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ENHANCING THE ROLE OF WOMEN  
IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Introduction	
The Setting	7
The Political Roles of Women in Asia	10
Economic Roles for Women	18
Policies of the People's Republic of China	26
Politics is Central	33
Development Strategies for Women in China	43
Actionable Program Characteristics	53
Research Needs	62
Notes	65
References	71

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The goals of this paper are twofold: First to try to shed some light upon the efforts of the People's Republic of China to enhance the role of women. In order to do this, the paper initially considers the general dimensions of efforts to broaden the role of women in the LDC's of Asia in general and then proceeds to discuss the Chinese experience in particular. This assumes, therefore, that certain aspects of the Asian experience are relevant, if not directly connected to the Chinese experience. It assumes that certain policies, problems and difficulties are common to agricultural countries in general and Asian countries in particular. Without such a framework, it is too easy to assume that the Chinese experience is sui generis. Against such a background, the Chinese efforts are more accurately appraised. The second portion of the paper, drawing upon earlier observations, suggests (1) outlines some general directions for actionable programs for women in developing countries, and (2) a range of research questions that are important and need further attention in work on this topic.

A student who begins research comparing women's roles and/or policies to change roles quickly becomes aware of certain important caveats: (1) the terms "enhancing the role of women" are ambiguous in their own right, (2) the phrase is then subject to important changes when

transferred to cultures other than the West or the United States and this is true for changes between different cultures and within similar cultures but with varying degrees of modernization and/or industrialization. (3) It is impossible to have a high degree of confidence in conclusions because of the weakness of the data base upon which analysis rests. This latter point is particularly important when applied to the efforts of the People's Republic of China. The reports of visitors to China, though helpful, are as much influenced by the perspectives and experiences of the observers as by the information in briefings. Furthermore, there are few macro-statistics to support impressions in such areas as levels of education, employment rate, etc. To be sure these limitations are found in other problem areas, but they combine in the present study to provide powerful limitations on the work. Initially, the extent of the difficulties were not clearly recognized.

The controversy that surrounds the meaning of the term "the role of women" (much less acceptance of meaning and appropriateness of its enhancement) should be readily apparent from the history of feminism and from the rhetoric that surrounds many of the efforts of the women's movement in the United States today. Such common

policies as child care, equal pay for equal work, as well as the more controversial policies of abortion were supported by some as just, long overdue and repairing criminal neglect. Opponents of one or all of these policies speak of the destruction of social harmony, neglect of children and future generations, reflections of a communist/socialist plot, or the work of Lesbian women who cannot find satisfaction in marriage and child rearing. It is true that the words of praise or epithets will differ between societies, reflecting the parlance of the culture but that there is controversy cannot be doubted and it is true for Asia and China.

Even if there is general agreement about goals, the appropriate mechanisms and organizations for policy implementation differ. In such matters as child care, does responsibility ideally rest with the extended family, the school district, the factory, the cooperative? Is it a right or a privilege? Ought women's organizations to have the primary responsibility for implementing policy or should responsibility for financing and implementation remain with the central or local government? In sum, therefore, there are differences in the necessary and appropriate goals and further in the means for their achievement. An important consequence of this confusion, is that it is difficult to appraise success. This same statement is applicable to many of the LDC's except that

the process and struggles take place in differing cultural contexts as well as economic circumstances and hence are subject to the further qualifications implicit in those differences.

Without wishing to belabor the importance of taking into account the consequences of cultural differences, it is still necessary to recognize that the important economic realities that are often hidden in the use of the initials "LDC" make it imperative to seek appropriate models or reference points for comparison. An example drawn from the political realm will serve to illustrate this point. Certain policies, seen as of high importance in the United States, particularly in the realm of environmental safety and ecology, are not perceived with the same eyes elsewhere. When nations enter the post-industrialization period they seem to find themselves largely concerned with pollution, use of resources, problems of recycling and similar questions. The leaders and people in the LDC's often find it difficult to place the environmental issues so high on their lists of concerns. Where the nation's population rests on the thin edge of nutritional survival, the longer term priorities of other nations may be difficult to translate and impossible to accept. Furthermore, the obvious necessity for "birth control" policies to limit the projected population difficulties that demographers chart for the decades ahead, lose their pressing

quality when viewed from the standpoint of the individual family that prospers or suffers depending upon the number of healthy individuals available for work. These observations may appear to the reader as commonplace, but they need to be kept in mind when assessing the achievements or limitations of other nations and when striving to implement policies and programs that inevitably involve change for large segments of a society.

This then is the basic problem of perspective. The policies of the People's Republic of China offer some good examples. Since 1949, the Chinese leadership has emphasized to its population, the degree of progress, security, stability, and improved standard of living in the post 1949 period in contrast to the bitter pre-1949 years. Clearly that emphasis has been attractive to many Chinese. At the same time, critics of the People's Republic have emphasized the apparent high costs of this policy in terms of political freedoms, or the long way that the Chinese still have to go. Policies are seen from different perspectives.

Perspective is complicated by the difficulty of data, its scarcity, reliability and comparability. To be sure social scientists customarily explain about the difficulties and limitations of their data even in the best of situations. It should still be kept in mind for

this topic, (where data on functional literacy, employment, availability and use of services must be relied upon to indicate usefulness or waste, acceptance or avoidance), that we are relying upon trends, some spotty microstatistics, but virtually no aggregate data. Prior to 1958, there were some "hard" figures, largely reported in Ten Great Years.<sup>1/</sup> Since that time, however, information available on most policies in the People's Republic of China is largely limited to trend statements, percentages of increase from one year to another, and estimates. This limitation is not solely that of the PRC. As Myrdal highlights in his massive work Asian Drama,<sup>2/</sup> the problem is common in Asia, because being largely rural, data accumulation is very difficult, because statisticians and planners are in limited supply, and because the personnel available for such programs are often deployed to those sectors where need is greatest and most crucial for development planning.

The present lack of refinement in measuring capacity coupled with the limitations of available data, poses an interesting question. If gross differences do not appear in current findings, this may mean that little observable change has occurred. However, it may also mean that important changes are underway which simply are too subtle for detection by the measuring tools now available.

With these introductory remarks and caveats in mind, one now turns to a brief survey of the context in

which the changing role of woman in Asian LDC's and in China should be viewed.

#### THE SETTING

The very great impact of cultural values on the role of women in Asian LDC's is a given fact mentioned above and consequently, it will not be dwelt upon. The differences between Moslem and non-Moslem societies and the varying effects of Buddhism are reflected in some of the data now available. Kinship patterns, religious prescriptions, marital law, and other kinds of customs play an obvious role. The requirement of the seclusion of women and their lack of freedom of movement even in such matters as marketing clearly retarded more open and more varied activities for women in some societies. Although many of the legal barriers surrounding inheritance rights and divorce have been eliminated or weakened, the values and customs from which they are derived are naturally declining more slowly. Furthermore, some of these limitations on freedom provide a measure of security for women, as for example the opposition to divorce in the Philippines.

The achievement of independence in Asian LDC's has had some important impacts on traditional values and thus on the role of women, but this factor should not be over-emphasized. For most countries, the winning of independence represented a high water mark of internal unity but at best only a partial social revolution. Though

political systems seek differing degrees of change, whether Marxist, socialist, or traditional, all agree the present social revolution is only partial. The unified coalition of forces that won the nationalist struggle frequently did not develop goals beyond independence except in the broadest terms such as national defense and economic development.

Economic development is taking place, although slowly and unequally. The nations remain largely agricultural but urbanization is a reality, as witness not only the cities of Hong Kong and Singapore but the relatively rapid growth of Shanghai, Jakarta, Bangkok, Seoul, Taipei and Saigon. Industrialization is proceeding from an extremely modest base, but it is producing a broadening array of kinds of paid employment and the need and opportunity for the development of new skills.

For urban population more than the agricultural sector, the development of skills rests primarily on access to education. While over-all educational gains have been made, it remains a fact that in much of Asia the educational system has been biased against women. Real efforts have been made to modify this bias, but the strongly entrenched attitudes, fortified in some cases by religion, or perhaps economic reality have been hard to overcome. Again the winning of independence did not work any miracles in Asian societies. For many of them, the existing educational institutions are part of a larger institutional

system which is marked by strong social stratification. It is this social stratification, rather than simply the level of investment in general that is at the heart of limitations in educational opportunity for many Asian citizens and particularly women.

Urbanization is having its effects upon the institution of the family, as will be apparent through Asia and certainly in many of the Chinese cities. The move from an agricultural setting to a metropolitan setting often produces a smaller family circle, and this subjects the family to certain hazards in exchange for the better economic opportunities they may find there. There is no question but that the social services which are needed to replace the traditional supportive services of the extended family are lacking in much of Asia. Indeed the extended family, adapted to urban life, still shows an amazing resilience and strength. City life may indeed be exciting and richer in opportunities so long as the nuclear family remains healthy, the children are reasonable spaced, and resources for support are adequate. But if illness strikes, or the children come too closely, or regular income fails, the social costs for all family members may be great and they will be particularly acute for women.

In this context of modern social, political,

and economic development of Asia, some questions of obvious relevance to our discussions should be kept in mind. First of all, to what extent have roles and opportunities for development and participation increased for the population as a whole? Second, to what degree have women been able to share in these increased roles and opportunities?

Accordingly the following discussion necessarily makes reference to the nationalist revolution, political enfranchisement and economic changes in Asia since World War II. All the nations of Asia speak with some degree of pride of the political opportunities either newly won by the citizens or reinforced under a native leadership. Though AID actionable programs for women are not to be found in the political arena, the absence of political support for increased involvement of women does not bode well for the success of any efforts to enhance the position of women in other areas.

#### The Political Role of Women in Asia

As the United Nations has documented, there have been important changes in the political rights of women in Asia, and these changes raise the possibility of an expanded political role.<sup>3/</sup> With few exceptions, women throughout the world now have the right to vote. In some of the Asian countries, that right preceded independence.

Thus, in Thailand the right to vote came in 1932. In Burma prior to independence, certain categories of women were granted voting rights in 1922, universal suffrage came in 1935, and the right was confirmed in the Constitution upon independence in 1947. In the Philippines, the American colonial efforts stressed the joint rights and status of men and women. Now it may be argued that voting rights were circumscribed or without meaning in the pre-independence period. But at least that right, whatever the reality of the options, was not granted or restricted on the basis of sex.

Naturally the more common experience has been that the right to vote has come with the achievement of independence, and the claim for equal voting rights for men and women has been a characteristic of the nationalist struggle itself. This is certainly the case in Indonesia, Vietnam and Malaysia. As in China, the nationalist struggle becomes more than a political struggle; it becomes as well a potential mechanism for social mobilization (though it may not be used specifically for that purpose), clearly embracing both men and women. The adoption of a constitution is a symbolic act of faith by the new state that embraces social, economic, and political goals. The rights assured by the constitution are those which had been denied, limited, or seen as meaningless prior to independence. One

has only to witness the apathy which greets voter registration in Hong Kong, still a British Crown Colony, to realize the practical significance of the status of independence on voting behavior.

The right to vote opens the possibility of a wide range of activities for all citizens beyond the simple casting of a ballot. These include the recruitment of candidates and supporters, participation in political parties, and the development of platforms. At these more active levels of political activity, as well as in the actual holding of office, the percentage of women participating appears to lag behind. Naturally, the reality of access to political power can be very diverse from one country to another. And participation requires freedom of movement, possession of the skills of leadership, education, and in general, "political awareness". Here data on the role of women becomes extremely illusive, as is illustrated by the charts from Barbara Ward's book, Women in the New Asia<sup>4/</sup> (1963, pp. 69 and 70), which are cited below:

TABLE 8A. Women's emancipation in Burma, India, Pakistan, Singapore, Thailand

	Burma	India	Pakistan	Singapore	Thailand
Traditional family and division of labour non-restricting	+	-	-	-	+
Women's participation in prolonged anti-colonial or other political struggle	-	+	+	-	-
Dominant religion relatively tolerant of change <sup>1</sup>	+	+	-	+	+

TABLE 8B

(a) Early franchise	+				+
(b) Franchise with independence		+	+	+	
Relatively many women in political office	-	+	-	-	-
Relative freedom to engage in activities outside the home (present day) <sup>2</sup>	+	Increasing	Increasing only slowly	Increasing	+
Relative political awareness of women <sup>3</sup>	-	+	?	-	-

+ = presence of trait. - = absence of trait. ? = data not adequate.

1. The table distinguishes between Islam on the one hand, and Hinduism, Buddhism, etc., on the other. This is obviously an oversimplification.

2. Educational standards of women, and degree of economic development are assumed to be constant. This is obviously not true to the facts (see below).

3. 'Relative political awareness' is a subjective estimate based mainly on the estimates made in the articles which follow, and first-hand experience of the Chinese groups.

TABLE 9A. Women's emancipation in Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia (Java), Laos, Federation of Malaya, Philippines, Viet-Nam

	Cambodia	Ceylon	Indonesia (Java)	Laos	Federation of Malaya	Philippines	Viet-Nam
Traditional family and division of labour non-restricting	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
Women's participation in prolonged anti-colonial or other political struggle	Post-1945	-	+	Post-1945	-	+	Post-1945
Dominant religion relatively tolerant of social change	+	+	-	+	-	+	+

TABLE 9B

(a) Early franchise		+				+	
(b) Franchise granted with independence	+		+	+	+		+
Relatively many women in political office	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relative freedom to engage in activities outside the home	+	-	+	+	-	+	+?
Relative political awareness of women	-?	-	+	-?	-	+	+?

+ = presence of trait. - = absence of trait. ? = data not adequate.

12-A-181



Once one moves beyond the franchise into areas represented by categories such as "Relatively many women in political office", or "Relative freedom to engage in activities outside the home", or "Relative political awareness of women", the difficulties become enormous, as Miss Ward clearly acknowledges. Except where seats are specifically provided by law for women, the rates of achievement are low. In Indonesia, perhaps due to the nature of the nationalist struggle, and in the Philippines where the role of women in the twentieth century has been less restricted, the evidence of political participation appears somewhat more positive. At a minimum, however, there is little evidence of broad political participation, and it seems likely that it is not the evidence, but rather the reality of participation that is lacking. Here, as elsewhere in this subject, however, one must emphasize the difficulty of measurement and the necessity for more useful tools for proper analysis.

A note of caution is perhaps in order at this juncture. The level of political activity may be restricted for citizens in general and this restriction, of course, limits the role of women. In Asia there are a number of one-party states, or states where political opposition and opportunities for effective political organization are limited. A state which for all intents and purposes is a single party state may seek to minimize political division,

but not necessarily participation.

Assuming that there is some relationship between economic development and increased political participation, it follows that tensions produced by widespread social dislocation can engender efforts to control or modify the situation through political action. If legal political action is thwarted, the action then becomes criminal or rebellious. The political party may become an agency of protest, whether effective or impotent.

When the difficult economic straits can be linked to imperialism or other sources of nationalist scorn, the political organization mobilizes sentiments and activities on behalf of nationalist governmental politics, and incidentally distracts criticism from the internal stresses and weaknesses of the social order. The economic and cultural interests able to form the basis of this kind of political action are very diverse in any society. A single party or two-party system does not dispel such interests; their existence simply necessitates more elaborate compromises and coalitions within and among ruling groups and elites so that they can govern and legislate. [Hoselitz, Industrialization and Society, 1960.] In these cases, really effective political participation may be so narrow that the reality of political participation is lacking.

In examining the problem of political participation in Asia, it may be a more productive approach to move outside of the more narrowly defined terms above and to consider activity within the so-called "voluntary associations" only tangentially related to formal politics. For example, in the urban areas, one might look at the kinds of social functions conducted by special organizations such as welfare agencies, schools, and consumer cooperatives which form voluntary organizations to support their activities. And there are other associations which are established to promote or prevent social directions of various sorts, such as family planning. These associations have in common the idea that purposive social action is possible and appropriate. While the idea of social betterment often generates a multitude of ineffective groups, their membership does manifest an important change in the proper relation of the individual to the social order. Furthermore, the organization, planning and activities of these groups offers first steps in the acquisition and practice of necessary skills for political organization, namely, the abilities to lead, to initiate actions, to recruit members, and the like. Thus, middle school fund raising activities may provide the confidence and "know-how" that leads to other philanthropic activities in adult years and merges into ancillary activities of political parties.

There is a serious difficulty in attempting to study voluntary associations in North or Southeast Asia, since the emphasis tends to be placed upon formal organizations that have certain appurtenances, such as membership lists. This focus may serve to exclude less structured, but equally purposive activities. Furthermore, there are questions about the person who engages in voluntary activity that need to be asked. Frequently, the good organization man or woman is least likely to be the one most in need of social action.

Some practical examples of this self selection of leaders will be discussed in later sections of this paper where the Chinese street committees (that have many similarities to the organizations we are discussing), found their leaders constantly being coopted into other activities or organizations, that is to say, the urban street committees or peasant associations became early training grounds for activists. In Asia and in China, one barrier remains, for those on the lowest rung of the economic ladder, both men and women, the demands of securing the daily livelihood are so pressing as to preclude other activities.

Obviously there are other aspects of political activities or of the political process which might be examined and which almost certainly ought to form an

important part of any efforts to appraise the political roles of women. How many positions in government are held by women? Do government politics treat salaries and perquisites equally for men and women? What are the possibilities for rewards for women such as appointments within existing political structures. Government positions are highly prized and since there is usually an oversupply of male middle school and university graduates, and since the structure of educational opportunity is frequently skewed against women, the conservatism of the culture might be expected to play an important role here in restricting the likelihood of women appointees and tenure.

In this area, generalities are difficult. Certain work areas are and remain women's work. Schools in Korea, Philippines and other Asian countries are acceptable employment for women, though the number of women instructors generally decreases from elementary through high school up to university teaching. Attitudes toward employment after childbirth differ in the various countries thus influencing the possibility of continued employment in government as well as business, unless the employment clearly permits such a combination. Pharmacy (reflected in university training for women) is one example where the ability to run a small store and raise children does not pose a problem.<sup>5/</sup>

### Economic Roles for Women

The picture of women's economic participation in Asia is at best confused. Many of the same considerations apply here that we have indicated in the discussion of political alternatives. There is the enormous complexity in analyzing industrialization and urbanization. There is the difficulty of establishing reliable benchmarks in agriculture in order to indicate the direction of change. There are the complex sociological factors which encourage or retard the availability of choices for women. And finally, there are the difficulties implicit in national decisions about the rate and type of industrialization, with the attendant consequences for opportunity for women.

In traditional agriculture and in labor utilization outside of traditional agriculture, there is clearly a problem of statistical data. But conclusions drawn from the available materials are indicative, though be no means definitive. For example, Myrdal discusses some percentage estimate for women participation in selected Asian cities (p. 1133). Barbara Ward in her book (p. 46) gives some data on percent of female labor force in each economic sector.

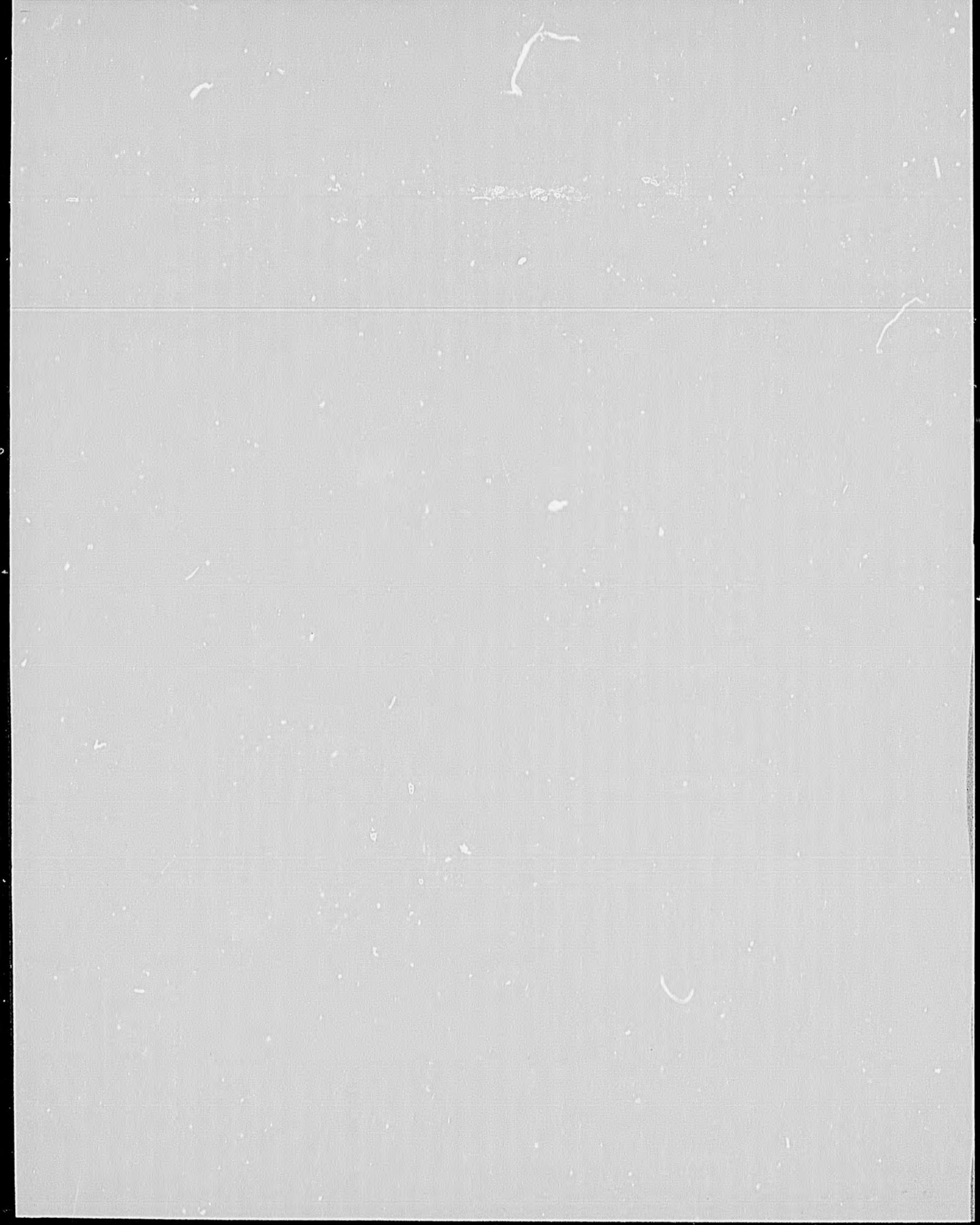
	Total Female population	Female Population 18-59 years of age
Singapore: Indians	3.5 %	7.3 %
Malays	5.2	11.2
Chinese	14.1	25.4
Average:	12.3	22.7
Rangoon, Burma:	14.5	22.5

Percentage of Female Labor Force in Each Economic Sector:

Country	Agriculture	Industry	Service
India	82 %	7 %	11 %
Federation of Malaysia	79	8	13
Pakistan	82	9	9
Philippines	44	23	33
Thailand	90	2	8

Distribution of Female Labor Force by Status (percentage of total)

Country	Employer and Work On Own Account	Unpaid Family Worker	Employee
India	26 %	60 %	14 %
Federation of Malaysia	29	23	48
Pakistan	82	2	15
Philippines	11	60	29



It is important to note certain aspects of this data, particularly for those of us who are non-economists. A large percentage of the "work" of women, the world over (i.e., the housework and the care and rearing of children) is excluded from the statistics of economic activity. Secondly, there is a high proportion of women employed (not unexpectedly) in agriculture and services as compared to industry. Within the subsections of service, agriculture, and industry, there are important qualifications. The number of women who are employers on their own tends to be rather low the world around. But in the west the important factors are the high rate of manufacturing and the higher degree of organization in the service industries. Both of these tend to limit the opportunities for the independence of women. In countries of Asia--Burma, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, for example--a large number of women are classified as employers by virtue of their work in agriculture. For our purposes, those engaged in trade and commerce are often so classified. This is particularly important in Burma and Thailand where women have an important part in the economic life of the country. None of these are new occupations related to industrialization. Furthermore, many of those classified as employees are domestic servants which is also not a new occupation. Thus there are only a very small percentage of women who have entered into new

kinds of employment. Nonetheless, the absolute numbers are growing, and there can be no doubt of their growing significance. Furthermore, there are certain professions which show an increasing rate of growth in the number of women, such as education at primary and secondary level. We recognize a widespread growth of the number of women teachers. This is highest in the Philippines but certainly rising elsewhere. But the profession is beset by problems of low status, low salaries, relatively low training requirements, and generally poor quality.

In some other avenues of work (for instance, construction) the employment available to women is at the lowest unskilled (though back-breaking) level. One result is poor organization and low pay. In sum, though there are exceptions--such as the textile industry, where it seems the participation of women is significant--the avenues for employment of women are frequently low in status and few in number.

This highly fragmented picture has to be viewed against some considerations of reality in the industrial process. In his study, *ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ASIAN PERSPECTIVE*, (pp.386)<sup>6/</sup> Professor Shigeru Ishikawa sets out some of the difficulties of development. Several are particularly important here, especially the effect of technological change. He comments: "The specific initial

conditions tend to make the establishment of intermediate and even more the capital goods branches of manufacturing more urgent, but at the same time more difficult. (2) The specific initial conditions tend to make the scarcity of capital in the course of economic development more acute. (3) The special initial conditions tend to make the problem of surplus labor more serious, a tendency which occurs partly from the initial conditions related to the existing surplus of labor and the rapid increase of population but it tends to be accelerated by the tendency in which those industrial branches with higher capital labor ratios require a greater share of the given amount of investable capital in the economy." The implications should be made very clear. Even if industrialization should accelerate, Ishikawa argues, the technological qualities of present-day borrowing between nations will make more likely those industries which require high capital investment and a lower labor investment in order to compete. Consequently, the competitive labor situation for women is not likely to brighten in terms of the availability of jobs.

Now as to those employed in manufacturing, the problem is very well stated by Wilbur Moore in a chapter entitled "Industrialization and Social Change", (pp. 304).<sup>1/</sup>  
"The outstanding characteristic of factory work is the

extent to which the timing and sequence of events are regulated by the machine." Especially for women who enter the more modern sector of the economy, the scheduling and regularity of machines poses important consequences for the home and the tasks there, as well as for the care and rearing of children. This is a problem made the more acute in Asian countries because of the high percentage of married women. With the customary caveats about the difficulties of comparative data, it is still true--with the partial exception of Philippine women--that marriage is almost universal among women of south and southeast Asia.<sup>8/</sup> Though the age of marriage may be rising, and despite important efforts in some countries at lowering fertility rates, one cannot really consider the concept of an unmarried career woman, as is often the case in the West. The problems of family tasks and child care are pressing for those who work, and may contribute to the number of those who withdraw.

Within the modern sector of the economy, there have been efforts to press for more services or amenities such as creches, nurseries, and the like for women employees. But these are costs which can make the use of male employees more desirable to the industry. The competitive position of women, particularly if there is equal pay for equal work, is thus worsened if the costs of maternity leave and creches are borne by the employer. Nor have regulations designed

Table 27-7

## MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN 15 TO 49 YEARS OF AGE

Country and year	Marital status	Percentage distribution within age interval						
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Pakistan, 1961	Single	25.5	5.8	2.5	1.5	1.3	1.0	1.0
	Married	73.0	91.6	93.7	93.5	87.4	77.5	70.2
	Widowed	0.6	1.8	3.1	3.1	10.7	20.9	28.2
	Divorced	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6
India, 1961	Single	29.2	6.0	1.9	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.5
	Married	69.6	91.8	94.2	94.2	87.0	77.7	69.7
	Widowed	0.5	1.3	2.9	2.9	11.1	20.7	28.8
	Divorced	0.6	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9
Philippines, 1948	Single	85.1	40.7	18.8	12.6	9.5	8.7	6.9
	Married	14.5	57.2	76.8	80.7	81.7	78.0	74.7
	Widowed	0.2	1.6	3.8	6.1	8.2	12.7	17.8
	Divorced	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
Thailand, 1947	Single	80.6	30.0	10.9	5.7	4.0	3.2	2.9
	Married	17.9	64.2	81.5	85.1	83.3	79.4	72.9
	Widowed	0.5	2.2	3.9	6.0	9.1	14.4	21.2
	Divorced	1.0	3.6	3.7	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.0
Ceylon, 1953	Single	75.7	32.5	12.8	7.5	5.4	5.0	4.4
	Married	23.7	65.7	84.4	87.7	86.4	80.7	73.8
	Widowed	0.3	1.2	2.2	4.1	7.5	13.6	21.1
	Divorced	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.6
Malays in Malaya, 1957	Single	45.9	9.4	2.4	1.2	0.8	0.6	0.6
	Married	50.0	84.3	90.8	89.7	85.8	77.5	67.7
	Widowed	0.3	1.1	2.1	4.1	7.7	14.7	23.4
	Divorced	3.8	5.2	4.7	5.0	5.7	7.1	8.3
Chinese in Malaya, 1957	Single	59.7	43.1	11.4	3.8	2.7	2.6	2.5
	Married	10.2	56.2	86.7	92.3	90.2	84.5	76.4
	Widowed	0.0	0.3	1.3	3.3	6.5	12.3	20.5
	Divorced	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6
Sweden, 1800	Single	97.3	77.6	48.2	29.7	19.6	14.9	11.7
	Married	2.7	22.2	50.7	67.5	75.5	76.7	73.9
	Widowed or divorced	0.0	0.2	1.1	2.8	4.9	8.4	14.4
Sweden, 1950	Single	96.3	59.7	26.4	15.9	14.4	15.8	18.5
	Married	3.7	39.8	71.7	81.2	81.6	78.8	74.1
	Widowed	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.8	1.4	2.6	4.6
	Divorced	0.0	0.4	1.5	2.1	2.6	2.7	2.8

(Sources on following page)

Institute for Population Studies, Annamalai University, Chidambaram, India, 1950, p. 31.)

## Sources to Table 27-7:

- Pakistan: Economic Affairs Division, Central Statistical Office, *Statistical Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 8, August, 1962, Karachi, Table 94, pp. 1629-1630.
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224



to check the worst abuses in the employment of women operated to their economic advantage. Protective legislation, as appears to have been the case in the West, has tended to lead to their displacement by men. Padimimi Sengupta, in Women Workers in India, (Asia Publishing House, 1960, p. 38), suggests that the percentage of women employed in factories might have been higher one or two decades ago. For example, if there is legislation forbidding the working of women on the night shift, then it means that rotation through three eight-hour shifts is precluded for this group. This may cause dissatisfaction among the men who may be forced to work permanently on the late night shift. Thus, comments Sengupta, it can lead to the displacement of women.

Along with this, though, is more than the question of legislation. The achievement of some economic improvement may lead to a withdrawal from the economic market as a social indicator of improved position.

At the same time, as one looks at the difficulties implicit in the broadening of opportunities for industrial employment, there is the other side of what may be perceived as the dualistic quality of industrial activity in Asia. By this I refer to the slow decline--often with very considerable effort to minimize the consequences--of the cottage sector. This sector is characterized by (1) the use of productive techniques based upon manual skills and

indigenous and often outmoded equipment; and (2) an organizational form represented by household enterprises aiming mainly at maintaining the livelihood of the family and maximizing its welfare (Ishikawa, p. 407). Again, this does not involve new roles for women.

The point of this discussion has not been to deny certain changes but to suggest that a more thoughtful look may be necessary at how we characterize the phenomena of development and its likely consequences for women. In each LDC of ~~Asia~~ the development of public health programs, improved resource distribution, indeed a decade of peace may each produce some modest improvement. As Guy Hunter has noted in reference to Africa: (pp. 103)<sup>a/</sup>

"One of the first effects of rising standards is to release the wife from some agricultural work, not only because men handle oxen or tractors where before, in Africa, the wife handled the hoe but for reasons of prestige, in many parts of Asia, for the wife not to work in the field is a clear mark of social standing...Although seldom mentioned, this withdrawal of family labour on the scale of all the millions of hours worked by women and children at present will probably contribute greatly to reducing male unemployment in addition to the social benefit to wife and children. But it can only happen if productivity is steeply increased."

In the above setting, women and children may have the opportunity in terms of health and time to improve their literacy and hence position.

The facts of urban living and physical separation from the place of work may produce changes other than those

which seem at first glance to be likely. Even if the economic position of women is not markedly improved, their authority in the family may increase if only because the father is absent. An extreme example of this problem can be seen in some of the New Territory villages of Hong Kong where fathers are absent for extended periods. For example, the prolonged absence of men working in Great Britain produces problems of discipline and control during the period when the mother is forced to assume the normal role of the father.<sup>10/</sup> Though this is an exceptional case, do we now find changes within the family arising out of the daily absence of the father?

Since production is no longer a family affair (the loss of the so-called family economic function), the mother's role holds the potential for either of two consequences and indeed may possibly embody both. The loss of her traditional economic and social function may actually (if temporarily) reduce the position of the urban wife. On the other hand she may have greater freedom of movement and of disposition of time. This freedom and alternative opportunities for independent employment may compensate for some degree of social loss. In any case, even within the city the family remains the basic economic unit of consumption. The shift in marital role relationship usually means that wives have considerable control over deciding purchases for

the household. This factor may diminish the extent of male dominance.

A number of these possibilities for enhancement of role depending upon whether or not the women can either formally or informally acquire the skills necessary to fulfill the new role. In some of Asia, often the cities and close suburbs, the development of labor intensive industry, coupled with the growing availability of schools have made modest progress a reality. If labor shortages exist or additional labor intensive methods are adopted, the opportunities for women are more plentiful. But the situation does indeed vary between and within countries.

#### POLICIES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Within the boundaries of this paper, it is impossible to discuss the full range of activities and policies that are included in Chinese efforts to enhance the role of women. In addition to nationwide programs and political movements, there are special efforts made in differing areas, slogans adopted for special purposes and the like. The criteria used in determining our emphasis are those programs which the Chinese believe are revolutionary and also central to their efforts. Once we look closely at the priorities that are to be found in these programs, we then look at special methods for implementation. There are limitations in such an approach and they should be clearly recognized. China is a self-avowed revolutionary society. Policies which they perceive to be revolutionary may in fact be quite common in other nations. In such circumstances, one can look for the innovating approach or rationale but also must recognize that the language in which a leadership speaks to its own population may not be useful outside that society. A second limitation is inherent in the potential transferability of means and programs from a socialist society to other LDC's. The programs may involve a degree of social intervention or government management which is unacceptable in most other countries. Finally, emphasizing as we are the apparently innovative means (either separately or in combination)

bears the distinct risk of focusing upon the hopes and not the reality. It is necessary to recall that efforts are often experimental, work in some settings and do not in others. Finally, it is essential to realize that despite the efforts of Chinese leadership, sexism remains a problem in China as in most countries. Our analysis does not emphasize the obstacles implicit in the Chinese experience.

Beginning a discussion of Chinese efforts to enhance the role of women requires some comments on the state of research in this field. The study of women as a group in Chinese society, or as a general topic of research is extremely limited. This is even more true for contemporary China than for the 20th century as a whole. A recent conference sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Councils committees on China was specifically entitled Women in Chinese Society. Of the papers offered, however, only three dealt with post 1949 topics and only one with the role of women in general.<sup>11/</sup> The interest in feminist topics in the United States is not matched by intensive research into Chinese feminism or women. There are few women with the area training who are also prepared to undertake this work. Those who have started have only begun to publish, and the women who have expressed an interest in Chinese experiences have frequently not been sufficiently trained in the Chinese area or linguistically able to undertake research.<sup>12/</sup> Furthermore, access to the

society is relatively new and does not usually provide the opportunity for extended study.

There are some sources. The materials which the PRC have published generally fall into one of several categories. There are propaganda materials published in both Chinese and English which provide evidence of progress, new opportunities, and successful models.<sup>13/</sup> Except that the topic is women, this type of literature is found for most policies in China and for the same purpose of providing objects of model emulation for the reader. A second source is the handbook on policy.<sup>14/</sup> These contain important documents, statements, work reports. They are helpful for those in China working to implement a given policy and helpful to the researcher outside as expressive of Chinese leadership views. It must be kept in mind that for the study of efforts to enhance the role of women, in China, one must look not only to those periodicals and books directly on the topic but also materials in related fields such as health, education, and similar areas. A third area of information are the Letters to the Editor Columns of various newspapers.<sup>15/</sup> These are similar to the Ann Landers columns found in American newspapers. They are a means for communicating the views of the leadership in the context of real problems rather than at a theoretical level. Furthermore, the

occurrence of problems in these columns is generally an indicator of a specific area of concern to Chinese cadres. The limitations of this material are obvious. It presents extremes of a policy, either a success story of the young woman who follows a politically approved course of which her family or relatives do not approve, (in which case the newspaper provides support for her) or the story is of a fallen comrade who is helped back to approved conduct through the discussions in the paper. In either case, we learn only of the general parameters of the problem and rather little of central issues. With respect of macro-data, there is little available. Some nationwide figures are given for the pre-1958 period but almost none after that. Reports from provinces, hsien, and similar units are occasionally available, particularly when there is extended discussion of a government policy, but in general hard data is scarce. It is possible to supplement materials published in China with refugee information provided care is used in assessing data.

In addition to the publications of the Chinese, there are the reports of those who have been long time residents of China, such as the late Anna Louise Strong, the books written by visitors who have received permission to travel in China, such as D. Cusack in Chinese Women Speak<sup>16/</sup> or the short term visitors of the past few years, most of whom have commented upon their experiences. Occasional

local data is to be found in their reports, such as estimates of birth rate reported by medical visitors to Shanghai.<sup>17/</sup> Naturally such information has relevance for policy appraisal.

From the viewpoint of Western scholars, there has been little interpretative material. In the rather numerous elite studies both at national or local level there is almost never any use made of the male/female data (perhaps it is not collected). (Robert Scalapino's study on the 1969 Party Central Committee is a notable exception).<sup>18/</sup> There is as yet no comparable work to Gail Lapidus' monograph<sup>19/</sup> (first given as a paper at the Western Political Science Association meetings - 1973) and then submitted to the U.C. Press) on policies and development strategies on women in the Soviet Union. Indeed comparable data for the Chinese case does not yet exist. In sum we are only in the beginning stages of research on the topic of women in post 1949 society and therefore efforts to translate experience into policy recommendations (such as this report) operate at a substantial disadvantage.

Despite the above disclaimers, there are some areas of note which need to be highlighted in this study. Certain policies in China and most likely in all LDC's, if implemented, tend to have a particularly important

effect on discrete portions of the society. We have mentioned above some of these policies, i.e., social insurance, public health. The effect of specific programs is particularly important in China, because the success of the Chinese leadership in coming to power and in maintaining their legitimacy in the eyes of a substantial portion of their society rests upon the importance and use of nationalism as a method for mobilization coupled with a real improvement in the standard of living of most of the people. Real public health programs are not only important to women but tend to find support with them. For example, in reading William Hinton's Fanshen,<sup>20/</sup> a sympathetic account of the arrival of Chinese Communists to a north China village, the amount of ill health, illness, effects of malnutrition, is truly striking. It resulted from years of marginal diets, lack of sanitation and, in the case of women, repeated pregnancies. For such a population, modest programs could mean substantial differences in longevity and the conditions of life for women and children. To be sure the policy is applied to all but it is particularly important for specific segments of the population. Thus in studying efforts to enhance the role of women in China and other LDC's, one needs to think carefully of these related programs and their differential effect on the group we are studying.

Beyond these general national policies, there have been efforts, programs, national movements that focused particularly upon women. They represent ingenious efforts to cope with the practical aspects of the condition of women in China where child-rearing, housekeeping, plus any additional work may fall upon the woman. These programs draw their theoretical rationale from the insights of the traditional Marxist theorists, and they are currently extolled as practical responses to the revisionist line of China's Khrushchev (Liu Shao-chi)<sup>21/</sup>. The programs embrace efforts to streamline and integrate education into the practical life of Chinese women, to broaden the pool of woman candidates who achieve an advanced education, to provide opportunities for employment that can be integrated into the daily obligations of women in urban and rural China and finally to provide new organizations and peer groups to support young women who try to accept some new opportunities in the face of continued opposition from their more conservative family or villagers. While Chinese efforts have not been totally successful, they do point a direction for others and they do demonstrate the enormous complexity of the problem. A key aspect of life in China is the assertion that politics is central, it is therefore to this essential aspect of life that one must initially turn.

Politics is Central

A recent United Nations' study of the relationship between the role of women and development in LDC's, though admirable in a number of respects, did not deal with the problem of politics.<sup>22/</sup> Given the political realities of the United Nations, and the diverse groups represented by the five members of the committee, it is understandable why the issue received little attention. Still it is not likely that such a document would be written in China.

As Chinese nationalism moved from the cultural arguments of the 19th century to the nation-state ideology of the 20th, the relationship between politics and the role of women emerges. Nationalist Chinese students supporting a new China speak of an equal role for women in the new state. With the advent of the May 4th movement and the search for new schemes for achieving independence, Chinese intellectuals found that the problems of women were discussed in the theoretical writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and indeed Mao Tse-tung. In general, it can be said that there has been substantial intellectual awareness that the traditional role for women in Chinese society was restricted and unequal, leaving women subject to oppression of many. There was substantial sentiment calling for change. It can be argued whether this common view was an accurate one. Certainly the role of the mother-in-law was potentially a

powerful one, though subject to her son, (in theory at least). Furthermore, it may well be questioned whether or not the new intellectuals of the May 4th generation were more committed to the emancipation of women than likeminded students of other nationalist movements. But there is no question that in the Communist regions, during the Sino-Japanese war, part of the mobilization programs embodied policies designed to enhance the position of women in the to-be-built socialist China. Furthermore, the lessons learned in the so-called Yen-an period served the Chinese Communist cadres well in translating nationalism coupled with social programs to the peasants of China. Even those who would emphasize the Kuomintang loss of China rather than the Chinese Communist victory will note that an important reason for the loss of confidence derived from the inability to implement the social and economic policies promised for so long.

The post 1949 efforts to enhance the role of women in China rest upon three foundation stones: (1) First of all, it was necessary to pledge the goal of equality for Chinese women and to alter the laws to insure equality in marriage. These guarantees are found in the Constitution and the Marriage Law. (2) The next requirement was to develop organizations to mobilize women, not only to implement the above laws and social policy but

also for other purposes and goals as determined by the Chinese Communist leadership. (3) The above two steps would be of limited effect if they were not supplemented by a variety of national policies which provided the real possibility for securing the livelihood of the individual and particularly women outside the traditional family oriented circle. The national efforts for public health, labor insurance and related programs coupled with local level programs in this same vein are a partial response to this need.

It must be kept in mind, while recognizing the interdependence of policy and mass organizations, that these organizations were not designed to be special interest groups. From the Chinese Communist point of view the divisions whether by occupation, nature of work, or sex made realistic sense for policy implementation, but they were not assumed to represent special interests separate from the purposes of the state. In fact, the Cultural Revolution criticisms of mass organizations suggests that special interests did develop. This special advocacy is one of the reasons some organizations fell into disfavor and indeed have not yet been reinstated.<sup>23/</sup> Though this paper will not discuss all of these differing components to Chinese efforts with equal emphasis, it will note the contribution of all to the national program.

From the days of the Kiangsi Soviet, the Chinese Communist leaders have adopted Constitutions, marriage laws and social welfare regulations.<sup>24/</sup> But after 1949, the documents become basic documents of a state rather than expressions for future policy. The relevant legislation here is (1) the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (and the earlier Common Programme) (2) the Marriage Law, and (3) Labor Insurance regulations. These three laws, using as a basis the guarantees of equality in the state's constitution, were to free women from the legal restraints that had been part of the traditional views toward marriage, to provide for a monogamous society, and for equal partnership in the raising of children. The labor insurance regulations were to construct an alternative mechanism of social security to the traditional emphasis on relatives.

Certainly the system outlined left significant gaps. The provisions for security of the rural citizen were precarious. They did not derive from a self-supporting labor insurance system but initially from land reform and the distribution of holdings that occurred in the aftermath of it. This individual orientation gave way rather quickly to the collective ownership of the communes. Since the unit of support remained the local area, the financial possibilities of each unit were more tentative and linked to weather, land quality and other related factors. Economic

reorganization and progress could temper the effect of each one of these on the security of the whole but it could not completely eliminate it. Even in the cities the social security systems have remained modest and they do not yet include all within their provisions.

The Constitution, coupled with the Marriage Law and Labor Insurance Regulations, did provide the outline for relative equality and stability in the lives of some women in China. Obviously such pieces of legislation represented the direction that the leadership wished the nation to follow. The legislation did not represent the thinking of the vast majority of Chinese citizens vis-a-vis women. The difficulties of implementing the Marriage Law, the suicides that accompanied its implementation, the fact that some Chinese workers were hesitant to accept a union in order to become eligible for state sponsored labor insurance programs stand as evidence of the conservatism of many in China during the first years of the PRC.<sup>25/</sup> Twenty years later, most provisions of these laws are observed, if not enthusiastically supported. How did the Chinese leaders believe that the program would be implemented? The answer has two parts. On one hand, society would be altered to provide encouragement and support for those whose political consciousness had been raised and hence were able and willing to exercise the rights and opportunities outlined in the documents described above. This group would

increase slowly, through reliance on persuasion and education, coupled with constant referrals to successful models. At the same time, The Chinese leadership also sought throughout Chinese society to enlarge mobilizational opportunities to support various social policies of which improved opportunities for women was only one. The means for this mobilization was the so-called mass organization that served as conduits for policy to women (and men and youth and various special groups). In addition these mass organizations could also serve to insure through persuasion and individual member education a minimum level of compliance.

Though there are considerable materials available on Chinese political participation,<sup>26/</sup> little pertains specifically to women. Drawing on the Sino-Japanese war years, refined through the experiences of land reform, the cadres were equipped and experienced to develop the many groups necessary to insure widespread participation in Chinese modernization and revolutionizing efforts. Women belong to the Chinese Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the Democratic Women's Federation plus other school age organizations.<sup>27/</sup> These mass organizations, when properly led, and directed at specific goals, showed the capability for arousing support, providing organization and training activities, and insuring the participation, if not enthusiasm of the backward and shy.

For women the challenge was enormous and has not yet been completely met. Reading through Fanshen Chinese Village,<sup>28/</sup> and more theoretical discussions of organization included in Schurman's Ideology and Organization,<sup>29/</sup> one recognizes that the Chinese "speak bitterness" meetings provided the opportunity and the Peasant Association or the Women's Federation provided the institutional support for women to enter into a discussion of basic relationships and to begin to make the first alterations in their own expectations of roles, capabilities and future choices. This process skirts a very difficult problem. The criticisms of China's Khrushchev (Liu Shao-chi) include the statement that he encouraged a "women's explanation" and also alleged support of the view that "women are useless". Though it is not clear whether in fact this was Liu's view it was most likely the view of some. Clearly some in China believed that "man's work is outside and women's inside".<sup>30/</sup> In sum, neither legislation nor organization combined, have been sufficient to the task.

Moving beyond the viewpoint of those who accepted official policy with little enthusiasm, there were and are substantive realities that make female participation and progress in modernization difficult. Women started with the disadvantage of a lack of self confidence coupled with the social view that little should be expected of them.

But women were (and still are in China) at a disadvantage in terms of literacy, organizational skills, and the necessary confidence that success in interpersonal relationships often requires. Furthermore, as the Russians discovered, the realities of life, such as child rearing, shopping, duties at home, place substantial burdens on women. Organization strengths of the CCP and YCL could provide enthusiasm and means for propagandizing, but the objective economic facts of life required material progress and restructuring of obligations if women were to be drawn into the economic production.

Part of the problem just outlined, was basically economic in its dimensions ( and will be discussed shortly) but part also remains within the realm of politics as broadly view in China. The problem is that the traditional views of work, and male-female roles need to be modified. This means that for a broad range of social-political policies, the emphasis has been upon the individual's role as a comrade, a citizen rather than man or woman. All should work for the state, share in child rearing, delay marriage, work in the countryside, in essence exemplify the values of New China. Conveying this model is not so difficult as providing the social support to enable an individual to follow such a course of action, particularly where tradition and family may not concur. This is particularly the case when the economic options that reward the

"new conduct" may be minimal or absent, let alone when contemporary life may reinforce traditional values. The models, the state heroes and heroines who emerge in political movements, succeed only after arduous struggle and sometimes only in death.<sup>31/</sup> In all cases, they work against great odds. In the more remote areas of China, where organizational units are weak, and conservative pressures are strong, policies such as delayed marriage, birth control, and similar programs must inevitably compete with the economic rewards that a healthy child potentially offers for the family's income, or the disapproval registered when a young woman does not follow traditional choices in marriage and work. Under these circumstances, the limited economic opportunities, or educational options make adherence to new policies difficult and certainly less successful.

To summarize the observations to date, it has been argued that legal provisions and political participation are essential underpinnings to the efforts to enhance the role of women. But to participate in the political milieu, it is essential that women possess certain skills (euphemistically referred to as raising a cultural level) actually implying a basic functional literacy and the self-confidence and ability to work and communicate.<sup>32/</sup> Beyond these basics, however, there is the question of the ability to believe on the unspoken promise of opportunities and options. Will those who accept the more activist political

and economic life that is part of the picture of a new Chinese woman have the opportunity to exercise this option. Will the new jobs and work opportunities be there? It is to the implications of this question that we now turn.

#### Development Strategies for Women in China

Just as many of the political gains of women occurred by virtue of the identification of equality as a goal of New China, so the progress that has been achieved in economic terms has resulted from the development strategy of the PRC. Some, but by no means all, of the programs designed to modernize China which stress equality and the reduction of status differences have operated to enhance the role of women. But it is unfortunately, also true, that the realities of economic development have made the Chinese, as other countries, subject to the difficult policy choices that sometimes retard development efforts for women.

This paper cannot discuss the economic strategies of the Chinese. It will be useful, however, to note that Chinese efforts to industrialize do incorporate major emphasis on reducing the gap in living standards between city and countryside, avoiding the most obvious examples of status and material incentive policies (common in the development efforts of most countries). Chinese efforts, without doubt, emphasize

self-reliance, initiative of local units (within the broad dimensions of policy) and repeated calls to those in leadership position, or possessing special skills to be mindful of the difficulties and handicaps of rural work and the hardships of the peasantry that support modernization.

How have the efforts of the Chinese to enhance the role of women in the economic sphere fared? The answer is a mixed one. Most progress seems to have been achieved in restructuring and broadening of educational opportunities. A second area of achievement seems to have been in recruiting women into productive work. Thirdly, there has been considerable emphasis on innovative methods to provide limited income supplement while women acquire the necessary industrial skills for factory work. Thus the emphasis, particularly in the city, has been on establishing a transmission belt for women into the industrial sphere. Both the educational development plus the expansion of employment opportunities means more women work and therefore presumably contribute to their own independence. It is true however that in neither the Party, nor the Army nor in "responsible positions", do many women hold appointments. In the economic sphere, the number of women in universities studying is increasing but in the economy itself, the numbers do not approximate what might be considered their potential. Emphasizing in

this paper the possible transferable aspects of the Chinese experience may tend to give an excessively optimistic view. The reader should constantly recall that judgments about transferability do not say much about the extent of progress. Thus while we earlier noted the problem of perspective (Is the glass half full or empty?), we are emphasizing here how the Chinese achieved the progress they have made, and are saying a good deal less about the extent of that progress.

Basic to enhancing the degree of economic involvement has been the development of the educational structure and the widespread availability to Chinese children and adults. The efforts have been multifaceted. They have included expansion of normal schools throughout China, particularly at the elementary level with a regrettably high level of attrition at middle and university level, not only because of limited capacity and difficult examinations but also the need for students to drop out of school to aid their parents. Though the above sentences may suggest a rather familiar view of education organization, such a view would be subject to modification. Since 1949 there has been emphasis upon part-time schools, work-study courses integrated into the farming schedule, encouragement of adults teaching adults, self-help programs, and the development in the industrial plants, and

rural areas of limited, short-term courses, vocational in nature designed to provide additional skills to workers. Thus education extends through the society.

The efforts have not all been equally fruitful. Support for the more customary schooling efforts are generally high. In these coed situations both boys and girls have opportunities to gain the basic knowledge necessary to contribute effectively to the new state. Economic constraints take their toll as one rises in the system. The costs of maintaining the education structure in terms of diverted resources and personnel rise. Through refugee interviewing, and Chinese sources evidence is abundant that difficulties arising from social expectations occur. An example is the present system of selection for higher education, which requires the support of one's co-worker in the factory or commune as well as satisfactory results in examinations. As the Chinese have noted, the workers and peasants tend to select men over women because of a wish to maximize their investment.<sup>33/</sup> That is to say, many believe that women withdraw from the labor market after childbirth and therefore to encourage their education is to waste resources. The outlook is not unknown in the United States and is understandable in a society of such scarcity as China. For the purposes of analysis, here, it is illustrative of the maintenance of old values in contemporary Chinese society.

In addition to the traditional societal view of the role of men or women, there is the problem of traditional perceptions of self, Hinton's Fanshen has a good example of this. Hinton recounts in some detail the difficulty of one woman in speaking publicly to make a criticism. In order to acquire the courage to make the criticism, other women meet with her, discuss the matter, and come to her defense when she becomes the object of criticism.<sup>34/</sup> Hinton's observations are confirmed by the Chinese sociologist Fei Hsiao-t'ung in a series of lectures on rural China.<sup>35/</sup> This social characteristic has ramifications for participation whether in agricultural work, industrial employment or school activities. To reduce the inhibiting effect of this social fact, requires education of a different sort, the development of social models reinforcing the capabilities of women.

Beyond the function of education as a means for bringing citizens within the political system, the emphasis is upon enhancement of utility in the economic sphere. Here the obstacles for all LDC's are formidable. Education, economic pressure, and attempts to limit population growth move in tandem. Citizens need to be productive, moderate expenditures and limit consumption, raise their skills and alter traditional values about family size. Integrating the enhancement of the role of women in this task is complex

and multidimensional. Social support through peer group is useful but will not suffice in the absence of some degree of economic participation that supplement or supplants the changing role of the individual. Some of the political programs described above have this goal as part of their rationale. For example, the labor insurance programs provide men and women with the modest security for old age which would reduce or eliminate the need for dependence upon their children.<sup>36/</sup> The provisions of the rural so-called "five guarantees" reduced the necessity for reliance upon young children in the countryside.<sup>37/</sup> Presumably it also reduced the social pressures for a large family. To the extent that health standards are raised through retraining of midwives, the improved sanitation at childbirth meant more infants surviving which reduced pressure for repeated pregnancies. These phenomena might have economic results i.e. a slowing growth rate. But this is not nearly as simply as the above sentences suggest. Social preferences for large families while perhaps mitigated through modest social security provisions (not nearly so prevalent in the countryside as in the city) still remain. As long as the rural and urban families are substantially better off with more working members, and the labor power of one or two workers is modest, then pressure for larger families will remain.

In the Chinese experience, it is clear that the objective limitations of industrialization, poverty, limited capital funds means that social and economic change have real constraints. Reorganization, and shift in attitude will occur but only slowly, and the substitution of new for old values is a glacial process. In addition to the constraints illustrated in the above discussion of larger versus small families, there are other equally illustrative examples. Bringing women into the work force either in the countryside or city requires solution to the child care problem. One option, available in the most advanced economic sectors, is the provision of child care facilities which allows additional women to be employed in provision of childcare while other women work in the factory itself. If the child care is paid for by those using it, then the costs are borne by those profiting. In the countryside, the methods include temporary nurseries and child care facilities, help of the grandmother where this option is available. It is noteworthy here, that the jobs are perceived as those for women, but their restructuring does provide additional opportunities for women without excess reliance upon the state's limited capital.

The fact of life in China and perhaps for other LDC's is that enhancement of the role of women does mean the

provision of new opportunities for women and a larger role in the development of the state, but, despite some comments on the necessity for sharing of the household tasks, the new opportunities tend to be added to those already held. Through the society, it does not appear the restructuring of relationships in economic terms is accompanied by substantial redivision of existing tasks within the family unit (with the above noted child care exception). What has happened is the drawing into the economic sphere tasks that might have originally been family or women's jobs. Thus, the provision of sewing centers and repair shops in urban factory sites offers one option for redistributing tasks, removing them from the non-remunerative sphere and placing them in that circle recognized as productive. They have been taken on by many who might otherwise be unemployed and therefore offer the opportunity for providing modest supplement to one's standard of living. A form of redistribution of income occurs here, even if modest.

This kind of restructuring has other counterparts, The necessity for child care, the impossibility for women to work full time has resulted in the development of neighborhood, part-time facilities of limited capital development which employ housewives to produce materials for larger factory

needs. Resting largely on organization rather than capital investment, with modest space demands, these part-time arrangements provide income supplement, make modest time demands as distinguished from the full-time requirements of factory shift schedules and introduce women to factory discipline.

It would seem that drawing women into the rural work force is at once more difficult, and yet more possible. It is more difficult because of the conservatism of the rural population. It is more possible because of the labor intensive emphasis of much of rural development. What has occurred has been the development of new work units to permit women to undertake a broader range of tasks without compromising themselves too much in terms of rural customs. For example, the development of women's work units provides the opportunity for participation but avoids the criticisms which might be leveled at unmarried young women working in close proximity to eligible men. Emphasizing the participation of young women in the public health programs and as "barefoot doctors" not only present new models for women but also provides alternatives for women too embarrassed to see a man.

Payment for work has remained a problem. In the aftermath of the collectivization of agriculture, the issue of payment was resolved by the work point system paid to each

individual rather than to a family as a unit. (Needless to say, the family unit continued to function.) But the further question has arisen of assignment of work points for job performed. Though a schedule of points has been devised for each job, the central question has been what constitutes a full day's work. In this respect women have tended to be assigned the lower paying jobs, and their performance generally assumed to be less. The development of women's units, and emphasis upon close study of performance represent efforts to overcome this handicap but the well known problem in American society of "equal pay for equal work" apparently has its counterpart in China. Chances of solving it in the short range are not bright.

In industrial and rural sectors, there are patterns. The custom of women in textile factories remains while heavy industry is largely made up of men at skilled jobs and women work in service positions. It appears that few efforts were made to recruit women into industry in the pre-1958 period and those so employed had difficulties.<sup>38/</sup> Since 1958 the picture seems somewhat better to the extent that child care facilities and schools as an integral part of the larger industrial units provide a more receptive environment for a working mother. But the slow growth rate means that women are effected by the limited opportunities

as well as men. Furthermore the redistribution of women to the countryside upon completion of middle school does pose one problem likely to prove rather intractable, namely the finding of mates for marriage even if delayed. The conservatism remaining in the countryside as well as among parents in the cities means that there are undoubtedly restraints upon women remaining in the countryside permanently.

#### ACTIONABLE PROGRAM CHARACTERISTICS

What are the basic components of Chinese efforts to enhance the role of women? In general they are three: 1) a system of legal protection more or less comprehensive in its nature, 2) the establishment of the support of peer group organizations, and 3) programs that provide alternative options and opportunities for increased economic participation and productivity. Some and all of these characteristics can be found in the Asian setting of which the Chinese are a part. But the differences between the Chinese efforts and other Asian countries are instructive in considering the transferability of techniques from culture to culture.

Asian countries in the post-World War II period, indeed newly independent countries throughout the world have all shared this attempt to use the power of the state and its legal apparatus to provide a system for guaranteeing equality for their citizens. The scope and nature of legislative

support, however, differs because of political and cultural factors. The cases of marriage and social security legislation are illustrative. The Koreans have made more provisions for modern marriage than the Indonesians, and neither of them has gone as far as the Chinese in trying to establish a system of social security. In Africa the experience varies. In general the wish for social security faces a lack of the capital to provide much beyond a very modest program, limited in scope. In Uganda, the nationalism of the 1970's has occasionally been reaffirmed by recourse to early customs as for example the discriminatory statement of the Ugandan political leader. Moslem countries (the Indonesian experience is useful) provide interesting opportunities where conservatism in certain aspects has been marked yet women participate in much of life despite the inability to develop a less conservative Marriage Law. To be sure the enforcement of marriage provisions has been slow and modest in China. It should be recalled that, despite the actual terms, cadres in China moved very cautiously in the implementation of Chinese marriage provisions and, according to visitors, still do. Thus in all countries, applying legal requirements to the central problems of family relationships is implemented cautiously.

The intensive degree of social organization that has characterized Chinese society in the post-1949 period

is lacking in most other nations of Africa and Asia. Indeed it is unclear whether pre-independence countries of Asia or Africa could claim the same characteristics of social control that were to be found in Imperial China. But however the traditional period is viewed it is clear that the Chinese Communist Party has tapped sympathetic trends in Chinese social organization in the development of its strong mobilization structure. It is difficult to imagine other societies similarly organized. Perhaps wartime Japan comes closest to showing this impressive degree of solidarity. North Korea might be another possibility. But the continuing presence of competing groups and forces in Asia and Africa--socially such as tribes, religiously such as Moslem organizations--limits the possibility for organizing competing and powerful political organizations divorced from interest groups, much less maintaining such a group if organized. While it is true that Chinese patterns of behavior, particularly in the countryside still show an impressive degree of conservatism, it does seem that important realignments in Chinese society have occurred and that they provide the means for transmitting social values and desired policies to city and rural areas. An interesting question that can be posed at this juncture, is what degree of social mobilization is necessary to support programs for developing the role of women?

The programs of economic support for women represent the third Chinese characteristic. Comparisons between countries on this level are exceptionally difficult, because it is not only a problem of will, i.e. the wish of the society, but the problem of ranking priorities for the population in a situation that is often less hospitable to development. Furthermore, in differing nations the women played differing roles. The importance of women in much of Thailand's commerce seems difficult to duplicate in the Chinese scene. The role of women in Indonesian welfare efforts is perhaps similar to the mass organizations of women in China but without the high level of political content.<sup>39/</sup> Moving beyond the differences in the traditional roles of women in Asian society, the Chinese have through intensive politicalization of all aspects of life placed themselves in a position where they can seek to alter almost any set of patterns. So the emphasis on egalitarianism has been implemented thoroughly and at all levels of life. This willingness to intervene, and the ability to do so is not matched elsewhere in Asia. It should also be recalled that the willingness to try to intervene is not the same as succeeding.

From the broad range of Chinese efforts, one might assume that the goals of enhanced roles for women ranked high in China. This author is not so certain about that assumption. It is clear, that in the implementation of development programs, certain policies have operated to aid women. For example, since 1958 economic development has been characterized by a high degree of decentralization coupled with efforts to be innovative and self reliant. Among these efforts have been programs designed to broaden the labor pool without increasing urbanization at the same time that the gap between city and countryside was lessened. Such policies have, therefore, required recruitment of housewives in the city and development of social services in the countryside.

It is true that traditional Marxist theorists and Mao Tse-tung have written about and been aware of the special difficulties and handicaps of women, but the policies that have been followed are not justified as sole designed to solve that problem. They are also consonant with the needs of the society. Chinese efforts have sought to aid women but in the context of modernizing. Where there has been no conflict between these goals, the greatest success has been achieved. In essence the Chinese, like other nations, have attempted to maximize program effect. Where conflict between goals occurs, or where the enhancement of the role of women

might involve too great a cost, success is not so clear. There are a few women in high level positions, partially because of the history of low status for women in politics (which cannot be repaired in a quarter century), partially because the stakes are too high to risk leadership in factories and other important areas, and partially because the society has changed only in part. Chou En-lai has been reported to be quite candid on this matter in saying that many in China remain unconvinced about the role of women despite new policies and that the basic attitude changes necessary will be long in coming.

Judith Merkele and Janet Salaff have written a brief article comparing the problems of women in China and the Soviet Union. One of their tentative conclusions is interesting for its effect on the problem under analysis here. They suggest that it may be only industrialized societies can really afford to emphasize development of the role of women. Nothing in the Chinese case really suggests that this is incorrect.

From the preceding pages we can now turn to the question of what aspects of the Chinese experience are likely to be transferable and by whom. In making some tentative judgments, it is important to be quite clear about the meaning of actional program characteristics. From the point of view of this paper, it means action within the

framework of AID programs. That is to say, what American observers committed to enhancing the role of women learn from the Chinese experience. Furthermore, it is essential to keep in mind the variety of important differences between programs and possibilities in the United States and the Chinese experience. Lessons to be learned from the Chinese history need to be consonant to some degree with American values, but even more the values of the countries where the program will be carried. Otherwise the efforts will fail. A second aspect of the Chinese experience it is important to recognize is that indigenous programs that appear unsuccessful are largely multi-faceted in their operation. The less the degree of friction, the broader the degree of support of an effort the more likely it is to have positive results. Though this may sound extremely obvious, it has an important administrative meaning. Within China, it would seem that those efforts to aid women which are linked to other generalized goals of the society have the highest likelihood of success. Even in this general range, the persistence of opposition may be expected. The experience of the Chinese with university selection in the rural areas showing marked discrepancy between young men and women selected reflects this fact.

Actionable programs can only be considered where there is already a significant degree of commitment to the

program of enhancing the role of women. For those providing aid from outside, indigenous support is essential. Furthermore, two areas of development are largely the functions of the society. Thus commitments to equality within the important legitimizing institutions are essential. Some effort to provide opportunity for equal rights and participation in marriage and for protection of women and children are essential. This is an area where AID can observe and look for indicators of societal support. Lacking indications of interest in the society, it does not seem that external help in other areas will be productive.

A second need is the availability of social or peer group support for programs. An external agency can provide some useful advice, training and related aids; it cannot organize such groups without the support of the society. Evidence for this type of support need not be the formal political organizations. In China, in addition to the specific political organizations, there are a variety of service groups such as the street committees (where many of the volunteers are housewives) which can provide some point for policy input, if desired. The informal organizations, school alumna groups, quasi governmental, quasi private, might all offer opportunities for aid. But if the society does not encourage women to participate in such organizations, whether official or not, then the

outside viewer should be less than optimistic about the possibility of success, though the need is great.

It is in the area of economic support that perhaps the greatest opening will occur in terms of illustrative possibilities. As Hunter has argued in his study of industrialization, the outside agent can provide the support and training necessary to illustrate the potential of a program. This support reduces the risks the individual in the society has to take. In the case of the farmer, it means provision of seed, or other help to show the advantage of a new technique. In the area of new roles, it might mean providing some additional opportunities to illustrate the advantages to be gained from a new program. Thus help in developing part time factories, at the local level, aid in developing part time nurseries for mothers to attend school, support in developing local materials for such programs, inputs into social organizations such as public health programs, training of women for paramedical positions serve as examples. By utilizing programs that serve broadly accepted social values, the benefits are maximized. By care in the selection of programs it is possible to aid women while also contributing to other social goals.

## RESEARCH NEEDS

In seeking to be multidimensional in programs, it should be necessary to develop the data on women that can supplement the economic data acquired in the years of AID programs and indeed in the years that social scientists have been studying modernization in the LDCs. We have noted earlier the broad array of data needs. The difficulty of providing hard data to buttress argument in the paper says something about the state of statistics.

Despite this generalized need, some specifics are possible. Most LDCs have some level of educational data. It would be useful, however, to develop some additional information about the social groupings in the society, and the economic policies into which AID could contribute. This level of research is highly pragmatic, and probably relatively easily gathered. Assuming that AID programs to enhance the role of women will be limited financially, then the issue is how to maximize chances of success. Comparable data on social institutions, public health, systematically presented, and knowledge of the present range of other economic AID projects should be an immediate task. Rather than beginning anew, it might be possible to provide selective studies of countries such as Korea and Indonesia in Asia, both with comparatively high interest in modernization and differing degrees of industrial effort to decide

how to provide AID help for enhancing the role of women, within the existing framework of AID and other efforts.

The larger problem confronting this program and indeed a more long range project, is the need to develop a typology of likely success situations for AID participation in enhancing the role of women. That effort is exceedingly complex. What is involved in this project is a particularized version of the difficulties that W. Ilchman and W. Uphoff discuss in their study of political change. <sup>40/</sup> As long as the efforts to enhance the role of women are likely to be part of the broader effort of modernization for a society, the problem will be to integrate this effort into the complex decisions about "trade-offs" in the use of scarce resources, whether or not we are speaking of money, people, educational opportunities. If it were possible to use the comparative data on populations, political goals, societal organizations to assess development programs on women, it would tell us something about the internal stability and change rate of the society beyond the problem of women and their futures. Since research on women, in comparative terms, is only beginning, such a task will be difficult. But just as women's programs that are multidimensional are more likely to be successful, so research programs that use data on women and women's

experience are likely to be more fruitful for modernization studies.

NOTES

- 1 / Ten Great Years: Statistics of the Economic and Cultural Achievements of the People's Republic of China. Compiled by the State Statistical Bureau . Peking, China 1958
- 2 / Myrdal, Gunnar . Asian Drama , An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations. Vol. I-III Pantheon Books, New York, 1968
- 3 / While most might agree that the possession of political rights offers the possibility ,it may well be that for many men and women ,the possession of political rights is sufficient, particularly in societies that neither desire nor value political participation.
- 4 / Women in New Asia Edited by Barbara Ward UNESCO, Paris, 1963
- 5 / Others have noted how many activists in national or political terms begin through a course of study in the health sciences and related fields. Women share in this experience. In addition, training in pharmacy has the added practical advantage that a women could manage a small store while rearing children.
- 6 / Ishikawa, Shizuru Economic Development in Asian Perspective Economic Research Series No. 8 The Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo 1967
- 7 / Hoselitz, B and W.F. Moore Ed. Industrialization and Society UNESCO Mouton 1963
- 8 / Asian Drama pp. 1432 It may be useful to consider what the consequences are of the fact that participation in new roles is expected to accompany marriage. American society has only recently reached the point where a decision to forego children by a couple does not result in varying degrees of social criticism. It is clearly rare in Asian countries.
- 9 / Hunter, Guy Modernizing Peasant Societies, A Comparative Study in Asia and Africa Oxford University Press, London 1969
- 10 / Professor W Watson, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii conducted research in Hong Kong on this matter. The results will be published by University of California Press in 1974.

- 11/ Wolf, Margery " Half of China: Report on a Conference" Social Science Research Council Items Vol. 27 No. 3 September, 1973 pp 25-26
- 12/ Various groups of women have visited China in past months whose trips have been highlighted to represent American women learning about the Chinese experience. In general there is no clear reason to recognize them as representative of American women. One group, for example, that led by Shirley McLaine included in it the Associate Director of the Erotic Museum in San Francisco. Her questions to the Chinese hosts are reported to have rivaled Kinsey for their depth and specificity. It is to be questioned whether she represented the broad stream of American women and whether her study, in the absence of knowledge of the language or of the culture, will tell us much about women in China.
- 13/ Materials in English include the magazines China Reconstruct Chinese Women, and occasional articles in Peking Review. These publications are designed to provide a foreign audience with information on Chinese achievements and progress. There are also a variety of materials in Chinese which serve the same purpose for a Chinese audience. Some examples that are illustrative are: Chung-hua jieh-fang-chu fu-nu ts'an-chan yun-tung ( Participate in the War Movement of China's liberation area women) Ch'uan-kuo min-chu fu-nu lien-ho-hui ch'o-pei wei-yuan-wei pien. ( Compiled by the National democratic women's association, Preparation Committee) Peking, 1954; Hsin Chung-kuo te nu-kung ( New China's Women workers ) Peking, 1953 ; Fu-nu ts'an-chia sheng-chan chien-she te hsien-chin pang-yang(Advanced Models of Women who entered Productive Construction) Chung kuo chuan-kuo min-chu fu-nu lien-ho-hui hsuan-ch'uan chiao-yu-pu pien (Chinese National Democratic League Propaganda and Education Dept Compilation), 1953 Shih-ssu Ke Hsien-chin Sheng-ch'an che ( Fourteen Advanced Women Workers) Chung -kuo Fu-nu Tsa-che She ( Chinese Women's Publishing Co. ) 1956.
- 14/ Most of these materials are in Chinese. Obviously such documents as labor insurance regulations and related materials are relevant. The citations here are for those items that are directly focused upon women. See Fu-nu wen-ti shou-tse (Women's Problems Handbook) Jin-pu jih-pao yu-pu ( Pub. by the Progressive Daily) Tientsin, 1950; Chung kuo fu-nu Yun-tung te chung-yao wen-jien ( Important Documents of the Chinese Women's Movement) Chung-hua ch'uan-kuo fu-nu lien-ho-hui hsuan-chuan chiao-yu-pu Pien ( Compiled by the Chinese National Democratic Womens Association Propaganda Education Department) 1953; Fu-nu Wen-t'i ch'iang-hua ( On Women's Problems) New China Book Co. 1949

- 15/ Townsend, James R The Revolutionaization of Chinese Youth  
Center for Chinese Studies Research Monograph No. 1  
1967 addresses itself to this problem in general terms  
i.e. the use of the letters to the editor column. For  
specific examples relevant to women see Chung-kuo Ching-  
nien No. 20, 1965. For English examples see China News  
Service 94 Nov. 18, 1965 also # 95 and 93.
- 16/ Cusack, Dumphma Chinese Women Speak London, Angus and  
Robertson 1958
- 17/ Various groups of doctors have visited Shanghai and  
given different reports of the birth control data.  
The difficulties for the observer is that we do not  
know whether figures given in the course of a briefing  
represent census data, surveys or information drawn  
from limited sections in the city. Needless to say, there  
are important differences in such reporting.
- 18/ Scalapino, Robert A " The Transition in Chinese Party  
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Committees" in Scalapino R.A. Ed. Elites in the People's  
Republic of China Seattle, University of Washington Press,  
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- 19/ Modernization and Changing Sex Roles in the Soviet  
Union. This title is tentative since the manuscript  
is undergoing revision prior to publication by U.C. Press  
For further information the reader should consult Gail  
Lapidus, a member of the Department of Political Science  
Berkeley campus.
- 20/ Hinton, William Fanshen Monthly Review Press, New York  
1966
- 21/ Collected Works of Liu Shao-chi 1945-1957 published by  
the Union Research Institute, Hong Kong 1969. It is  
extremely difficult to discuss the revision line of Liu  
in this context. Certainly a top priority to industrial  
development could provide support for an " anti-feminine"  
line but the reality of such a criticism as distinguished  
from the attribution of all objectional policies to Liu  
is difficult to discern.
- 22/ UNFSCC Integration of Women in Development Report of  
the Secretary General F/CR.5/481 Nov 14, 1972
- 23/ The "omen's Federation has not reappeared in its pre-  
Cultural Revolution form. Emphasis now is upon a new  
women's organization that appears to move in the direction  
of a women's Congress. Whether or not the original  
leadership will reappear is not yet known.
- 24/ Meijer, M.J. Marriage Law and Policy in the Chinese People's  
Republic. Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1971  
See appendix 1 for the Marriage Regulations of the Chinese  
Soviet Republic of 1st December 1931.

- 25/ Undoubtedly the difficulties in implementing the Marriage Law reflected not only conservatism but also the effects of years of upheaval. In this respect, it must be acknowledged that suicides and similar events would have greeted any leadership in the attempts to reduce the social distress of fifteen years of warfare. But the conservatism of the urban workers has remained to varying degrees. The charges of "economism" that loomed during the Cultural Revolution may be attributed in part to the continuing problem of the workers of China seeing themselves as a special group both in terms of their contribution and in terms of their deserved rewards.
- 26/ Townsend, James R Political Participation in Communist China Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967
- 27/ We do not have firm data about this impression but it would seem that the percentage of women in these organizations decreases as one goes from the youngest child's group upward to the YCL and finally to the Party. In general, the attrition rate from educational institutions, either voluntarily or through the various selection mechanisms will probably work to reduce the number of women likely to be considered for inclusion in each organization.
- 28/ Myrdal, Jan Report from a Chinese Village Translated by Maurice Michael Pantheon Books New York, 1965
- 29/ Schurmann, H.F. Ideology and Organization in Communist China Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968
- 30/ The periodicals of China since the Cultural Revolution and indeed even before it, give testimony to the continued problem. Cited here are a few examples but they could be increased many times. Joint Publication Research Service JPRS ( August 30, 1965) reporting a speech by T'ao Chu on May 29, 1965 to the All China Women's Federation in Kwangtung Province indicating the need for increased participation of women in production and especially at higher levels so their salaries would be increased. See Survey China Mainland Press 4139 (March 15, 1968) pp17-20 reporting on alleged crimes of Liu including downgrading women's political participation. See China News Service ( 13 March 1969) 26k "Women in Eclipse " discussing problems of women SCMP 4983 (27 Sept. 1971) reporting on a speech reported in Jen Min Jih Pao (People's Daily) 13 Sept. 1971 calling for more female Party members. Other reports are from the Survey of China Mainland Magazines Feb 1, 1972 calling for "Equal Pay for Equal Work from Red Flag 1 Feb 1972 .

- 31/ One has only to see the various new plays and ballets in China or to read the stories of Lei Feng and other heroes to recognize the truth of this statement.
- 32/ Franz Schurman discusses (in his analysis of the Party) the fact that membership in the CCP and indeed participation in the New China requires literacy and some of the bureaucratic skills that are taken for granted in the United States. Only one example is cited here of the Chinese recognition that the participation of women rested on the development of literacy and political skills. See JPRS 31918 (April 6, 1966) from Jen Min Jih-pao March 6, 1966 "Stress Politics and Further Develop the Great Power of Women". The article specifically calls for increased education and mobilization in education, production, science and class struggle.
- 33/ Jen Min Jih-pao (People's Daily) August 22, 1970
- 34/ What we are describing here is the so-called consciousness raising sessions of the American feminist movement. Women in China and to a lesser extent in the United States, though often more verbal are also trained to act as mediators and to avoid conflict.
- 35/ Fel Hsiao-t'ung Hsiang-tu Chung-kuo (Rural China) Edited by John Jamieson and Shih Li-lin Taipei, Inter-University Program in Chinese Language Study 1970 pp. 75
- 36/ For a discussion of this program see my article in Chinese Communist Politics in Action edited by A Doak Barnett Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1968
- 37/ When the Chinese moved toward collectivization of agriculture they were confronted by the fact that land ownership provided the only means for some of the aged to support themselves. In order to encourage the contributing of land to the Advanced Producer's Cooperative, they provided the program of the "Five Guarantees" that would, for those in need guarantees the basic elements for survival and yet would not require that they depend solely upon their children. In fact the close relationship of parent and children appears to remain and most children assume any obligations necessary for their parents.
- 38/ Joint Committee on the Economy of the U.S. Congress An Economic Profile of Mainland China Praeger, New York 1968 pp.433

- 39/ Women in Indonesia bear a large responsibility for the collective welfare efforts of the society . In this respect they are be similar in function to the women of China's street committees who function to provide the lowest level of welfare services to the citizens of the urban areas. For a discussion of the history of the Indonesian Women's Movement see the pamphlet published by the Department of Information of the Republic of Indonesia entitled The Indonesian women Movement A Chronological Survey of the Women Movement in Indonesia. Despite some propoganda qualities, this is a useful survey of the rather distinguished history of the women's movement.
- 40/ Ilchman, Warren F and Norman Thomas Uphoff The Political Economy of Change Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969

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