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in Indonesia: Selected Research
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By

HANNA PAPANÉK

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Progress since 1975:

The Contradiction between Special Programs and Policies

Since 1975, the U.N. resolution has shown itself useful to groups and individuals in many nations to legitimize programs for women and obtain funds for their development. New programs, new agencies, and new monitoring positions in national governments and international agencies, including the U.N. system, have been established. In many countries, private voluntary agencies have also developed programs to meet the needs of local women. Trade unions have organized special programs for self-employed poor women in India. Although most of the documentation for these programs is not easily available to scholars, because it is part of the information flow of non-academic institutions, some bibliographies, seminar reports, and research reports do provide some data. A proliferation of newsletters helps share some information.

In the United States, the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 called for "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." As a result, U.S. bilateral aid programs now show some interest in women's issues and a special Women in Development office has been established within A.I.D. Research and action programs have been initiated in the U.N. system, including several regional centers specifically devoted to women's issues. Within international agencies, such as the World Bank, special efforts have been made to sensitize planners to women's needs. If one examined only special programs and agencies, therefore, one might conclude that the "integration of women in development" is well advanced.

A major problem remains. As regional development programs in many countries have shown, remedial projects can be undercut by national policies. Although few local programs can be set up without some support from the national government, there may nevertheless be deep contradictions between the goals of local programs and those of national policies. For example, in

undivided Pakistan, special programs to benefit East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) were common before the independence of that part of the country. But the benefits of these programs were usually wiped out by the effects of national policies — such as an exchange rate that favored import-substituting industries (mainly located in West Pakistan) over export-oriented activities (mainly located in East Pakistan). By analogy, local programs may benefit women in the short run, particularly in a political sense, if they are enabled to develop their own interest groups as a result of such activities. But the economic effects of many programs can be wiped out by policy changes at the national level that appear to be unrelated to “women’s issues,” narrowly defined, but actually affecting women’s vital economic interests.

In Indonesia, for example, the by now well-known Timmer-Collier exchange illustrated the circuitous process by which the large-scale displacement of women from rice processing became more widely known as a serious labor problem. The introduction of even small Japanese rice-hulling mills resulted in the widespread displacement of workers who had previously hulled rice by laborious hand-pounding. All of these workers were women. Even though hand-pounding remains a domestic processing option, these women were no longer able to earn small regular sums from this work and found very few alternative sources of income.

Similarly, the displacement of harvesters using the *ani-ani* (finger-knife) may also affect women and children disproportionately. In various parts of the Southeast Asian region, finger-knives appear to be used in certain cropping patterns that make their use quite rational, so that their displacement by other tools cannot simply be seen as a sign of technological progress. Instead, it needs to be seen as part of overall changes in land and labor utilization, as many ongoing studies demonstrate. As far as women and children are concerned, however, the availability of substitute earning opportunities is the most important policy issue.

From a perspective focusing on factors involved in women’s interests in national development policies, the attempted integration of women in development appears to be an almost complete failure. Few development planners in national and international planning agencies seem to be trying to integrate ideas and data about women into their analytical models or in the planning process. Of course, adding another variable does make their work more complicated. But — in sharp contrast to the rapid growth of a scientific capacity in the field of development economics in the 1950’s and 60’s with the strong support of private and public funding agencies — there has been no comparable commitment to foster the growth of a specialized scientific capacity in development

planning for women that might make the work of planners a bit easier.

Few planners, male or female, are being trained for this specific task. Even fewer established research and policy-making institutions are undertaking research programs that would enable planners to implement policies that effectively meet the needs of planning for women. Instead of a thorough attempt to rethink development policies in terms of their relevance to differentiated groups, the integration of women in development has remained a matter of special local projects, usually isolated from broader national policies.

Scholars interested in research on women and development also face problems of access to the most relevant data, as already noted. Because of the proliferation of agencies concerned with women and development issues, and as a result of their project emphasis, few of the most important data-sources and analyses reach scholars interested in a particular country or region with an emphasis on women. The very institutions that should welcome the development of a scientific capacity to deal with complex planning issues that include women make it particularly difficult for scholars of any nationality to develop the kinds of detailed comparative research that are so badly needed. Although the field of development economics as a whole has been able to develop an infrastructure of scholarly communication, research on women is not well integrated into this body of information. Existing networks of communication and published analyses of material on women in different societies very often do not include development-oriented materials, nor is the participation of scholars in women and development research fostered by existing practices. As a result, the potential contribution of scholarly research on women in the development process is not being realized. Nor does the "traditional" interest group approach depend on the technical skills of planners and researchers.

The Traditional Approach: Remedial Action for Underprivileged Groups

In Indonesia, women's associations have long played important roles in the lives of individual women and in the political process, even though they have been almost completely neglected in the studies of Indonesian and western scholars. These associations are of several different organizational types (independent or affiliated with men's associations or parties) and in the nature and extent of their active political engagement. The extent of their political involvement has also changed over time, particularly in the last decade, following the abolition of women's groups affiliated with political parties, also abolished.

The balance between types of organizations has also changed in response

to altered political circumstances. For example, in recent years one of the most interesting developments has been the growth in size and importance of the many "wives' associations" attached to largely male associations or bureaucracies. Since the foundation of the Army Wives Association (*Persit*) in 1946, many other groups of this type have been set up — ranging from *Pertiwi* (Interior Ministry) to *I.K.W.I.* (Journalists' families). In several such associations, female employees are included along with the wives of male employees. In some, the organizational hierarchy of the women's association parallels the job hierarchy of the men's bureaucratic organization. The development of this kind of organization was significantly affected — according to participants — by Japanese occupation authorities who set up a wartime women's organization.

In spite of differences in structure, constituencies, ideology, and activities, however, the leading roles have generally been played by educated women from the middle and upper classes. Legal issues — perhaps reflecting the unique importance of the legal profession in Indonesian higher education and as a "suitable" profession for educated women — have been major points of mobilization for women's associations. The issue of marriage law reform, for example, goes back over fifty years to the first Indonesian Women's Congress in 1928. It has remained a major preoccupation of many women's groups in later decades and led to repeated attempts to reform a very complex set of laws. On the whole, the efforts have been very successful in mobilizing public sentiment around these issues. However, other political pressures have always superseded women's specific concerns, as was made clear in the negotiations over the 1973 Marriage Bill which resulted in a very different final product in the Marriage Law of 1974. Even more important for the majority of women, it is difficult to judge whether legal reforms have, in fact, been useful to reduce the high frequency of divorce and repudiation of wives in poor families with little access to the legal system.

In Indonesia, the inclusion of a new *Menteri Muda* for "Women's Affairs" in the new cabinet was announced on 29 March 1978. In describing the composition of this cabinet, Glassburner noted that of the six new "junior" ministries, ". . . two are 'non-technocratic' (Women's Affairs* and Youth Affairs), while the other four are in areas of very specific economic significance. These are Food Production, Cooperatives, Transmigration and People's Housing." In other words, the new Women's Affairs Ministry is conceptualized as a "political" unit, broadly defined, rather than as a technocratic part of the government. In

**Menteri Muda Urusan Peranan Wanita* or Associate Minister for Matters Concerning the Role of Women.

the terms used in this paper, it appears to be a "traditional" institution similar to the ministry established in Bangladesh at about the same time. The contrast between the two "non-technocratic" ministries and the four dealing with "areas of very specific economic significance" underlines the contrast I have drawn between the two distinct approaches to the integration of women in development — the more highly political process, well established in the region, to provide access to resources through existing institutions vis-a-vis the more technical process of including women's concerns in the formulation of development policies. Current research on women in Indonesia supports the argument that the more technical approach is needed to meet current development problems. This is the approach consistent with an emphasis on the distributive aspects of development, reaching sectors of the population on the basis of their need for additional resources.

Because of the prevailing emphasis of existing women's associations on change, modernization, education, and women's rights, it is hardly realistic to think of the two approaches to women and development policy formulation as being mutually exclusive. That is not my argument. Rather, the second, more technical approach should be specifically defined as not competing with existing activities but supplementing them, in the same ways that technical policy formulation in development is related to existing interest groups among men. In short, one of the major problems in women's "integration in development" is not the existence of women's interest groups organized around specific issues. It is, rather, the misperception that women form a single, undifferentiated social entity which may sometimes be fostered by an exclusive emphasis on women's interest groups. In development-related activities, moreover, family planning has focused on women as a single group — but more justifiably — because of the reproductive capacities of all women.

The misperception of women as a single group is further reinforced by the failure of many development-oriented researchers to examine critically those aspects of existing theories and methods in which various "hidden assumptions" about women are firmly entrenched. Such hidden assumptions, often generalized from personal experience, are deeply internalized; they are hard to disentangle from the rest of economics and sociology. For example, the idea that a family or household is an income-sharing unit tends to be taken for granted when it should be seen as a hypothesis to be tested under specific cultural and economic circumstances.

Similarly, the related idea that women have no independent economic interests but are, or should be, supported by men's earnings in intact family units is so deeply embedded as a normative statement in modern social science

that it continues to generate concepts and terms that are demonstrably inaccurate in many circumstances. The idea that women are only "supplementary earners" similarly has a very limited applicability yet is enshrined in theories of economic behavior. Many families all over the world are partly or wholly supported by women's earnings.

The terms "working" and "nonworking" women have nothing to do with work as such; properly speaking, they should be replaced by terms referring to participation in the paid labor force. These terms are examples of misplaced generalizations from particular historical experience by specific classes. Their continued application is not useful, as numerous critics from South and Southeast Asia have pointed out, especially in very different kinds of social and economic systems. The examination and refutation of some of these hidden assumptions has been undertaken in most of the scholarly publications on women based on economic, sociological, or anthropological studies of the past decade. More detailed summaries of this extensive literature are beyond the scope of this paper even though it may be useful to ask why these studies have not had wider impact on the ideas of other scholars.

It is reasonable to conclude that ideas generalized from personal experience are seen as so central and unique that they are rarely challenged. While this affects many kinds of ideas, it is particularly serious for ideas about categories of persons whose interests are not well represented among social scientists themselves but who figure large in their personal lives.

Women's Work:

A Crucial Issue in Development Research and Policy

Recent studies in Indonesia present an array of observations and analyses that advance us considerably toward a more differentiated view of women's work at various specified socioeconomic levels. One of the most significant conclusions from this body of research affects both women and men, but — because of women's greater involvement in housework, child care and related work — is particularly relevant to women's work. It is this: in order to survive, the poor engage in a much greater diversity of income-earning occupations than others. For example, in describing the economic activities of women and men in the central Javanese village of "Kali Loro," Stoler comments that poorer households who "generally have the largest labor inputs and lowest returns to labor in all activities are also engaged in the greatest diversity of occupations." Recent research supporting this point for women includes studies of women in the batik industry, women street traders, women inter-island traders, and Javanese village women. Other studies of the very poor in Jakarta, although not con-

fined to women suggest the possibility of a diversity of occupations but the methods of data collection used make it difficult to be sure.

In any case, it is well known that the pattern of a diversity of separately paid activities is also characteristic of professions and classes in Indonesia that do not share it in other societies. For example, Gray (1979) documents the astonishing array of payments and perquisites received by Indonesian civil servants whereas persons in similar positions in other bureaucracies tend to receive single salary payment for an array of different tasks.

Poor Indonesian women, therefore, probably represent an extreme form of diversification of tasks and payments – because they are poor, women, and Indonesian. This makes analysis and policy formulation particularly difficult for this sector. Perhaps because of this, recent studies of the earnings of the poor (in Indonesia and elsewhere) have concentrated on methods of data collection and analysis that do not rely on income measurement but on the observation or recall of particular tasks and the time spent on them. These methods, in spite of their tedium and complexity, are particularly important in studying the work of women – especially when single aggregate payments for such work do not exist but may, in fact, be integrated into payments to others or reflected in aspects of exchange systems in the society.

Class and Income Differences in Women's Work: Research and Policy Implications

The recent studies summarized in this section document what more casual observations have often found – women in many different Indonesian settings work hard, often in publicly visible places, and contribute significantly to family income.

These findings have clear policy implications. To put it briefly, poorer families are more dependent on women's earnings to survive while somewhat better-off families are more dependent on women's work for their welfare and social mobility. Among the poor, more households than among the better-off may be headed by women although the evidence on this point is only circumstantial.

Although development assistance often reaches all of the poor only with difficulty, measures that displace women from existing occupations without providing substitute earning opportunities are most harmful to the poor because they depend more on the earnings of women (and children). Administrative systems that limit women's access to resources are particularly harmful to the

poor. Policies that deliberately or accidentally favor the employment opportunities of men over women widen the income gap between rich and poor. And, as in other countries including the affluent, many people are poor because they are women.

Gillian Hart's (1978) study of time-allocation in a Javanese village provides data on the work of men, women and children. Time-allocation data do not, of course, correspond precisely to income data, in part because of income differentials between women and men, but comparisons between women's and men's work loads do suggest some conclusions regarding relative income contributed to the household. Within the village, there were striking differences between socioeconomic levels with respect to women's participation in earning activities. (This group included a few women who were very active traders; if they are eliminated from the calculations, time spent by non-trader women was much less.) In the lowest income group, on the other hand, women spent about as much time as men on earning activities. This included young girls who worked long hours, mainly seeding and watering sugar cane. Among better-off families, young girls spent very little time on either earning or housework, although young boys continued to do some work on "own production." In all groups, women did most of what was defined as housework. Among the poor, this meant about 30% of their working time; among better-off families, women spent as much as 60% of their smaller total of working hours on household work.

An additional factor in the extremely important role women's work and earnings play in Indonesia is the very high incidence of divorce and remarriage, particularly among Muslims in rural areas in Java.

A few statistics may indicate the extent of the divorce problem in Java. According to official registration figures, the ratio of *talak* to *nikah* (divorce to marriage) but excluding *rujuk* (reconciliations), was nearly 60% in West Java in 1961. By 1969, this ratio had dropped to 42%. East Java figures are comparable for this time period but, overall, registration figures indicated fewer divorces in cities than in rural areas. In the preceding decade, *talak/nikah* ratios averaged about 54% in the years 1955 to 1959; there is no corresponding information in official statistics for the 1960's.

Beyond the statistics, it is also reasonable to conclude that women suffer more from the effects of divorce, abandonment, and repudiation – particularly if they are poor. Given these high divorce frequencies, and even granting that remarriage is far more common and far more accepted than in other countries of the region, it is highly likely that *at any one time* many women and children are supported by women's earnings, at least among Muslims in Java. Studies of

domestic servants in cities would probably show a very high proportion among them to be women without men, supporting children. These burdens may be eased somewhat by the widespread shifting of children among households, even though formal adoption is still illegal for Muslims. The economic aspects of divorce, therefore, support the earlier argument — that development policies that deprive women of earning opportunities hurt the poor more than the rich.

Two additional factors, beyond the two just discussed, affect women's earnings: *status differences* and *occupational segregation*. Like the *relative importance of women's earnings* among the poor and better off and the consequence of "*family reorganization*" for women, these are important world-wide phenomena that take a specific form in Indonesia, as illustrated by brief references to current research.

Stoler's (1975) analysis of rice harvesting in central Java shows the importance of status. Harvesters who worked in neighbors' fields received larger shares (*bawon*) in return than others, who may be landless laborers from far away. This is reciprocal, for "if they invite their neighbors to harvest, they and their household members will be assured the right to harvest on others' land, thereby spreading their risks." In other words, status differences, based on land ownership, lead to differences in returns to labor.

In the same village, there is also some evidence of occupational segregation, the second major point affecting women's work and earnings. Farm wage labor for men is "less common and has somewhat different and lower status (perhaps connected with its lower wages)" but ". . . women from many households would not 'lower themselves' by hiring themselves out as farm laborers."

Occupational segregation — specific men's and women's jobs — is particularly important in manufacturing and service occupations. Its world-wide importance, regardless of type of economic and political organization, has been documented in many studies in North America, USSR and Israel. These studies take the institutional approach, arguing that occupational segregation is a structural feature of labor markets rather than inherent in the capacities or training of the workers themselves. As these studies show, women workers, particularly in "women's occupations," earn significantly less than men in similar jobs or in tasks defined as "men's jobs."

In Indonesia, a still unpublished study of the *batik* industry in central Java documents occupational segregation in great detail. Developed as an art form and method of production particularly suited to women, controlled initially by

women of the Sultanate courts, and today still largely in the hand of high-status female entrepreneurs, batik making employs thousands of women in workshops and homes in Surakarta and surrounding villages. But women workers have been seriously affected by changes in textile import policies and technological innovations. Hand block-printing methods (*cap*) are used in workshops and factories largely employing men although women may also work there. In one particular method, the less skilled young men are paid much higher daily wages than skilled women who used to do this work. Women who make the elaborate and expensive hand-painted (*tulis*) cloths are apparently paid much less than workers in the *cap* workshops. *Tulis* work is also produced by village women in their homes for workshops in the city, usually one piece at a time. Since many thousands of women are involved, many of them supplementing meager agricultural incomes, research into the causes of these wage discrepancies might be very important to prevent further impoverishment of women. In this case, the "dual labor market analysis" may be more useful than the "human capital" approach since the difference in skills seems clearly to favor the women.

An important issue in the batik industry, as in many other cases, is the effect of technological innovation on women's work. The most common assumption is that technology displaces workers in the least skilled, lowest paid occupations, which are often those held by women. The introduction of new technology then creates new jobs, often held by men. On occasion the pattern has been reversed -- for example, the invention of the typewriter redefined clerical work as a women's occupation, leading to large-scale displacement of male clerks.

A final point related to women's work is the importance of formal education. It is likely that the relationship between women's education and employment is different in Indonesia and the region from prevailing patterns in affluent industrial countries. Studies in India, for example, indicate an overall decline in women's participation in the labor force since 1921, although there has been an expansion in women's education since Independence (1947) particularly in the middle classes. Indian researchers conclude that "while illiteracy drives many out of employment, education does not necessarily lead to their employment."

According to a recent analysis of Indonesian data: ". . . increased educational opportunities have raised employment opportunities for men (but) for Indonesian women, although the doors toward education have also opened, wider employment opportunities have remained limited." Oey (1979) finds that, although there have been greater increases in literacy among women than

among men in the past decade, most of the increased female labor force still consists of "unpaid family workers." As levels of education increased, according to the 1971 Census, employment levels declined for both men and women, but the decline is much sharper for women. In the present labor force, 60% of women but only 34% of men had no formal education at all, according to Oey's analysis.

'Data Sources on Women's Work in Indonesia

Anticipating the effects of the development policies on women's work also requires adequate data, even if these are no more precise than the information used in other aspects of development planning. As already discussed, however, new concepts must be part of the rethinking of information gathering procedures and analyses to make them applicable to women's work.

Indonesia shares with other countries of the region a very mixed heritage of data collection methods and available statistics. As indicated by two unpublished surveys of data sources (Milone 1978; Moir, forthcoming), only some of the available data sets on the labor force contain adequate information on women. These surveys should be particularly useful to all researchers interested in integrating more data on women into their studies of Indonesia; the Milone survey includes a massive bibliography on women in Indonesia.

Above all, analysis of already existing data must be emphasized over the collection of additional statistical materials, according to the Milone survey. As one summary of that survey states, "Indonesia, if anything, is suffering from a glut of unprocessed data" (Turbitt 1978). Although this is a more general problem it may be particularly serious for research on women because of the hidden assumptions that have hampered the collection and analysis of adequate data in the past. The Milone survey also suggests the development of an experimental "module" on women for household surveys. In this connection, it would be particularly useful to examine the experience of the Census of India with household surveys and to find out whether any of the large international organizations, such as the I.L.O. or the F.A.O., might be appropriate organizations to undertake the development of such a module.

However, in addition to improving the quality of aggregate data analysis, new ways of looking at women's work must also be developed. In the next section, I propose an approach that focuses on the overall economic consequences of women's work for the family.

Social Mobility and Women's Work: "Family Status Production"

Ideas for a reformulation of the analysis of women's work emerged from a study of urban women in the middle strata of Jakarta's population, building on an earlier analysis of women's work in South Asia and North America.

The in-depth study of a limited sample of 146 women, some in full-time jobs, some not, was intended to explore many aspects of women's personal and family lives. Our initial reports on this study have stressed overall relationships between specific independent variables and their effects on fertility. Further explorations of this material will concentrate on the patterns by which these factors are related in the lives of individual women.

Women of the middle strata were chosen because social mobility was a factor that interested us, in part also because such women are presumably part of an "ideal" style of life that modernizers wish to make more widely available. We also hoped to learn about some of the stresses of modern urban life in Indonesia. As we had expected, the family's social position was a recurrent — though implied — factor in many of the interviews, as shown in the women's concerns over their children's education and future occupation, family income, inflation, and how to earn extra income in a variety of ways.

The idea of family status production builds on these concerns and their social and economic significance. As I have tried to define it, family status is "produced" by several distinctive categories of women's work. In addition, family status is also "demonstrated" by women's behavior which may also affect the types of work chosen. Family status is conceptualized as an intervening variable in the analysis of work and its rewards, so that women's status-producing activities may eventually be rewarded through enhanced earnings by other members of the income-sharing group. The idea of family status production, therefore, specifically emphasizes the economic *consequences* of women's work, rather than direct rewards.

Three basic assumptions underlie the idea: 1) relationships between members of a social system, such as the household, affect the flow of resources into the system and their distribution within it; 2) in social systems whose members are bound by strong emotional bonds, such as love among kin or sexual partners, the economic consequences of work performed by one member may be shown in diffuse rewards to the group as a whole without disrupting its unity; 3) these relationships can be "captured" by other social systems, such as employing institutions, for their own benefit, such as obtaining the labor of others

in the group.

The categories of family status production work that were clearly illustrated in the Jakarta study included: 1) work done on behalf of, or in connection with, the paid work of other family members — food preparation for co-workers or hired staff, entertainment, clerical work, care of required work clothing or uniforms, care of the workplace — but for which no direct payment is received; 2) care of children's health, appearance, language training, education, in status-appropriate ways; 3) collection and dissemination of information relevant to the family's position in the community or reference group — the "politics of status maintenance" — and arrangement of marriages, "gossip," etc.; and 4) maintenance of the family's ritual status through religious ceremonies, *selamatan*, church attendance, prayer, etc.

All of these activities require expenditure of time and energy. They are part of more complex work processes, resembling the social structure of work processes in bureaucratic or "productive" institutions, but extending over home and workplace rather than remaining within a single institutional setting.

The economic consequences of family status production work by women may include enhanced payments for men's work, improved educational and occupational access by children, better chances for advantageous marriages — in addition to the increased well-being which women's work in the home can produce under certain circumstances. The most relevant factor associated with the conditions under which family status production is possible seems to be the ability of the income-sharing household to live according to shared aspirations on the earnings of *fewer than all* members, freeing some to do something else. For example, the increase in the proportion of total work time devoted to housework in Hart's (1978) study suggest this process among women of families self-sufficient in rice.

The concept of status production is also useful in understanding women's propensities to enter the paid labor force. As studies of very poor families in Indonesia make clear, all members of such families seek to earn from a great variety of activities. Because of the lower wages they command, women and children may even seek a greater variety of occupations.

But among families that can live satisfactorily on the earnings of fewer than all household members, women's opportunity costs cannot be conceptualized as being zero, even if a large household provides child care and substitute services for women holding outside jobs. The status-production work that is foregone because of limited time and energy may be a significant trade-off

against the earnings from an outside job.

Moreover, as the existence of a segmented labor market shows in the values and beliefs that serve to maintain it, many jobs are not considered "suitable" for women of particular class or educational backgrounds. Taking an "unsuitable" job then means a status loss for the family, to be offset against the gain from earnings. Some status losses may be very serious, if they mean consequent loss of access to credit or influence, the failure of negotiations for a marriage, etc. These considerations may be more important in South Asia, where many women are limited in their public contacts by the rules of *purdah* (seclusion).

Status-production work may also be an important consideration in decisions affecting the employment of educated women. For many such women, the earnings from available jobs may not offset the gains to be obtained from status production or the status loss incurred by taking an unsuitable job. The dynamics that are involved almost certainly vary according to levels of education achieved, as well as socio-economic class, as well as a host of more individual differences. Among women with very little education, economic rather than educational factors may determine entry into the labor force, while the reverse is more likely for very highly educated women. In the middle strata, family status considerations may be most relevant.

Conclusion

In short, concepts that link women's activities in several social institutions — family, workplace, school — are needed as much as more accurate data to explain the specific choices made by women of different classes about work and its rewards. Whether these concepts include the idea of family status-production work, or take another form, it should be clear from the studies discussed here that "women-specific" models are needed to gain an understanding of the social, economic, and political processes associated with development.

As I have argued in the first part of this paper, "traditional" institutions such as women's associations or women's bureaus have generally proceeded through the political process of mobilizing constituencies, obtaining specific changes in legal or educational institutions accessible to these same constituencies. In Indonesia, women's associations have had a long history of successful, but limited, action on a number of issues.

However, these traditional institutions are not sufficient for the purpose of development planning, even though they may be necessary pressure groups

to begin the process. Development planning for women requires technical skills in the collection and analysis of information on a wide variety of issues, rather than a process of limited advocacy for specific changes.

As I hope to have indicated by a brief survey of relevant recent research, centering on the issue of women's work in Indonesia, it is impossible to isolate factors in economy or society that have an exclusive impact on women in order to design a limited program to change them. Among the specific issues mentioned in the survey of research on women's work, the most important were 1) the effect of class differences on women's relative contributions to family income, 2) occupational segregation and its effects on women's earnings, 3) consequences of divorce and abandonment for women supporting families without the help of men, 4) the impact of technological change, and 5) the relationship between education and employment for women. The most important policy implications of findings in all these areas are that since poor families are more dependent on women's earning to survive, they are also most seriously hurt by the displacement of women from earning opportunities without provision of adequate substitutes. Development policies that hurt women damage the poor more than the rich.

In other words, a much more complex process than advocacy on limited issues is required that is technical rather than political, in the broadest sense of the term. Given the political will and the technical competence, it may be possible to foster the scientific capacity, world-wide, that is required to think about the differences that development implies for women and men of different socioeconomic classes. With the improvement of available concepts, analytical strategies, and data-collection tactics, researchers and program planners may be able to provide the ideas that — translated into concrete political realities — may bring the "integration of women in development as equal partners with men" a little closer to realization.