una noche oscura".



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Summary of laws and regulations governing maternity protection (as at 30 June 1984)



Country	Qualifying conditions ¹	Length of leave ²	Cash benefits paid by (a) social security or insurance (b) employer	Prohibition of dismissal	Nursing breaks ³ (a) frequency (b) authorised period
Argentina	Employment with social security coverage and at least 10 months' uninterrupted contributions prior to confinement	90 days (at least (30+45) ⁴)	(a) 100% of wages during maternity leave ⁵	Guaranteed security of employment from the time pregnancy is declared to the end of maternity leave (extension in case of illness due to confinement)	(a) 2 of half an hour (b) Until child is 1 year old (under the national agricultural labour scheme, nursing mothers are entitled to appropriate breaks)
Bahamas	50 weeks of contributions, including 40 during past year or at least 30 during 40 weeks preceding entitlement to benefit	13 weeks, consisting of the week of confinement and 6 weeks before and after	(a) From half to two-thirds of previous earnings, as per 6 wage categories, during maternity leave	-	-
Barbados	30 weeks of contributions, including 20 during the period immediately preceding request for leave	13 weeks, consisting of the week of confinement and 6 weeks before and after	(a) 100% of average earnings during maternity leave	-	-
Bolivia	4 months of contributions during 12 months preceding entitlement to benefit	90 days (45+45)	(a) 75% of earnings during maternity leave ⁶	Worker entitled to return to former post	(a) At least 1 hour
Brazil	Social insurance coverage	12 weeks (4+8) ⁴	100% of wages (paid by employer) or fixed amount equal to regional minimum wage (paid by social welfare), during maternity leave	Even the sending of notice of dismissal is prohibited during maternity leave (pregnancy and confinement are not reasonable grounds for dismissal). Worker entitled to return to former post	-
Chile	Social insurance coverage and 13 weeks of contributions during last 6 months preceding request for leave	18 weeks (6+12) ⁸	Previous earning with allowances, less social welfare contributions and deductions provided for by law, during maternity leave and additional leave	During pregnancy and for 1 year after completion of maternity leave ⁹	(a) 2, not exceeding 1 hour in all ¹⁰

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Country	Qualifying conditions ¹	Length of leave ²	Cash benefits paid by (a) Social security or insurance (b) employer	Prohibition of dismissal	Nursing breaks ³ (a) frequency (b) authorised period
Colombia	12 weeks of contributions, including 4 during 9 months preceding request for leave	8 weeks (at least 2+2)	(a) 100% of average earnings during maternity leave (paid on basis of 12 weeks' contributions preceding leave)	During pregnancy and for 3 months following confinement	(a) 2 of half an hour
Costa Rica	26 weeks of contributions during 52 weeks preceding entitlement to benefit	60 days (30+30)	(a) 50% of average earnings over preceding 3 months, during maternity leave ¹¹	During pregnancy, postnatal leave and nursing period	(a) One of 15 minutes every 3 hours or 2 of half an hour
Cuba	75 days active employment during 12 months preceding maternity leave	18 weeks (6+12); 2 additional weeks before confinement if multiple birth is expected; ¹² possibility of 9 months paid additional leave (until child is 1 year old)	(a) 100% of earnings (minimum 10 pesos (approx. US\$11) per week) during maternity leave	Entitled to return to former post	- ¹³
Dominican Republic	30 weeks of contributions during 10 months preceding confinement	12 weeks (6+6)	(b) Usual wages for normal work during maternity leave (if worker is covered by social insurance, employer pays only 50%) ¹⁴	During pregnancy and maternity leave	(a) Three of 20 minutes (unpaid)
Ecuador	26 weeks of contributions during previous 12 months	8 weeks (2+6); employing a pregnant woman or one who has given birth during this period is prohibited	100% of earnings during maternity leave (75% paid by social security, 25% by employer) ¹⁵	During pregnancy and 8 weeks following confinement (job security for up to 1 year in case of illness due to pregnancy or confinement)	(a) One of 15 minutes every 3 hours (unpaid) (b) Until child is 9 months old ¹⁶
El Salvador	12 weeks of contributions during 12 calendar months preceding confinement, or 6 months employment	12 weeks, of which 6 must be taken after confinement	(a) 75% of average earnings during maternity leave ¹⁷	During pregnancy (all rights maintained until end of maternity leave)	-

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Country	Qualifying conditions ¹	Length of leave ²	Cash benefits paid by (a) social security or insurance (b) employer	Prohibition of dismissal	Nursing breaks ³ (a) frequency (b) authorised period
Grenada	30 weeks of contributions, of which 20 in employment	12 weeks (start of leave left to discretion of person concerned) ¹⁸	(b) 60% of average weekly insurable earnings ¹⁹	On account of pregnancy (entitlement to return to former post if employer is notified 2 weeks before return)	-
Guatemala	Employment with social welfare coverage	75 days (30+45) ²⁰	100% of earnings during maternity leave (paid by employer if worker is not covered by social welfare)	On account of pregnancy and throughout nursing period ²¹ (entitled to return to former post)	(a) One of 15 minutes every 3 hours or 2 of half an hour
Guyana	50 weeks of contributions, including 20 during 30 weeks prior to 6th week before confinement	13 weeks, consisting of the week of confinement and 6 weeks before and after	(a) 60% of earnings, as per 5 wage categories, during maternity leave	-	-
Haiti	6 months of contributions during last 10 months preceding entitlement to benefit	12 weeks (at least 4+6) ²²	100% wages during maternity leave (50% of basic wage paid by social insurance, remainder by employer) ²³	During pregnancy and throughout nursing period (entitled to return to former post until end of maternity leave or sickness due to pregnancy)	(a) One of 15 minutes every 3 hours or 2 of half an hour
Honduras	75 days of contributions during last 10 months preceding entitlement to benefit.	10 weeks (4+6) ^{8, 22}	During maternity leave, either full remuneration (paid by employer) or 66% of basic daily wage (paid by social security). (In the latter case, difference between benefit and full remuneration is paid by employer)	During pregnancy, maternity leave and throughout nursing period (worker retains post and all rights conferred by contract of employment)	(a) Half-hour in morning, half-hour in afternoon (b) Until child is 6 months old
Jamaica	At least 52 weeks with same employer at the time of maternity leave	Up to 12 weeks; upon presentation of medical certificate, 14-week extension in case of illness due to pregnancy or confinement or if required by child's state of health	(b) 100% of wages during first 8 weeks of maternity leave ²⁴	Even partially, on account of pregnancy or confinement ²⁵ (entitled to return to former post or similar post if employer is notified 3 weeks before return)	-

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Country	Qualifying conditions ¹	Length of leave ²	Cash benefits paid by (a) social security or insurance (b) employer	Prohibition of dismissal	Nursing breaks ³ (a) frequency (b) authorised period
Mexico	Social insurance coverage and 30 weeks of contributions during 12 months preceding entitlement to benefit	12 weeks (6+6); 9 additional weeks in case of illness due to pregnancy or confinement	100% of average earnings during maternity leave (paid by social insurance or employer) and 50% during additional leave (paid by social insurance) ²⁶	Entitled to return to former post provided work is resumed within one year following confinement	(a) 2 of half an hour (unpaid)
Nicaragua	16 weeks of contributions during last 39 weeks preceding request for leave	12 weeks (4+8)	100% of earnings during maternity leave (60%, as per 19 wage categories, paid by social insurance) ²⁷	During pregnancy and post-natal leave ²¹	(a) 2 of half an hour (unpaid)
Panama	9 months of contributions during 12 months preceding the 7th month of pregnancy	14 weeks (6+8 (compulsory)); additional leave in case of illness due to pregnancy or confinement	100% of earnings during maternity leave (paid by social security and/or employer)	During pregnancy and 3 months following confinement ²⁸	(a) One of 15 minutes every 3 hours or 2 of half an hour
Paraguay	6 weeks of contributions during last 120 days preceding entitlement to benefit	12 weeks (6 plus 6 (compulsory)); extension in case of illness due to pregnancy or confinement	(a) 50% of earnings for 3 weeks before and 6 after confinement ²⁹	From time pregnancy is declared to end of maternity leave or additional leave	(a) 2 of half an hour
Peru	Social insurance coverage, at least 3 consecutive months of contributions (or 4 non-consecutive contributions) during 6 months preceding expected date of confinement, and registration at least 9 months before expected date	90 days (45+45)	(a) 100% of average daily insurable earnings during last 4 preceding calendar months, during maternity leave ³⁰	During 3 last months of pregnancy and 4 months following confinement	(a) 1 hour
Trinidad and Tobago	At least 10 weeks of contributions during 13 weeks preceding before confinement	13 weeks, consisting of the week of confinement and 6 weeks before and after	(a) 60% of average earnings, as per 8 wage categories, during maternity leave ³¹		

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Country	Qualifying conditions ¹	Length of leave ²	Cash benefits paid by (a) social security or insurance (b) employer	Prohibition of dismissal	Nursing breaks ³ (a) frequency (b) authorised period
United States	- ³²	6-8 in States with maternity legislation ³³	- ³⁴	Entitled return to former job (unless worker notifies employer of intention not to return to work)	-
Uruguay	-	12 weeks (6+6); extension up to 5 months if confinement occurs after expected date and in case of illness	(a) 100% of earnings during maternity leave ³⁵	During maternity leave (entitled to return to former post)	(a) 2 of half an hour ³⁶
Venezuela	Social insurance coverage	12 weeks (6+6) ⁴	(a) 66% of earnings during maternity leave	Entitled to retain former post until end of maternity leave	(a) 2 of half an hour (unpaid) ²⁰

Notes



¹Qualifying conditions for maternity benefits are normally linked to a national social insurance scheme. ²Where leave is shown as "x+y", first figure refers to amount of leave to be taken before expected date of confinement and second figure that to be taken after confinement. ³Unless otherwise indicated, nursing breaks are paid and on a daily basis. ⁴Pre-natal leave not taken can be added to post-natal leave. ⁵Additional entitlement to confinement allowance and, until child is 1 year old, nursing allowance. ⁶Maternity leave is 16 weeks in British Columbia, 18 in Alberta, Quebec and Saskatchewan, and 37 in the public service. ⁷If confinement occurs after expected date, pre-natal leave is extended. In case of illness (upon presentation of medical certificate), worker is entitled to additional pregnancy leave or extended post-natal leave. ⁸Authorization to terminate a contract may be granted by a judge only in cases of gross misconduct or for reasons connected with the operating requirements of the undertaking, establishment or service. When dismissal is authorised, worker continues to receive benefits to which she would normally be entitled until end of maternity leave. ⁹Travelling time may be added to nursing break. Transport costs are borne by employer when child cannot be nursed at place of work. ¹⁰Additional entitlement to milk allowance for up to 4 months. ¹¹Pre-natal leave not taken can be added to post-natal leave, up to maximum of 2 weeks. If confinement occurs before 34 weeks of pregnancy, leave is restricted to period of post-natal leave. If child dies within 4 weeks of birth, post-natal leave is 6 weeks. Worker is entitled to paid leave for medical check-ups (6 times for one day or 12 times for half a day during pregnancy, and 1 day a month during 12 months following birth). ¹²Nursing breaks have now been abolished but post-natal leave extended. ¹³Additional entitlement to nursing allowance in cash or in kind, representing 15% of earnings, for up to 12 months. ¹⁴Layette supplied. ¹⁵In undertakings with nursing facilities; elsewhere, working day is reduced to 6 months. ¹⁶Layette and milk supplied free of charge for 12 weeks (benefits paid by employer if mother is not otherwise insured). ¹⁷Paid maternity leave ends 30 days after death of child in case of stillbirth or of child dying within one month of birth. ¹⁸Single entitlements to cash maternity benefits per 2 year period, up to a maximum of 3 entitlements. ¹⁹Post-natal leave reduced by half in case of stillbirth. ²⁰Justified termination of contract is possible if endorsed by labour inspectorate. ²¹Maternity leave reduced to 2-4 weeks only in case of miscarriage or premature stillbirth. ²²100% of wages paid by employer if worker is not otherwise insured. ²³Three entitlements to maternity benefits only. ²⁴An employer who dismisses a woman entirely or partly on account of pregnancy or confinement faces a fine of 1,000 Jamaican dollars (approx. US\$235) or 6 months imprisonment. ²⁵Layette supplied. Additional entitlement to nursing allowance for up to 6 months. Social insurance pays 50% of average earnings during additional leave. ²⁶Additional entitlement to nursing allowance for up to 6 months. ²⁷Termination of contract is possible with court approval. ²⁸Additional entitlement to milk vouchers for up to 8 months if mother cannot nurse her child. ²⁹Additional entitlement to nursing allowance representing 25% of minimum wage in Lima for up to 8 months. ³⁰Additional entitlement to confinement allowance. ³¹No federal legislation concerning maternity for work. The federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 leaves such legislation to state authorities. ³²Certain collective agreements provide for unpaid maternity leave. ³³Five States have legislation providing for compensation (for temporary incapacity for work) at a rate of 66% for 6 to 10 weeks. ³⁴70% of earnings during extension of leave (paid by social security). ³⁵State employees may request authorization to work half-time during nursing period.

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Advancement of women

Progress toward achieving equality between the sexes is one of the most dramatic social changes of this century and the achievement of this equality is a global goal, set in 1975 and reaffirmed in 1985 at the end of the United Nations Decade for Women. The Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women foresee achievement of full equality by the year 2000. Although this ambitious target has strong implications for the future global economy and society, projecting its consequences requires particular care. The effect of a progressive elimination of inequalities, on which many social and economic relations are still based, may not be fully visible until well into the next century.

Between 1985 and 2000 the number of women in the world is expected to increase by some 635 million, from 2.4 billion to just over 3 billion; almost 80 per cent will be living in the developing regions. The proportion of women in the total population will fall slightly, from 49.7 per cent to 49.6 per cent, reflecting faster growth in population in the developing regions. These regions, with the exception of Africa, will continue to have more men than women, especially in Latin America and East and South Asia, although the trend is towards parity. In South Asia the projected ratio is 104.9 men to every 100 women by the year 2000. This contrasts with the developed regions, where the ratio of men to women was 94.2 in 1983 and is projected to rise slightly to 95.6 by the year 2000.

A likely effect of increased life expectancy for women in developing countries will be more women entering the formal labour force after their childbearing years. How the economies will adjust to the large numbers of women wishing to enter the labour market will be a major issue. If current trends are not modified, projections indicate that women's participation in the economically active population will decline. But throughout the world women make an important contribution to the economy, although many of their productive activities are not formally recognized. In addition to their presence in formal employment, women contribute significantly to the work of family farms and enterprises and of the informal sector, and by providing "free" services that maintain and support current-- and future workers, services that would otherwise need to be provided by the state, or bought in the market. Increased productivity in all such activities can be a major source of increasing well-being and economic growth. Entry of more women into formal employment and more skilled employment, could improve their productivity and thereby national incomes.

An increase in the relative number of female workers is unlikely to influence male unemployment adversely. (There is no evidence that greater female participation has in the past been at the expense of male employment; employment trends for both sexes have tended to move in the same

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direction.) In the coming years, when the informal sector is expected to increase in importance, women are likely to be hired in jobs which men do not want, based on current preferences, because working hours are limited or the job offers a less secure link to the employing enterprise.

At the micro-economic and micro-social level, women's participation in the economic is often the only way to protect the family in times of difficult economic conditions. Women's employment and the income derived from it maintains, and sometimes insures by itself the standard of living of the family.

The number of women who are main economic earners has been increasing in the recent years and this evolution is likely to continue. The trend whereby women work in order to compensate for an otherwise declining standard of living can be expected to continue in the 1990s, especially in those developing countries where no significant increase in per capita income is anticipated. Women's participation is necessary for the economic survival of the family in the early stages of development; in economies characterized by family-based employment, women have higher rates of participation than in economies based on wage labour. Thus, as the development process modifies the structures of employment, women's participation appears as an important adjustment factor within the economy and the family. Even in developed economies, women's role as secondary wage earners may be essential for the family, and this characteristic is likely to increase by the year 2000. In some countries, such as the United States of America, studies indicate that women's participation may be inversely related to husband's wages. Thus, the wife takes a job in order to compensate for an insufficient or declining family income.

Studies in other countries suggest that wives of men earning both very low, or very high, incomes had higher participation rates than those of men earning middle incomes. These two interpretations of the relationship between female economic participation and the family, or the husband's income indicate that in case of economic difficulties women are likely to increase their participation in the economy.

Women's participation in the economy is affected by relationship among education, health and fertility, all of which influence the incentive for a firm to hire a female worker, and her strategy in the labour market. These relationships are usually part of a vicious circle contributing to the exclusion of women from the formal economy. But the policy which targets each aspect of these relationships may generate a vicious circle promoting better use of women's talents and energies. Specific policies are necessary to promote equal access of women to education, as current trends indicate that full equality in access to education will not be achieved by the year 2000. Policies to promote equal access to education are to be complemented by training policies targeting older age groups. The need to supplement formal education with training is also evident. The importance of the informal sector in women's employment means that those women who have not been able to

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benefit from education in the past should benefit from special programmes to enable them to function effectively in a modern economy.

Women's reproductive role should not be an obstacle to full economic participation. The development of better support systems in the 1990s could influence the environment in which women determine their strategy on the labour market and the terms on which women reconcile their responsibilities in the household, as parents and as workers. In most of the world, women work within family enterprises where social support and the economic roles can be combined. Urbanization has reduced the significance of this type of socio-economic structure in many countries, as the work force in the formal sector increases. This trend can be expected to continue, and is one of the factors underlying the projections of reduced women's share in the work force noted earlier. In order to overcome this effect in economic sectors where family enterprises do not exist, efforts can be made to create an environment in which parental and work responsibilities can be combined, by providing such services as day care and parental leave. The incentives for an employer to hire a woman should not be lowered by measures which, though intended to favour women workers, may raise the costs they represent for a firm. Thus, parental leave is to be preferred to maternal leave, for example. The question of reconciling parental and work responsibilities can be addressed most easily in the context of more flexible attitudes to career patterns, which make allowance for further study, as well as family responsibilities, for both spouses.

To overcome past conditions, special programmes need to be organized to ensure that women who are in low skill jobs, unemployed, or who stopped work in order to have children, can get special training. Women returnees especially can be an asset to an employer, as they acquired maturity, and certain skills. Their previous education represents an important investment by the society and needs to be used. If a woman decides to go back to work, support should therefore be available to her.

Policies in these areas will have a major bearing on the nature of the contribution women will make to the economy and its overall impact in the future.

From: Report of the Secretary General on the overall socio-economic perspective of the world economy to the year 2000, 1988 (New York) pp116-118.

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Main Features of United Nations Cuba's Country Programme.

In the current UNFPA National Programme, the eight-projects approved have as direct and indirect beneficiaries, women. At the same time, women have participated in the preparation of the current UNFPA projects but only two project directors are women. Similar is the case in UNDP Programmes where only four projects have women as project managers and the remaining eighteen are managed by men. Nevertheless in many cases, women are responsible for the co-ordination and administration of UNFPA and UNDP projects. Both country programmers have increased women's access to and control of resources.

Within the overall programme, and considering the projects as a whole, fellowships and training has included a substantial number of female beneficiaries.



Although the objectives related to women were not explicitly stated, the role of women is also visible in the design of the project documents.

UNFPA projects carry out activities which support the programmes of the Ministry of Public Health, especially on mother and child care, contraceptive methods, plans for family doctors, people's health education, sexual education, etc. Also the health brigade members provide care for pregnant women, support the programme for the prevention of cervical uterine cancer, fulfill vaccination tasks, etc.

In particular, attention is paid to the great amount of girls who interrupt their education by getting married and pregnant before they have completed their professional training. In this regard, many programmes in the mass media (radio, tv) have been published by the national sexual education group. (It is a working group created by the people's Power to elaborated policy and activities concerning sexual education).

UN Support to Women In Development

So far very limited assistance has been provided by the UN to women's projects as such and it has been mainly limited to the exchange of experiences with other countries. A small scale project has been implemented in Cuba aiming at assisting women's handicraft production (58.300 US\$). In this milieu, the government welcomed the recommendations of the Nairobi Conference by further stressing the guidelines already provided though its plan "National Development Strategies until the Year 2000", calling for an ever increasing role of women in development and in the process of institutional participation. Government's efforts in achieving such aim are coupled by the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), which is presently executing

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the project "Dissemination and Evaluation of Forward-Looking Strategies for Women Promotion", approved early this year and financed jointly by UNIFEM and UNDP by US\$31,910. UN relations with the FMC have been strengthened during 1987 with a view to improve co-operation and mutual support.

Recommendations on how to better address women's concerns in the project



It is useful to mention points which must be taken into account:

a) In the National Scope.

- to identify deficiencies in the collection of data on women, and to improve the sensitivity of statistical indicators to enable women's socio-economic positions to become more apparent and thus to provide some basis for realistic planning.
- to provide technical advice and training for women.
- to include a women's component in the project design.
- working conditions in the project design of a women's component.

b) In the Regional cooperation.

- to create mechanisms of technical co-operation among developing countries in order to evaluate and to change the methods to be developed to integrate women in the different development activities of the country.
- to reinforce the co-ordination at international, regional and subregional levels in connection with the exchange of information about women.
- to guarantee the participation of women in international activities and in equal jobs as men.

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General Conclusions and Suggestions.

The last years have been of great importance in the development of women due to the positive influence on the occupational, cultural and political roles of women.

There has been a remarkable increase in female employment, educational levels and female participation in the public life of the country:

- 1) There has been a large increase in the number of women participating in the economic activity, but the desired levels have not yet been reached. However, in jobs connected with technical and professional activities, the increase has been remarkable.

**From: UNDP, UNFPA, INSTRAW Training workshop women in development. The case of Cuba. 1988
(New York) pp 7-10**

Women's Health: More Than Just Maternal Mortality



The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1979) provides, in Article 12, that women shall have equal access with men to health care services, including family planning. But the news about health care for women, coming from governments, NGO's, the media, and the IWRAW network, indicates that the majority of the world's women do not have adequate access to health care, nor do they enjoy the right to plan their family.

Most of the attention that is given to women's health issues both internationally and within countries focuses on maternal mortality and reproductive health. The statistics suggest the scope of the problem: the World Health Organization says that more than 500,000 women die during pregnancy and delivery every year. Most of these deaths are in developing countries. A woman's risk of dying during pregnancy and delivery is one in 14 in parts of Africa, one in 73 in Latin America (and one in 6300 in the United States and Canada). The immediate causes of death related to childbearing are poor prenatal and obstetrical care and badly performed (frequently illegal) abortions.

But maternal mortality is only the most visible part of the women's health picture--a measurable, dramatic issue to which many international agencies and governments have begun to pay attention. The larger issues remain unaddressed: female malnutrition, lack of access to preventive or emergency medical care, traditional practices that affect women's health over their lifespan. Several years ago the United Nations Working Group on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Girls identified son preference -- which results in neglect, malnutrition and increased mortality rates for girls -- and female circumcision, as well as practices surrounding childbirth, as three of the most important health issues affecting women in many parts of the world.

Most of the health problems of women can be remedied using methods and technologies currently available. But women do not have access to these methods and technologies, because their status in many societies is poor, uneducated, legally or culturally prohibited from making effective decisions on their own precludes their access to health services. Early marriage and frequent pregnancies, conditions related to women's status, aggravate some health problems and cause others. In some countries, development problems such as lack of adequate transportation facilities and trained health personnel, which affect all citizens, have a disproportionately harsh impact on women because of their status.

Women need to be and can be healthy in order to meet their potential as productive adults as well as mothers. The promise of the Convention can be realized, even in times of debt crisis and budgetary austerity, through introduction and improvement of programmes already proven to be

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effective and low in cost. And, ultimately, maternal mortality will decrease and the quality of women's health will measurably increase when women's status improves so that they have access to health care and can make their own decisions about obtaining it throughout their lives.

The new **Brazilian Constitution**, adopted in 1988, includes a provision declaring family planning to be a constitutional right. In addition to recognizing the human right to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of children, the State has created an Office of Integrated Health Care for Women. It also has agreed to provide educational and scientific resources to promote the right to family planning and to promote, with nongovernmental organizations, integrated maternal and child health programmes. The new Constitution also provides for 120 days of maternity leave.

Women in **Argentina** currently must deal with confusion in the law concerning family planning. Prior to ratifying the Convention Argentina had in effect two different decrees prohibiting family planning. In an effort to bring its statutes into conformity with the Convention, Argentina repealed, in December 1986, only one of these decrees. The second decree remains law. Upon ratification, the Convention, which provides for access to family planning services, became law in Argentina, creating confusion about whether provision of family planning services is legal. In October, 1987, the Argentinian Health Ministry announced the establishment of a commission to include family planning in the national health schemes, which serve about 70 percent of the population, but one year later the service still was not available. The Argentine Association for Protection of the Family and the Argentine Women's Committee continue to press for repeal of the outdated decree and provision of family planning services.

The major women's group in **Nicaragua**, AMLAE, has undertaken to educate the public on issues of women's legal rights, family planning, and sex education. AMLAE believes that awareness of the issues is necessary before a change can be made in Nicaraguan law, which since 1904 has made abortion illegal except where necessary to save the life of the mother or where the principal motive is to conceal her "weakness". The law also requires husband's or relative's consent and authorization by three doctors. The new Nicaraguan constitution guarantees the "right to life", without specifying when life begins. The provision is less restrictive than that sought by the Catholic Church but remains a problem for Nicaraguan women, who are suffering a death rate from -- unsafe presumably -- illegal abortions that has risen since 1979.

The use of amniocentesis to determine fetal sex in order to perform selective abortion of female fetuses remains an issue in several countries. **South Korea** is the only country in the world that has totally banned fetal sex test. **Maharashtra State** in **India** also has banned the tests, and national legislation has been called for by the Voluntary Health Association of India and other groups. The Maharashtra law has resulted in a national debate, in which some have stated that where



girl children are undervalued and neglected, preventing parents from terminating the pregnancy may not be in the best interests of women and girls. Supporters of a ban on the tests note that the long-term problem of women's status will not be solved by taking a "no girls, no problem" position. The **British Medical Society**, noting the incidence of sex testing and abortion of female fetuses among Asian and Middle Eastern women resident in the United Kingdom, announced that any doctor found performing an abortion solely on the grounds that the fetus was the "wrong sex" would be struck off the medical register. Information: Research Centre for Women's Studies, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Sir Vithaldas Vidyavihar, Juhu Road, Bombay-400 049, India.

In **China**, the traditional preference for sons has overridden the government's one-child-per-family rule. Many rural families, acting on age-old beliefs about the value of sons, risk fines and other disincentives to have a second child if the first is a girl. Bowing to the pressures of tradition, the Chinese State Birth Control Commission announced in August, 1988, that most rural families whose first child was a daughter will be allowed to have a second. The head of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities in Beijing was highly critical of this decision, stating that the government should encourage rural families to regard the two sexes equally.

In **France**, a new drug RU 486, has been approved that will terminate pregnancy without surgical intervention. The French government, responding to lobbying by anti-choice coalitions, announced at first that, despite its safety and its potential for treating endometriosis, premenstrual syndrome, and breast cancer, the drug would not be available. A strong reaction from women's and medical groups resulted in a new announcement, releasing the drug for general use.

A controversial report on women and health in the **European Community** was withdrawn from debate at the September, 1988 session of the European Parliament, upon motion by conservative parties. According to the Centre for Research on European Women, the report includes a call for more rigorous control on the testing and distribution of drugs, including exports to third World countries; recognition of infertility and fertility problems as possible occupational diseases; and testing for AIDS of men who use prostitutes. It also states that "motherhood should be the result of a free choice". Information: Centre for Research on European Women, 38 Rue Stevin, 1040 Brussels, Belgium.

Several legal developments in the U.S. will have immediate worldwide impact. A U.S. federal district (trial) court has held unconstitutional the Reagan Administration's Mexico City policy. The policy prohibits U.S. aid to nongovernmental organizations that perform or promote abortions, even where the abortion are financed by money from private sources. It has resulted in the withholding of millions of U.S. dollars from the International Planned Parenthood Federation and other family planning organizations. The decision has been appealed by the government.

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Also in the U.S., a woman has won an \$8.7 million verdict against the G.D. Searle & Company, manufacturer of the Copper-1 IUD. A jury agreed that the IUD was the cause of the pelvic inflammatory disease that resulted in infertility. This is the first individual IUD case in which the woman has prevailed and sets a precedent for other individual suits. Meanwhile, a class action suit, representing thousands of women around the world who suffered injury from using the Dalkon shield, is now in the settlement phase. Groups representing women who were injured by the device have stated that the amount in the fund to be distributed is inadequate and the time for women to make their claims is too short. However, as the trial court has approved the settlement terms, these groups now are working to notify women immediately so that they can receive an award from the settlement trust fund. Class members from the U.S. and Canada have been relatively easy to notify, but women from other parts of the world may not have received notices about the lawsuit and settlement. **Deadline for receiving certain claims for injury from the Dalkon shield from women outside the U.S. is end of March, 1989.** The Women's Global Network on Reproductive Rights suggests that groups willing to contact women in their country who have claims, write immediately to the trust fund to indicate that they are willing to locate claimants outside the U.S. State that you would like to receive information about the settlement options and any information that will be sent to claimants. Write to: Dalkon Shield Trust Fund. c/o Michael Sheppard, P.O. Box 444, Richmond, VA 23205 USA.

From: International Women's Rights Action Watch Vol 2 No 3 - DEC 88

GENDER COMPARISONS

140 Countries, 1960 and 1980/85a

TABLE III

	GNP		LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION ^b						
	1980		Rate		Country		Rank	Ratio of	
	1980 Per Capita		1960		Rate		1980	Women's Rate	
	US\$	Rank	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	1960	1980
			%	%	%	%	Rank	Men	= 100%
WORLD	2,261		47	90	46	85		52	54
• DEVELOPED(28)	8,477		52	89	57	84		58	68
DEVELOPING(112)	789		45	91	42	85		50	49
AMERICA(24)	2,172		21	90	25	84		23	30
EUROPE(6)	4,089		29	92	32	83		32	39
ASIA(35)	473		50	90	45	85		56	53
OCEANIA(2)	997		65	94	59	90		69	66
AFRICA(45)	806		44	92	42	88		48	48
AMERICA	11,233		41	88	50	83		47	60
NORTH AMERICA	10,159	19	32	89	43	84	59	36	51
• CANADA	11,347	16	42	88	51	83	45	48	61
• UNITED STATES	2,172		21	90	25	84		23	30
LATIN AMERICA									
ARGENTINA	4,361	37	26	90	31	85	86	29	36
BARBADOS	3,301	47	51	90	53	84	42	57	63
BOLIVIA	1,071	74	21	92	24	88	99	23	27
BRAZIL	2,002	56	19	90	24	84	99	21	29
CHILE	2,508	51	24	88	26	73	95	27	36
COLOMBIA	1,251	68	21	91	97	87	936	23	33
COSTA RICA	1,923	57	19	94	24	87	99	20	28
CUBA	1,864	59	16	89	22	80	106	18	28
DOMINICAN REP.	1,175	70	11	92	13	87	116	12	15
ECUADOR	1,358	64	18	95	24	89	99	19	27
EL SALVADOR	725	90	19	93	23	88	104	20	26
GUATEMALA	1,096	73	14	94	15	89	112	15	17
GUYANA	680	93	26	91	29	84	89	29	34
HAITI	266	122	79	93	70	89	16	85	79
HONDURAS	63	94	14	96	15	92	112	15	16
JAMAICA	1,069	75	47	88	51	80	45	53	64
MEXICO	2,590	50	16	92	21	85	108	17	25
NICARAGUA	837	85	19	93	25	88	97	80	23
PANAMA	1,666	60	26	89	32	85	82	29	38
PARAGUAY	1,346	65	25	94	27	89	93	27	30
PERU	1,056	76	23	89	24	81	99	26	30
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO	5,268	32	32	89	38	84	71	36	45
URUGUAY	3,398	46	30	90	35	84	77	33	42
VENEZUELA	3,726	43	21	89	26	81	95	24	32

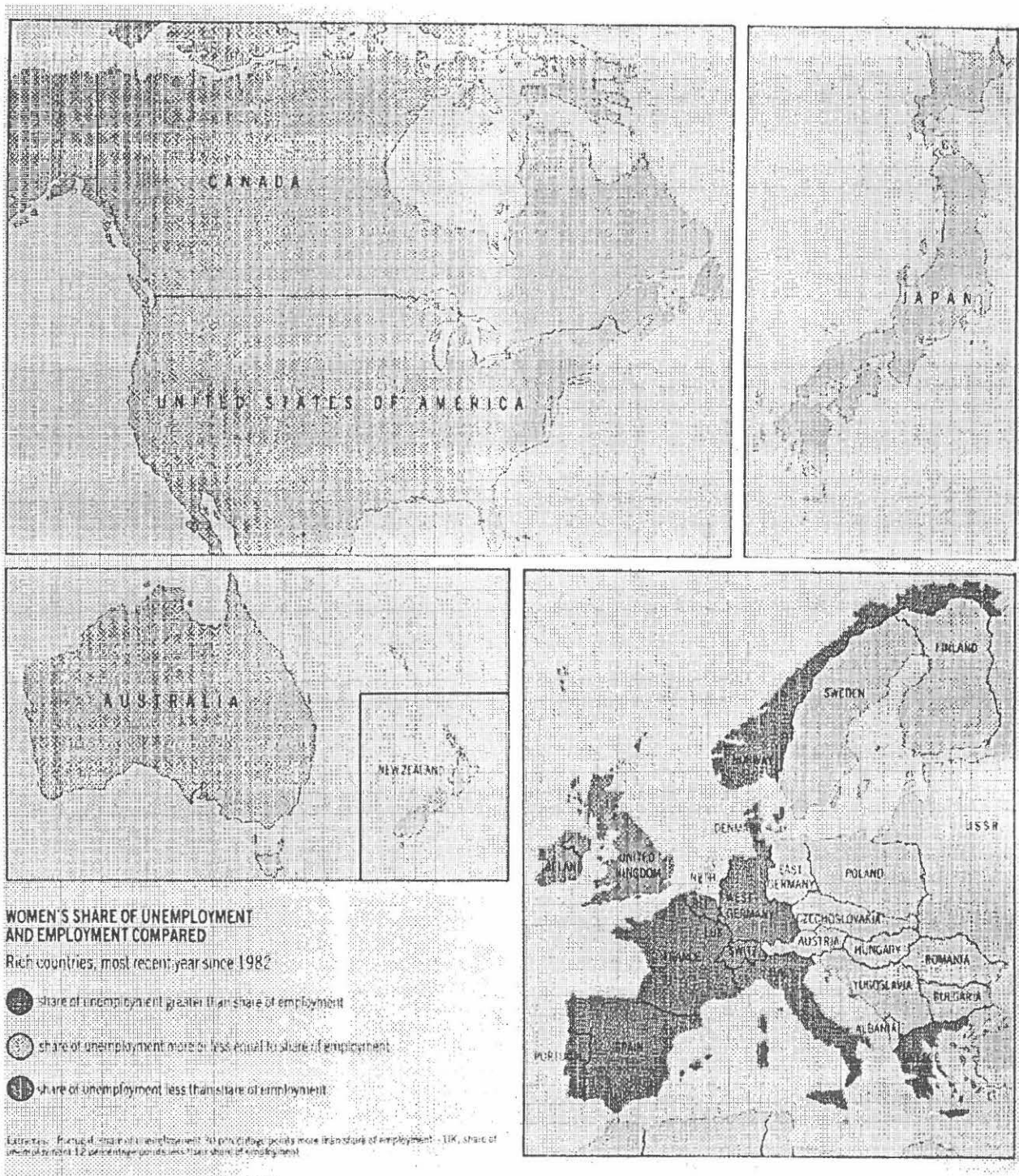
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	US\$	Rank	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	1960	1980
			%	%	%	%	Rank	Men	= 100%
EUROPE									
WESTERN EUROPE	9,840		37	91	43	85		41	51
• AUSTRIA	10,508	17	52	90	54	85	36	58	64
• BELGIUM	12,023	13	30	87	37	82	74	34	45
• DENMARK	12,504	10	42	92	56	87	33	46	64
• FINLAND	10,333	18	54	89	60	82	27	61	73
• FRANCE	12,156	12	43	88	48	83	51	49	58
• GERMANY WEST	13,399	8	46	91	51	88	45	50	58
• GREECE	4,384	36	38	90	40	84	67	42	48
• ICELAND	12,009	14	35	90	38	86	71	39	44
• IRELAND	5,074	33	32	90	34	85	79	36	40
• ITALY	7,012	27	28	88	32	81	82	32	40
• LUXEMBOURG	14,297	5	30	86	32	84	82	35	38
• MALTA	3,406	45	20	88	22	85	106	23	26
• NETHERLANDS	11,399	15	25	90	30	85	88	28	35
• NORWAY	13,357	9	27	89	34	82	79	30	42
• PORTUGAL	2,393	52	18	94	28	89	91	19	32
• SPAIN	5,550	30	19	93	23	86	104	20	27
• SWEDEN	13,362	7	38	88	52	82	44	43	63
• SWITZERLAND	16,188	4	40	93	51	90	45	43	57
• UNITED KINGDOM	9,213	22	44	94	54	89	36	47	61

From: Global survey ILO and INSTRAW (New York).



From: JONNI SEAGER & ANN OLSON, **WOMEN IN THE WORLD: AN INTERNATIONAL ATLAS**.
New York (1966)

Socio-economic factors causing the migration of women

(Lil Despradel)

Agrarian structures

With the exception of a few of the larger Caribbean islands (such as Hispaniola and Jamaica), which are rich in minerals, the territory is not only small but has few natural resources. In the smaller islands, these resources are very limited, and arable land represents just 50 percent of the area of most of the islands.

Furthermore, as shown by Mintz (1965), all the farming and land-tenure systems in the Caribbean are a patchwork of traditional organization and farming techniques inherited from elsewhere. Extermination or assimilation of the aboriginal population pointed Caribbean agriculture in entirely new directions founded on European colonial expansion and African cultural features. Plantations and subsistence plots (granted to slaves early on in colonization), two fundamentally different farming systems, have clashed and intermingled for over four centuries in Caribbean farming, and still do so today. The land-owning structure is highly polarized with, on the one hand, a minority of large landowners holding most of the land in the form of plantations, and on the other, the great majority of landowners holding small farms, many of them subsistence plots. For example, in Jamaica and Trinidad, more than 70 per cent of the landowners own less than 15 per cent of the arable land, while less than 1 per cent hold over 45 per cent of the land; in the French-speaking Caribbean, more than 80 per cent of the landowners hold between 20 per cent (in Martinique) and 33 per cent (in Guadeloupe) of the land. Plantation owners represent 21 per cent of all owners in Martinique and 15 per cent in Guadeloupe; they own 80 per cent of the land in the former and 65 per cent in the latter (Crusol, 1980, p.29). In Haiti, small landowners represent 70 per cent of the people who live off the land, but they own only about 10 per cent of the total surface (Bremm, 1967, p.27). In the Dominican Republic, the 1960 census showed that 40 per cent of the arable land belonged to less than 1 per cent of the land owners, and the remaining 60 per cent was shared by 99 per cent of landowners, 45 per cent of whom owned less than one hectare each. The 1970 census confirmed this.

This agrarian structure has been an inevitable source of social conflict in virtually the whole of the Caribbean, and the different governments have adopted various land-reform policies during the period 1940-75. These reforms differed on many points, such as date of application, organization and extent, but they shared the common goal of attempting to solve the economic and social problems caused by the farming and landowning structures in the area.



Despite such reforms, however, polarization of land ownership seems to have intensified in recent years. For instance, Crusol (1980, p. 70) mentions Martinique (1967-73) and Jamaica (1954-68) where, although the number of smallholdings increased, their average area decreased while the large holdings grew larger.

The concentration of land in the plantations, which are operated as capitalist enterprises, has resulted in the dismantling of many smallholding, which were run largely in the traditional semi-subsistence manner in which women play an important part. In addition, the technical innovations introduced in the plantations to increase land and labour productivity have led to reduced employment, which mainly affects women. In Puerto Rico, smallholdings devoted to subsistence farming have almost disappeared, and have been supplanted by plantations (Mintz, 1965), where women rarely find work.

In the Dominican Republic during the 1960s, the use of most land for crops such as sugar-cane and rice, and for cattle-raising-activities in which women in the Dominican Republic traditionally do not participate-probably provides one explanation for the exodus of rural women. Throughout the Caribbean, the predominance of export crops limits expansion of the home-grown products market in which women are a key factor. Hence the very small proportion of cultivated land used for food crops: Martinique (1960), 21.2 per cent; Puerto Rico (1966), 12.1 per cent; Barbados (1966), 8.9 per cent; Jamaica (1961), 2.6 per cent; and the Dominican Republic (1970), 10.1 per cent. Moreover, peasant families have fairly high birth rates, and given that the farms are very small, it is a problem dividing them up among the children after the death of the parents. Very often the land is inherited undivided by one child (usually male) and the others must find work elsewhere or migrate to the cities. It is generally the women who migrate, because men can find work as farm hands more easily.

The demographic factor

In the 1940s most of the Caribbean islands were overpopulated. Socio-economic factors such as a higher standard of living, lower mortality rate, higher birth rate, and longer life expectancy, motivated this phenomenon, which reached alarming proportions. The highest population density was in Barbados with 722 inhabitants per square kilometre in 1946, and the lowest in the Dominican Republic with, on average, 90 inhabitants per square kilometre in the 1940s. Between these extremes were Puerto Rico, with 250 inhabitants per square kilometre, Martinique, with 221 inhabitants per square kilometre, Guadeloupe, with 127 inhabitants per square kilometre (Crusol, 1980, p. 25). Overpopulation in proportion with arable land in this period is even more striking.

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Population density became even greater in the 1950s. In almost all the islands, the annual population growth rate was over 2.5 per cent. However, between 1950 and 1974, population growth-although considerable -actually decreased because of external migration.

Sombre predictions made in the early 1960s, based on the assumption that the growth rate of the previous decade would continue, incited the authorities to take drastic steps to control population growth and to promote emigration. These measures immediately induced a shift in parameters and a reversal of the situation. In 1965 the growth rate started to decline throughout the Caribbean, except in the Dominican Republic where it remained exceptionally high,¹ and the tendency towards decline still prevails.

The overcrowding of most of the islands has two demographic consequences: first, parameters change much more quickly than in larger areas, and second, migratory phenomena can play a more decisive role in population changes than other demographic factors.

Davidson's (1962) and Peach's (1968) studies on the English speaking West Indies showed that under certain economic conditions, demographic pressure is not the trigger for migration. But as stated above, there have been periods in Caribbean history when population growth has exerted pressure on the limited means of production.

The agrarian structure in the Caribbean also imposes limitations on production and employment, and demographic growth may have been a significant cause of internal migration in general, and that of women in particular, during the last decade.

The structure of rural employment

According to statistics published by UNICEF (1975), the average number of women (aged 15 and over) working in Latin America and the Caribbean is less than 20 per cent of the working population, with extremes of 14 per cent and 30 per cent (corresponding to the Caribbean). As previously mentioned, the proportion of working women in Latin America and the Caribbean is underestimated, because of the complex socio-economic structures, which, as in all societies in transition, include several different modes of production, though capitalism remains dominant. The role of women in the semi-subsistence economy (particularly in rural areas) is neglected because the sector is generally ignored in national statistics.

1. During the period from 1970 to 1978 the annual rate of population growth in the Dominican Republic was 3 per cent; in Jamaica, 1.5 per cent (1970-78); Haiti, 1.7 per cent (1978); Puerto Rico, 1.8 per cent (1965-74); Martinique, 1.8 per cent (1970).

The participation of Caribbean women in agriculture dates back to slavery, when slaves were often allotted a plot for subsistence and even for a restricted local market. The semi-subsistence farming work was carried out concomitantly with plantation work. This custom created the foundations for a free peasant community after emancipation. Women have been observed to play several roles in farming:

They participate in agricultural activities within the framework of a semi-subsistence economy supervised by men, who concentrate the farm's resources, take charge of marketing and manage income. This is the case throughout the Caribbean, especially in the Spanish-speaking countries such as the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico (Despradel, 1976; Mintz, 1974).

They make decisions and farm their plots (either their own or family-owned land) when the men are away. This is frequently the case in Haiti and among one-third of the small farmers in the small English-speaking islands (Henshall, 1981; MOral, 1959).

They sell home-grown foods from their own, their families', or their neighbours' farms, particularly in the English-speaking Caribbean, Haiti, and a few regions of the Dominican Republic.

They work on other holdings as farm labourers throughout the Caribbean, especially in harvesting crops to be processed in the food industry or exported.

These roles are not exclusive, and any given woman will play several. Since the farms in the Caribbean are small, many peasants work part-time on their own land and the rest of the time as farm hands. There are a considerable number of women among such "job collectors" (Mintz, 1965), especially during the harvest season.

In most of the Caribbean, women usually participate in farm work on family holdings, where there is no actual division of labour and all family members participate in almost all aspects of agriculture. The family's entire existence is wrapped up in farming activities; domicile and place of work are the same, and agricultural chores are indistinguishable from domestic chores (Despradel, 1976).

On smallholdings managed and operated mainly by women, Henshall (1981) noted that they considered their farming chores an extension of their responsibilities as head of the household. They therefore tend to orient production towards subsistence farming, keeping only a slight surplus for sale in the local market, and they tend to neglect the export crops which men prefer to cultivate.

Nevertheless, there is a sector of rural employment in which women are fully incorporated into a market economy, that is, the distribution of farm produce in local markets, mainly in Jamaica,

Haiti, several of the very small English and French-speaking islands, and in a few areas of the Dominican Republic. The predominance of women in the local food market in the Caribbean is a result of several factors: their African heritage, and customs that arose during slavery, the wars for emancipation and nineteenth-century independence.

Although it is true that women may both farm the land and sell the crops, in many islands, particularly Jamaica and Haiti, some women specialize in selling. Except in the case of merchants whose shops are set up in their own homes, trade requires much time spent away from home. Women who take to trade must have relatives take care of their young children, or else they do not begin to sell until they reach middle-age, when their children have grown up and they are freer to leave home (Greenfield, 1973).

The role of women in distributing agricultural products in the Caribbean has been the object of several anthropological studies, and women were found to dominate the internal marketing of farm products on many of the islands. Called "Madame Sarah" in Haiti and "higglers" or "hucksters" in the English-speaking countries, women traders peddle quantities of farm goods, wandering from one area to another, often by archaic means, on foot or riding a mule. They rarely make enough profit to rent a pick-up truck, since profit margins are usually very low. Statistics on the general extent of the phenomenon are not available. It would seem important to determine the proportion of Caribbean women involved in this kind of trade, particularly since on certain islands (such as Martinique and the Dominican Republic) these merchants are being wiped out by competition. Generalized unemployment (approximately 20 per cent in most of the Caribbean), has forced men into occupations traditionally reserved for women, such as that of the "biciletero" in the Dominican Republic, and competition from supermarket chains, which have spread throughout the area, might slowly drive the merchants towards other activities in the cities. No serious evaluation of the importance of women in the rural proletariat has yet been undertaken.

In the larger Caribbean islands, Hispaniola and Jamaica in particular, the agrarian structure is characterized by a large number of small landowners, with less than 2 hectares, who represent approximately 60 per cent of the agricultural population. However, in Guadeloupe, Trinidad and Puerto Rico, small landowners represent 10-11 per cent of people involved in agriculture, in Martinique 5 per cent, and in Barbados 7 per cent (Crusol, 1980, p. 31). The remaining population working on farms consists of share-croppers who have a verbal contract with a plantation owner or a company according to which they agree to farm a few hectares of land for the owner at their own expense, and in return gain the use of a small plot for their own crops or to raise a few head of cattle.

In most of the Caribbean, the rural proletariat represents more than 50 per cent of the labour involved in agricultural activities; there is a significant number of women within this group, since

the harvesting and packaging of certain products are considered women's work. Women's rate of participation is highest during the season for non-mechanically harvested crops to be used in the food industry (tomatoes, pineapple, sugar-cane),¹ for local consumption (beans) or for export (coffee, tobacco). This type of seasonal work is unstable and poorly paid and women are sometimes rejected when there is a surplus of male workers. Such a situation often encourages women to migrate to the cities in the hope of finding more stable and better paid work.

The rural exodus is largely responsible for the drop in agricultural income in the GNPs of almost all the islands. The index of relative productivity for the agricultural sector has decreased over the past decade; which means that the under-employment of agricultural labour relative to other sectors has increased. However, the effect of the rural migration of women on the stagnation of food crops has not yet been demonstrated in most of the Caribbean.

Main destinations in internal migration

The rate of external migration in the Caribbean is so high that it has been the focus of most studies on migration; the general aspects of internal migration, not to mention migration of women, have rarely been investigated (Monk, 1981; Ramirez et al., 1977; Stone, 1965).

During the past few years, certain authors (for example, Rengert, 1981) have shown that women are generally in the majority in rural-urban migration in Latin America. This phenomenon was observed in particular by Elizaga (1965) who studied internal migration from 1938 to 1963 in six Latin American countries, three of which (Panama, Colombia and Venezuela) have Caribbean coastlines.

Until very recently, women participated more in internal migration in the Caribbean and men in external. It has been noted that the final destination of population movements varied according to whether the migrant was male or female. When men migrate, they generally leave the island to go to the United States, for instance; women generally leave the countryside and move to small towns or cities, and eventually to the capital. This step-by-step migration has been observed in the Dominican Republic (Ramirez et al., 1977). Until recently, Caribbean women had a greater tendency to remain on their native island, and men migrating within their island tended to move further than women.

1. On islands like Martinique, women work as cutter windrowers in sugar-cane fields. However, in the Dominican Republic Sugar-cane work is mainly done by men, and even usually left to Haitian labourers.

The past few years have seen socio-economic changes with various consequences for economic development on the various Caribbean islands. These transformations have created centres of attraction for the population and helped provide work for some of the migrant women moving there. In urban centres there is a labour market specifically for women, mainly in housekeeping, but also in certain industries such as clothing and food manufacture.



During the 1950s and 1960s, Puerto Rico, and to a lesser extent the English-speaking islands and the Dominican Republic (1965-75), underwent a process of industrialization (Crusol, 1980; Comisión de Economía, 1975; Pico, 1974). In these countries, the state either directly or indirectly promoted the establishment of industries, in particular, textiles, food, and ready-to-wear clothing, which mainly employ women at low wages.¹ In the Dominican Republic during the 1960s, the female labour force increased by 8.5 per cent in urban areas because of internal migration. Most of the women found work in the textiles, food and clothing industries (Mota, 1979).

In Jamaica, mining has replaced agriculture in the primary sector, the processing industry has become more important in internal production, and such changes have had a specific influence on the tertiary sector. The state apparatus has increasingly absorbed the labour surplus made available by productive sectors, at the expense of the distribution sector (European Economic Commission, 1973).

Consequently, women who had migrated earlier found positions on the lower rungs of the tertiary sector, leaving the domestic jobs open for more recent migrants.

The international expansion of the tourist trade has greatly benefited some of the Caribbean islands, such as Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Barbados, and more recently the French Antilles and the Dominican Republic, as it is French government policy to promote tourism there. The hotel trade has stimulated the development of the service sector, with a total employment equal to or greater than industrial employment. The service sector probably absorbs most of the migrant women, particularly into domestic housekeeping service, which in Latin America and the Caribbean is considered women's work and where women rarely encounter competition from men. In addition, the market for domestic labour is much more flexible than any other labour market as far as the limitations of labour absorption go. But there are no statistics on this phenomenon because in most censuses domestic work is not considered an independent category but is included within wider categories such as "personal services" or under the general heading "services".

1. In the past few years there has been a slowdown in industrial growth in almost all the islands and therefore a decrease in the absorption of labour. This slowdown mainly affects women and could be one of the factors that has triggered their sudden external migration. Moreover, the recent development of mining and construction activities, in which they play no part, in countries such as Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, could also have caused women to leave their native countries.

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The importance of prostitution in absorbing unqualified migrant women in the Caribbean has rarely been studied. Lewis (1966), in a transcription of the autobiography of Fernanda Fuentes, a migrant in a San Juan slum, states that about one-third of the slum households included women who were or had been prostitutes at one point in their lives. According to Lewis, prostitution is an important economic outlet for poor young women, particularly since its practice does not necessarily mean rejection by the society in which these women live.

In a recent survey among women in a Dominican Republic barrio or slum, only 1.3 per cent of the women admitted that prostitution was a source of income for them (Kennedy and Hetler, 1981). This figure, like many others concerning employment of women in the so-called "informal" sector, is underestimated. In this case, the low percentage can be explained by the fact that although prostitution may not be rejected by their social group in which poor women live, it is not highly valued by society at large.

During the 1970s, the development of internal migration accentuated regional differences. On most of the islands -with the exception of Haiti, where only 23.5 per cent of the population is urban -Caribbean societies have become essentially urban. For example, in Jamaica in 1978, 62.2 per cent of the population was urban; in Puerto Rico in 1975, 61.8 per cent; in Trinidad in 1971, 63 per cent; and in the Dominican Republic in 1980, 51 per cent. The rural areas have lost their populations to the cities, where economic and political power resides.

Characteristics of Migrant Women

Caribbean agrarian and rural employment structures have forced men to migrate in order to find work. They therefore become an unstable element in the family circle. Men migrate within the same country to plantations during the zafra (sugar-cane harvest) season, and equally to other Caribbean countries (for example, Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic); this was already happening at the turn of the century with the migration of English-speaking West Indians and Haitians to the sugar plantations in Cuba and the Dominican Republic. They also emigrate to former or current colonial mother countries or to the United States. Women with young children, however, find it very difficult to move, and it is only very young or older women who are able to migrate.

According to some authors (Clark, 1957; Solien, 1969), the farming activities undertaken by women in the Caribbean are imposed upon them by male migration. While it is true that rural migration often did vacate certain occupations which were subsequently filled by women, such an interpretation underestimates the role of peasant women in Caribbean agriculture. In recent years, the reverse phenomenon has been observed, with a decrease in the participation of women in farming activities. This occurs largely when women must head the household (see figures given by Massiah, 1983).

This would tend to show that a first phase consisted in the external migration of men, accompanied by rural women migrating to urban centres where productive activities are more diverse. Unlike men, however, who have usually been shown to migrate when they have reached a certain level of qualification and education, peasant women apparently migrate only when they have been unable to find paid work.

In this respect, Haiti is particularly interesting, since despite seasonal and cyclical migration of its men it remains an essentially rural country. As noted by Moral (1965) the attraction of urban centres and costal regions in Haiti continues to be relatively low. This phenomenon is unique in Latin America and in the Caribbean; it results from the agrarian structure and a very particular type of agricultural production in Haiti, as well as the decisive role played by women in the production and marketing of agricultural products. Haiti is one of the few countries in the world whose agriculture for export is based on small farms (Mintz, 1965), and Haitian women help maintain what Moral (1965) calls the "Haitian agrarian character". Indeed, the entire Haitian agricultural economy is founded on the earnings of some 600,000 peasant families who farm holdings with an average surface of less than 2 hectares (Moral, 1965); owners, or "reputed" owners in over 80 per cent of the cases, almost always grow varied food crops and general trade crops, and raise a few head of cattle. Small, family-harvested cash crops (mainly coffee) are exported through complex circuits and numerous intermediaries who are, in the vast majority, women. Women's role as fully fledged producers and distributors keeps them in rural areas and allows men to migrate without destroying the traditional system of agricultural production.

A preliminary categorization of migrant peasant women in the Caribbean would distinguish three categories, as follows.

Women migrating alone and independently

These constitute the largest group, which could be subdivided once more. There is one group consisting of very young adults, aged 15-25, who decide to migrate while remaining very close to their families, as many of them have not yet found a home. They are rapidly incorporated into the urban labour market as manual labourers, particularly in domestic service, or sometimes into prostitution. Later they find work in industry if the demand in modern capitalistic sectors increases. Domestic service often seems to be the first rung on the ladder of city jobs available to rural women; it generally constitutes a labour reserve for other, more productive branches, such as industry (see Singer, 1974).

The other group of individual migrants is aged 40 and over. These are women, widows or mothers, who migrate alone and move in with their children in the city. They usually find work as independents, having a stand or a cart to sell fruit and vegetables in the large city markets or simply

in the street. Even if they do not become part of the 'domestic service sector', they may work in this branch independently, for example, doing laundry or ironing at home.

Women 'accompanying' their husbands or mates

Most of these migrants, generally aged 24-40, are virtually illiterate, because of the low level of education in most of the Caribbean; 30 per cent of the population is illiterate and most of these women and peasants.

The marital status of migrants is difficult to define if a general model for the area is to be established. Monk (1981) noted that in Puerto Rico, whereas men usually migrate as bachelors, most women, even when they migrate alone, are married, and their move takes place under the auspices (even indirect) of men.

Puerto Rico can be considered a special case, given the overwhelming influence of Hispanic culture. As for the rest of the Caribbean, many women who migrate usually live or have lived with someone-cohabitation being customary in the Caribbean-or are or have been married in the conventional Western sense. Migration by this group is generally permanent, for only a few migrants return to the rural areas, although in a study of poor women in the Dominican Republic, Brown (1973) cites the case of a peasant woman who migrated seasonally to the capital to work as a housekeeper.

Small-scale seasonal migration by women

This occurs in Haiti and Jamaica and consists of peasant women who market agricultural products and who travel from one place to another. This type of migration, consisting primarily of women, is one of the main features of internal migration in certain regions of the islands.

Effects of migration on women's status-concluding remarks

For many women, migration means a form of socio-economic liberation, a shift from the 'shadow economy' (incorporation into a subsistence economy under male domination) to paid activities.

From being 'second class' producers, mainly of subsistence crops, they become producers, as wage earners, of exchange value (goods and services). Highly important cultural changes ensue. Most female migrants live at their place of work and, as already mentioned in other studies concerning Latin America (Jelin, 1976; Smith, 1977), the very nature of their housekeeping activities includes a socializing function which favours their integration into the city. Before finding

work, migrant women often move in with relatives or friends, who frequently live on the outskirts of towns, where poor, mainly migrant populations tend to concentrate. Life in these neighbourhoods often means significant changes in the living habits of the newly-arrived migrants, who are generally used to country life in rather dispersed houses. In the cities, they discover large collective housing where entire families are often crowded into one room.



To the Caribbean-style low-cost housing developments, rural women bring their habits of self-help (care of children and the sick, participation in informal loan associations, etc.) to enable them to survive in such poverty. Living in the centres of political and economic power can influence their political awareness; this is also true of employees who live at their place of work, since they have contacts with relatives, other employees and friends in town. However, the influence of migration on the political participation of women in the Caribbean has rarely been studied, although the move from country to city implies becoming aware of national politics (Hobsbawm, 1967).

Caribbean women have a tradition of struggle, but it is mainly focused on local and economically-oriented issues (for example, occupying land along with men). Moving into an urban area leads to a national political awareness and teaches them to use their right to vote more conscientiously. This has been a decisive factor in the orientation of political movements and the rise of populist, even revolutionary, movements in the Caribbean in recent years (Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Grenada).

When women migrate alone and find their own homes, the result is often a cleavage from the predominantly patrifocal family circle in the country (particularly in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean) in favour of predominantly matrifocal family structures. This is the case in the Dominican Republic, in particular, where matrifocality is more extensive in urban areas than in rural areas. In the English-speaking Caribbean, most of the women who head households live in cities.

Moreover, when women migrate to accompany their mates, the chances are that they will find work before their male companion; migrant women have a higher level of participation in productive activities than migrant men or city-born women. Thus, women often become the economic centre of the household, which gives them equality with men, something they did not possess in the country where they were classified as 'second class' producers.

Migration also influences fertility rates. Generally speaking, migrant women seem to have lower fertility rates than women who have not left their homes. In addition, migration provides women with many more opportunities to continue their schooling and to learn a trade such as typing, accounting, or sewing. It is easier for them to take advantage of special literacy programmes,

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or to go to primary and secondary vocational schools. This is particularly true for those in domestic service.

Certain studies have stressed the positive side of the migration of women, in so far as peasant women change their 'traditional' attitudes and adopt 'modern' ways of life, but these notions should be used cautiously when applied to Caribbean women. Certain cultural features of some 'traditional' Caribbean societies are quite 'modern', especially with respect to relations between the sexes. For some Caribbean peasant women, independence from male domination is related to a certain type of economic and family structure. As noted by Morin (1974) with reference to Haiti, the economic independence of certain Caribbean peasant women allows them either to raise the children they have borne through cohabitation with various persons within the framework of a matrifocal family, or permits them to respond to male domination within a Western-style marriage.

However, Caribbean peasant women who have not adjusted to recent urbanization run the risk of assimilating the Western values of alienation of women. For a number of Caribbean peasant women, the maintenance of certain 'traditional' values in the city guarantees equality between the sexes.

Many Caribbean peasant societies, especially those strongly influenced by their African heritage and the experience of slavery, have managed in certain contexts to ensure an equality between the sexes which Western societies are still far from achieving, despite their much-vaunted individual liberty. The independence and authority displayed by many poor Caribbean women, particularly in proportion to their personal capital or even their political participation, are rarely observed in women from other classes in their society, or in the Western world in general.

From: Women on the move: Contemporary changes in family and society. pp 93-10g. UNESCO (Paris).

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Improving Statistics and Indicators of Women Using Household Surveys

Lamentations over the lack of data on women have become so commonplace that it is necessary to re-evaluate what is already available from the census and households surveys. However inadequate, the existing pool of data should be exploited for what it can yield, as explains the INSTRAW working paper Improving Statistics and Indicators on Women using Household Surveys, prepared by Helen Ware^{}*

Areas of acute deficiencies

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. The growing number of detailed critiques of the available census and survey data on women show a remarkably high level of agreement on where the problems are to be found: in the data on economic activities of women. It would appear that no one is prepared to defend the ways in which these data are currently collected; almost everyone who has written on the quality of data on women has made suggestions to improve the measurement of women's economic activities.

Criticisms of data on economic activities cross the whole spectrum of types of public data. Thus, while Boserup (1970) and De Souza (1980) focused on the inadequacies of census data, Rogers (1980) concentrated on rapidly gathered data used in the field by development agencies, and Buchwald and Palmer (1978), and the United Nations/INSTRAW expert group (1984) reviewed the whole range of survey and census data.

HOUSEHOLD DATA. Secondly, it is the data on women as heads of household that are most commonly deemed inadequate. Closely related are the data on household and families and women's place within them. A basic difficulty occurs here because, while the head of the household (however defined) must be of one sex or the other, households as units do not have a sex. Yet in much data on households it is not possible to distinguish the resources of the individual women and men who make up the household.

There is an clear two-way link here between the deficiencies in the data and sexual inequities in the implementation of policy. Household are described by the characteristics of the household head, who is defined as or assumed to be male; resources are then allocated, on this basis. Thus,

for example, a farming household is a household where the (male) head is a farmer, regardless of the farming work done by the woman.

The difficulty of securing meaningful data about economic relationships within households has important consequences for the study of female poverty. According to one approach, poor women essentially come from two groups: women who live alone or are the principal support of their own households, and women members of poor households where all members are judged to be living in poverty.

This broad approach has the great disadvantage of ignoring individual poor women living in households above the poverty line. To give but a couple of instances, there are wives who are beaten black and blue but cannot leave home because they have no financial resources of their own; there are adult daughters who are obliged to accept marriages because they have had no training that would allow them to be self-reliant.

Apart from any consideration of the personal misery involved, there are very important development issues tied up with a knowledge of the allocation of resources within households.

Expenditure patterns may be different depending on who controls the household's resources. The small number of studies carried out to date suggest that female control of the money from cash cropping is more commonly associated with expenditures on children and their education and on domestic improvements, while male control is more likely to result in conspicuous consumption of personal consumer goods such as watches or transistor radios, which are not shared, and on tobacco, alcohol and gambling. Indeed, to turn the question upside down, it may well be more important to know what proportion of the household's income is spent on alcohol consumed by the males and their friends than to have an attitudinal response to a question on the control of the household income.

Areas where the data on women are relatively good

In contrast to the bleak picture presented above, there are areas where the data on women in developing countries are relatively good, although no expert ever feels that the data in her or his particular area are as abundant or as high in quality as would be desirable. Nevertheless, some topic areas are much better covered than others, and one should be wary of decrying data which are really of reasonable quality and coverage. A stage has almost been reached where the non-expert, hearing all the laments as to the inadequacy of the available data on women, might think that there are no usable data available. This is certainly not the case.

FERTILITY. This is a unique area where the data on women are undoubtedly better than the data on men. (Indeed there are very few specific studies of male fertility behaviour). Increasing attention is now being given to the possibilities of using the data on women gathered in the innumerable fertility studies to illuminate other aspects of women's lives. An example is Anker's 1983 analysis of World Fertility Survey data on female labour force participation. The study strongly suggests that the intensive questionnaire design and interviewer training efforts of the World Fertility Survey did result in superior fertility and labour force data.



Anyone who is interested in maximizing the use of the data already available on the situation of women should certainly investigate the range of existing fertility surveys. To take but one example, Mason (1984) has reviewed the interrelationships between the status of women, fertility and mortality. The numerous studies she cites could also be used for the light they shed on women's position, taking the demographic data as information about the situation of women.

An unusual example of fertility data used as an indication of women's situation is Harrington's (1983) study of Nigerian women focusing on nutritional stress and economic responsibility. Using pregnancy and lactation data to construct an index of "physical and nutritional stress", the study forcefully argues that to ignore the reproductive burdens upon women in most developing countries is to gravely misrepresent their situation, especially where reproductive and economic burdens are combined.

EDUCATION. A number of writers have lamented the quality of the available data on women's education (Buchwald and Palmer, 1978; United Nations, 1984). However, these complaints are generally concerned with data on out-of-school education or in-depth questions such as the differences in content between the education of females and that of males.

As early as 1970, of the 83 countries in the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Data on the proportion of females amongst those enrolled in primary schools, 61 per cent on higher education enrolment per 1,000 population 20-29 by sex, and 60 per cent on combined primary and secondary education enrolment as a percentage of population 5-19 by sex (Von Buchwald and Palmer, 1978).

There are also some wide-ranging international studies which use national education data—usually drawn from censuses—to examine the situation of women (Boulding et al., 1976; Morris 1979; Sivard, 1985). Indeed, in constructing the physical quality of life index (PQLI) for 74 countries, Morris (1979) chose to rely upon literacy and mortality measures because of their widespread availability.

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Obviously, just because educational data of reasonable quality are widely available for both sexes is no reason why it should not be collected in household surveys - rather it should offer encouragement that such data are not difficult to obtain.

Education has the advantage of being an individual characteristic that makes it possible to distinguish between members within households. Where other measures fail, education can also serve as proxy for income earning capacity. Thus, although a man with secondary education and a woman with no formal education may share a common standard of living while they are married to each other, the wife is clearly in a much more vulnerable position should they separate.

Data already available (most probably from the census) on sex differentials in education can be very useful in planning surveys, it can indicate where other sex differentials are likely to be found.

MORTALITY. In developing countries, the quality of data on mortality often leaves much to be desired. Yet, because of its demographic importance, a great deal of attention has been given to the estimation techniques (Shryock and Siegal, 1975). Also, in contrast to many other topics, a high proportion of those who have studied the subject have been especially interested in sex differentials (Retherford 1975).

When, contrary to the biological norm, female mortality exceeds male mortality, the data (especially on female mortality) are likely to be most defective. Thus, findings of excess male mortality at low levels of life expectancy in cultures where a special value is placed upon sons as opposed to daughters should always be carefully reviewed.

In general, data which show higher female than male mortality in child-hood are likely to be of relative quality. The finding of higher male mortality in the first year of life is usually a genuine reflection of the masculine biological disadvantage. It may also be a consequence of a culturally determined greater likelihood of forgetting dead children if they are female (or remembering dead children as having been male irrespective of their actual sex). There can be no more telling measure of the lower status of females in a society than a tendency to forget or ignore their existence altogether -this is why it is always important to look at the recorded sex ratio of children ever born as well as of the adult population (though the latter may need adjustment for migration).

Some forms of female mortality are especially likely to be missing from the records. This is especially true of deaths associated with childbirth and abortion. Where such data are available they provide an especially valuable indication of the situation of women.

Redressing the imbalance

In many contexts it is true that until now general policies and projects have done more (however unwittingly) to disadvantage women than special projects for women have been able to deliver in the way of advantages. Incorrect assumptions about women's roles and situation have often been at the base of damaging general policies where women's concerns have simply been ignored.

Good data can play a major role in redressing this imbalance but only if they are readily available, timely, and presented in a form readily understood by planners and policy makers, who, understandably, may have no special interest or expertise in this area.

In the longer term, it is to be hoped that all data collection systems will acknowledge the importance both of collecting data separately for each sex and of adapting their methodologies to more fully reflect the situation and concerns of women.

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