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INTEGRATING WOMEN INTO NATIONAL ECONOMIES:
PROGRAMMING CONSIDERATIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE NEAR EAST

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Washington, D. C.
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Office of Technical Support
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FOREWORD

In April 1977, Dr. Roxann Van Dusen was asked by the Office of Technical Support, Near East Bureau, to develop a paper that would:

1. Review A.I.D. programming in the Islamic Near East and assess the participation of and impact of women in development activities.
2. Provide an annotated bibliography to "Women in Development Literature," with particular reference to (a) those most relevant to A.I.D. programming concerns; (b) those which are the least accessible, and therefore least likely to be read independently; and (c) those which shed particular light on the problems of development programming in the Near East.
3. Provide a bibliography of material on women of the Islamic Near East, all published since 1970.

Dr. Van Dusen completed these tasks on July 15, 1977. Additional copies of her paper can be obtained from the division where she is now employed: Sector Planning and Rural Development, Office of Technical Support, Near East Bureau, A.I.D., Room 4709 (D) New State Building, 301 21st Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20037. Telephone: 632-9735.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this report is to review A.I.D. programming with a view to assessing the participation of and impact on women in development activities--and especially those activities involving women of the Islamic Near East. In preparing this report, it quickly became apparent that this is not the first attempt at such an assessment, and a review of the literature (both academic and that produced by development agencies, including A.I.D.) called into question the value of adding one more document to the already crowded genre. It appeared much more useful, in view of (1) the extensive "women in development" literature, (2) the fact that much of it is unpublished or otherwise inaccessible, and (3) the likelihood that program managers will not have the time to cover all the important "women in development" material themselves, to attempt to pull together the disparate pieces of the literature, and extract from them some common themes and salient problem areas.

This report is more than a summary of the women in development literature, however, and it bears the stamp of the author's special interest in programming for women in the Near East region. In that region, more than any other, it is generally felt that virtually nothing is known about women's roles, and little can be done to bring women into the economic mainstream. Certainly, if one were only to examine A.I.D. projects which are specifically designed with Near Eastern women as the primary beneficiaries, one would have very little to look at. Such a definition of "women's projects" is, of course, much too narrow--and this report attempts to expand the definition without including all projects which have some impact on the lives of women (very few projects have no impact, after all). Is it true, as one often hears, that governments in the Near East are not interested in the problems of their female citizens, or are we merely justifying our own lack of interest and poor understanding of social conditions in countries of the Near East? As noted in this report, the needs and interests of Near Eastern women in many cases coincide with those of their governments, and the governments are the first to acknowledge and take advantage of that commonality of interests.

With a view to providing maximum utility to A.I.D. program managers, both in Washington and in the Missions of the Near East, this report has taken shape around two premises:

- (1) Much of the uncertainty concerning the design of projects to bring women into the economic mainstream of their country stems from a lack of recognition of the considerable experience that already exists in programming "for women" of developing areas--experience not only within A.I.D. and other international and private development agencies, but also within the administrative structures of developing countries themselves.
- (2) Much of the hesitancy concerning projects for women of the Islamic Near East is based on anticipated resistance on the part of these women to "modern" roles, and reflects a profound disregard for the recent literature concerning the "modern" roles that those women already play.

This report is divided into three sections: (1) The text (pp.1-30) examines several key assumptions that have delayed development agencies in their efforts to develop programs to assist (and benefit from the participation of) women in developing countries. The extensive literature on "women in development" is surveyed for the light it sheds on these assumptions. (2) An annotated bibliography of the "women in development" literature follows (pp.31-56). Selection of items for the bibliography was made with a view to (a) those which would be most relevant to A.I.D. programming concerns; (b) those which are least accessible, and therefore least likely to be read independently; and (c) those which shed particular light on the problems of programming in the Near East. The annotations were designed to provide as much information as possible to readers who are unlikely to find time to read the entire book or article. (3) Finally, a bibliography of material on women of the Islamic Near East, all published since 1970, is included (pp.57-67). This bibliography was purposely restricted in its scope to provide not only the most recent, but also the most accessible (published in English or French). information on women of the area.

It is the author's conclusion, having reviewed these materials and prepared this report, that the groundwork has been laid, and many times over, to begin actual pilot projects to involve women in their country's development. The time has come for A.I.D. and other development agencies to get on with the work at hand.

Washington, D. C.
July 1977

INTRODUCTION

There is a leit motif running through the literature and discussions concerning development which goes as follows: (1) little is known about the problems of developing areas; (2) even less is known about the problems of women in those areas; and (3) the state of existing knowledge about Near Eastern women and their role in their societies is absolutely abysmal. It makes one wonder.

The literature abounds, both in the form of published books, articles, and reports, and in the form of unpublished reports, conference papers and correspondence. The literature on women's role in development goes back at least a decade, though it may not bear the hyphenated women-in-development title which is now so familiar. The U. S. Agency for International Development itself has generated a considerable amount of this literature (11, 16, 24, 31, 32, 37, 40, 43, 49, 51, 60, 62, and 63) as have other development agencies and international organizations, especially in 1975 and afterward (6, 9, 14, 18, 20, 28, 29, 30, 41, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59).

But, as one reads through this literature, there is a profound sense of déjà vu. The problem is, at least in part, one of organization: it is a fugitive literature, more than half of which is not published, except in-house. The people who are responsible for development programs which focus on or benefit women simply haven't the time to write and publish articles about their work. Furthermore, the reward and incentive structure of development organizations is not such as to encourage them to do so. Thus one gets the false sense that little has been done, and it will take a great many more efforts along the lines of Buvinic's bibliography (12) before the notion is dispelled that "women in development" is terra inconnu.

Perhaps the main value of this report will be to document just how much has already been written on the subject of the role of women in developing societies, and to flag those items which are particularly relevant to the experience of the Near East. Readers are encouraged to consult the annotated bibliography appended to this report for a selective inventory of the policy-oriented literature on women in developing countries, and the unannotated bibliography of works on Islamic women of the Near East published since 1970 for a "tip of the iceberg" view of interest in the roles of women in the Near East.

Already mentioned has been the fugitive literature and the resultant problems of cumulativity. An equally important factor is the number of "actors" involved in development planning, including local

organizations and individuals, national governments, foreign governments, private international agencies, international organizations, and the far-flung research community. Each of these groups brings its own interests and concerns to the problems of development programming to assist and enlist women of the society, but there has been little cross-pollination of ideas as yet.

Discussions with individuals in policy-making positions within A.I.D. and other development-oriented agencies concerning the problems of developing programs to encourage the integration of women into the country's economic mainstream usually are stymied by certain key assumptions which, whether based on fact or not, have served to justify "doing nothing" vis à vis women and their potential contribution to development. Two of these assumptions are related to general problems of programming for women in developing countries, and are often stated as follows:

(1) All the literature on women in developing countries is written by academics who, insightful as they may be, do not appreciate the needs or concerns of policy makers. What is lacking is a policy agenda--some criteria or guidelines to direct thinking vis à vis programming for women. At the present, no one knows what the elements of a good program look like, or where to begin.

(2) Despite valiant efforts on the part of development agencies, programs tend to benefit a narrow range of people. Often these are the elite, the entrepreneurs, or the otherwise accessible. Often this is the preference of the ruling bureaucracies, and outside agencies find their hands tied when it comes to identifying and reaching "invisible" target groups--such as women.

Two other assumptions, specifically related to possible programs for women in the Islamic Near East, could be voiced as follows:

(3) The last place one can expect to find meaningful attempts to integrate women into their economies and societies is the Near East. Near Eastern governments aren't interested in encouraging more active participation by women in their societies.

(4) Of all the possible projects involving women in the Near East, those involving employment or training for employment are the least important and the least likely to succeed. Women in the Near East don't work, don't want to work, and the men don't want them to either.

With the hope that confronting these assumptions directly may help to dispell them, and hence to move discussion beyond the present

stumbling points, these four notions are examined below in the light of the literature documented in the two bibliographies appended to this report.

1. Hypothesis: The literature on women in development is not policy oriented.

The truth is that the literature is somewhat overwhelming with its guidelines and program criteria, even if the guidance in using these guidelines is somewhat underwhelming. In 1975, for instance, TAICH's Sub-Committee on Women in Development published a pamphlet entitled "Criteria for Evaluation of Development Projects Involving Women." Their criteria are as follows (53, p.5):

1. Initiation and Leadership: Are women involved in initiation? Number of women? Who? Status? Role? Indigenous? Are they responsible and responsive to project participants?

2. Participation and Control: Do women participate in the direction of the project? How? Characterize the structure (if any; formal/informal) for participation and feedback. What is the participant's role? Will this experience change women's roles?

3. Benefits: What are the benefits of this project to women? Direct? Indirect? How are they measured? Do the participants perceive them as benefits in key areas in their lives? Is the project structured so that, having attained one objective, the participants can move on to others? Does the project contribute to increasing women's access to knowledge, resources, the power struggle?

4. Social Change: Does this project increase women's options, raise their status? What are the political, economic and cultural implications of the project? Does the project create dislocations? Does it reinforce structures of exploitation? Have these effects been anticipated? What provisions are there to deal with them?

5. Process: Does the project treat development as a process? How does it relate to a larger plan? Does it stimulate a broader base for continuing development? Is the project flexible enough to adjust its course to changes identified as desirable? Does the project treat women as an integral part of the family and of the community?

The TAICH Sub-Committee found, not surprisingly, that "good" projects for women (it considered six in its study) contained a number of desirable elements listed in the above criteria, but that in no case was there sufficient information to answer all the questions posed.

In a report prepared for UNDP in 1975, Boserup and Liljencrantz arrived at a similar listing of questions with their "checklist for the participation of women in development projects." These include (9, pp. 40-1)¹:

1. How will the project affect the pattern of living of women and women's income?

2. If women's lives or status are going to be affected adversely, what provision is made to help correct this?

3. Are women included in the project planning team?

4. If the project involves local participation, are women being encouraged to become involved.

5. Are women being included when project goals, procedures, and explanations are given to the local citizenry?

6. Are evaluations being made of the effectiveness of the participation of women in projects?

7. Are opportunities for training being made available to women? If they are not taking advantage of these, have the causes been examined? Are steps taken to correct these?

8. Is consideration being given, in involving women at project levels, of the various roles of women? Women as family members and mothers? Women as agricultural producers? Women as traders and marketers? Women as community leaders? Women as educators, as purveyors of local traditions?

9. Are women included on the project executing team as a means to involve local women in project activities?

10. Does the project evaluation include an examination of the effects of the project on local women? Are these beneficial or detrimental to women? If detrimental, are the causes being determined? What actions are planned to counter-balance harmful effects on women?

11. Do project reports include a section of the participation of women; on effects of the project on the advancement of women?

¹The UNICEF Check List (56) and von Arnold's "Checklist for Action" (64) are two other examples of the genre.

What can probably be extracted from the TAICH "criteria" and the UNDP "checklist" are a number of project-oriented principles, among them: (1) projects work better if the target population is involved in some way in their planning, management and evaluation; (2) the more direct, obvious, and immediate the benefits, the more likely the willing participation of the target group; (3) the more flexible the project design, and manipulable the mechanisms for reaching the project goals, the greater the likelihood of success; and (4) donor involvement and responsibility does not end (nor, in a sense, does the project), with the completion of the tasks or activities originally designed to meet the project goals. Evaluation and follow-up activities to ameliorate unintended adverse impact of project activities are an integral part of the development task.

At this level of generalization, such "criteria" and "checklists" tend to be both unexceptional and rather uninspiring. More important, however, they are not particularly appealing to policy makers and program designers; they are a series of questions to ponder, and their merit as well as their weakness is that they cannot be answered with a yes or no. They are anathema to people who prefer the logic and simplicity of decision trees. What the entire development enterprise seems to need now are some success stories and some good models to follow in developing programs--and not only programs for women. To the extent that such criteria and checklists can be used to identify good, sound project activities, they are, to be sure, useful exercises.

However, there is a need to do more than be able to spot good projects in order to be able to learn from them. First of all, there is a desperate need for project ideas, backed up by some notion of why they are likely to work and whom they are likely to benefit. It might be called a "shopping list," but the idea is to bolster the existing, rather boring, bag of tricks which, in the case of programming for women, has rested on the goal of reaching women as homemakers, wives and mothers. Second, and equally important, there is a need to increase dramatically the tools used to adjust, redirect, and otherwise tinker with programs--and again, not only programs for women. The options of development agencies simply have to be greater than adjusting the budget, on the one hand, or adjusting the delivery schedule, on the other. Time and money are important, to be sure, but they don't provide any purchase on development goals in the absence of an understanding of how projects work (or don't) and why.

Needless to say, given the literature documented in the bibliographies of this report, this is not the first time that the need for new thinking vis à vis programming for women has been voiced. With the certainty that the following is an oversimplification of the many

careful studies that have been undertaken, and a perspective which many will find wanting, four areas are suggested in which (in the author's opinion) programs for women are likely to be particularly well received and successful. These four areas are certainly not the only ones which should be pursued, but for the cautious they offer the strongest promise of success. They are:

(1) Projects that produce income for participants, either directly (e.g., creation of rural industries, handicrafts cooperatives, etc.) or indirectly (e.g., training that promises to lead to income-producing activities);

(2) Projects that bolster the organization and programs of local women and community organizations;

(3) Projects that are related to the women's role as the person with prime responsibility for the upbringing of children; and

(4) Projects that enhance the competence and/or desirability of wives and homemakers.

These four areas are key, because they are based on four legitimate and accepted roles that women everywhere play, namely: producer and contributor to family income; community member; child-tender; and homemaker. Motivation to participate in such project areas is therefore likely to be high, and resistance (both official and private), is low.

Income-Producing Activities

Much greater attention is paid to the question of female employment in the Near East on pages 22-8. Suffice it to note here that, contrary to the impression that many Westerners have about women in developing countries, they do work, they have always worked, and their work can in no way be considered a recent trend toward "liberation." Even when there are other wage earners in the family, it is rare that a family does not take advantage of the additional income a woman can provide, if it can be obtained without sacrificing other important activities for which women are responsible.

Misch and Margolin, in a study of local women's organizations as potential change agents, conclude that projects which have as a direct or indirect effect the raising of family income are most likely to be successful since "income-earning activities provide continued motivation for members and win the approval of husbands and village gatekeepers." (37, p. xii).

Unfortunately, job-related training for women has, to date, been geared to a fairly narrow range of modern employment possibilities (teacher, secretary, hairdresser, etc.)--jobs which are found almost uniquely in urban centers in developing countries, and which, in any case, are irrelevant for the majority of adult, illiterate women. Without dismissing the need to encourage such modern sector employment, development agencies must also be rather more inventive in their thinking about income-producing opportunities for the rural-based female population: rural-based industries, including that which is related to agricultural activities (food processing, packing and grading of produce, etc.), the more efficient organization and marketing of handicrafts and other "cottage industries" in which women are already engaged, and so forth.

Development agencies could, as Germain has pointed out, include women in on-going agricultural training projects; provide prevocational and vocational counseling; subsidize industries that train and hire women; form marketing cooperatives to eliminate the middleman and allow women to share profits directly; introduce quality control, management credit systems, and marketing for handicrafts and small industrial products; train women for leadership roles in women's organizations which might engage in income-producing or income-saving activities, and much more (19, p. 197).

At any rate, these suggestions certainly provide a beginning for discussions of projects which build on the generalized desire and need to augment family income, and certainly merit further consideration.

Community Organizations

The previously mentioned Misch and Margolin study is even more relevant to consideration of the second area of project activity: development and support of local women's organizations. The authors argue that (1) economic and social development rests on changes in behavior and attitudes, and (2) peer approval is the basis for behavior change. "Women do not merely obtain information...and then make individual decisions. They use the group for decision-making and support in taking action" (37, p. xii).

Indeed, throughout the literature on development, one finds repeated insistence on mobilizing the support of local organizations, and where no such organizations exist, encouraging them to be formed. Kallgren concludes from her study of China's attempt to bring women into the economic mainstream that the two sine qua non of actionable

programs for women are (1) the availability of social or peer group support for programs, and (2) a genuine commitment to female equality on the part of important legitimizing institutions (31).

The emphasis on local organizations in both the Kallgren and Misch/Margolin papers comes directly or indirectly from sociological and social psychological research on decision making and group behavior. Simply stated, decisions that are made and reinforced by a group are easier to keep.²

The significance of programs to enhance the activities of local group is based on more than the recognition that groups help foster individual decision-making. Development programs do not take place in a vacuum. They must have the support and cooperation of the local community, and work with (or at least not against) local institutions. In many cases, the support of local civic or community organizations must be enlisted to ensure the success of local development efforts, since these groups are often more representative of community sentiment than are the local administrative or political leaders. Numerous ethnologies point to the role that women play in such community organizations. Women are the community "gate-keepers," the gossips, communications monitors, and tradition-keepers. Where women may have few official "public" roles, they often dominate these voluntary, quasi-public positions. al-Haj, for instance, counted over 650 civic and community groups operated by women in Lebanon alone (22).

There are, of course, problems in grafting development programs onto the operations of existing community groups--problems having largely to do with the capacities of those groups to absorb new activities.³ Three problem areas shared by all the groups which Misch and Margolin studied were:

- Lack of leadership training for village leaders and field

²The author's own research on the use of a family planning clinic in Lebanon focused on these same elements, namely, the crucial role that group support plays in decision making. See Van Dusen, Social Change and Decision Making: Family Planning in Lebanon, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University, Department of Social Relations, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation: 1973.

³As Kallgren commented: "An external agency can provide useful advice, training, and related aids; it cannot organize such groups without the support of the society...The informal organizations, school alumna groups, quasi-governmental, quasi-private, might all offer opportunities for aid." (30, pp. 60-61).

workers, particularly in group dynamics;

- Lack of practical, group-relevant audio-visual aids to extend the reach and improve the work of fieldworkers and group leaders;
- Inadequate information about local rural conditions.

These problems are, of course, amenable to improvement, and demands for training programs for groups leaders and the development of audio-visual and other aids appropriate for rural, illiterate villagers are hardy perennials of international conferences on development issues. In many cases, what is needed is not a program to assist one particular organization, but the establishment or revival of extension services for women, along with programs to train extension agencies to be responsive not only to the basic health needs of the population, but to the broader economic and social needs of the community as well.⁴ In other cases, the selection of a few existing community organizations for leadership training and program development makes sense; the TAICH booklet (53) documents several successful programs along these lines, including a technical assistance project with the Housewives' Clubs of Honduras, a Pan African Advanced Women's Leadership Course in Zambia, an agribusiness program with the Western Samoa National Council of Women, and a proposed nutrition program with the YWCAs of Ghana and Kenya.⁵

Woman as Child-Keeper

The last two areas of programming activity for women--projects that reach the woman as child-tender, and projects that reach the woman as homemaker--are generally viewed as less desirable or innovative

⁴For an interesting discussion of such a service in the Near East, see Holtzclaw's report (24).

⁵An interesting discussion of such a pilot project in Egypt is provided by Hussein (26). In the Raidaat training program for female village workers in Egypt, as important as the training given, was the process by which the girls were recruited. Great care was taken to ensure that they were from proper families, out of the recognition that the legitimacy of the medium determines the acceptability of the message: villagers will not accept help or information from someone whose motives they suspect. Thus, for instance, no local midwives were selected for the program because it was feared that they would turn their role as provider of birth control information to their own advantage...or, at any rate, would be seen as doing so.

since they are associated with traditional (often equated with "anti-modern") roles of women. It is argued here, however, that income-producing activities and participation in community groups are just as much traditional areas of women's activity as are child-rearing and homemaking, that it is their grounding in tradition that gives them legitimacy, and that these traditional areas of activity are in no way antithetical to general development goals.

In the case of women as child-keepers, public officials long ago learned that if they were going to extend health services to women, they would need to do so through their children. Women are the guardians of their children's health; while they might not bother with the long wait in clinic lines for their own health care,⁶ they are willing to do so for their children. Thus, there have developed numerous Maternal and Child Health Clinics (MCHs) which, in addition to providing pre- and post-natal care for the mother, now often include family planning and other gynecological services.

To take another example of an accommodation of "traditional" responsibilities to contemporary conditions, employers are finding that if they wish to hire cheap female labor, they must allow women to bring their pre-school children with them, or else provide some other arrangement for the children. Child care and other social services are not yet well developed in third world countries, and changing patterns of social relations make it less and less easy to call upon other members of the family for help. Abadan-Unat highlights some of the particularly harmful results of the gap between modern social services and traditional systems of care in her study of Turkish women workers in Germany (1).

There has been a growing demand in developing countries, and the beginning of a legislative response, for better "creches" or day care facilities to accommodate the needs of working mothers. Where the only alternative for these women is to withdraw their older children from school to look after the younger ones, governments have become increasingly aware of the relationship between attrition in the school population and the general economic conditions of low-income and women-headed households, and have attempted programs to combat the problems associated with a large, young, out-of-school population (non-formal education programs, vocational training, and the like). Only occasionally do governments attempt programs to

⁶And, until recently, women considered prenatal care a question of their own health rather than that of their unborn child. Hence, it was difficult to get women interested in clinic services during their pregnancy.

assist working women in their child care responsibilities, though such programs would certainly have some effect, at least on the young female school drop-outs. Egypt, for instance, requires that any company which employs more than 100 women must provide special nursery facilities and other benefits for working women; as yet, however, very few women are benefitted by such legislation since women tend to be employed in much smaller operations.

In any case, the lesson to be learned here is that in urging "modern" activities for women as a means of integrating them into the national economy, raising their status, satisfying their basic needs, or whatever the goal may be, it is necessary to find ways that these new roles can accommodate the traditional ones as well. It is certainly not going to help development efforts to pretend that women do not have children, do not have primary responsibility for caring for them, and will not go to extraordinary lengths to cope with these responsibilities in the face of economic and other needs.

Woman as wife/homemaker: Despite the rising age at marriage of women (due to expanding opportunities for education and employment, among other factors), on the one hand, and the high rates of divorce and incidence of female headed households,⁷ on the other, the fact remains that the vast majority of women the world over spend a considerable amount of their lives as wives and homemakers, and most of them look forward to and prepare themselves for these roles from early childhood.

It is not suggested here that development agencies try to implement programs to teach girls how to be better wives and homemakers. As Ahmad commented: "Village women have never felt inadequate as wives and mothers, and they do not believe that city ladies can instruct them in these vocations" (2, p. 3). Rather, what is suggested is that programs take advantage of the genuine interest and commitment that women feel toward their homemaker role to provide new skills or influence traditional attitudes. Germain suggests, for instance, a pilot project to reach adolescent girls through programs of women's organizations, to try to change traditional images of women and raise the girls' self esteem, and thus, perhaps provide alternatives to early marriage (19, p. 197). Non-formal training programs that stress basic literacy and numeracy skills for home management are teaching skills that are equally applicable to farm management roles that women may also play. Training in food preservation and processing techniques is

⁷Irene Tinker estimates that one out of three households around the world today is, de facto, headed by a woman (54, p. 29).

useful, both in the home and for small cottage industries. Mothers' clubs in Korea have been successful in the promotion of family planning programs as well as in the development of a variety of money-managing schemes for women. Even vocational training programs must be mentioned here. Part of the genuine enthusiasm expressed by women for learning job-related skills must stem from the fact that, in some parts of the developing world at least, a woman becomes a more desirable marriage partner if she has a job (and thus can bring a second income into the family). Thus, the promotion of job-related skills training, whether to take advantage of women's need to supplement family income, their generalized desire to work, or their hope of catching a "better" husband, can become a key element of development programming for women.

Lest this discussion seem rather calculating and Machiavellian, let it be repeated that the focus of this paper is not on technically and ideologically beautiful "showpieces," but on projects that are likely to work. Development projects work to the extent that the target population is engaged, committed to the goals, and fairly confident that they will benefit from the effort. Development agencies must examine the needs and motivations of women in developing countries, decide in what ways the desires and needs of women coincide with the development needs of the society as a whole, and then develop programs to take advantage of those shared interests. That will leave them plenty to do!

2. Hypothesis: The obstacles to reaching women are almost insurmountable.

Until very recently, the policies of development agencies have not focused particular attention on separate subpopulations within a country; indeed, to the extent that development aid is still based on construction projects and other capital development efforts, consideration of the real beneficiaries and victims of projects gets rather short shrift. The population is seen as a cohesive unit: a project which benefits any portion of the population is seen as having generalized benefits for the entire population. Whenever there is a target population, be it the inhabitants of a specific region, a religious, ethnic, or cultural minority, or the "rural poor" in toto, development agencies face innumerable problems getting the benefits to the beneficiaries and not the countless intermediaries en route.

Of all the possible target populations within the country, "women" are probably the most difficult to reach, for at least three important reasons: (see next page)

1. They are not a homogeneous group;
2. They are not concentrated geographically or by social class; and
3. "Reaching women" is not an end in itself, and there is substantial disagreement among governments, development agencies and individual actors concerning the purpose for which women are being "reached."

Of course, no target population is really homogeneous with respect to needs or resources; in addition to individual differences, there are usually social and economic differences, even among the smallest of regional, ethnic, religious, and other groupings. But somehow this fact is forgotten when it comes to programs for women. Women are discussed as if they were a cohesive unit; the tendency, as a recent UNICEF publication notes, has been to organize programs restricted to women as mothers or to limited concepts of "women's work." (56, p. 7).⁸

In fact, there are a number of ways of breaking down the category "women" into meaningful target populations, populations for which one can begin to talk about specific programming. Age/life cycle groupings offer one possibility; income-groups suggest another. A recent UNICEF publication (56, p. 3) suggested still another way of targeting specific groups of needy women. The list included:

- women who are dependent housewives
- women who are mothers and also the de facto heads of households
- women in the role of workers in activities connected with the home and the family (especially agriculture) or in income-earning activities outside the home
- women in the role of educators; everywhere, children grow up with their mothers and get their early education from them; where girls are not sent to school, this is the only education they are likely ever to receive
- women in the role of community members
- women living in rural areas, with an unending round of repetitive labor and dearth of stimuli
- women in slums and peri-urban slums, subject to all the city's strains and stresses but with access to none of its facilities
- women discriminated against by law or lack of law, by custom, culture and tradition
- girls out of school and women functionally crippled by illiteracy
- girls who are soon to become women in any of the groups above: since the age of marriage in some countries may be as low as 9 or 10, this group covers a wide range.

⁸The report continues, p. 7: "increasingly, research indicates that approaches based on cooking, sewing, child care, etc. do not respond sufficiently to the needs of women and girls of the lowest income groups. Often middle income women have benefitted most from such approaches, primarily because they most often have the time, the aspirations for upward mobility, and the financial resources to participate fully."

Clearly, the type of project undertaken will depend on the target population, although the needs of all these groups of women are so great that almost any combination of target group and project activity would work. To illustrate this point, consider Table I on the following page. The matrix consists of the target groups suggested by UNICEF, on the one hand, and a representative listing of the sorts of project activities which are most often suggested as those which would most benefit women in developing countries, on the other. Only a very few of the cells in the entire matrix do not "make sense" as possible project activities.

The purpose of including the information in Table I is not to argue that development agencies should attempt to do everything that needs to be done, but rather to underscore the fact that, given the vast array of possible target groups and possible program activities, meaningful and viable programs can only be specified once the target population has been defined with greater precision than "women" as a whole.

A second problem in designing programs to reach women is that, unlike other possible target groups, women are distributed evenly throughout the population. Indeed, only two of the above ten possible target women's "groups" (rural and urban women) have any geographical concentration. Thus, even when female target groups are identified by various social roles, along the lines suggested by UNICEF above, one is still talking about national programs, and national programs are difficult to design and even more difficult to administer.

It is inevitable, then, that development agencies must focus on pilot projects, knowing from the outset that they will only reach a portion of the target population. Unfortunately, the difficult decision of which women shall benefit and which shall not, can immobilize project development for years. There really is no just answer: there is no easy way to determine whether, for instance, "mothers who are dependent housewives are in greater need of increased social services, protective legislation, special training, etc., than are, say, "women in the role of workers." What is important is that development agencies remain aware at all times of the exploratory nature of their programs, and that, when evaluating the effect of a particular program, they do so in terms of the target population for which it was designed and not in terms of its benefit to "women" in general.

Given the vast amount of work that needs to be done with women in developing countries, and the little that has been undertaken to date, it is easier to distill from the above discussion two "should nots"

Table I

<u>Program Areas</u>	<u>Young Girls</u>	<u>Dependent Housewife</u>	<u>Heads of Household</u>	<u>Women Workers</u>	<u>Educators</u>	<u>Community Members</u>	<u>Rural Women</u>	<u>Urban Slums</u>	<u>Disadvantaged by Law</u>	<u>Functional Illiterates</u>
<u>Food and Nutrition</u>										
<u>Literacy & Numeracy</u>										
<u>Marketing, Cooperatives</u>										
<u>Consumer Education</u>										
<u>Labor-saving Devices</u>										
<u>Farm/Home Management</u>										
<u>Women's Voluntary Organizations</u>										
<u>Family Planning Education & Services</u>										
<u>Agricultural Training</u>										
<u>MCH Centers & Nurseries</u>										
<u>Leadership Training</u>										
<u>Pre-school Education</u>										
<u>Vocational Education</u>										
<u>Protective Legislative Reform</u>										
<u>Access to Credit</u>										
<u>Improve Social Services</u>										

rather than myriad "shoulds." They are:

1. Women should not be pursued with programs which assume the uniformity of their needs, interests, and resources; and
2. Pilot projects should not be postponed in anticipation of programs that promise to benefit all women directly and uniformly (the day will never come).

The problems associated with specifying and reaching target population of women would probably be much less intractable if they weren't inextricably linked with the general confusion about the purpose or goals in "reaching women." Three very different and distinct goals are mentioned in the literature as if they were interchangeable:

1. Integrating women into their national economies;
2. Raising the status of women; and
3. Satisfying women's "basic needs."

They are not, needless to say, synonymous.

"Integrating women into national economies" is the language of Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act, and is the mandate of AID's program assistance for women. The Section reads:

"Programs shall be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort."

The language of this Section suggests attention, primarily, to women's economic roles, training for those roles, and secondarily, to necessary protective legislation, social and economic services, institutional support, and the like, necessary to carry out those roles in the national economy.

Section 113 also makes a rather large assumption, namely, that by bringing women into the economic mainstream, their status is thereby improved. It depends, of course, on one's definition of "status." One would certainly find flaws in the assumption that the mass drafting of women for factory labor in development-related industries was

necessarily enhancing their status -- except, perhaps, their economic status. Indeed, one can imagine situations in which what is good for the development of the country (for example, a large, inexpensive female manual labor force) may be detrimental to women. But these matters aside, "integration of women into national economies" has meant a focus on the economic activities of women, and the major problem to date in following that mandate has been a lack of understanding of the economic roles women already play, as well as a lack of understanding of the economic opportunities for women in the course of development, and what it will take to prepare them for these new activities.

"Raising the status of women" is, frankly, a concept that doesn't seem to advance discussion very far. It tends to be discussed in the abstract, as if it were some kind of engineering feat, rather than in the specific terms it demands. Just as women have many roles, there are many aspects to their "status." Van Haeften and Caton suggest a composite index of female status which includes the percent of female participation in the following activities (63, pp. 10-11):

- farm labor
- household labor and child care
- participation in education
- participation in social decisions
- access to food and care
- access to skilled wage jobs
- access to unskilled wage jobs
- mortality rate

While their index is rather unwieldy, it does, at least, recognize that women in developing countries have economic status (their ability to survive and earn a decent income); they have social status, inextricably wrapped up in the roles they play inside the home, in the community, and so forth. And they have legal status.

One doesn't hear Western women talking about legal status very much, but one cannot avoid the topic when discussing "status of women" with women from developing countries. When needed legislative reform is discussed, one hears reference to such areas as age of marriage, rights within marriage, rights to divorce, rights in hiring, education, training and employment, and rights as a citizen. Given the general lack of legal protection women in developing countries now have, it is difficult to talk about raising their status without including legal reform in the discussion. However, legal reform is not an area of programming for foreign development agencies. It may, of course, be an ultimate goal of

a variety of programs in the area of education, training, promotion of civic organizations, and the like, but it is not a program area of itself. Given this fact, it is hard to escape the conclusion that projects which state their goals with no more specificity than "raising the status of women" probably have not yet located a target group and a target problem area for attention. The phrase should be a flag to signal to need for further thought.

"Meeting women's basic needs" is a relatively recent addition to the lexicon on programming goals for women in developing countries. The basic needs approach is based on the identification of the minimum objectives of society, not a complete listing of desirable conditions. These basic needs include two elements: first, certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption (food, shelter, clothing, and the like); and second, certain essential services provided by and for the community at large (safe drinking water, sanitation, public transportation, health and education facilities, and so forth).

Much of the discussion of "basic needs" has centered on specifying and getting agreement upon the minimum standards. Jan Tinbergen, in his report to the Club of Rome, entitled Reshaping the International Order, outlined the following as his "global compact on poverty": life expectancy of 65 or more; literacy of 75% of the population or more; infant mortality of 50 or less-per 1,000 births; and a birthrate of 25 or less per 1,000 -- all by the year 2,000.⁹

If meeting these basic needs were, in fact, the goals of development efforts, the focus of attention would be, it seems, on the delivery of social and other services. In theory, it wouldn't matter if families had an adequate income or not, as long as their nutritional and other needs were somehow taken care of. Of course, developing countries are in no danger of becoming welfare states, so the question of satisfying basic needs has to be discussed within the realm of a general lack of resources.

⁹In June 1976, the ILO held a major conference to discuss the basic needs approach as it relates to labor and employment. The conference concluded with an agreement among participants that if the satisfaction of basic needs were to be the major focus of national and international development efforts, it would not occur simply as a by-product of traditional labor-intensive growth strategies. Both redistribution and growth policies are required (30).

Ingrid Palmer has used the basic needs approach to examine the problems of rural women and their role in development (41). She concludes that the sex-stereotyping of jobs, community activities, and family responsibilities puts a crushing burden on women. She argues that it is not sufficient to identify the target group as the poorest 20 percent of households (the goal of the Tinbergen strategy), since the social services and other efforts that are developed to reach these households will not automatically benefit the women in them. Women may even be penalized by these programs.¹⁰ In short, the "basic needs" of women are not identical to those of households. The discussion has thus returned to the question of defining target populations for development activities.

In conclusion, not only has there been confusion over the definition of target groups of women for particular project activities, but there has also been a certain lack of clarity concerning the goals or purposes of such programming. The three terms which have been used most frequently to describe the goal of development aid for women suggest very different sorts of activities: in one case (integration into national economies), concentration of economic activities; in another (raising status), on legal rights; and in another (basic needs), on the development and delivery of a range of social and community services. Unfortunately, what all three of the above terms have been used interchangeably to mean is: doing SOMETHING for women. Little wonder that development agencies find themselves unable to determine how to proceed.

¹⁰ In Kenya and Mexico, for instance, she notes that "the monetization of the economy" poses a threat to the satisfaction of basic needs via the decline in self-provision of the family and the decline in control by women over cash earnings (41, p. 11).

3. Hypothesis: Little is known about Near Eastern women, and that is the way Near Eastern Governments want it.

There are two elements to the above assertion: an assumption about the state of existing knowledge concerning women in the Near East; and an assumption about the interests of Near Eastern Governments.

In fact, there is no basis for assuming that Near Eastern Governments are any less enthusiastic than others when it comes to integrating women into the national economy. They, like administrative structures everywhere, tend to adopt a "prove it" stance. Where "integration" of women is shown to benefit the country's development effort, governments take the lead in promoting programs. Thus, for instance, Jordan (in addition to providing a number of incentives to lure Jordanian workers back from the Gulf States) is promoting vocational education for women (and men) in an effort to decrease dependence on expatriate labor. Morocco is making vocational education for boys and girls a major element in the next five-year plan, in an attempt to deal with the rising social problems (school absenteeism, drop-out rates, prostitution, etc.) associated with the pressures on young people to supplement family income. Egypt has undertaken a number of community development projects which focus on women in an effort to get birth control information into the rural areas. There are, in short, a variety of areas in which the needs of women and the concerns of governments coincide. What is lacking, perhaps, are project ideas that tie the two interests together.

There have been a number of conferences over the past decade (2, 3, 17, 22, 26, 27, 57, 59) at which Near Eastern Government officials, members of international agencies, academics, and others have been present to discuss the role that Near Eastern women can play in their country's development. At these conferences, as well as in other fora, the needs of women and the coincidence of those needs and the government's own interests have been repeatedly stressed. The hesitation, if that is the correct term for it, to recognize that women constitute half of the developable human resources of the Near East stems as much from the outsiders own lack of information about local conditions as from any sensitivity or reluctance on the part of Near Eastern Governments.

And even the lack of information concerning Near Eastern women is somewhat illusory. There are at least five recent bibliographies on women in the Near East, bibliographies that reveal not only an enormous literature, but even more important, the large number of people who have

spent and continue to spend considerable time studying the societies of the Near East and the roles of women in them.¹¹

To highlight the extent of that literature, a bibliography of published works on women of the Islamic Near East since 1970 has been appended to this report.

In what respects, then is information about Near Eastern women weaker than information about women in other parts of the world; or, for that matter, weaker than information about other subpopulations of Near Eastern societies? What accounts for the extremely low profile which national, foreign, and international development agencies have adopted with respect to programs that include Near Eastern women among the participants? Two possible explanations come to mind. At one level, there is a surfeit of information on traditional customs and taboos, rights and relationships. For every possible project activity, it is too easy to think of all the traditional reasons why it might not work: all the cautions and limitations, when it comes to women, are well known; the "success stories" are not. At another level, vital information, both statistical and descriptive, is lacking on social conditions and the distribution of those conditions within the society of each country of the Near East at the present time. It is intuitively known both that recent social trends in the Near East have altered traditional social relationships,¹² and that social and economic differences within countries of the area are far greater than difference between countries, but there is very little information (longitudinal or subnational) to back up intuition.

¹¹These bibliographies are the following: John and Margaret Gulick, An Annotated Bibliography of Sources Concerned with Women in the Modern Middle East. Princeton: Princeton Near East Paper #17, 1974; Ayad al-Qazzaz, Women in the Arab World: An Annotated Bibliography. Detroit: Association of Arab-American University Graduate, Bibliography Series No. 2, August 1975; Roxann A. Van Dusen, "The Study of Women in the Middle East: Some Thoughts," MESA Bulletin, May 1976; May Ahdab-Yehia and May Rihani, A Bibliography of Recent Research on Family and Women in the Arab States. Beirut: Institute for Women Studies in the Arab World, Beirut University College, June 1976; and Ayad al-Qazzaz, Women in the Middle East and North Africa: An Annotated Bibliography. Austin, Texas: Middle East Monographs, No. 2, 1977.

¹²For instance, it is almost inevitable that there have been changes in Yemeni society (and women's role in that society) as a result of the absence of approximately half of the male labor force at any one time. Similarly, the rising divorce rate and growing number of women who head their own households in Morocco must constitute something of a social revolution in that society. These changes (or better, social upheavals) clearly have implications for the course of development of these societies, but only now are we beginning to get some documentation of these trends.

One of the most pressing needs, then, not only for better understanding of women in the Near East, but for an appreciation of the entire social fabric, is timely and reliable data to document these changes and internal variations. Once again, pilot projects with clearly identified target populations must be proposed, not only, as previously argued, because this is the level at which projects are likely to work, but also because it is only through such projects that an appreciation of the dynamics and needs of the society as a whole can develop.

4. Hypothesis: Women in the Near East don't work and don't want to.

As noted previously, what has held back the development of programs to increase the economic participation of women in their country's economy has been, in part, a lack of understanding of the economic roles that women have traditionally played. Nowhere is the impression stronger that women have no economic roles than in the Near East. From vague references to the influence of Islam in reinforcing the belief that women must stay at home (especially married women) to carefully documented sociological and ethnographic studies, the conclusion almost universally reached is that Near Eastern women play a minute role in the economic sphere -- whether agriculture, industry, commercial, or the service sector.

Certainly, the published, national-level data have reinforced this belief. The World Bank's World Tables 1976 list the following labor force participation rates for women in the Near East in 1970:

Afghanistan	18%
Algeria	35
Egypt	8
Iraq	3
Jordan	5
Morocco	15
Syria	11
Tunisia	24
Lebanon	17

Youssef, the person who has given the most careful attention to the question of female employment in the Near East, concluded with respect to agriculture (69, p. 16):

The important point to consider is that women in Muslim countries do not have a historical tradition in farming (as is true in Africa); they do not bring to this economic process a special skill or talent. Despite the possibility of a heavy undercount, women are a second class, marginal, if not, in fact, dispensable element in the agriculture system.

and, with respect to non-agricultural endeavors (72, p. 13):

Thus we find a virtual absence of Muslim women from the low level service occupations; from domestic household work; from factory employment; from petty/retail trade and sales occupations; from the ranks of clerical/administrative workers, and from all the professions, outside of teaching.

Youssef backs up these assertions with data carefully culled from available census materials. Consider the following table:

Table II

Female proportion of the total non-agricultural, economically active population by specific occupational categories in selected Muslim countries, 1960 (72, Table 8)

Country	All Occup.	Prof.	Wh. Collar	Sales	Man. Lab.	Service
Egypt	7.4%	22.6%	4.5%	5.5%	3.0%	16.0%
Iran	17.3	25.6	5.7	1.0	21.7	20.6
Libya	6.0	11.5	1.9	.7	11.5	5.5
Morocco						
all women	17.1	14.8	28.8	4.0	21.8	27.4
Muslim	13.6	4.8	3.5	2.0	19.0	24.3
Syria	7.2	27.3	11.0	.5	14.0	14.6

More recently, however, Youssef and others have been paying greater attention to the possibility of unrecorded female labor, and for a number of reasons. First of all, the macro data presented in official government and United Nations statistical sources do not correspond with the picture which appears in micro studies. For instance, against the Tunisian estimate that 13.2 percent of rural Tunisian women were economically active in 1972,¹³ Nassif found that approximately 40 percent of the adult women in a small Tunisian village she was studying, had economic roles, from which they derived some income (39). This is not to suggest that the undercount is a willful disregard

¹³ Jelila Ben Mustafa, "Women and Employment," "Al-Mar'a at-Tunisiyyah (Tunisian Woman), June-August 1974, pp. 10-16. Cited by Nassif (39).

or deemphasis of women's employment by the government, or that, as with undercounts in the United States' censuses, the problem lies somewhere in the sampling frame. The problem is one of definition: traditionally, in specifying "economic activities," the entire informal market system is excluded.

Consider the types of jobs performed by women in the village studied by Nassif (listed in decending order by the number of women employed in each):

- woolwork, carding and spinning
- factory work (clothing factory, factory to manufacture electric car cables)
- olive gathering
- sewing, dressmaking
- housemaid in the city
- agricultural labor, weeding
- embroidery
- teacher, teacher substitute, student supervisor
- animal care (shepherdess)
- crochet and machine knitting
- pottery
- carpet weaving
- social aide, government position

Almost none of these activities fits within traditional notions of "employment." Badran noted in 1972 that "in North Africa, women have important roles in economic life. They sow, clear away weeds, prepare and carry fuel, and spend much time in animal husbandry" (58). Such activity is rarely recorded.

And when Youssef began examining labor force data more closely, she found that the majority of the female labor force in the Near East can be categorized as "unpaid family worker." Their economic contribution for the most part goes unrecorded because it is unremunerated. Consider the following table, taken from Youssef's work (69): (see next page)

Table III

Unpaid Family Workers (69, Table 4), in the 1960s

	<u>Women, as percent of female labor force</u>	<u>Men, as percent of male labor force</u>
Algeria	54.4%	10.5%
Egypt	39.0	25.5
Libya	74.0	14.5
Morocco	74.7	21.9
Iran	46.2	14.3
Jordan	54.1	14.2
Syria	64.7	18.9

It is not surprising, therefore, that a recommendation made repeatedly at development conferences devoted to women and women's employment is that "governments should rethink and redefine the concept of 'economic activity' to include the vast production carried out within the domestic sphere" (54, p. 152).

The undercount of female economic activity, unfortunately, has had other repercussions that the misinformation of government officials, program planners, and scholars. Because the data show women to be marginal in the total labor force, and the income they earn but a fraction of what is necessary to keep a family alive, female labor has been considered dispensable. Some even equate women's labor with women's "liberation," thinking that the current effort to "integrate women into national economies" is forcing upon women (and men) in developing countries unwelcome Western roles.

Nothing could be farther from the reality of the situation. As Boserup and Liljencrantz noted in a recent UNDP report (9, pp. 7-8):

Most of the women in developing countries who attempt to earn a money income are either the extremely poor heads of a household, often with many children, or women married to men in the lowest income bracket who are unable to feed their families without the help of their wives.

Often, it seems, discussions are stymied because employment is discussed in terms of careers, and not in terms of income-producing activities. Some who deal with developing projects to enhance women's role in the development process have thus rejected programs to develop handicrafts or other cottage industries, since these activities promise no occupation advancement or security.¹⁴ One can be sure that women in developing

¹⁴As well as, to be sure, because these activities have traditionally been highly exploitative of women.

areas would not be nearly so choosy, if they could see the prospects of incomes from these "dead end" activities. As Misch and Margolin commented with respect to incentives to participation in development activities, "an increase in family cash income is the most important base on which the implementation of...programs is built" (37, p. xii).

Clearly, there are a number of factors, in addition to traditional attitudes and the lack of reliable data on the actual incidence of female economic activities, that account for the lack of attention given to bringing women into the economic mainstream in the Near East. For one thing, women have farther to travel to get to the "mainstream": they are even less educated and less well-trained than men. The UNESCO Statistical Yearbook for 1972 gives the following estimated percentages of girls in total enrollment in secondary and higher education in 1970:¹⁵

	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>Higher</u>
Algeria	28%	23%
Egypt	32	27
Iraq	29	22
Jordan	31	30
Libya	18	11
Morocco	28	17
Tunisia	28	21
Syria	26	18

Female illiteracy is universally higher than male.

Another factor is the cultural prejudice against certain types of employment for women at certain stages of the family life cycle. To be sure, behavior changes, and relatively quickly, in the face of economic pressures, even if the underlying attitudes do not. Nevertheless, traditional Muslim family reluctance to allow women to enter service or manual labor occupations certainly figures into the lack of enthusiasm which has greeted attempts to boost female employment in the Near East.

Another factor is male unemployment. Governments are reluctant to promote employment activities for women, when there is a large, politically volatile group of men without jobs. Still another factor has to do with ancillary social services needed when large numbers of women enter the labor force. In this respect, governments are becoming keenly aware of the real value of female "non-economic" activities. To the extent

¹⁵Taken from Youssef (72).

that nurseries must be provided, protective legislation enacted, special facilities set up to accommodate cultural requirements (e.g., that men and women should not work in physical proximity), these all cost money, and have to be weighed against the value of promoting jobs for women.

In view of the above factors, one might imagine that it would take a very cogent argument to convince governments to promote employment opportunities for women. Boserup and Liljencrantz have suggested one, namely that the promotion of female employment can be seen as part of a broader policy of income redistribution, since women who work are usually those from the poorest families and "those women who must support themselves and their children without help from men" (9, pp. 7-8). Van Haeften and Caton have suggested another, the "human resources" argument (63, p. 10):

Considering that intelligence is randomly distributed throughout a population, a society cannot afford to ignore half or more of the brain power available to it. Women are an important resource and their improper utilization can retard both the level and rate of growth of an economy.

Whether the income equity argument or the human resources argument is more compelling, or whether some other constellation of reasons makes more sense, one conclusion is certain: of all the possible elements of a development strategy to integrate women into national economies, that which is absolutely indispensable is the recognition and encouragement of women's economic roles.

It should be noted that the "recognition and encouragement of women's economic roles" is not necessarily the same thing as what is usually meant by "integrating women into national economies." "Integration into the national economy" conjures up pictures of a modern, well-trained labor force, and the tendency is to emphasize roles in modern economic production. With such a narrow definition, it is clear that it is primarily young women, those who can take advantage of education and training that will lead to modern sector employment, who are "integratable." For the vast majority of women alive today, such activities are beyond their reach.

If, however, the definition of an integrated national economy includes the variety of services provided by women in the informal sector

(services which the modern private sector and the government are not yet prepared to provide), as well as a recognition of their roles as consumers of goods and services, then the programming of development agencies must take into account the needs, interests, and resources of the entire female population, including the majority who are illiterate and untrained, and likely to remain so.

If "participation" were substituted for "integration" in the wording of Section 113, and development programs oriented toward enhancing the ability of women to participate, both as producers and consumers of goods and services, there would be little question that the promotion of income-producing activities for women would be a necessary first step. By focusing on economic participation, broadly defined, development agencies need not choose between programs for the young and integratable, and programs to meet the basic needs of the entire female population. Both groups can be assisted toward the same goal, namely, the assurance of sufficient income to enable the individual and the family to take advantage of the fruits of the country's development.

Coda

Whether because of real or anticipated antipathy on the part of host governments to questions about their female populations, or because of the rather traditional structure and staffing of development agencies, or because of the sensory overload produced by all the ideas and suggestions concerning programs that would help (or, at least, not hurt) women that have been generated and urged on host governments and development agencies by "outsiders" — or whether it is a combination of all of these elements plus others, the result has been a certain hesitancy, nay, immobility. One senses a hesitation even to attempt pilot projects involving women, for fear that they might not be exactly the right ones. It is clear that development agencies are being far more cautious when it comes to programming to assist women than they are for almost any other sector or target population.

Is there a need for separate "women's" projects? After all, all projects, as the TAICH booklet noted, involve women "as they inevitably involve -- at least indirectly -- a group which constitutes half of the population" (53, p. 7). The participants in the May, 1977 seminar on the use of social scientists within AID urged that all "New Directions" programs (including Section 113) be considered within the context of social soundness concerns. How can one talk of the roles and needs of women independent of the social and cultural milieu in which they exist? One cannot, of course.

We are, however, living in a diverse and stratified world. The needs of women are not necessarily the same as those of men; not only do the benefits of development projects not automatically reach the women of the society, but often those "benefits" prove to be burdens to women (8, 13, 18, 41, 54, 65). Reaching women with the "benefits" of development -- be they opportunities for additional income, skills-training, literacy, or whatever -- may require different types of programs from those suitable for reaching the male population.

The mandate to develop programs to foster the "integration of women into national economies" hasn't changed the goals, priorities, policies or other requirements of AID's development efforts. As Silverstone commented in 1974 (48, p.3):

Section 113...does not set up the problems of women as a separate functional sector for AID, or the advancement of women in other countries as an independent U.S. foreign assistance objective. What it does do is insist that American officials pay attention to the effects which U.S. supported programs have on the integration of women into national economies.

What Section 113 and other aspects of the "New Directions" program have meant is that AID has had to force itself to be more focused in its development programs, and much more inventive. The problem is one of transforming the majority of the population -- the poor, the rural-based, the women -- from objects of development programs to actors in those programs. It won't happen overnight. But the transformation will occur infinitely more quickly and smoothly if the traditional "trickle down" approach to development which, though in official disrepute, still provides the backdrop for much of AID's activities, is finally dismissed.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Women in Development" Materials

- (1) Abadan-Unat, Nermin. "Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-emancipation of Turkish Women," prepared for the Wellesley College Conference on Women and Development, June 1976.

The recent preference among German employers to hire Turkish women workers, and the resultant migration of unaccompanied Turkish women to Europe, has created a number of adjustment problems within Turkish family life, either when the family comes to join the woman in Germany, or when the woman returns to her family in Turkey. Basic family relationships are altered, especially when it comes to decisions regarding the disposition of family income (often the husband is unemployed and the family survives on the wife's wages). However, the author cautions the reader against viewing these trends as signs of women's emancipation. Many of the basic attitudes regarding women's roles have not changed, and, in fact, are being perpetuated in the next generation. School attendance of Turkish children in Germany is low, especially for girls, and the older daughters are often withdrawn from school to take care of the house and the younger children while their mothers work. This article is part of a much larger study of the problems of Turkish migration to Europe.

- (2) Ahmad, Wajih. "Constraints and Requirements to Increase Women's Participation in Integrated Rural Development." Paper presented at the seminar on the Role of Women in Integrated Rural Development with Emphasis on Population Problems," sponsored by United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Cairo, October 26-November 3, 1974. Mimeo.

Author argues that as long as development programs for women remain those considered "appropriate to womanhood" (housekeeping and mothercraft), it will be difficult to enlist much enthusiasm from either men or women. What are needed are development projects which include opportunities for women to participate in non-agricultural, income-producing activities such as decentralized manufacture of processed primary products, consumer goods, and light engineering goods (i.e., commodities that are labor-intensive, resource-based, and require simple technology, small investment, and cheap or little fuel). See citation in Buvinic (12).

- (3) Badran, Hoda. "Arab Women in National Development: A Study of Three Arab Countries, namely Egypt, Lebanon and the Sudan," presented at the Conference on the Role of Arab Women in National Development. See entry 57.

Author finds that general feeling in these three countries is that, although the number of women who work is increasing, women should not work outside the home. Working women are largely limited to the agricultural and service sectors, in large part because their opportunities for education and vocational training are still small. Author argues that four basic factors affect a woman's contribution to national development: (1) education, including non-formal education and vocational training; (2) women's organizations; (3) legislation; and (4) the young child, and the availability of social services surrounding child-rearing.

- (4) Badran, Hoda, "The 'Cost' of a Child." CERES 7, No. 4 (July-August, 1974), 25-30.

Author argues that the decision to have a large family depends on the more or less conscious evaluation of the cost-benefit ratio in child-bearing. Discussing the results of her own research and the surveys of others, she shows that the "costs" of children are both financial and non-economic, and that both types of costs are perceived by some women. Most interesting is her finding that pronatalist attitudes of rural women in the Middle East can be traced, first, to their perception that additional children contribute to production and family income, and second, to their lack of perception of the financial costs of additional children (e.g., the first child requires new clothing, but subsequent children can wear the hand-me-downs, etc.).

- (5) Bindary, Aziz, Colin B. Baxter, and T. H. Hollingsworth. "Urban-Rural Differences in the Relationship Between Women's Employment and Fertility: A preliminary Study." Journal of Biosocial Science, No. 5 (1973), 159-67.

Based on 1960 Egyptian census data, authors find that urban labor force participation of women (usually in the modern sector) is associated with lower fertility; rural labor force participation of women is not. These findings are consistent with other studies (e.g., Abu Lughod, 1965; el-Badry, 1956; Rizk, 1959, 1963).

- (6) Bochet, J. J. Women and Rural Institutions. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization, 1972.

Seminar on home economic development planning for English speaking countries in Africa, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1972.

- (7) Boserup, Ester. "Women and Their Role in Peasant Societies." London: University of London, Center of International and Area Studies, 1974. Mimeo.

The paper describes four systems of agriculture in terms of female economic participation: (1) women who do more agricultural work than men and can dispose of the surplus they produce; (2) women who specialize (vegetables, poultry) and do not engage in other agricultural work; (3) women who work seasonally or do "female" work (hoeing, weeding) at home or as wage labor; and (4) women who do only domestic work. Argues that while many factors are involved, the sexual division of labor is dictated mainly by the economic conditions of the society. See citation in Buvinic (12).

- (8) Boserup, Ester. Women's Role in Economic Development. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970 (paper).

A classic, and something of a primer on the analysis of female labor force participation cross-culturally. Author argues that the transition from traditional to modern economic systems adversely affects women: women are denied access to training for modern sector employment; they remain in the traditional sector, and the gap between the two -- both in status and in income -- widens. Author urges a broad spectrum of training programs for women to redress the imbalance. Another article by the author along the same theme is "Employment of Women in Developing Countries," Proceedings of the International Population Conference, Vol. 1 (Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 1973). See citation in Buvinic (12).

- (9) Boserup, Ester, and Christina Liljencrantz. "Integration of Women in Development: Why, When, How." New York: UNDP, May 1975. Mimeo.

Authors argue that efforts to increase the economic contribution of women should be viewed not only as a means of making fuller use of all human resources for economic development, but also as

a way of improving income distribution. Women who work -- in developing countries as well as developed ones -- do so, in large part because they must. They are either the extremely poor heads of household, often with many children, or else they are married to men in the lowest income bracket who are unable to feed their families without help from their wives. Therefore, national planning designed with a view to improving the possibilities for female wage labor contributes to a more equal income distribution by helping those who need it most. The paper also includes a checklist for government planners to assure that development programs meet the goal of enhancing the potential contribution of women to the society. See pages 3-5 of the text for further discussion of the checklist.

- (10) Boulding, Elise, Shirley A. Nuss, Dorothy Lee Carson, and Michael A. Greenstein, Handbook of International Data on Women. New York: John Wiley, 1976.

A data-book based on United Nations demographic, labor, educational and other data. Attempts to construct composite indicators of a variety of elements of women's economic and social status, including: (1) general economic activity; (2) economic activity by status; (3) economic activity by industry; (4) economic activity by occupation; (5) literacy and education; (6) migration; (7) marital status; (8) life, death, and reproduction; (9) political and civic participation; and (10) "world overview" (i.e., miscellaneous). A valiant attempt, hampered by the limitations of the available, internationally comparable data -- limitations which the authors themselves recognize.

- (11) Butterfield, S. H. "Draft Summary Statement of a Practical Agency Approach to Rural Development." Washington: Technical Assistance Bureau, Agency for International Development, February 28, 1975. Appendix M, "The Role of Women."

Argues that the emphasis of AID's programs for women should be on ensuring access for women to information and to modernizing inputs, designing rural development programs, and learning more about the problems and opportunities for women in development, family division of labor and benefits in specific rural areas. Author also argues that the main entry points for AID activities are: (1) agricultural

production and marketing (especially food crops); (2) unemployment and rural-urban migration (i.e., expanding rural employment opportunities); (3) developing local institutions; (4) regional planning; (5) sector analysis; and (6) education and health.

- (12) Buvinic, Mayra. Women and World Development: An Annotated Bibliography. Washington: American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Overseas Development Council, 1976.

An excellent resource, and the most complete bibliography on women in developing countries to date. The Secretariat for Women in Development of the New TransCentury Foundation is currently working on an annotated bibliography which is expected to expand and update the Buvinic volume.

- (13) Castillo, Gelia T. "The Changing Role of Women in Rural Societies: A Summary of Trends and issues." New York: Agricultural Development Council, Report No. 12, February 1977.

A report of a seminar at the Fourth World Congress for Rural Sociology in Torun, Poland, August 1976. Discussions at seminar highlight the poor quality of our data, especially labor force and income statistics. Also notes that modernization and mechanization in agriculture is seen mainly in the activities which men do, while women's work in both farm and home has remained predominantly manual. "The dilemma of wanting to relieve women of the burden of some work while at the same time seeking to improve labor absorption is evident in the observation, for example, that increased cropping intensity has increased women's work" (p. 6).

- (14) Chabaud, Jacqueline. The Education and Advancement of Women. Paris: UNESCO, 1970.

Argues that inequality in female access to education is not only illegal and immoral, but also hinders development since it ignores the potential contribution of half of the productive population. One of the early publications of international agencies on this subject.

- (15) Dixon, Ruth B. "The Roles of Rural Women: Female Seclusion, Economic Production, and Reproductive Choice." Paper prepared for Conference on Population Policy from the Socio-Economic Perspective. Washington: Resources for the Future, 1975. Mimeo.

Examines the potential demographic effects of a proposed women's cooperative program in Asian and Middle Eastern societies. Suggests that if small-scale, labor-intensive, light industries that employ only women were established in rural villages, more young women would leave the seclusion of their homes. Conditions under which such programs would have antinatalist effects, according to the author, include: non-agricultural employment, living quarters for unmarried women, cooperative ownership; acquisition of vocational skills; functional literacy training; provision of family planning information and child care for employed married women, peer group support and solidarity from co-workers, and a source of prestige and pride apart from marriage and children. See annotation in Buvinic (12).

- (16) Elmendorf, Mary L. "Suggestions, Recommendations, and Resources for Enhancing Roles of Women in Development: Peru, Chile, and Brazil." Report prepared for Latin America Bureau of Agency for International Development. December 31, 1974.

Based on brief visits in Chile, Peru, and Brazil in 1974, author prepared report which included information on key individuals interested and involved in improving programs for women, on-going activities within the three countries, and a variety of program recommendations. Other works by the author include, "The Many Worlds of Women: Mexico," in Women and Society in International and Comparative Perspective, ed. by Janet Z. Glele and Audrey C. Smock (New York: Wiley-Inter-Science, 1977); and "La campesina indigena," Paper prepared for the Reunion Continental sobre la Ciencia y El Hombre, Mexico, June 1973. Mimeo. See Buvinic (12) for annotations.

- (17) Farrag, Osman L. "Arab Women and National Development." Les Carnet de l'Enfance. 23 (1973), 87-97.

Based on the discussions at the October 1972 conference on the Role of Arab Women in National Development (see entry 57), argues that because of the role that women play in shaping personalities of the next generation, greater attention must be given to human resource development programs that include women among their beneficiaries. Among the suggestions made at the conference and listed in the article are the following: education and training for girls, vocational training opportunities, functional literacy teaching, legislation at

international levels (in line with ILO standards), training of pre-school education personnel, increase in family planning centers, political awareness among women, support women's organizations, provide opportunities for women workers to assume posts in administrative leadership, develop and improve programs to prepare girls for their role as mother/wife, set up agricultural training centers, establish new, well-equipped MCH and nurseries.

- (18) Germain, Adrienne. "Some Aspects of the Roles of Women in Population and Development." Prepared for International Forum on the Role of Women in Population and Development, February-March 1974. United Nations ESA/SDHA/AC.5/3/Add.1 (February 13, 1974).

Argues that development has both improved the lot of women through, for example, provision of labor-saving devices, and worsened it by, for example, burdening women, at least temporarily, with more work as they are affected by an uneven process of development.

- (19) Germain, Adrienne. "Status and Roles of Women as Factors in Fertility Behavior; a Policy Analysis." Studies in Family Planning 6, No. 7 (July 1975), 192-200.

Argues that although women's status and roles in developing countries tend to be defined largely in terms of their fertility, women in most countries also have economic roles that are ignored in development programs. Author suggests a wide variety of programs and policy-oriented research related to the roles and status of women, noting that although these programs should not be justified merely as means of achieving fertility reduction, they would be likely to have significant effects on fertility rates. Further discussion of her action agenda appears on page 7 of the text.

- (20) German Foundation for Developing Countries. "Education, Vocational Training, and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in African Countries." Report of a regional conference held in Rabat, Morocco, May 1971, and cosponsored with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

Essay examines both traditional and modern influences on the current situation of women in Africa, and recommends possible international, national and local programs to involve women in their country's development. These include education and

vocational training programs geared to manpower needs, particularly modernizing agricultural development; career guidance provided at primary and secondary school level to help eliminate rural-urban migration of young girls; and special emphasis on female literacy campaigns. See annotation in Buvinic (12).

- (21) Giele, Janet Z, and Audrey C. Smock. Women and Society in International and Comparative Perspective. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1977.

An excellent collection of articles, covering Bangladesh, Egypt, France, Ghana, Japan, Mexico, Poland and the United States. In the introduction, Giele argues that "The structure of the family and its relation to the economy are the keys to understanding what opportunities are available to women in any given society. The opportunities open to women are inextricably related to the roles assigned to men." Smock's concluding chapter also emphasizes importance of the family in structuring female roles and opportunities.

- (22) al-Haj, Fawzi M. "Rural Women as Participants and Recipients in Integrated Rural Development," Paper presented at a Seminar on the Role of Women in Integrated Rural Development, with Emphasis on Population Problems. Cairo, October-November 1974.

Paper based on field research undertaken in a Lebanese mountain village. Author estimates that more than 658 societies in Lebanon are involved in social welfare activities, and most of them are directed by women. Highlights key role which voluntary associations play in Lebanon's development. Author also makes numerous recommendations for rural development programs.

- (23) el-Hamamsy, Laila. "The Daya of Egypt: Survival in a Modernizing Society." Caltech Population Program, Occasional Paper Series No. 1 No. 8 (1973).

Study of the role of the local midwives in Egyptian villages, and the programs that the Egyptian government has undertaken to enlist the daya in the health delivery system in rural areas.

- (24) Holtzclaw, Katherine. "Extension Service for Farm Girls and Women of the UAR." End of tour Report, USAID/UAR, 1964.

"The first principle of education is that we teach people to do better the things they are doing already." Author argues that while the male farmer is being taught better techniques of agriculture, the other half of the population -- girls and women -- are receiving little help in improving their home and family life. Discusses the need for an extension service to reach women in rural areas.

- (25) Hussein, Aziza, "Role of Women in the Arab World," Prepared for the WFUNA/ISMUN Summer School on "The Human Roles of Women in Society and in Development." Nordisk Folkhøskolan, Kungälv, Sweden, August 4-18, 1974. Mimeo.

Although the article is written for the generalist, and includes much by way of historical background on the role of women in the Arab world, it also presents some interesting aspects of contemporary Egyptian women's life. It is argued, for instance, that "...the rural women who form 60 percent of the female population are actually the backbone of ... agricultural production. Not only do they look after the agricultural household... The woman does a great deal of the intensive cultivation in the field in addition to dairy farming, animal husbandry, and the like" (p.15).

- (26) Hussein, Aziza. "The Role of the Village Girl Leaders in Family Planning." Delivered at the Cyprus regional seminar of IPPF for the Middle East and North African Region. Lebanon, 1973. Mimeo.

A description of the establishment of the Raidaat program in a town outside of Cairo. The objective of the program was "to train carefully selected village girls from every province in the country who would go back to their respective villages to act as agents of social change through their leadership of the feminine sector" (p. 3). Leadership training centers were to be established in each governorate, as were some 300 rural women's clubs. Most interesting is the discussion of the criteria used to select the women for this program, since the program managers were keenly aware of the importance of choosing women who would be accepted back into their community following training. Hence, for example, they must "belong to average, modest, and respectable families who... have no feuds with other families." Family planning services were found to be a high priority task among the women leaders.

- (27) Hussein, Aziza, and Nagiba Abdel Hamid. "Report on Egypt." Paper prepared for the Regional Conference on Education, Vocational Training, and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in African Countries, sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and the German Foundation for Developing Countries. Rabat, May 1971. See also, entry (20).

Provides data on participation of Egyptian women in education and employment, and demonstrates that labor force participation is positively correlated with level of education in urban areas. Also documents female participation in labor unions, women's clubs, and other service organizations. See annotation in Buvinic (12).

- (28) Inter-American Foundation. They Know How...An Experiment in Development Assistance. Washington: Inter-American Foundation, 1977.

This is a report on the first five years of operation (involving some 305 projects) of the Inter-American Foundation. The introduction to the report states the conviction of the Foundation "that the people whose lives will be directly affected by development efforts know best what they need and want and how to do it" (p. ix). The IAF approach is described as gap-funding -- support for small local groups which the international funders seldom reach; interim funding until slower-moving funders enter with support; and provision of resources to make up the difference between what people are doing with the resources they have, and what they wish to do" (p. 16).

- (29) International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. "The Integration of Women Into the Development Process." Washington, May 1975. Mimeo.

Examination of key questions concerning the participation of women in designing and implementing projects in three areas: agriculture, education, and family planning and nutrition. These questions are similar to the criteria established by the TAICH Subcommittee on Women in Development, as are discussed on pages 3-5 of the text.

- (30) International Labor Organization. Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: a One-World Problem. New York: Praeger, 1977.

The basic needs approach deals with the minimum objectives of society, not a complete listing of desirable conditions. They include two elements: first, certain minimum requirements of a family for private consumption: adequate food, shelter and clothing, for instance, as well as certain household equipment and furnishings; and second, essential services provided by and for the community at large, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transportation, health and education facilities. The aim is to reach the poorest 20 percent of households with these basic services by the year 2000.

The problem with the basic needs approach is, in part, one of establishing agreed-upon minimum standards for basic needs. Jan Tinbergen, in his report to the Club of Rome, outlined the following as his suggested "global compact on poverty": life expectancy of 65 or more; literacy for 75% or more of the population; infant mortality of 50 or less per 1,000 births; and a birthrate of 25 or less per 1,000 -- all by the year 2000.

The innovative element of the ILO conference was the agreement among the participants that if the satisfaction of basic needs were to be the major focus of national and international development efforts, it could not occur simply as a by-product of a more labor-intensive growth strategy. It requires action on all fronts -- both redistribution of resources and growth policies.

- (31) Kallgren, Joyce K. "Enhancing the Role of Women in Developing Countries: Lessons from China's experience." Report to the Office of Education and Human Resources, Technical Assistance Bureau, AID, 1973.

This report, commissioned by AID, reviews the status of women in Asia as a whole, and then focuses on the history of China's efforts to integrate women into the modern economy. China has had mixed results in these efforts. "Most progress seems to have been achieved in restructuring and broadening 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" (p. 44). The author identifies three basic components of the Chinese efforts to enhance the role of women: a comprehensive system of legal protection; establishment and support of women's organizations; programs to provide training for increased economic participation and productivity. Author cautions that "actionable programs" can only be realized with two types of indigenous support: first, a genuine commitment to equality on the part of legitimizing institutions; and second, the availability of social or peer group support for programs.

- (32) Long, Nira Hardon, Lena Goodman, Alex A. Ralli, Barbara A. Turner, and Gilda E. Varrati. Report on a Conference on Women in Development (October 28-31, 1975). Washington: Agency for International Development, 1975.

The purpose of the conference was to bring together officers engaged in programming and implementation from field missions to review the "New Directions" legislation, and give them a chance to express their concerns and raise other issues. The report presents recommendations in the area of agriculture, nutrition and health, population and health, rural development, and education and human resources, and reviews the programs of the regional bureaus.

- (33) Maher, Vanessa. Women and Property in Morocco: Their Changing Relation to the Process of Social Stratification in the Middle Atlas. London: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology #10, 1975.

Argues that although women are totally dependent economically on men, they do have major control of social relations, especially marriage arrangements. Book documents the influence of socio-economic variables on social relations, and how these relationships vary across class and between rural and urban (town) areas. See citation in Buvinic (12).

- (34) Matthiasson, Carolyn J. (ed.) Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective. New York: MacMillan Free Press, 1974.

Anthology of thirteen original essays on women in various societies and cultures. The book is divided into three sections: manipulative societies, complementary societies, and ascendant societies, and the emphasis throughout is on the variety of roles and male-female role relationships. See also entries (38) and (52).

- (35) Mernissi, Fatima. "The Moslem World: Women Excluded from Development," in Women and World Development, Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen (eds). Washington: AAAS and ODC, 1976, pp. 35-44.

The purpose of the paper is to examine the general economic situation of Moslem women and how it is changing in conjunction with development and industrialization. Examines barriers to the integration of women into the economy of Moslem countries and the process by which integration is being accomplished.

Argues that the "Moroccan experience confirms Boserup's finding that industrialization tends to intensify the different roles of the sexes in the developing economies, and that it has produced a distortion in the relation of the sexes at the economic level" (p. 37). Furthermore, she contends that "the main objective of Moslem women should be not so much to attempt to modernize the family structure as to seek access to non-family networks. Their "salvation" lies in acquiring freedom outside the home, where sexual inequality is neither legal nor institutionalized" (p.37).

- (36) Miller, Kaity, and Micaela Mendelsohn. "Education and the Participation of Women in World Development: A Brief Survey." Washington: Women's Equity Action League, 1975.

This report contains information on a variety of on-going projects and activities of local women's groups as well as international organizations. It argues that the exclusion of women from education and vocational training limits their effective participation even in traditional areas of health, child care, and nutrition, and notes that even when education opportunities are equal with those of men, socially conditioned ideas about appropriate roles limit women in their ability to prepare for and undertake a continuous career in the labor force. The report provides information on the Women's General Union in Syria, which has undertaken a massive voluntary literacy campaign to reach the nearly 85 percent of the female population which is illiterate.

- (37) Misch, Marion Ruth, and Joseph B. Margolin. "Rural Women's Groups as Potential Change Agents: A Study of Colombia, Korea, and the Philippines." Report submitted to Technical Assistance Bureau, Agency for International Development. Washington, May 31, 1975.

Throughout the literature on development programs to reach women, one element that is almost universally mentioned is the need to engage local women's groups or other organizations in the proposed activities. This report takes a closer look at the role of rural women's groups in development activities. "While most organizational characteristics of the clubs are culture-specific, a small number of general principles emerge. These include: the importance of activities that begin to satisfy economic need, local decision making, an adequate range of activities and the recognition that peer approval is the basis for behavior change... Several pervasive gaps appear, including the absence of sensitive instruments for determining local needs and attitudes, the need for improved leadership training and for village-level dissemination methods" (from authors' abstract).

- (38) Mohsen, Safia K. "The Egyptian Woman: Between Modernity and Tradition." in Many Sisters, see entry (34), pp. 37-58.

Author argues that it is not the legal system, but the cultural practices and attitudes that have created the greatest hindrance to equality for women in the Near East.

- (39) Nassif, Hind. "Women's Economic Roles in Developing Tunisia." Paper prepared for the 1976 Annual meetings of the Association of Arab-American University Graduate and the Middle East Studies Association. Mimeo.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this paper, based on the author's dissertation research in the early 1970s, is the number of income-producing activities engaged in by women in a remote rural village of Tunisia. Against the official Tunisian estimate of 24 percent of the female population economically active (and most of them in urban areas), the author finds that 40 percent of the women in this village earn some income. Her research suggests that we need to be much more flexible in our definitions of "economic activity."

- (40) North, Jeanne. Women in National Development in Ghana. USAID/Ghana, April 1975. Mimeo.

Scholarly document with chapters on various aspects of women's life in Ghana, including women traders, women as wage earners; female farmers (generally small-scale farms), and women's voluntary organizations. Not designed for policy-makers immediate needs, but provides much background material. Chapters include: the sociological, economic, and legal status of women; women traders; women as wage earners; the small-scale female farmers of Ghana; the role of Ghanaian women in health, population, and nutrition; women in education; and voluntary women's organizations.

- (41) O'Barr, Jean F. "The Changing Roles of Women in Developing Countries." Durham, N.C.: Duke University, Comparative Area Studies Program, June 1975. Mimeo.

The author presents an outline of the key elements influencing women's status in developing areas, and reviews a vast literature in the process of discussing eight propositions concerning women's roles, among them:

1. The universal second class status of women has not yet been satisfactorily explained;
2. The economic contribution of women to their societies is probably the single most important determinant of their position;
3. In social systems where women do not have direct access to public power, they follow a variety of influence strategies;
4. Situations of drastic social change often (but not always) have positive consequences for women;
5. The communist and socialist governments frequently make a very direct attack on women's traditional position since attempts to alter that position become an important part of their ideology;
6. The degree to which women participate in the cultural, social, and economic aspects of life in modern countries is never matched with participation in the political life of those countries;

7. Ideology is a significant factor in sustaining cultural beliefs about proper roles for women;
8. Development policies may have particularly adverse impact on women.

- (42) Palmer, Ingrid, "The Basic Needs Approach to the Integration of Rural Women in Development: Conditions for Success." Mimeo, no date.

The author asks in which direction should women be helped in order that they gain a full integrated role in the economy and society: back to the home, forward to the wage market, or sideways (but aided by new technologies). The author looks at information on women in rural societies using the basic needs approach, and concludes, among other things, that women are already fully stretched over housework and productive labor, and discussions of bringing women into the formal wage market are somewhat "passe." She calls particular attention to the sex-typing of jobs, and the effect that that has on women's lives.

- (43) Riegelman, Mary Anne. A Seven Country Survey on the Roles of Women in Rural Development. Undertaken for the Office of Development Administration of the Technical Assistance Bureau of AID by Development Alternatives, Inc. Washington, 1974.

A survey of existing projects and information on opportunities for women to participate in their country's economic development in Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru. Focuses mainly on female participation in agricultural production, and argues, inter alia, that integration of women in the rural economy will be accomplished more quickly with comprehensive rural development projects rather than with those designed for "women only."

- (44) Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina. "A Cross-Cultural Examination of Women's Marital, Educational, and Occupational Options." ACTA Sociologica 14 (1971) 96-113.

Based on a correlation of GNP and data on types of marital, occupational, and educational choices available to women in 23 countries, author concludes that there is no single configuration of conditions that is best for providing women with the maximum range of options.

- (45) Safillios-Rothschild, Constantina. "Social Indicators of the Status of Women." Paper commissioned by the United Nations Secretariat for International Women's Year.

Short essay on data needs in a number of areas related to measuring the roles and opportunities of women around the world. Topics include: education, employment, and other types of participation in the economic sector, political participation, marital and familial indicators, health and nutrition, crime and justice.

- (46) es-Said, Nimra Tannous. "Women and Development in Some Countries of the Near East." The Hague: M.A. Thesis for the Institute of Social Studies, 1964.

This study is of interest, both because it is an early example of the genre, and because its author is still very much involved in working on the problems of women in Jordan. Report is basically a review of the existing literature plus a valiant, but generally unsuccessful attempt to survey the situation of women (and government programs to improve that situation) in Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt in the early 1960s. In each country she attempted an educational survey, a statement on women in economic life, women and the law, and women and society.

- (47) es-Said, Nimra Tannous. "The Changing Role of Women in Jordan (A Threat or an Asset)?" Presented to the Research Committee on Sex Roles in Society, VIII World Congress on Sociology. Toronto, August 1974.

Reports on two recent surveys of women in Jordan: a survey of working women in 1965; and a survey of female teachers in Amman in 1972.

- (48) el-Sanabary, Nagat Morsi. "A Comparative Study of the Disparities of Educational Opportunities for Girls in the Arab States." University of California, Berkely, Department of Education, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1973.

Dissertation highlights four types of disparities of educational opportunities for girls in 16 Arab states: (1) unbalanced enrollment with fewer girls than boys in all levels and types of education; (2) higher rates of absenteeism and drop-outs among girls; (3) curricular disparities revealed in the concentration of girls in the humanities in secondary and

higher education and their limited access to technical and vocational education; and (4) greater allocations of financial resources to boys' education resulting in the preceding disparities. Includes a considerable amount of statistical information on women's education in the Arab world.

- (49) Silverstone, Johathan. "Participation of Women in Development." Washington: Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Agency for International Development, 1974.

Argues that the Percy Amendment "does not set up the problems of women as a separate functional sector for AID, or the advancement of women in other countries as an independent U.S. foreign assistance objective. What it does do is insist that American officials pay attention to the effects which U.S.-supported programs have on the integration of women into national economies." Identifies critical problem areas as food production, rural development, nutrition, population planning and health, education, public administration, and human resource development.

- (50) Simmons, Emily Bartz. "Cultural Assumptions and Women's Role in Development." Monrovia: Liberian Institute of Public Administration. Mimeo, no date.

Argues that while we are finally ridding ourselves of the old assumption that women in developing countries resemble Western female stereotypes of the 1950s (e.g., total concentration on domestic roles and tasks), we are threatened by a new set of assumptions -- namely, the imposition of the concerns of the Western women's liberation movement on the conditions of women in developing countries. The author notes "the new awareness of women's potential in the United States can lead to a growing awareness of women's potential in less developed countries as well. But the potentials will not necessarily be the same; nor must the means to develop them be the same" (p. 5).

- (51) Singletary, James D. "Enhancing the Role of Women in Developing Countries." Report of the Ad Hoc Committee. Education and Human Resources, Technical Assistance Bureau, AID. February 1973.

This paper is the result of the discussion and review of Kallgren's study (31). The paper points to the need for baseline data on (1) successful development project experiences, and (2) cultural

situations that are amenable to improvements in the status of women, information on women's economic roles (and changes in those roles in the course of development), and women's educational needs.

- (52) Sweet, Louise. "In Reality: Some Middle Eastern Women." in Many Sisters (entry 34).

Argues that it is neither useful nor accurate to conclude that because men are active within the public sphere and women are not, that therefore women (who have numerous private and domestic roles) are therefore inferior in status to men. Provides profiles of a number of situations to demonstrate the range of roles and opportunities available to women in the Middle East.

- (53) TAICH (Technical Assistance Information Clearing House), Subcommittee on Women in Development. Criteria for Evaluation of Development Projects Involving Women. New York: TAICH, December 1975.

This study is discussed in the text on pages 3-5. The five criteria selected to assist in evaluation of development projects were (1) initiation and leadership; (2) participation and control; (3) benefits; (4) social change (i.e., does the project create dislocations); and (5) process (i.e., how does it relate to the larger development plan). Six projects were selected as exemplary development efforts, and were measured against the above criteria. The Subcommittee on Women in Development of TAICH found that the criteria were useful in highlighting important aspects of the projects, but that in no case was there sufficient information to answer all of the questions posed in the list of criteria.

- (54) Tinker, Irene, and Michele Bo Bramsen. Women and World Development. Washington: American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Overseas Development Council, 1976.

This book is a compilation of materials prepared for the seminar which preceded the IWY meetings in Mexico City in 1975, as well as a presentation of the summary of the discussions and recommendations from the workshops, which covered such topics as food production and the introduction of small scale technology into rural life; urban living, migration, and employment; education and communication; health, nutrition and family planning; and women's formal and informal organizations.

- (55) United Nations. Seminar of the Status of Women and Family Planning. Istanbul, July 1972.

Arab participants included Dr. Seinab el-Sobki, Member of the Central Committee of the ASU, Cairo; Ms. Nabilah Razzaz, Director of Primary Education, Ministry of Education, Syria; and Mme. Dordana Masmoudi, Dir. du Lycée de jeunes filles de Monfleury, Tunis.

- (56) United Nations Children's Fund, Guide List ISIS (1975 revision). Women and Development. Prepared in consultation with ILO, FAO, UNESCO, and WHO. New York: United Nations, September 1975.

Argues that "the tendency heretofore has been to organize programs restricted to women as mothers or to limited concepts of 'women's work'." (p. 7) This Guide List suggests some ten subpopulations of women which constitute possible targets for development programs (see page 15 ff of the text). It also suggests areas of intervention, including: food and nutrition; handicrafts and domestic arts; home, family and child welfare; literacy and numeracy; marketing, cooperatives, and consumer education; labor saving devices. Finally, it provides a checklist for "minimum data collection" necessary for programming for women; five areas are covered: socio-cultural roles; skills; educational opportunities; economic opportunities; and change potential.

- (57) United Nations Children's Fund, League of Arab States, and Arab States Adult Functional Literacy Center. Role of Arab Women in National Development. Report of a Conference held by the three groups in Cairo, September 24-30, 1972. Mimeo.

Provides a brief history of interest (official and private) in ways of promoting the participation of women in the processes of development in the Arab world, and discusses the current situation and needs of Arab women. Dr. Hoda Badran, UNICEF consultant on Women's Affairs, stresses four basic factors which affect a woman's contribution to national development: first, education (including nonformal education and vocational training); second, women's organizations; third, legislation; and fourth, the young child. Other recommendations include: Increased employment and better vocational training; encouragement of girls' enrollment in schools and intensive programs to train women teachers; enactment of laws to protect working women and to provide health benefits for farm workers; marriage law reform, including enactment of minimum age requirements; encouragement of day care nurseries and environmental health programs; reforms which would bring family planning activities closer together with maternal and child health centers.

- (58) United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa, Human Resources Development Division, Women's Programme Unit. "Women and National Development in African Countries: Some profound contradictions." Position paper prepared for the Ford Foundation Task Force on Women. Addis Ababa, February 1973. Mimeo.

The purpose of the paper, as it is identified in its introduction, is to "look at the division of economic labor by sex in traditional sectors of the society, and attempt to contrast it with that in modernizing and modernized sectors, to discover whether women are sharing in the specialization of roles" (p. 3). The paper is particularly concerned with the "extent of women's opportunities to provide support for themselves and their children, when customs or circumstances make maternal support a necessity" (p. 2). The report concludes that "it is mostly educated women who participate in the progressive specialization of work. Neither oppressing women with additional labor, nor forcing them out of economic activity and into a position of dependence makes much sense for development -- but these things appear to be happening" (p. 20). Project recommendations presented in the report include the following:

- (1) make use of mass media to reach women:
- (2) research priority:
 - a) in rural life: labor saving technologies, potential markets, land use, availability of small loans, transformation of traditional associations for modern activities;
 - b) in commerce: training, access to credit, business techniques
 - c) small-scale industry
 - d) wage employment: data on absenteeism, maternity leave, services for working mothers;
 - e) evaluation of current training programs for women
 - f) tracer study of female school leavers;
 - g) review of legislation on marriage and inheritance

h) review of literacy program materials

i) examination and analysis of family planning programs

(3) action programs

a) pilot rural development projects

b) courses for training trainers

c) courses for national planners

d) internships for college men and women

e) training courses for women leaders

f) pilot projects for handicrafts and other small industries

(59) United Nations, Family Planning Association and UNESCO. "Seminar on the role of women in integrated rural development with special emphasis on population problems." Cairo, October 26-November 3, 1974.

(60) United States Agency for International Development, Office of Education and Human Resources, Technical Assistance Bureau. "New roles for women in development," in Priority Problems in Education and Human Resources Development -- The Seventies. Revised, Nov. 1970.

(61) United States Agency for International Development, Bureau of Program Policy Coordination, Office of Policy Development and Analysis, Civic Participation Division. "Women in Development, relevant excerpts from civic participation division reports (March, 1974 - April 1976)." June 1, 1976. Mimeo.

A selection of thirteen comments over a two-year period on various aspects of the roles of women in developing countries, and the response of governments and international development agencies to the special needs of women.

(62) United States Agency for International Development, Office of Education and Human Resources, Bureau of Technical Assistance. Women and Development. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

Includes articles by Ettore-Denit, "Sex-Age patterns of labor force participation," Ester Boserup, "Women's role in economic development," and Brendan Jones, "Togo's Business women."

- (63) Van Haeften, Roberta K., and Douglas D. Caton, "A Strategy Paper for Integrating LDC Rural Women into their National Economies." Paper prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, Percy Amendment Subcommittee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Rural Development. Washington, May 1974. Mimeo.

Of the three possible strategies for dealing with problems of rural women (1- increase the social services directed to rural women; 2-increase the productivity of women's labor; and 3-increase the productivity of the entire rural community), the authors favor option 3. The authors recommend two strategies for AID to pursue in reaching rural women: (1) concentration on projects which deal with rural women in their roles as producers of goods and services; and (2) assistance to countries in the design and implementation of comprehensive rural development programs. The authors note that the starting place in such efforts is to develop a core staff in AID, Washington, with appropriate talent, authority, and responsibility to help interested countries plan and organize such rural development programs.

The authors comment on two aspects of AID's failure in the past to reach rural women: (1) instead of attacking causes, AID dealt with symptoms, especially the most visible -- women's poor health, poor nutrition, etc.; and (2) AID selected projects which confirmed Western European concepts of women as primarily wives and mothers, ignoring their role as contributors to economic development, even in cases where they were already active as producers of goods and services.

- (64) Von Arnold, John. "A Checklist for Action -- questionnaire sent to NGOs which participated in IWY conference in Mexico City." Development Digest 13, no. 3 (July 1975), 49-52

This questionnaire represents another in the series of attempts to develop questions that will prompt development planners and government officials to think a bit harder about the role of women in economic development, (Others include items 9, 53, and 56). Questions cover women's participation in hard manual labor; in the industrial labor force; in positions of authority; in politics; and in their local communities.

- (65) Ward, Barbara E. "Women and technology in developing countries." Impact of Science on Society 20, no. 1 (1970), 93-101.

An examination of beneficial and detrimental aspects of innovations in the areas of transportation, education,

technical appliances, birth control, hygiene, nutrition, and medicine. Author finds that while technological change has freed women from some of their time consuming and onerous tasks, it has also curtailed their range of activities -- as, for instance, in the elimination of small-scale cottage industries that were a source of income. See annotation in Buvinic (12).

- (66) Watson, Hanan. "The role of women in a developing society. "Arab World 13 (February 1967) 3-6.

Article emphasizes dilemma faced by educated Muslim women: what appears to be an either/or choice between being a career woman or being a wife and mother.

- (67) Weisblat, A.M. "The role of rural women in development: a seminar report." New York: Agricultural Development Council, Research and Training Network, October 1975.

This article reports on a conference held by the Agricultural Development Council in 1975. It raises a number of policy questions, including (1) whether to promote cottage industries or promote fuller utilization of labor in agriculture; (2) how to increase female labor force participation without simply substituting "cheap" women workers for high paid male labor; (3) what policy measures (child care facilities for example) would ensure women a chance to exercise broader options; (4) how to relieve women from the drudgery of certain traditional productive activities (carrying water, for instance) while creating other opportunities for them to be productive.

It recommends further research on time allocation and the division of labor by sex: (1) to describe what women do, their relative access to services, training, credit, marketing, information; and how to allocate time among competing uses (marketing vs. child-rearing); (2) to increase understanding of the extent to which women's labor in and outside the home determines family productivity; (3) to illuminate constraints on women's productivity (and sources of these constraints); (4) to examine the degree to which removal of constraints might expand family production; (5) to suggest experimental program modifications to decrease constraints on family productivity; and (6) to study changes in one set of women's roles and how they affect other roles.

Article concludes with suggestions of three areas for new development programming for women: (1) income-generating activities (crops, crafts, service, labor); (2) income-utilizing activities (credit, consumer training); and (3) increasing organizational capacity (women's organizations, civic groups).

- (68) Youssef, Nadia H. "Social Structure and female labor force: the case of women workers in Muslim Middle Eastern countries." Demography 8 (November 1971) 427-39.

Systematic comparison of data on labor force participation of women in Chile and Mexico with data on women in the Muslim Middle East. Suggests that the reason for the low participation rates of women in the Middle East is related to traditional notions of honor and shame, and the need to keep women out of the public sphere.

- (69) Youssef, Nadia H. "Women and agricultural production in Muslim societies." Paper presented for the seminar on Prospects for Growth in Rural Societies: With or Without Active Participation of Women. Princeton: December 1974. Mimeo.

Author argues that women in Muslim countries do not have a historical tradition in farming and do not bring to this economic activity any special skill or talent. Author recommends that instead of teaching Muslim women to become farmers, rural women be provided with a specialized economic activity over which they could gain control. Author emphasizes rural industry, such as that already developed in Pakistan, Morocco and Iran, arguing that "the training of women for a specific specialization in the rural industries could in the long run prove to be economically productive for the community and even the entire nation" (p. 17). Author pulls together a variety of official data to document two important elements of female agricultural labor force participation: (1) most of the agricultural female labor force is under 15 years old; and (2) most of the female agricultural labor force are "unpaid family workers."

- (70) Youssef, Nadia H. "Women and Development: Urban Life and Labor." In Women and World Development (Item 54), pp. 70-77.

This paper outlines the rationale for integrating women into development ("only when women are fully utilized...will they be able to develop their total human potential and make their maximum contribution to society" (p. 70). Argues that "consideration must be given to the interdependence between any strategy aimed at integrating women into national development and the role and position they occupy in the family" (pp. 71-2).

- (71) Youssef, Nadia H. Women and Work in Developing Societies. Berkeley, CA: University of California, Population Monograph Series No. 15, 1974.

Careful analysis of the relationship between economic development and the degree of women's participation in the non-agricultural labor force. Compares countries of the Middle East and Latin America at similar levels of development but with different female employment rates, and concludes that social factors, not economic conditions, affect female employment. Suggests that "systems of social control" are major determinants in explaining labor force participation rate differentials between Middle East and Latin American countries.

- (72) Youssef, Nadia H. "Women's Status and fertility in Muslim countries of the Middle East and Asia." Prepared for the American Psychological Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana 1974. Mimeo.

Documents the low level of female labor force participation in the Middle East through careful culling of official statistics, and concludes that there will continue to be resistance to redefining those extra-familial roles that are acceptable and appropriate for women, even if women take advantage of the educational and employment opportunities now becoming available to them. Author sees little likelihood that fertility rates will decline without a redefinition of women's roles.

- (73) Youssef, Nadia H., and Audrey C. Smock. "The changing roles and status of women in Egypt," In Women and Society in International and Comparative Perspective. Item (21).

Although the rate of female illiteracy (especially in rural areas) is much higher than male illiteracy (67.5 percent for women 12 years and older, nationally; 90.7 percent in rural areas), and the rate of female employment (according to official statistics) very low (8.1 percent), economic changes in Egypt are forcing changes in traditional roles of women. Women's access to education is improving; women are increasingly active in non-traditional occupations, the age at marriage is rising, and there is increasing encouragement for women to seek jobs, thus to add to the family income. All this, the authors speculate, will decrease pressures on women to have many children.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Women in the Near East

The purpose of this bibliography is not only to provide a listing of the most recent published material on women of the Islamic Near East, but also to document just how voluminous that literature actually is. This bibliography has been restricted in a number of ways, both to make its size manageable, and to highlight the most readily available and pertinent sources. These restrictions include:

- an arbitrary 1970 cut-off date. Clearly, much was written on the subject prior to 1970, but any broader time frame would make the bibliography both unmanageable and repetitive of previous efforts to inventory the literature (Gulicks, al-Qazzaz, Rihani and Yehia, and Van Dusen, among others).
- only published material. At least half of the current work on women in the Near East is unpublished, either in the form of Ph.D. dissertations and Masters' theses, papers prepared for conferences, in-house documents of various development agencies, or privately-circulated draft articles.
- only works published in French or English. Clearly, to exclude works published in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, or Hebrew is to cut off some of the main sources of information and research on women in the Near Eastern region.
- only material narrowly focused on women and women's roles. There is a wealth of information on family, family law, family planning, and the like that is clearly related to the roles of women in the Near East. The bulk of those materials is excluded from this list. General ethnologies and other socio-cultural studies which treat women as part of the social system rather than as subjects of themselves are also excluded for the most part.

The reader is urged to consult other bibliographies on women of the Near East for annotations and for more complete coverage of the literature. It is expected that the reader will find that what remains in this bibliography even after all of the exclusions listed above, constitutes a rather impressive variety of material.

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