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REPORTS FROM COPENHAGEN

Summaries and Impressions by  
Participants  
in the NGO Forum

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## PREFACE

The Non-Governmental Forum held in Copenhagen July 14-30, 1980 was as essential to the celebration of the mid-point of the Decade for Women as the official World Conference of the UN Decade for Women. Each of the conferences was designed to discuss substantive problems relating particularly to the employment, education, and health of women around the world. Such discussion took place in goodly measure despite the prominence at both conferences of issues relating to the North-South debate. The amount of detail funneled into meetings at each setting was prodigious. The official UN conference with its many support staff has produced not only a World Programme of Action and 48 resolutions, but also a small library of background documents. This collection is meant to provide modest documentation of some of the discussions at panels which took place at the NGO Forum.

The plethora of panels made any attempt at overall coverage impossible. However, EPOC identified a small group of people attending the conference who were willing to take notes and write commentary on panels they attended. These reports were not intended to be exhaustive, and are all the more interesting for the views which the authors express. Where possible, they contain the names and organizations of people active in the discussions, who could be contacted for additional information and networking. They start with my overview article which includes some detail of a wide range of panels. Three reporters have concentrated on educational issues; the insights of a feminist male are particularly interesting. EPOC intern Cindy Tutrone attended many of the health panels and gives us a student's view of the conference. Maria Riley of the Center of Concern has produced an analytical report of the conference with a focus on employment issues.

We hope this collection will be of use to activists, scholars, and historians as well as to women planning future international conferences. To enhance the value of these observations, we are collecting reports and articles written by other participants of the Copenhagen conferences. We solicit additions from participants around the world. The current list of these reports is included at the end of the EPOC collection.

Irene Tinker, Director

## REPORT ON THE NGO FORUM

by Irene Tinker

### The Forum and the Tribune

The NGO Forum held in Copenhagen in connection with the World Conference for the UN Decade of Women was a kaleidoscopic reflection of the state of the women's movement in the world today. Compared to Mexico City's Tribune, however, the Forum seemed unfocused and diffuse. This reflects the upwelling of women's groups on every possible subject, from cross-cutting issues on education or health or unemployment, to the special concerns of the Ukrainian women, or issues concerning the inclusion of women's studies in academic curriculum.

In Mexico City, the focus was clearly on developmental issues, though peace and equality are listed as issues of similar concern. The question of peace was not seen solely as a women's issue. Equality before the law had been widely achieved in terms of voting rights and citizenship; the new emphasis on absolute equality as envisioned by the Equal Rights Amendment had not yet become a worldwide issue. Further, the NGO Tribune was held in Mexico, itself a developing country. The majority of participants came from Mexico or Latin America, although the number of women from the United States was quite significant. On the whole at that time, American women were new to international affairs and in the responsive mode; few panels or discussions focused on specific concerns of the US women's movement.

Also, the Mexico and Copenhagen conferences were a physical contrast. The medical center in Mexico City used by the Tribune is a large complex of three major auditoriums, all equipped with simultaneous translation equipment. A walk-way circled these auditoriums and led to many smaller meeting rooms. Just being there guaranteed that you ran into people sitting on the chairs in the walk-way. All of the activities were held in this one location. In Copenhagen, the NGO Forum was held at the Bella Center of the university, a one- and two-story rambling series of classrooms and courtyards with no physical center. Only one room at the Center was equipped with translation capabilities and had seating capacity for only about 250 people. The larger auditorium, seating 600 to 700, where translation was also possible, was a bus ride away at a library. The almost indigestible number of panels and the lack of a physical focus meant that there was little interaction among the participants. Furthermore, many of the Danish and northern European women who came attended panels discussing issues of women in industrialized countries and, therefore, did not overlap much with the international meetings. There were fewer numbers of women from the Third World. Most were sponsored by an organization, whether the DANIDA, Danish Aid Group, or the National Council of Negro Women. There was a tendency for those women who came together to stay together, which further reduced mixing. The women from French- or Spanish-speaking countries had very little opportunity to talk with the predominantly English-speaking participants, and again tended to stay by themselves.

The open system of accepting panels led to this diffusion and lack of focus. Most groups interested in presenting panels wrote before the meeting to the National Secretariat in New York to ensure their panels were listed in the program. The Forum lasted ten days--with its opening ceremony held Monday morning, July 14th. The original panels listed in the newspaper produced at the Forum numbered perhaps twenty in each of three daily time periods. There were probably as many informal panels advertised by various sub-groups, such as Valencia or the Exchange. In addition, there were groups that held their own meetings such as the KULU group, the women-in-development group of Denmark which conducted a pre-conference seminar and continued its meetings throughout most of the Forum.

Types of issues and audience participation varied greatly according to topics. For example, a person attending peace-related panels found them dominated by Eastern European women, both NGOs and members of their country delegations to the UN Conference. These women, however, were not seen at the European-centered discussions on old age or women in the future. Many Women's Studies panels were dominated again by the North, with some participation by Asians but very little by Africans and Latin Americans. I think it is important to note that even the terminology used in panel titles was a signal directing women to one type of panel or another. Certain code words: exploitation, liberation, policy, predicted whether the audience would be composed mainly of participants from developed or developing countries.

There was a daily newspaper, but complaints from the beginning were that it was dominated by unsympathetic men, that its coverage was fairly minimal, and that there were a few favorite women who seemed to be interviewed often. On the other hand, it was virtually impossible for any one group to cover all that was going on. There was very little information available for participants, much less for the general press, which appeared only a few times, and then essentially gave up covering the Forum.

Predictably, early in the first week there was a sense of frustration among activists and a desire among them to do something. There was an impromptu meeting called at noon on Thursday, July 17, focusing around the slogan "Women Count, Count Women's Work." Those attending suggested a march on Monday at 3:30 p.m. They planned to demand plenary time at the United Nations to discuss issues raised at the Forum; and to request that an international tribunal hear reports of crimes against women and compose an international code of conduct concerning crimes against women. In addition to these demands aimed at the UN, they requested from the NGO organizers of the Forum that more translation be available, more discussion be encouraged in the panel sessions, and that summaries of the panels be made available.

Also at that meeting were several women from Bolivia where a coup had just thrown out the woman prime minister. Focused as this group was on a specific issue, and aware of the publicity it might get from marching on the plenary though realizing they would have no impact on the UN, this

group led by the Bolivians did march on Monday to the Bella Center. The leader was received inside but did not speak at the plenary session. It was an excellent PR job.

On the other hand, the women concerned with affecting the UN realized that their sense of frustration had little relationship to the debate at the Bella Center. The spark to do something was led predominantly by American, English and Danish women. They themselves realized, however, that their action was not adequately representative of the women at the Forum. On the previous Friday, some women had tried to push their way into the Bella Center to demonstrate and had been repulsed with one of them turning an ankle. The press picked this up as police brutality. These activities made many women realize the unrealistic expectations of many others at Copenhagen and therefore intended to diffuse any generalized march on the UN.

It may be recalled that there was a similar upwelling in Mexico City with the NGO participants studying the Plan of Action and making recommendations. Helvi Sipila, Secretary General of the IWY Conference, went to the Tribune to meet with the NGO leaders; a select group also went to see her at the official conference. The organizers of that demonstration clearly did not understand that the time-frame at the UN conference and their recommendations were out of phase. The fact that the World Plan of Action was never thoroughly discussed in Mexico made the whole point somewhat irrelevant anyhow.

Three panels on women and their health. As a follow-up of the International Symposium on Women and Their Health (ISWTH) which the Equity Policy Center sponsored at a conference center outside Washington, D.C., in June 1980, EPOC held three panels at Copenhagen on Women and Their Health. These panels were designed to build on each other and culminate in additional recommendations for the Symposium's final report. The first session on Wednesday, July 16, was entitled, "Interventions for Women and Their Health." This panel presented information for the benefit of those with little background in the subject about four different problems concerning women's health: village health workers, village water supply, female circumcision, and sex education. Leela Jayasekara discussed how the Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka recruited and trained young women to act as village health workers. All women recruited for this effort must have at least one year of experience in the village school. The Sarvodaya movement then gives them the training while the village itself is expected to raise 100 rupees a month to support them. Until recently, much of the support had come from making of handicrafts, but with the export-free zone rivalling most of the goods that can be made by hand, there is concern that the handicraft market will no longer be profitable.

The focus of village health workers is basic sanitation such as boiling water. They try to use children in the day care centers as teachers for their mothers, finding that this may work better than having a young girl instructing the mothers. Mary Elmendorf, an EPOC associate who had recently

been in Sri Lanka working on water and sanitation projects, spoke of her experience there and in the Yucatan where young women are also being trained as agents for health and family planning. Her paper entitled, "Women, Water and Waste: Beyond Access" was available to participants.

Marie Assaad from Egypt gave a measured discussion about the problems of female circumcision in North and East Africa, and her opinion of what should be the response of the developed countries. Female circumcision was a "hot" issue at the Forum. Marie Assaad and other women from the LDCs were eloquent in persuading the women of the more developed countries that this was a problem that women from affected countries must deal with themselves. However, she said, "Activity starts with information," complimenting the Americans who had brought the issue to the fore. A film showing an actual coeducational class in Jamaica being taught sex education was presented by the filmmaker Bettina Corke, an EPOC associate and president of Design Media.

The two consecutive sessions of the health panels on Thursday, July 17, focused more on the Symposium report; 250 copies of the interim report were distributed at the Forum. During the morning session, five of the women who attended the Symposium presented their conclusions to an audience of about 100 women and men. The five were Marie Assaad, Isabel Nieves, Sevgi Aral, Leela Jayasekara and Mary Hollnsteiner. In addition, Luz-Helena Sanchez and Mary Guinan were in the audience and also participated in the discussion which followed the presentations.

Marie Assaad reviewed the special protection needed by women using pesticides for agricultural crops and noted that occupational hazards for women in factories are often greater than for men. For example, women are occupationally segregated in many new industries and often work at machines designed for large men.

Mary Hollnsteiner and Isabel Nieves spoke of the cycle of malnutrition affecting poor women around the world. "It makes no sense to intervene only in one section of the cycle" said Ms. Nieves, referring to the usual nutritional programs which are aimed more at the child than the mother. The causes of poverty which result in malnutrition are part of the context of health improvement and cannot be ignored.

An almost-never-discussed health problem of women, that of sexually transmitted diseases, was covered. Gonorrhoea, chlamydia, genital herpes, and other infections affect millions of women every year, in both developed and developing countries. Due to inadequate health education and care, these infections are not diagnosed in time and women are often not treated, resulting in major surgery, ectopic pregnancies, involuntary sterility, and even death. The incidence of sexually transmitted diseases is rising; women of all groups are at risk. Sevgi Aral of Egypt, currently working with the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia, urged that this problem, often surrounded by taboos, be openly discussed so that it can be recognized and treated.

Health workers of the Sarvodaya movement are village women chosen by the village itself. Leela Jayasekara described this process and the problem of reward or pay for such workers in her country and elsewhere. Salary tends to turn workers into bureaucrats, and often leads to transfers away from the villages. On the other hand, small payments only may result in a status so low that no one will listen to the advice given. Other rewards of status were suggested such as travel to meetings. Panelists and audience alike felt strongly that local women should be trained, but encouraged to remain in their local area. However, Nita Barrow of the World Council of Churches and the Christian Medical Mission reminded the group that village programs do not take the place of hospitals which are needed for the truly ill.

A series of presentations by women involved in health delivery who were not at the EPOC Symposium added to the discussion. Edna Ismael of Somalia focused on health problems of the poor, which she feels are aggravated by ignorance, and particularly by faulty dietary habits. For example, a spoon of oil at birth often can lead to the infant's death. Also, one of the favorite ways of treating a cough is to put too much heat on the chest, causing burns. Edna Ismael also mentioned the problems of female circumcision, and agreed with Marie Assaad that the most constructive help from the West would be to work with existing women's organizations and assist them in providing background information.

Dr. Chang Li Ju from Peiping noted that the Chinese emphasize preventative medicine and combine health efforts with the mass movement. In particular, the Chinese have attempted to rid the country of mosquitoes, flies, rats and bedbugs, and have concentrated on improving the water supplies by better control of waste. They are trying to unite traditional Chinese medicine with techniques of the West; she herself uses acupuncture as anesthesia though she was trained in the West. Herbal medicines are also widely used. She emphasized that "self-conceit has nothing to do with self-reliance."

Bertha Johnson from Northern Nigeria discussed health problems in a society where seclusion is still the norm. Women are often prevented from seeing a male doctor. Even taking a child to the doctor may require a husband's permission. Clinics may be too far away for women to travel alone; and women seldom have money with which to buy medicines, even when they are available. Johnson also noted that the lack of water kept dentists from working in many areas.

The Delhi group in Costa Rica has been utilizing radio to alert women to health needs. Isabel Acuña also described the use of cassette tapes by women's groups; these tapes give detailed information about specific issues and are used by young female auxiliary health workers as well as community volunteers selected by their peers for special training. Acuña said that while Costa Rica had sufficient water sources, there was a growing problem of contamination.

In the general discussion it became clear that the problem of clean water is universal. Mary Hollnsteiner recalled how a group of women in the Tondo squatter area of Manila made city planners respond to their demand for more water taps. The women descended on the local office one day with their children and their dirty clothes, and proceeded to wash both right there. The next day they got their water tap!

Mental stress of poor women is often neglected as health delivery schemes focus on disease. Many examples of the burdens of women, the double day of women as workers and mothers, the extra drudgery of fetching water and fuel, were recounted. Lessening the workload is imperative, but so is the recognition of stress. Women in refugee camps and resettlement areas are particularly deprived of their usual support networks.

The only contentious issue related to contraception. Several Latin American women supported the view that drug companies used Third World women as guinea pigs and so opposed the use of contraceptives such as Depo-provera which have not been accepted for use in the United States. A woman from Ghana countered this by objecting to the decision of USAID not to distribute Depo-provera in her country when the Ghanaian doctors attested to its safety. Overall it was agreed that contraception was not completely safe, but that it was generally safer than pregnancy. There was consensus that women should be the ones to make decisions over their own bodies, not governments or drug companies or husbands.

From this wide-ranging discussion came a series of recommendations which will be included in the final report of the ISWTH:

- that an international health standard be developed for the distribution of contraceptives and other drugs;
- that national governments be urged to nominate women to the national planning committees for the UN Decade of Water, 1980-1990;
- that organizations serving refugee camps be requested to provide help to women for mental stress as well as primary health care.

Library symposiums. Because of the fairly large audience and the availability of translation equipment, most of the sessions at the library were characterized by political interventions only indirectly related to the subject at hand. Statements made tended to reflect the following opinions:

- there is no discrimination against women in socialist countries;
- the Iran revolution has freed women, rather than otherwise. Wearing of the cha'dor is liberating because it means not dressing for men;

- the rights of Palestinian women must be respected, and Palestine must be given a homeland;
- Zionism is racism; Israel is a colonial country standing in the way of Palestine liberation;
- the only solution for apartheid is revolution.

Edith Valentine, chair of the International League of Peace and Freedom and chair of CONGO (Council of Non-Governmental Organizations) in Geneva, chaired the opening session. The first group of speakers included Lis Ostergaard, Minister of Cultural Affairs in the Danish government who offered to take any NGO ideas to the floor of the Conference. Lucille Mayer, Secretary General of the Conference, cautioned against expecting total agreement or consensus. She noted that women are often the first victims of a deteriorating international situation. She reflected on the importance of the role of NGOs, since any plan of action which relies on governments for implementation would not get very far. Also speaking was Karen Utting, the president of the Danish National Council for Women, and Kirsten Jorgensen, founder in 1976 of KULU, the Danish women-in-development group.

Next, women representing four international organizations from Ghana, Australia, Japan and Chile greeted the session. Hatsui Ado, representing the Business and Professional Women of Japan, received a round of applause when she noted that the 1983 meeting of the International BPW in Japan will not allow South Africans to attend as long as apartheid exists. Vini Burros sang an old song urging women to "take your sisters' hands" to solve world problems, especially apartheid. The enthusiasm produced from that song was pierced by a lecture from Elizabeth Palmer, organizer of the meeting, telling those in the hall not to attend subsequent sessions so that those who had been unable to get in for the opening would have first rights at the next sessions. The scolding dissolved the meeting, and people left feeling rather disheartened. Many of the women who had been unable to get inside the hall were not only annoyed, but did not come back. Thus, few subsequent sessions were completely full.

Workshops: Appropriate technology. UNICEF sponsored a series of panels on appropriate technology for women in the Third World. There was one room where mechanical models were displayed, some to scale and some in miniature, of pumps, mills, pressing machines, and the like. The coffee growers in Colombia emphasized teaching their members non-traditional skills and house-building. In addition, they were taught how to convert cookie tins to ovens. Marie Therese Ngom from Senegal noted that many women continue to live in a non-technical society, recalling a 1977 survey in eleven countries.

The point was also made that technology usually has pros and cons. For example, mabati tin roofs have been celebrated as a developmental tool, since collecting water on them relieves women of much time and allows them

to earn money in other pursuits. Yet tin roofs are hotter than thatch. Several African women were amazed to see thatch still used in Denmark!

Women in the future. There was no official facilitator at this workshop, making it more disorganized than most. All participants were from the North, and their focus seemed to be primarily on the upcoming year or two, rather than on the long-term. Issues raised included technology and society as male constructs, the need for fathers to participate in home-making, and the need to change the "fascist" family. "Fascist" family meant to the speaker: women back to the kitchen. The issue of battered women also came up. The level of background was clear when several women asked for basic reading which included works by Simone de Beauvoir. The topic clearly excited many of the people at the meeting and should have been better handled.

Women and global corporations. Saralee Hamilton from the Friends' Service Committee and Anita Anand from the Methodist Committee gave well-researched reports about the impact on women due to expansion in the Third World of multinational corporations. Helen Safa, who has studied women workers in textile factories, described her work in Latin America and the United States. Despite the fact that new industries provided jobs for women, the expansion of multinationals in developing countries was seen as subjecting women to exploitation. Specific issues of breast feeding and child care arrangements to allow women to continue working were also discussed.

Arab women. This unscheduled panel on Arab women was put together by the Association of Arab Women Scientists. Panelists were: Naima Al Shaygi, from Kuwait; Nahla Haidar-Hamdan, from Democratic Yemen; Aisha Almaneh, from Saudi Arabia and Boulder, Colorado; and Farida Allagi, from Libya and Fort Collins. The first two women are in the UN Secretariat, the other two are scholars in the States. By their presence and discussions, they were attempting to show that Arab women are indeed liberated. For example, Almaneh argued that Koranic schools were co-ed when she was young. She also argued that seclusion is new, not characteristic of nomadic society. Allagi discussed wide attitudinal variations concerning women's roles in the different countries.

Women's studies. The series of panels relating to women's studies were organized with resource people rather than with speakers, and covered a wide variety of academic issues. A sampling suggests there is still a focus on the underlying value and social structures which created Western educational systems. In this sense, Women's Studies in the States can be seen as ethnocentric. The narrowness of appeal to LDC women was reflected in attendance.

Feminist models of development. Speakers in this panel viewed government and development as controlled by patriarchy, but did not agree on an alternative. Emphasis was on the creation and use of surplus. Vina Mazumdar argued that women create surplus which men use. Nalini Singh emphasized that patriarchy is political power, decisions about who will use the surplus. An argument was made that women-in-development is a

Band-aid approach, a micro approach, and does not get at the causes of poverty. In this view, WID is seen as anti-historical in that it ignores colonialization, who owns the resources or who gains, and ignores both the family and the educational system. Tinker argued that women-in-development was in fact a challenge to the value structure: as appropriate technology challenges the basic beliefs of science, and as basic human needs challenge the values of economic development, women-in-development issues challenge distribution within the family. It is a challenge to societal structures and to inequity between the sexes, but not on the face of it a challenge to poverty issues. Nevertheless, focus on the poorest women does begin to challenge the economic system.

Integrating women into development. Panelists were Gayla Cook, Peggy Antrobus, Irene Tinker and Elizabeth O'Kelly. Brenda McSweeney and Peg Snyder were in the audience, as well as several representatives of MATCH. Strategies for including women in development programs were discussed. Generally it was agreed that methods must be adapted to the situation. Funds are particularly crucial so that the Voluntary Fund and MATCH were lauded. The Fund was established by the UN following the Mexico Conference. MATCH is a Canadian matching of women's groups in the LDCs and Canada so that support and information can flow between them.

Additional Remarks: Politics versus substance. A major difference between Mexico and Copenhagen was the extent to which the politics of the UN Conference pervaded the NGO Forum. In 1975 there was hope that both conferences could focus world attention on the special needs of women. In fact, the UN Conference became embroiled in the first major discussion of equating Zionism to racism. Most women on the delegations felt they must break out of the political mold in order to pass the World Plan of Action, which was finally done at the last moment. Certainly, at the Tribune, there were debates about freedom for the Rumanian prisoners and a great deal of discussion about the dictatorship in Chile. These were partisan, by particular national groups, rather than cohesive North-South discussions.

In Copenhagen the idea that women should talk about women's needs alone was rejected by many. The idea that women should be told they should not discuss political affairs was an anathema to many. Indeed, most of the African women discussing apartheid had trouble remembering to talk about the special problems of women under apartheid. Even more, a discussion of Palestinian women was a discussion of the PLO, of Palestine and the Israeli reaction. As many women said, we must have freedom first.

It was a debate and complaint in Mexico that many of the developing countries were saying we must be developed before we can worry about equity within the countries. The discussion was not so divided at Copenhagen. Generally speaking, everyone accepted the idea that there must be equity between nations and within nations, but there must be nations first.

Because the major issue was the PLO and the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation, the whole debate was exacerbated by a special session held

simultaneously in New York to condemn Israel for proclaiming Jerusalem permanent Israeli territory. The Iraqis had brought a youth band to a meeting in Copenhagen the previous week. This group marched up and down the university halls stopping outside selected panels and disrupting them. There was no doubt that the Arab contingents were well financed and very evident. The Israeli women were surprisingly defensive on women's issues, such as the fact that abortion is not allowed in the country.

On the whole, the political discussions and presentations at the library and in many of the panels were dominated by Palestinian women attacking the Israelis. The level of tension and acrimony mounted noticeably toward the end of the Forum. Anti-Zionism spilled over to become anti-Semitism, pervading and souring many of the final panels. Essentially, black Americans as well as the Africans joined with the Arabs and other Islamic women to condemn first Israel and then South Africa and to argue the solution was the obliteration of both countries. Frequently, multinationals were seen as the supporters of both countries, and they too should be tamed. This led, particularly in the official conference, to an anti-Americanism for supporting Israel and the multinationals. Altogether it was not a comfortable conference for Americans.

The U.S. delegation held frequent debriefing meetings with representatives of U.S. NGOs. The first one was held on Monday, July 14, where many of the 37 delegates to the Conference were introduced. By the following week, the political issues had taken toll on the delegation briefings, and there was a clear split between Black and Jewish Americans over projected U.S. policy.

It is clear that women demand the right to speak as citizens about political affairs of their countries. The problem is that women's conferences do not have the power to deal with these issues, and so the shrillness of the debate cannot be mitigated by negotiation. Therefore, political issues should be talked about in political fora.

Given the political climate, it is remarkable that any achievements took place at the official Forum. Nonetheless, several significant resolutions were added to the World Programme of Action, many of which came out of the Forum. I would argue we need new mechanisms for the discussion of substantive problems of women. However, we need more and more women as the political debates are carried on, on this important North-South dialogue.

Its very lack of pattern shows how far the women's movement has come. There were scholars and organizers, feminists and traditionalists, church-women and prostitutes. Women compared problems of the rural woman in Africa or India or the United States. There were women seeking national independence, freedom for prisoners, help for refugees. Women came in every political ideology, pro and con every major issue. And there were dancers and singers, women teaching yoga or how to do a silk screen print. The Forum was vibrant, dissonant. Above all, it was filled with active women wanting to DO something.

REPORT ON NGO FORUM  
WITH EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION

by

Suzanne Howard

I. SUMMARIES OF SESSIONS ATTENDED

1. Organizing plenary of the EXCHANGE: Workshops and events focusing on Women and Development in the Third World. Speakers at plenary: Kristin Anderson, Jill Kneerin, Elsie Cross, and Peggy Antrobus. The purpose of this session was to plan the exact format and content of the workshops. Panel members discussed the origin of EXCHANGE and their expectations-- "new understandings," "pushes needed," "new ideas and perceptions." A report will be developed after the conference. The main message at this session was that participants could plan and organize around topics not listed on the EXCHANGE outline of workshops. The large group then broke up into small groups for planning purposes. At the education session, the following countries were represented: Sudan, Indonesia, Kenya, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Trinidad, U.S.A., South Korea, Sweden, Canada, Zambia. People introduced themselves and spoke for a few moments on their interests. Some of these were: Women's Studies, sex education, family planning, teenage pregnancy, health, and employment issues in the corporate world.

This small group on education then broke up into smaller groups based on the three subtopics: Education Priorities for Girls and Women; Women and Development: The Who, How and What of Training; and, In-Service Training for Advancing Women. There was no interest in the last topic, so the groups ended up not being divided by subtopics. The major items discussed or points addressed were as follows:

1. Women themselves need to learn to identify their priorities.
2. In rural planning, projects have to fit needs of women as they plan rather than decide for them.
3. Development is a state of mind. Key factor in economic development is motivation. Action is required. Comes from hope and self confidence. Hard to sustain.
4. Women are teachers in the family, and have a role in nation building; therefore, need training.
5. Goal: to change the world, taking it out of the hands of men.

2. Developing a Body of Knowledge About Women--For Women. Women's Studies International. Speakers: Florence Howe, Laura Balbo (Italy), Gloria Bonder\* (Buenos Aires), Vina Mazumdar (New Delhi), Hanna Papanel: (Boston).

Florence Howe opened with a speech on international Women's Studies (WS) as a strategy for change. Discussed assumptions that WS practitioners have in common and the necessity of re-educating teachers after years of male-dominated curricula and a dual system of education. Laura Balbo gave an historical view of the evolution of her emphasis on women's issues. Her students were women living the experience of women in the movement of labor unions. Together they developed a body of knowledge about women. Gloria Bonder spoke on the creation of the Center for the Study of Women, financed by individual contributors. Discussed their purposes, needs (i.e., they

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\*I have used an asterisk to indicate women who were particularly strong in their presentations--articulate, with high quality content, worthy projects.

lack bibliographies on women's problems), and listed guidelines for the future. The slogan of the Center is: "Review habit and think." Vina Mazumdar spoke on how little women and men know about Indian women and Indian society as a whole as it affects the status of women, i.e., the value of women, women's roles, sex division of labor, class divisions, access to health care. WS would be a "voyage of discovery" to overcome the "oppression of knowledge about women."

3. Organizing Research Center on Women--For Women. Roundtable, Women's Studies International. Participants: Theresia Sauter-Bailliet (Choisir of France), Miriam Chamberlain (Ford Foundation, U.S.A.), Laura Balbo (Italy), Hanna-Beate Schopp-Schilling (West Germany), Peggy McIntosh (Wellesley, U.S.A.). Discussion moved along the lines of the politics of women's centers, e.g., getting funded, using feminist ideology, getting prestigious men involved. Other issues discussed: the time factor for doing research on women, doing research on women when you are not tied to a university or other organization.

4. Feminist Themes of the Mid-Decade. Participants: Phyllis Chesler, Sonia Johnson, Bella Abzug, Moollale-Pulo Chabaku (South Africa).

Discussion centered around the following themes:

1. Organized religion and the oppression of women.
2. Bella talked about the tendency to describe women as not having spirituality (home, children, family). "We regard these institutions as ours." She emphasized that it is up to women to decide how these should be run.

3. The personal is political; to talk about personal questions is to raise political issues. Political rights are easier to achieve than personal rights.
4. Barbara Mikulski spoke on family violence and the need for helping other women to realize their oppression, regardless of economics.
5. Bella stressed the need for formal discussion on emotional issues (Palestine). "We need to recognize we are differing on issues, but let's not discuss solutions not in our power, like doing away with capitalism. Try to find ways to dialogue. Don't allow discussion without input on actions."

5. Income-generating. UNICEF, Save the Children. Sithembiso Nyoni\* from Zimbabwe spoke on women's groups and how they fund-raise from joint projects and cooperatives. Virginia Hazzard, East Africa Regional Office of Nairobi, from Save the Children, showed slides on a project of theirs in South Honduras to illustrate how they were able to help villagers' planning and productivity skills. Ruchvia Poland from Save the Children, Aceh, Indonesia, spoke on a similar project. Discussion followed from women in India and Kenya, emphasizing how business management is the main cause of failure. Need for self-reliance to be built into all training from the beginning.

6. Feminism and Lesbianism. International Women's Tribune Center. Speakers were Charlotte Bunch and Barbara Powell.

The focus was organizing, in groups and in organizations. Charlotte Bunch spoke on the oppression of gays (men and women) and their need to work together; the need for women in the movement to understand lesbian issues

and how they relate to their own rights, feminism defined not as a re-ordering of society but as fundamental change. Betty Powell spoke on how white feminists practice "narrow feminism"--set limits to whose concerns they deal with. Women from Mexico and Panama spoke of the gay movements in their countries. Announced there is to be an international conference for gays next year in Amsterdam (sponsored by International Gay Association).

7. Peace Education and Women in the Struggle Against Violence. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Speaker: Shizuko Takagi.\*

The speaker was a survivor of Hiroshima. Showed slides on devastation by bombings. Described her experience and continued effects on health of women. Described growth and activities of women's group she is in and their involvement in the peace movement. Discussion following focused on use of nuclear energy; why U.S. bombed Japanese and the relationship to racism; the peace movement and what people can still do today; U.S. imperialism in Vietnam; and how the Israeli group, Bridge for Peace, is working with Arabs to help Israelis understand the rights of Palestinians.

8. NGO Forum on Refugees. Speakers: Imalia Komalo (Indonesia), Zanele Mkeki (South Africa), Ann Paludan (Denmark), Carmen Gloria Aguayo de Soto (Chile), Jean Zaru (Palestine), Sahari.

All of the speakers except the Danish woman had lived as refugees and spoke of their oppression, lack of human rights, and suffering of the refugees in their respective countries. The Danish speaker talked about ways to assist refugees. The women from the audience spoke on their respective refugee problems. All of this took place in a highly emotional,

accusatory atmosphere. There was barely a word spoken by anyone which did not bring emotional cries and jeers from various political elements in the audience.

9. Women in Education. International Festival of Women Artists. Moderator: Gloria Orenstein (Douglass College, New Jersey). Participants: Muriel Magenta (Arizona State), Betye Saar (Otis Art Institute of the Parsons School of Design, Los Angeles), Phyllis Birkby\* (Women's School of Planning and Architecture), Diane Radveki (New York City, "Life of Lady Art Students") Elinor Tufts (Southern Methodist University).

Panelists discussed the kinds of Women's Studies programs in the arts found at universities and art centers, problems in the creation of the programs and the implementation of them, successes and failures. Schools and alternate spaces specifically designed and set up for Women's Studies (The Women's Building and the Feminist Art Institute) were also discussed. Slides provided by Phyllis Birkby particularly noteworthy for illustrations of the kinds of learnings that women have to unlearn, male thinking in architecture. Diane Radveki's historical overview of how women got into the arts was insightful and fascinating.

10. Danish High School. Sponsored by the Danish Women's Center, Copenhagen

A number of women, architects and skilled craftspeople, from the Women's Center built up a high school for women.

The facilities, curriculum, policies, construction, fees, etc., were described in conjunction with a slide presentation. Non-credit courses also provided for older women. Policies and practices based on feminist

ideology. Obtained government funding.

11. NGO Forum on Education. Speakers: Grete Borgmann (Germany), Fanny Edelman (Argentina), Solande des Gachons (France), Françoise Lafitte (France). (These were the names listed in the newspaper, but there were some changes. Someone from Africa spoke and there may have been only one representative (des Gachons) from France.)

The woman from Germany emphasized greater use of studies on education published by UNESCO. She spoke on illiteracy, need for vocational and technical education, the discontinuity of education of girls and women. The woman from Argentina urged action for peace as a prerequisite for the conquest of equality. She advocated greater cooperation between governments, the UN, and NGOs. Mme. des Gachons spoke on the value and objectives of informal education. The educational needs of Bangladesh were also discussed briefly. In the discussion which followed, representatives from socialist countries and developing countries highlighted their major problems and accomplishments related to education. Themes emerging from these speeches were: need for peace as a prerequisite for equality; end exploitation of trans-national corporations and military build-ups and transfer funds to education; high illiteracy rates; using education as a political tool.

12. Educational Programs Specifically for Women. EXCHANGE. Speakers: Louise Africa (Box 31631, Lusaka, Zambia), Mercy Siame\* (Post Office Box 50239, Lusaka, Social/Economic Research Corporation), Gayla Cook (833 United Nations Place, New York City, 10019).

The Zambian woman from Research Corporation wants to promote research on women, but research that will help the women there. Mercy Siame spoke of training problems and attempts to analyze collapse of co-operatives. Differences in political reasons and development philosophies emphasized. A successful project in Zambia set up by American Friends described. Spoke highly of their work.

Early pregnancy as a problem and need for sex education emphasized.

13. Education and Training. National Council of Negro Women. Coordinator: Dr. Dorothy Height. Speakers: Sally N'Jie (Zambia), Bernadette Cole (Sierra Leone), Mercy Wangu Mwangi (Kenya), Fatoumata Mankvika (Mali), Aissata Ba (Mauritania), Jeanne Ntakabavora (Burundi), Hilda Kokahirwa (Tanzania), Minata M'Benque N'diaye (Senegal), Maryan Farah Warsame (Somalia).

Each panel member spoke for about five minutes on such topics as:

1. Historical influences on their educational systems
2. Structure of their formal system (i.e., compulsory education, exams)
3. Government and non-government programs underway
4. Informal education, specifically classes in cooking, sewing, income-generating projects, etc. Women as primary beneficiaries
5. Increase in number and quality of training centers
6. Importance of lightening the burden of women before giving them training
7. A number of special schools and programs for the handicapped

8. Relation of education (formal and informal) to social conditions, laws, government.

14. Women's Studies International. Florence Howe, The Feminist Press.

The purpose of this session was to get a reading on whether having an international network would be useful or not, in what form, and who would support it. Participants agreed on forming such a network. A need for regional networks also emphasized. The issue of WS and its relation to imperialism was also discussed. An impassioned plea for not "throwing out the baby with the bath water" came from an American professor of WS. She provided a clear explanation of the need for WS around the world, regardless of who organized the network, and clearly articulated how WS program ideologies are not often reflective of university (male-dominated) ideologies.

15. Ministry of Education, Denmark.

Along with some of the delegates from other countries, I met with some people from the Ministry of Education. We were given several publications on education. Some of these were: Women and Education, U90 (Danish Educational Planning and Policy in a Social Context at the End of the Twentieth Century), Sex Roles and Education. Numerous others are available in English on topics ranging from social inequality to youth employment. Based on a brief interchange of questions and discussion, it became clear that the Danish have many problems in common with us, i.e., lack of women in high administrative positions (although they now have a female Minister of Education); youth unemployment with the rate higher for

girls; the gap between policy and implementation. For future reference, here are the two key committees related to women's equality:

The Committee on Sex Roles and Education  
Chair, Lilian Vohn  
c/o Ministry of Education  
Frederiksholms Kanal 21  
1220 Copenhagen  
Denmark

The Council for Equal Opportunities  
Chair, Jytte Lindgård  
Frederiksgade 21  
1265 Copenhagen  
Denmark

II. VIEWS OF THE FORUM, ITS ORGANIZATION AND PROBLEMS

The physical conditions of the Forum left much to be desired. Stuffy rooms (people not opening windows), over-crowded rooms, rooms being hard to locate, inadequate lunch facilities--all of these made it physically difficult and uncomfortable to attend sessions. This was a problem that needs to be addressed. Also, I was told there was no bigger auditorium or space available for the NGO panels. Those panels seemed to provide the springboard for the hottest discussions. There was clearly a need for more time for formal debate and open discussion. Too little time and space were devoted to the key issues scheduled only for the NGO panels.

The organization of the sessions was extremely poor. Finding sessions, knowing when and what was going to be held where was an endurance test. I was constantly disappointed, too, that so many of the few sessions on education sponsored by the EXCHANGE were often cancelled, or no one showed up to them.\* Although the EXCHANGE was structured to provide continuity, this was not my experience since I was attending only the education sessions, and these were too limited to have provided continuity. There were

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\* I was especially looking forward to one scheduled to be on rural projects in Africa, but it was cancelled when only two other women from the African Development Bank showed up. Curiously enough, they, like myself, were also interested in identifying promising women leaders and projects. They were:

Atayi Cyprienne, and  
Isabel Karnga  
(UNDP Development Office)  
Post Office Box 1387  
Abidjan, Ivory Coast

so many sessions going on at once, and making choices was difficult just by virtue of the fact that you had to have so many newspapers and other announcements--there was a definite need for a daily calendar of events instead of having to figure them out on one's own. A sense of frustration also grew out of not being able to keep up with even a fraction of all that was going on. My experience was one of chaos, disorder, and frustration. I never felt I was getting a handle on what the major issues were of the conference as a whole.

Substance-wise, there were fewer sessions on education per se than on the other themes. According to Claire Fulcher, who was responsible for organizing the education workshops, fewer responses came in on this topic when the call went out for workshops. Why? Several possibilities to explain this. One is that education is thought of as schooling, a very limited concept, and often people were dealing with issues of education in the broader sense, but did not identify the session as having anything to do with education. Also, there was an especially heavy emphasis on peace, which was often really peace education, but not advertised as such. I think there were just so many more burning issues on people's minds that education defined as schooling was not one of them.

As for the few sessions on education there were, these were at an extremely elementary level of thought. Participants provided a series of facts which could be found in most books, and almost no analysis of issues and problems. Clearly this was an unmet need of my own. Women from other countries perhaps hungered for this kind of information. The women delegates who met with the Danish Ministry of Education spent their time

asking questions about structure that could be found in the book on Women and Education they put right in front of us,

Perhaps, too, speaking in English contributed to this problems of level of substance. After all, it is much easier to speak on facts when a language is foreign than to do any heavy analysis. Also, time constraints, having five minutes to speak, contributed to a superficiality in the discussion. Other sessions, though, were quite heated, in spite of time constraints, such as those at the NGO Forum panels held in the Library school.

It was clear from the many pictures on the walls, the printed information available, and the many emotional tirades that the main topic of the day was political oppression. I had heard prior to going to Copenhagen that the politicalization of the conference was the major concern, but this had no meaning to me. I understand now I feel now, the meaning of political oppression. The emotions, the heated debates, and propaganda worked to jar me out of my ethnocentricity. I came to realize how few so-called "free" countries are left in the world. At the same time, I felt discouraged and depressed that those women suffering from political oppression were only capable of expressing their feelings of helplessness with no feminist analysis of the causes of their oppression. There was the frustration of feeling that feminism was as foreign to them as any foreign language. "To talk feminism to a woman who has no water, no food, and no home is to talk nonsense." (Madeline Waring at the NGO panel.) I don't agree with this. Yes, feminism is nonsense if we just assume women at a very different level of development can understand us. But I believe

we must not give up the effort to help our Third World sisters understand the cause of their oppression, patriarchy. It seemed that more was often accomplished in private conversations. This is true in our own country. Some women are suffering terribly from oppression as manifested by statistics on rape, wife and child abuse, etc. Women are at very different levels of consciousness re their oppression. As sisters we need to hear their pain, help them physically, and find ways to help them raise their consciousness. The pain I felt at the conference was two-fold. First, to learn of the pain and suffering of Third World women and second, to realize that we were not going to be able to do anything much about it at the conference. It was also difficult to be at a level of development personally where I want to work on solutions and take action towards solutions, but to find that others are in a very different place. This was a learning, painful but enlightening.

Other major learnings for me came out, not from the conference sessions, but through the arts. I went to an exhibit by Third World women artists, an exhibit at the Town Hall on Danish women, and one on post-card art by women artists. Above all, I attended a woman-created audio-visual experience on a voyage of women becoming women. This was an extraordinary slide presentation using four slide projectors and an eight-millimeter projector simultaneously. All of these works of art were for me the most powerful statements, expressions, and stories of women's experience and oppression around the world.

Last, but of course not least, were the contacts that were made informally during and after the conference. The physical conditions, faci-

lities, and sessions were not conducive to striking up friendships. However, after the conference was over, I stayed on in Copenhagen and was then able to meet many more women and to attend the exhibits, all in a much more relaxed, sisterly atmosphere. One wonders at times like this just how much weather influences our behavior. After the eight days of rain which accompanied the conference, the sun reigned supreme on us for the ten remaining days during which we basked in "sisterly love."

SUMMARY IMPRESSIONS AND NOTES  
ON COPENHAGEN

Joy R. Simonson  
August 1980

Diversity is the single best word to characterize the Forum experience. A panorama of shifting people, costumes, causes, issues, posters, publications, preplanned and spontaneous meetings, arguments, discussions, films, songs, food lines, accented English and other languages, confusing labyrinths of corridors.

Frustrations were rampant due to:

- inability to "get the Forum messages" into the UN Conference
- inability to formulate agreements on common views to present if the channel were open
- lack of plenary sessions or space to hold them
- too many competing workshops and panels
- workshop rooms badly overcrowded or inexplicably empty (workshop cancelled? moved? postponed?)
- no translation service except in two places and most meetings in English
- some groups found volunteer translators which slowed meeting down greatly
- panels in Library School too far away, bus service intermittent
- above all, the constant injection of political issues and national interests into programs which should have focused on women's issues, and hostility which disrupted many sessions.

But rewarding and stimulating experiences were also daily fare:

- serious workshop discussions where women leaders and activists from all corners of the globe shared problems and solutions
- spontaneous groups and one-on-one conversations everywhere comparing notes, exchanging cards and literature, finding unexpected bonds and similarities across cultural gulfs

- presentations by important women of feminists perspectives in many lands
- finding that many women are looking to the U.S. women's movement for further leadership, not all of them oppose or detest Uncle Sam
- learning that even the most advanced or liberated women of the Scandinavian countries share our own problems
- pride in the caliber of the American delegation, appreciation for their outreach to the NGO women through nightly briefings and free exchanges, and recognition of their hard and frustrating efforts on behalf of resolutions and a Plan of Action which the U.S. could endorse.

And one should not overlook the attractions of Copenhagen and Denmark and especially the warm hospitality of the Danes.

NOTES ON FORUM WORKSHOPS

July 14, 1980--p.m.

Networking

Led by Sarah Harder of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, co-chair of the Continuing Committee of the Houston Conference. She and other U.S. women reported on their national, state, and local networks and techniques. The Continuing Committee is now prepared to send out models for network building, by-laws, etc. New Zealand and Australia spoke on their small but growing networks. Several other nationals expressed unfamiliarity with the word "networking," although the concept was understood. At this and some other workshops on networking, a list was developed of subjects on which participants were interested in doing some interacting or networking during the time in Copenhagen. Sheets of newsprint were posted on corridor walls so that people could sign up for these many topics. I do not know what followed as a result of this effort.

July 15, 1980--a.m.

The AGORA of Japan

An all-Japanese program--moderator, three presentors, translator (poor), and half the audience. One paper on the generally low economic and social status of Japanese women; one by a lawyer with a sex discrimination practice which discussed three crucial cases; and one by Ms. Takehashi of the Grassroots Feminist Movement, author of "When a Housewife Starts Working," about discrimination in employment, such as men having a retirement age of 55, women 50. She discussed in detail the city of Nagoya (about 2 million population) which has many grassroots groups and now an Office of Women's Affairs. Among its achievements was city sponsorship of 16 women, one from each district, at Copenhagen!

Lively discussion included:

- Indonesian suggestion that Asian women boycott Japanese goods--welcomed by Japanese women
- concern over the connection between tourism and prostitution
- unions help to get 16 weeks maternity benefits plus 1 year leave
- continued male control of unions and some prohibition of women members

- protective labor laws
- women's wages of little more than half what men earn
- compulsory education up to 15, with 95% continuation in education
- minimum age for marriage of women (16) compared to men (18), but average ages are 24 and 27, respectively
- many women's organizations with varying ideologies--League of Women Voters, university women, etc.
- a campaign by activist women which pushed the government into signing the UN Covenant on discrimination.

July 15, 1980--p.m.

Educational Priorities, an Exchange Workshop

The slide tape on a training project for women in the Philippine barrios was very good. Discussion emphasized the importance of motivating women who want change and recognized that action must begin at the level of household concerns to develop trust among the women and to develop self-confidence. They must participate in defining the priority problems as well as working out the solutions.

Mauritius has a UNDP project to provide assistance with vegetable seeds and planting. The Ethical Culture Society of the United States founded some education projects for rural women in Africa blocked by the Catholic Church. A Kenyan woman reported on controversy among women and resistance to "U.S. feminist propaganda." She said that the government may have some progressive policies, but it has difficulties in communicating them. Motivating women to accept new ideas may backfire, aggravate relations with men, etc. In Ireland, which is 95% Catholic and conservative, women recommended that civics in school should help women learn about laws, their rights, etc., but this is not happening. A Zambian woman said women there resent the treatment given widows. Zimbabwe reported that its new government has a non-discrimination policy and a women's bureau. Many agreed that women should be informed about new laws and the possible costs of change so that they can weigh the value of changes for themselves. Getting information out via school children was suggested as one effective way to disseminate this information widely.

Allison Lewis, working on family planning in Trinidad-Tobago and now on a UN youth project in Antigua was outstanding, sophisticated. Also of interest was a Nigerian woman psychiatrist. She said, "No African woman prefers polygamy!" All women and children in a polygamous household have problems. Africa is not in the bush. It has been changing for 300 years, though not through a sudden feminist movement. Public education is important for men as well as for women. Women must be part of decisions regarding their needs and the planning to meet them.

July 15, 1980--p.m.

Sex Roles in Textbooks

The United States presented an extensive slide show about a study of textbook changes over recent years made by various publishers. In discussion a woman from India said that she sees parental/community involvement in changing textbooks as dangerous censorship, yet she did not find many items in the slide show demeaning to women. Costa Rica said that most of their texts are published by the Ministry of Education and are old, but some revisions are underway. In India, books are wanted in their own languages. Belgium reported almost no co-ed schools. Spain said the same, but noted that changes are expected because governments are signing the UN prohibition on sex discrimination in textbooks. Holland is using "hair-raising" sexist university textbooks despite women's efforts to eliminate their use. The group discussed several pressure points for efforts to improve textbooks.

July 16, 1980

Sex Roles and Public Policy

Jean Lipman-Blumen, U.S. sociologist, was moderator; panelists were Marguerite Rendel, U.K.; Vina Masumdar, India; Laura Balgo, Italy; and Joy Simonson, U.S. U.S. and U.K. laws and enforcement programs were discussed. It was noted that India has full equality in constitution, but still does not have full equality in fact. Women continue to avoid "hard" courses such as mathematics. Despite increased numbers of women in administrative positions only a few in the population are benefiting. Conflicts between economic and social policy, between policies for the elite and the masses were recognized, with rapid swings in public policy evident. Italy reported progress first in laws, then in enforcement, but economic problems today pressure women to leave the labor market, thereby giving up acquired protections. West Germany reported about its Commission on the Status of Women. France wants one European advance law to be adopted by all. Bulgaria said that inequalities between rural and urban areas overshadow the special problems of women, which must be treated as part of general social policy. Norway said that its labor movement has a "provider mentality" which makes them uninterested in women. U.K. said that each social and economic class oppresses women. A U.S. woman stressed that more education for women is not enough of a goal. We must have feminism in the curriculum, for our present education subverts women.

July 17, 1980

Vocational Training and Curriculum Change

One of a series led by World YWCA. A YW project in Korea was described where training women for non-traditional jobs is done. Women are 40% of the labor force, but clustered at the bottom. These women were trained in construction trades, wear Y uniforms, and have daycare provided. After placement, their wages increased substantially, despite men's opposition. The project received good media coverage. It is planning an orchard care course with live-in training centers.

India, Sarla Chandra, reported on a training project which had difficulty reaching the poor for whom it was intended, despite advertising, etc. Radio and television were used and work was also done with employers. The project found that women did not desire factory work, their men did not want to work with them, and the distances were too great. The big problem of the poor was lacking general education, a prerequisite for skill training. Needs are also very different in cities, small towns, and rural areas, requiring flexible designs. Projects provide services to the public as adjunct to training, e.g., give medical laboratory tests, do sewing, do some typing to provide practice and publicity for projects. Courses are provided in vertical progression, including management level. Some scholarships and training of "slow" and handicapped persons are also included. Government-issued certificates for employment eligibility are awarded.

Ghana has problems in getting jobs for trained women. Zambia said that coordination of various NGO training programs has helped.

In Lebanon, the YW started working on illiteracy of girls in their 20's, opposed child labor, and supported equal pay. It has an Employment Bureau to assess labor market needs, and offers courses in secretarial skills, dressmaking, computer programming, etc. All graduates are placed. The program also provides and trains for child care, organizes exhibitions of work, contests, demonstrations, and provides individual guidance. Extra-curricular activities include lectures, clubs. Some self-employment exists for mothers and older women.

India objected to the traditional nature of most courses described. Australia wanted vocational training to help women into politics and other professions. Gambia wanted training for preserving foods and improving marketing. Ghana reported a shortage of dyes and said too many women do the same crafts, thereby saturating the market. New skills, more teachers are needed. Sierra Leona spoke about Y programs for school dropouts in rural areas and how to raise rural living standards. Most government programs are designed for men. Zambia is concerned about the need to sensitize men on women's abilities and raise women's consciousness, especially that of mothers who favor sons (applause). A world-wide problem of women in low-paid exploitative areas which women are perpetuating was also recognized. Denmark found similar problems for women. Philippines reported visiting electronics factories in the United States where 90% were women, especially Asian.

#### Education Panel, Library School

Chaired by Lafitte of France. Grete Borgmann of Germany stressed inequality of education for women, the illiteracy and "wastage" for women. She received a special education "passport", with UNESCO support, to help mothers' education. Fanny Edelman of Argentina urged the NIEO, the elimination of "racism, imperialism, colonialism," and a cut in money for arms and multi-national corporations, etc. Solange des Gachons of France spoke on informal education for men and women which is life-long, non-compulsory, and practical. Representatives from Zambia and Bangladesh spoke about shortages of education which especially hurt women.

In discussion, Mexico said their education is free, but rural people are too poor to find the time to attend classes. Yugoslavia described full equality! India wanted scientific and vocationally oriented education. Vietnam said it has eradicated pre-war illiteracy. France mentioned sexism in textbooks, yet noted that two French publishers have agreed to revise their books. East Germany said all socialist countries have tried to develop good education for girls and working women, co-ed and free. Women are going into non-traditional occupations. Chile says a lack of scientific education hinders development, but the Junta is not interested in education. PLO complained of discrimination toward women by Israel, assaults on students, etc., by "Zionists."

July 18, 1980

Development Education for the Developed Countries

The Overseas Education Fund led. The U.K. "War on Want" told of a network of development education organizations and centers, some private, some government-funded. Some sell Third World goods, run cafes, etc. The Overseas Development Administration in the Foreign Office cut the budget from 25 to 6 million pounds. Publications are produced and used in schools. France is working with women teacher training colleges and the Ministry to bring development education into national curriculum. The U.S. reported a community problem when the minority population would not join in PTA and other organizations. A buddy system to involve native families was suggested. Discussion included problems of getting small sums of money for small projects: Norway is quite successful with bake sales, etc. Denmark says teachers have much autonomy, so many teach about women's issues, making materials available. Japan said life-long education to help women is developing. The regular compulsory schools cannot teach "ideological matters." Zambia trains people to work in rural areas, help women to use resources which are available in the area.

Briefing by Madame Mugabe of Zimbabwe

She mostly answered questions and described the vast needs of the country. Plans exist to buy farms for resettlement and skill training to enhance self-support for war victims. She said women will have opportunities for university and professional training. An education campaign plans to eliminate illiteracy within 5 years. Politics and government are now open to women who formerly were barred. The most important issue for women is to cooperate with men in the struggle for the country, not to regress. A South African representative of the Pan-African Council urged boycotting South Africa where black women are the lowest group in that stratified society. Black women there have marched in the struggle against passage of certain laws, etc. Some white women have joined them. There was a question from a Tanzanian woman about tribalism hurting Zimbabwe. Madame Mugabe said this was a world-wide problem, but she has not heard of discrimination among tribes in connection with the distribution of aid.

July 18, 1980--p.m.

Women in Politics

Bella Abzug organized and led. She asked the panel of women Members of Parliament (MPs) what they would do if they were Prime Minister. A Swedish MP would try to fulfill promises, spend more on daycare, create new taxation to encourage full-time work. The Guyanian MP would liberate women for economic development; she does not assume all women are feminists! Shulamit Alloni, an Israeli MP, would give housewives the status of working women and would implement human rights. Margaret Alva, an Indian senator who is one of 57 women out of 800 MPs, could not see why children are more of an obstacle to women going into politics than they are for men. She would seek cooperation and not confrontation with men, while working hard to change the system. Denmark's Greta Moeller stated that while at the UN Conference each nation claims women's issues are being met at home, comments that are not as candid as those made at the Forum. She sees being a woman and a minority group as an advantage which attracts attention and support. Yet she recognizes that women's mistakes also get extra attention. She sees a need for feminists in politics. The representative from Guinea said her government has done much for women in terms of co-education. As Prime Minister she would end women's illiteracy and provide vocational training. She believes women in high positions must keep their poor sisters better informed. The Bangladesh opposition MP, a social worker with 11 children and 10 grandchildren, says women should vote for women!

Sweden sees a continuation of sex-roles in politics, with women rarely on Defense Committees in Parliament or on UN Energy Conference preparations. In Guyana, where differences among parties and ideologies are more important than those between men and women, the Minister of Welfare is usually a woman. In India, a woman MP is on the Foreign Affairs Committee; most women choose the social committees. Women need to be more involved in their party structures. In Denmark, some feminists want a priority for social committees, others disagree. Australia has no women's network in politics. Guyana has a strong Women's Revolutionary Political Movement which trains women for non-traditional work and politics. In Denmark, women need self-confidence to vote for other women. In Israel, Alloni ran as a one-woman party and asked feminists for support. In Tanzania, women are intimidated by husbands in voting, etc. In Finland, many women who rise in politics become ashamed of calling themselves "feminists." Abzug said the issue is not whether to replace men with women; we need women with a commitment to eradicate racism, poverty, violence and sexism. For example, Argentina, with its military government, discriminates against women.

July 21, 1980

Vocational Training and Curriculum

Another in the series led by the YWCA. Lettie Stuart of Sierra Leone was excellent. Placement services must be linked to training, even if an exact match is not possible. Market research is needed to design training. But it can be risky to gear training too narrowly to specific jobs. Work experience

during training may lead to jobs. The YWCA's vocational training is two-thirds practical, one-third theoretical. A good rapport with employers is necessary. Sponsorship is useful, but it is important not to allow employers to control the program. Lebanon reported on secretarial and clerical training. Canada uses an advisory board of employers for work experience programs. U.K. provides many short courses which include opportunities to sell women's products which gross 3 million pounds a year; it upgrades skills, while achieving immediate financial results. A Fiji community education center trains instructors for the whole Pacific area to become Women's Affairs Officers on their own islands. It is a one-year training program run by the South Pacific Commission. Women need organizational skills for training rural women. Self-reliance is more important than leadership training. Peru finds rural women need help in marketing. It was agreed that formal vocational programs are never the whole answer, and that they must be linked to supportive services.

July 21, 1980---p.m.

#### Access to Informal Education

Janine Thonon of UNESCO was the leader. Bangladesh says non-formal education for adults needs to improve consciousness about economic and social rights. In developing varied non-formal education for various countries, social workers are often needed more than educators. In urban areas in Bangladesh, facilities exist for women to develop income-generating power, but rural women are limited to sheepherding, fishing, etc. The country's biggest problem is 70% illiteracy. Zambia says informal education reaches more people. Their problem is the treatment of widows who are dispossessed of everything at their husband's death despite legal protection. A village cooperative of women received loans from a government credit union which they repaid and used to develop a rural credit union. Solange de Gachons of France said employers offer life-long education which unions insist be made available to all, not just to professionals. Women, however, do not know their rights and ask about them only in crisis situations. We must train women to know their rights and to absorb and assess such information from newspapers and television. Ibrahim, of the Sudanese Women's Union, said that 94% of the women in a population of 22 million are illiterate compared to 72% of the men. Women receive only 31% of the available education, and 70% of the children get no schooling. Maldistribution of education, severe overcrowding, and lack of supplies are cited as contributing factors to this situation. This is the major problem, not female circumcision which is discussed here so much. "What is the difference if a piece of a woman is cut? It is important that she not be blind all her life!" Ms. Mamonia, President of a women's organization in Upper Volta, sees a difficult fight confronting women's illiteracy and agrees with the comment about circumcision. The president of the Organization of Widows and Orphans in Upper Volta stated that if the husband dies, the wife is considered a criminal or witch. With drought and 96% illiteracy, "circumcision is hidden under the panties, so why make it a State problem?" In Quebec, Canada, an education and social organization offered a course on women's rights and powers, non-formal education to help women get into decision-making positions. In one year, one hundred women got better positions and the organization received government support. In Tahiti, population is a major problem. The educational

system is similar to that in France. Both French and the mother tongue are taught in school, but the elitist system is inappropriate to Tahiti, for it benefits only the elites having a French background. Education in literacy should be in the native language. It is necessary for all people to know who they are. In India, the International Alliance of Women said the illiteracy rate is 70%, but that there has been a big improvement and that the government is trying hard. Rural areas are eager for non-formal education. Instruction is given on nutrition, sanitation, and literacy. Both women and men need it. Improvement in the rural areas would reduce migration to the cities. There are also programs for dropouts. A UNESCO pilot in one village has three centers for literacy and sewing training together. All Pakistan's Women's Association has 30-40,000 members and receives government assistance. Rural-urban migration is a problem there. The Association runs 54 industrial homes for training and many vocational training centers, etc. It has acted to keep cottage industry skills alive, especially carpet weaving. In Belgium, despite a system of work credit hours which can be used for advanced training, women are too busy to use it much. They should have part-time work to facilitate study time. Government aid goes most often to those who already know how to apply. In Holland, thousands of concerned and migrant women take associate courses. Women should receive recognition for years of work in non-formal education and get credit points. In Egypt, the president of the Cairo Women's Club, a musicology professor, said her organization is concerned about culture, music teas, and the preservation of monuments. They have a project in two villages on leadership training. Other women's clubs teach in urban areas on sanitation, childcare, sewing. Help exists in situations when a husband forbids his wife to go out. There are over 10,000 voluntary associations in Egypt.

Thonon said that NGO requests must go to UNESCO through national organizations, but that individual projects can also go direct though require longer study.

REPORT ON NGO FORUM: EDUCATION PANELS

Richard Castellar Simonson

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My observations were from the following vantage points:

- (a) Responsibility for HEW Statistical Standards (including data about women) and related program evaluation techniques until I retired in 1976;
- (b) Observer at Mexico City Tribune;
- (c) Detailed to IWY Commission by HEW 1975-76 ref. program impact;
- (d) Observer at Houston Conference; and
- (e) Professional and personal interest in rural development and alternative energy because of farm background and interests.

I was not able to cover most of the workshops, etc., I attended from beginning to end, I did not know most of the participants or their affiliations, and acoustics were not always of the best. Consequently, the notes which follow are incomplete and not always responsive to your request for names of speakers. All were at the Amager Center unless otherwise noted.

There are several generalizations I would like to make about my impressions of the workshops I attended:

- (a) Women from the "Third World" (especially African and Caribbean countries) were very pragmatic and practical in their approach to problems. No matter what the political philosophies of their countries or parties purported to be, these women were literally down-to-earth in their analyses and proposed solutions. Frequently, even those from the poorest countries showed that they had been educated in professional and graduate schools of the developed countries, especially the United States, and were trying to reconcile such advanced education with the immediate needs of developing countries; and
- (b) The introduction of high technology tends to move the processes which women formerly controlled (especially in rural communities) into organizations dominated by men.

I. Vocational Education and Employment (July 14, 1980: 1:30pm)

Because new technology is frequently controlled by men, even vocational training (as contrasted to the broader vocational education) must equip women at all levels both: to acquire new skills, and to learn how to act politically so they can affect economic changes. Furthermore, women themselves and their families must learn to value occupations which have been non-traditional for women and which in the new economies are not necessarily "White Collar" or "Pink Collar." It was also agreed that vocational education must be related to realistic surveys of the job market.

This was a good workshop.

Cases: In Lebanon, women had to learn assertiveness in order to move into the courses and occupations which had been opened up by legislation.

II. Appropriate Technology (July 15, 1980: 3:30pm)

Chaired by Seaton of Jamaica. Panel members were: Elizabeth Kelly of United Kingdom, with experience in West Africa, Borneo, Vietnam; Marilyn Carr; Irma Johnson of Guyana and Secretary-General National Revolutionary Women's Movement; and Madame Toure of Senegal and UNICEF Training Center. Resources person was Cathy Schroeder (a foundation making grants for development). There was participation also by (did not get names) from Fiji and South Pacific Commission. All were very good.

Outsiders must understand the current social context. Otherwise, even the best proposals for changes may be frustrated by the community's opposition or misunderstanding and by internalized inhibition of women themselves. It is particularly important that when machinery must be introduced, there will be no assumption that operation belongs to men. Even when modern equipment will be in the hands of women, it should be so designed as to minimize reliance on fuel, repairs, and other services dominated by men.

Cases: Solar heaters and food dryers are good examples of new technologies which can be effective on a decentralized basis (therefore not requiring women to leave home or to abdicate to urban male workers) and which can be durable, simple to maintain, and, by definition, not dependent on fuel controlled by multinational corporations.

Comment: Excellent presentations and discussion from the floor. I know from my own research that solar and other alternative approaches to energy do offer special opportunities for progress at the community level.

III. Sisterhood: Myth or Reality? (July 17, 1980: 10:00am)

Panel members and participants were primarily from Nordic (Finland and Scandinavian) countries. All were very sophisticated. However, from my own standpoint of pragmatic American liberalism, it seemed that among them as well as among women from developing countries, the Marxists were still

struggling with the old dogma that resolution of class struggles was the primary route to elimination of sex discrimination. (I learned later that the Norwegian women's movements are still often divided into socialist and non-socialist groups.) It seemed to me that the knowledge and experience of women from countries so advanced in theory and law as the Scandinavian should be better resources for American feminists to draw on than women from developing countries.

Questions debated: Doesn't patriarchy rule all forms of political and economic systems? (This is a contrast to Marxist analyses as well as other theories.) If so, isn't it necessary for women to attain power and change systems to more human values rather than to rely on program-by-program changes?

Do women who attain power and status in the existing systems adapt too much to male values? Lose touch with Sisterhood? Become queen bees? Both an African and an Indian woman gave examples of ways in which women treat each other as competitors - problems aside from men's intentional domination.

Men still assume that women must bear most of the responsibilities of parenthood. This shows particularly in the assumption by employers that women will interrupt careers to be mothers (and unpaid, undervalued workers at home).

Men still prefer high technology solutions to economic problems. (Note by me: It seems to me this is a psychological rather than an economic problem which may have some connection to the following: From the time boys play with toy soldiers, males play dangerous games throughout their lives which can result in disastrous wars.)

Meanwhile, women's aspirations, values, movements, etc., are ignored or downplayed in the media of supposedly democratic countries - which are particularly suppressive in small countries with only one or two TV channels.

In Norway, one of the principal weapons against equality is ridicule in the work place.

Cases:

- (a) To the extent women are still at home with small children, they should turn this situation to an asset. They are in a unique position to be the teachers of new and better values for boys as well as girls before they go to school; and
- (b) Concurrently, women should insist on a true economic value being given to homemaking and childrearing, both in terms of economic theory and measurement (e.g., GNP) and compensation to individuals.

Comment: The Chair concluded that women must move from expressing feelings about Sisterhood to specific definitions of Sisterhood and of the needs which can really unite women throughout the world.

As a male with a traditional rural background (though rather egalitarian and of Norwegian descent), I found this discussion very helpful to me. It demonstrated that although the Nordic countries are the most advanced in their theories and legislation, there are serious gaps between these principles and daily realities. Much more needs to be heard from Nordic women by those American women (and men) who might be tempted to think that once legal equality has been achieved, true partnership will follow.

IV. Equality between Women and Men at Work - Sweden  
(July 17, 1980: Noon, at Scandinavia Hotel)

Joint press conference by: Chair, Rogfelt (male), President of second largest association of Swedish Employers' Association; Laila Eriksson (female), Secretary, Employers' Association; \_\_\_\_\_ Grandquist (male), Chair of Confederation of Unions of Salaried Employees; and Anna Bengstorm, "Ombudsman" (though female) (or Wennström), Unions of Technical Employees in Industry. All were excellent.

The attached press release - though very brief - gives a good idea of the scope of the new law and related agreement between unions and associations of employers. The substance of both the law and the agreement are surprisingly similar to the most advanced concepts of affirmative action, positive recruitment, training, etc., in American laws and "voluntary" plans of action (if all American statutes pertaining to employment had been updated and consolidated into one law and related regulations).

The panel seemed to agree that it takes hard work all the time to establish and then to maintain equality of treatment.

Cases (with specific reference to Sweden):

- (a) Although Sweden seems to be experimenting on a large scale with part-time and "flexitime," women thus far are using such arrangements more than men. This is a reflection of the fact that although Swedish men share more extensively than men in most other countries in childrearing and homemaking, this progress is still quite uneven. Furthermore, among the salaried employees (whose problems were the main focus of this press conference), there is still the assumption that in order to advance, one must be willing to work long hours and travel frequently. Consequently, the representatives of both the unions and the employers' associations agreed that further exploration was needed of ways to restructure work - even among young executives - so as to reconcile career and family responsibilities. However, the Chair (and President of Employers' Association) warned that it may be harder for Sweden to adopt still shorter hours and more flexible work arrangements because of the acute crisis Sweden is facing in world trade - i.e., having lost much of its edge in industry to more competitive and lower cost nations;

- (b) The Chair expressed enlightened self-interest on the part of employers toward maximum use of each person's capabilities and toward the entry of women into the paid labor force because of the need to expand production. Sweden would not be able to continue to support high levels of social programs without increasing labor force participation. This included reversing the trend toward early retirement by men as well as better utilization of woman power;
- (c) Private industry was having difficulty finding women candidates for movement up the executive ladder because most professional and administrative female employees are government employees. Many do not understand the different requirements of private management;
- (d) In response to a Japanese woman journalist's question about protective legislation: Sweden does not have such any longer, but some types of work are still too heavy physically. These are being reviewed, and a pilot project is under way to facilitate underground work of women in mining;
- (e) In response to another question by the Japanese journalist: Women in the media, especially TV, are concentrated in routine jobs. Even women producers were being paid less until a strike resulted in closing the gaps; and
- (f) In response to a question by Florence Perman, OS-U.S. Department of Health and Human Services: The current economic and fiscal crisis is handicapping expansion of day care - but provision of adequate facilities is a long-term goal for municipalities.

Comment: Swedish policies are a model in many ways. Though reality lags behind the policies and laws in Sweden also, it still appears to be a very advanced country. However, all the Nordic countries are under unaccustomed pressures from inflation and loss of competitive positions in world trade. American feminists should be in continuous communication with Swedish leaders, on both management and labor sides, both: to learn specific techniques and to observe how they attempt to cope with economic handicaps on social programs.

V. Rural Women (July 17, 1980: PM)

One of the most active and valuable participants in this and in related workshops was Vina Mazumdar from India. A younger woman who spoke American English but was from India had made field studies of the behavior of villagers in two different states of India. Her and Mazumdar's remarks complemented each other. As in the workshop on Appropriate Technology (I), emphasis was placed on understanding the social context before introducing changes and on not trying to rush rural women. (See also Workshop II.)

Cases (with special reference to villages in two states of India):

- (a) In at least one instance, the professional women from outside received no useful feed-back from the English-speaking women. Finally, through an interpreter, the outsiders learned that the village women who had no formal education would not accept the leadership of the "educated" if they appeared immature and, furthermore, the English-speaking women really had an inferior role because they had become only the spouses and dependents of administrators, police officers, etc. Once through this communications and image barrier, the visiting professionals were able to more effectively communicate with the "uneducated" mature village women than with the English-speaking;
- (b) In one state, politics down to the village level had been dominated by far left politicians with very progressive ideology about rights of women. In practice, however, the party organization was completely dominated by males. When women complained of exploitation and sexual abuse, neither the male party officials nor the male civil servants and police did anything. (Note the parallels to the questions discussed and my inferences in Workshop III.); and
- (c) In the other state, village life was still much more "tribal" and purportedly progressive parties had not become so important. When village women became angered by reported abuse by landlords and by the effects of drunkenness, they organized themselves as vigilantes and:
  - (1) Rode an especially bad landlord out of town on a rail; and
  - (2) Systematically broke up liquor shops.

They are now organized to cope with other issues.

VI. Appropriate Technology (July 18, 1980: PM)

Chairing was a top official of the Guyana Women's Movement of the National Revolutionary Party. The publications she handed out featured Burnham, the head of the party, and Marxist policies. However, her own presentation and related discussion were quite pragmatic. One of the most interesting participants was a young Danish mechanical engineer. Basic themes were similar to those discussed in Workshops I and II. However, jealousy and insensitivity of men appeared to be a problem in professional circles in Denmark as well as in villages of Guyana.

Cases (with special reference to Guyana):

- (a) An embargo on importation of food - imposed for foreign trade reasons - has benefited rural women. They developed substitutes from native crops. Raising and processing of such foods - unlike the imported ones - are still under the control of women;

- (b) Solar energy, uses of wastes for production of gas, recycling and other projects under way are encouraging in terms of both of the nation's economy and continued decentralization of production; and
- (c) Formal education, including vocational education, is coed and boys are learning about needs of girls.

VII. Migration (July 18, 1980: 3:30pm)  
(Special Reference to Sub-Saharan Africa and Mexico)

(I missed the introductions.) All participants, regardless of race or nationality, showed the same pragmatic approach noted ref. July 14, 1:30pm, Vocational Education, et seq.

Problems of rural women were remarkably similar in Zimbabwe, Basouto, and Mexico. Mining and industrialization cause men to go to distant cities. Women must then take on additional responsibilities for family and maintenance of homes. Men are supposed to send back money regularly. Many, however, take up with women in cities and also drink heavily. Remittances become irregular a problem aggravated by the poor quality of postal services. Visits by men back home become more irregular - a problem aggravated in South Africa by long-term labor contracts. Both laws and customs prevent women from acquiring the additional authority and resources needed to cope with added responsibilities. Often they must wait for the return of husbands in order to sell property, enroll children in school, work outside the home, or contract for such essential services as home repairs. Frequently, the most specific result of the return of husbands is that still another child is born.

Cases from Other Countries: A Thai woman credited the original International Women's Year and related activities with aiding Thai women in getting the right to participate in the planning and management of development. Thai women now have equal property rights. Ola \_\_\_\_\_ from the Swedish International Development Agency warned that rural development plans drawn up by men will always result in displacement of rural women's income-producing activities by machines and male-dominated processes. A black woman from Grenada urged women of other developing countries to use more initiative and push into non-traditional activities (e.g., rethatch the roof yourself - even though a "man's job"). The Swedish development expert suggested that absence of men should be a reason to develop more self-reliance by women.

VIII. Women for Peace and European Security (July 21, 1980: AM or early PM)

The Round Table was organized by the Women's Democratic Federation. The panel consisted of only two women: one from Poland - the other from the Soviet Union. The discussion which followed was just what could be expected from a meeting organized around such a panel. No matter, when the women volunteering from the floor were from Europe (East or Neutral), or Latin America, the United States and NATO were responsible for every threat to peace (plus a passing reference or two to Zionism). A man from a U.S. university who is now at a Polish university also blamed oil companies,

particularly Exxon, for risks to peace. There was no discussion of male dominance of political processes or of ways of thinking about international relations. Women must work together to discourage the Western powers from continuing to accelerate the arms race.

Comment: I was given the floor - which was generous because one man had already spoken. (I have found meetings of women to be much more generous in their treatment of occasional male participants than vice versa.) I referred to a pamphlet distributed by Danish women active in the Nordic Women's Peace Movement, which had gathered a million signatures, and to discussions in the Sisterhood workshop - particularly by Norwegian women. In both cases, the question had been raised as to whether patriarchal values were one of the chief sources of aggressiveness, love of power, and war. As a symbol, in most countries at dinner time, men were in front of the TV arguing about football, politics, and wars, while women were in the kitchen. We had heard the same complaint from Soviet women while tourists there. Therefore, in a Round Table of, by, and for women on peace, it was disappointing to hear no discussion of psychological factors. Furthermore, why were only the mistakes of Western leaders discussed. The mistakes of Stalin had been extensively discussed in the Soviet bloc only after he was dead. Among those was his agreement with Hitler to divide Poland. It would be refreshing to hear about the mistakes of Communist leaders while they were still alive. Women (and men) of good will would then have a chance to do something - in time - about the aggressiveness of male leaders in the East as well as in the West.

I was the only speaker who received no applause.

IX. Research and Social Policy (July 21, 1980: PM)  
(With Special Reference to Rural Women)

Participants were from the United States (an anthropologist with experience in Africa), South Wales, India, and from newly independent St. Vincents, Caribbean. All were excellent.

- (a) There was a striking consensus that development projects are under too much pressure to show measurable results in the short range. Allied to this is the tendency to push long-term research into quickie evaluation of those foreshortened projects;
- (b) Some populations and subjects were being over-researched. If the peoples at the receiving end could not avoid being used as "subjects," they would at least like to get feed-back so they could make use of the data which they had supplied;
- (c) Some means were needed to reduce overlapping research and also to share results of field studies. Two resources suggested by panel members were: registry maintained by the ILO of its sponsored projects, and information by the Transcentury Foundation, 18th and Columbia Rd., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007;

- (d) Graduate schools tended to turn out young people who were far more eager to do something apparently new and sophisticated (requiring additional data collection) than they were to make the best use of existing sources;
- (e) Outsiders still needed to do field studies and evaluation, however, despite their limitations, in order to help prod male-dominated governments;
- (f) "Seed money" for building the capabilities of countries to do their own research and evaluation is still needed, particularly by small and newly independent nations; and
- (g) A network or information service is needed on an international scale of, by, and for women because males still dominate most research design.

Comment (which seemed to meet with general agreement):

- (a) Data collected from people should be treated as if it still belonged to them, held in trust by the government and not as government property, and the suppliers of the data were entitled to feed-back as a return on their investment; and
- (b) Most of the data essential for control and meaningful evaluation of programs were in administrative and accounting type records. Women should be encouraged to go into management, fiscal, and related occupations for various reasons, including the fact that power lay within those activities. Too many female college students were being steered into research per se and related statistical areas where they would always be serving the politicians and the executives without becoming part of the top ranks.

My Views Summarized

- (a) Both the Tribune at Mexico City and the Forum at Copenhagen appeared to me to be most worthwhile;
- (b) Unfortunately, the aggressive political demonstrations on behalf of the PLO, Soviet bloc pauses, and anti-American movements got most of the attention and did disrupt some round tables, etc.;
- (c) Most discussions, however, were apolitical, down-to-earth, and quite practical;
- (d) There was a remarkable similarity of problems among the rural women of the developing countries;
- (e) There was also a remarkable similarity of problems among women of the middle classes (and up) of the developed countries. Their problems were so much more subtle and less dramatic than those of

the developing countries that there appears to be a real need for symposia which concentrate on them. From the standpoint of males such as myself, it would be particularly helpful to observe discussions among women of Scandinavia, Western Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. We need to understand why women in countries which have had universal suffrage for so long and in which equality in law is now general - rather than the exception - still have so many handicaps;

- (f) Certainly all possible help should be given to women of developing countries. Nevertheless, women of supposedly advanced countries are entitled to regional meetings on very specific subjects. Such meetings should be so structured as to reduce to a minimum pretexts for disruption by representatives of such non-feminist causes as the Palestinian, communist, anti-colonial, etc.;
- (g) Men should be encouraged to attend as observers so that they can learn about themselves as well as about women. They should be available as resources persons in specific subjects, but they should be very limited in their participation; and
- (h) I am most grateful to all the women who encouraged my participation at Mexico City, Houston, and Copenhagen.

REPORT ON THE NGO FORUM: HEALTH ISSUES

by Cynthia Tutrone

These notes are divided into several different sections. The first is a general description of the workshops I attended, followed by personal comments, notes from interviews, and lastly, names and organizations with which I made contact.

The workshops that I attended varied in subject and content. Most of them were well arranged and organized. Some of the workshops attracted many women from LDCs and others attracted only women from the developed world.

The workshops and general summaries appear in the general order in which I attended them.

Monday, July 14, 1980

10:00 - 12:00 Work, Education and Health for Women  
in the Third World - Development Aid People to People

At this workshop no coordinator from the Organization attended the meeting. People were in and out for quite awhile. One woman started the group talking, mostly women just telling of their experiences. Most of the conversation centered around education. (Not much worth noting about this workshop.)

3:00 - 5:00 Women Influenced by Religion -  
International Association for Religious Freedom

This workshop was - strange. The first  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hours were spent condemning each and every world religion and the concept that we are now living in a patriarchal society. The next 1 hour was spent in several small discussion groups. (Not much worth noting.)

Tuesday, July 15, 1980

10:00 - 12:00 Alcoholism and Drug Dependence -  
International Council on Alcohol and Addictions

A very good workshop. There were quite a number of very knowledgeable women, especially Joan Biely. We discussed the different types of addictions to alcohol: (1) Alcoholism which is a disease and should be treated as such. The disease progresses even if the person does not drink. Latest research shows that it may be caused genetically. (2) Alcohol Abuse, or people who have a drinking problem; it is psychologically just as damaging. It can be helped with counseling. It was noted that words should be chosen carefully when describing these two very different types of abuse of alcohol.

There was concern in the group about the increase of alcohol abuse, especially among students and working women. We discussed possible reasons people drink, i.e., stress and pressure, new family structures, older women (I do not think only older women) cannot give the community what it wants (advertisement establishes norms of beauty and behavior - women cannot meet these norms), peer pressure, girls are flighty. This meeting began discussions about support systems, prevention and education to be continued at later meetings which I did not attend.

I also learned about a directory of women doctors published by the American Medical Women's Association, 1740 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

1:30 - 3:30 Health and Family Planning -  
An Exchange Workshop\*

Another very good workshop. There were three speakers from Turkey, Kenya, and India. They each spoke of family planning in their projects. Then group discussion brought out many questions and problems they had with family planning. This was the first workshop put on by the Exchange on Family Planning, and the main result was the many questions women wanted to discuss with other women. Some of the topics they briefly talked about and planned to discuss further were quality of services, population education, breast feeding, fears, forms of family life, age, acceptability, employment, infertility, drug dumping, occupational health, water, home improvements, problems with cosmetics and imported foods.

Among the more interesting points of information which were new to me was the problem of cosmetics. In the African countries, through media and other phenomena, women and men believe that the lighter the woman's skin color, the more attractive she is. Thus women have been using harsh skin cosmetics which lighten the skin. The problem is that they are scrubbing away their skin and often cause infections. Ironically, we practically do the same thing, only we want to become darker.

A second problem of particular interest was canned foods that are past their expiration dates and are exported to third world countries for consumption. The third problem was the high infertility rate in the United States.

Wednesday, July 16, 1980

10:30 - 5:00 Women's Health, Access and  
Treatment - Equity Policy Center

I attended only the last part of this session. What I saw was good. During the afternoon I prepared for the following two workshops put on by EPCC.

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\*The Exchange puts out a Foreign Report on its workshops, in French and English. I signed up so EPOC would receive one.

Thursday, July 17, 1980

10:30 - 12:00 EPOC Workshop  
3:30 - 5:00 EPOC Workshop

Friday, July 18, 1980

1:30 - 5:00 Adolescent Pregnancy as It Relates to  
Education, Health, and Employment - International Youth  
and Student Movement for the United Nations

Adolescent pregnancy affects 12 - 14 million adolescents each year.

Health Problems

- two-thirds of third world women are youths
- anemia
- nutrition
- pre- and post-natal care
- death
- health services available
- mortality rates
- infant mortality
- low birth weight

Employment Problems

- restricted measures

Education Problems

- forced to leave school
- forced into marriage

Alternatives

- suicide
- abortion - also causing health problems and death
- adoption - sale
- assassination
- fathers sent to prison
- marriage

We discussed the status of adolescents and their specific problems, programs, and projects. Lack of research was mentioned by all.

The Secretary General for the Year of the Disabled spoke, noting that many disabilities result from problems during pregnancy in adolescents, especially in Third World countries. There is also a tendency not to enroll children in schools and not to seek proper medical attention when needed. Problem drinking and drug abuse in youth also contribute to these problems (pregnancy and disability).

After the Secretary General for the International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade spoke, many women shared programs and ideas.

Jamaica - 80% of all abortions are performed on girls between the ages of 11 - 19. Abortion is only granted to those who prove contraception failure.

Mexico - people do not have information and do not know how to use contraceptives. Also, extreme fear and sin are involved when thinking about planning a family (especially outside marriage). Because of the taboos, teachers are afraid to teach it. We do not want to recognize our sexuality and we believe that sex education promotes promiscuity. There is also a problem with unwanted children - often sold.

It was noted that poor women are hurt most and that there is a need to build support systems and self-worth.

Monday, July 21, 1980

10:00 - 12:00 Training Young Women as Literacy Teachers -  
World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts

A good workshop. They explained that most senior girl guides and girl scouts take on service projects. They also explained how girl scouts and guides could help in rural development projects that would benefit the community.

Literacy training, health care services, child care, etc., were discussed along with approaches and methods. They were mentioned as important factors in career building and in establishing self-worth in these young girls.

12:00 I went to a demonstration at the Bella Center.

Tuesday, July 22, 1980

10:00 - 12:00 Family Violence and Violence against  
Women - The Center for Women's Policy Studies

There were two speakers, one from Washington, D.C., the Center for Women's Policy Studies, and a woman from Denmark. The woman from Washington stated that there is quite a number of girls and elderly women who are being abused and that it is a problem just recently receiving attention.

It is estimated that 2 million women are reported battered each year. The first center in the United States for battered women was opened in 1973 in Arizona; since then, shelters have been set up often modeled after those in England. Crisis hotlines were established, and in 1978 the first meeting for those who worked in shelters was called in Washington, D.C.

Shelters provide job training, counseling and housing. The women are encouraged to do what they want. Most return home. An Israeli woman has done some research; she is a lawyer (I did not get her name). It was discussed how only women who were badly beaten are accepted for press and aid from police.

It was an emotional group. The room was fully packed, and various philosophies were circulating. The problem appears to be affecting many women (by attendance, developed world). There is a need for research, financial support, media, economic and political power, and confidence to be given to these women.

1:30 - 3:00 Iranian Women in Politics

The women of the Iranian delegation had the type of devotion to Khomeini that daughters have to their father. Of course, my opinions on this workshop are very biased. I think that things are worse than they describe, but it is time to stop criticizing and just to let them work out their own difficulties. There are many countries whose women face more difficult problems.

3:30 - 5:00 Sri Lanka - Equity Policy Center

This workshop was run by Sita Rajasuruja from Sri Lanka. It was repeated three times (twice on July 24). She showed a film and talked about the Sarvodaya movement.

Wednesday, July 23, 1980

I attended no workshops.

Thursday, July 24, 1980

I worked on workshops about Sri Lanka.

Names of Women and Organizations

The following list are names of people I contacted at the Forum:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Hiang Marahimin Jl. Keton Kacang Raya No. 1 Tkt. III Flat 3 Jakarta, Pusat Tel.: 346772, 365677 321208 (home)	Senior Editor "Feminina" (Majalah wanita)
Gretchen and Ray Manker 4530 E. Pepper Tree Lane Paradise Valley, Arizona 85253	Gretchen is active in women's movement, and Ray is well-known minister of the Unitarian Church
Anton Gammelgard Haraldsgade 15 8260 Viby F Tel.: 06-140903	Young Danish man sending young people to do field work in LDCs
Fannie Bell Bernett 205 Lexington Avenue New York, N. Y. 10016 Tel.: (212) 689-3700	In charge of Program Development Girl Clubs of America
Evern Chanbeshi Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation Zambia Box 21493 Krtwe	Nutrition and health
Cathie Lyons Health and Welfare Min. - U.M.C. Room 350 475 Riverside Drive New York, N.Y. 10115	Health related, she had some good ideas
Mary Wings 3834 Fruitvale Ave. Oakland, Calif. 94602	Artist; young woman has knowledge and experience of working with young g'rls and drug and alcohol abuse
Sue C. Punjack Media Task Force Chairperson P.O. Box 80292 San Diego, Calif. 92138	Journalist for NOW; worked for Dateline Copenhagen
Marie Leonore Sasseti Parque A. Lestro 3-1D 2780 Oeiras, Portugal Tel.: 2431362	Portuguese woman from MCOS - mulheres centrestas democratas sociais

<u>Name</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Joan Biely (IFEBW) Organization 4 Bennett Road Pakuranga Auckland, New Zealand	She is a pharmacist, very knowledgeable and articulate; alcoholism, knowledge of some interesting research by a Doctor Fraser McDonald - the work is not known to the general public.
Dr. Ginonella Tosi Roma, Italy Tel.: 838-1140	Problems of abused women
Zardini, Marie Luisa Tel.: 857-397 (home) 844-9616 (office)	
Pat Cooper 155 Oakside Pl., S.W. Calgary, Alberta T2V, 4R1, Canada	Works with children who have been physically abused - through health education
Promotion Department World Bureau The World Association of Girl Scouts and Girl Guides 132 Ebury Street London, SW1W 900, England	Information on girls world-wide
Jalan K.H.A. Dahlan 36 Yogyakarta, Indonesia	Woman, Philippines, passed out information and spoke about projects of the Indonesian Moslem Women Organization
F.A.O. Metals Program 00100 Roma, Italy	Has funds for projects especially for women
Ann Mannen Olympiaweg 110 3h Amsterdam, Holland	S.B.S.V. (Surinam Women Organization) Health education, women house, children, social, psychological problems
Sita Rajasuriya	Vice President of (I think) Sarvodaya movement
Louis West Center for Women's Policy Studies Resource Center on Family Violence Washington, D.C.	
Ingelese Fruhwirth Danner House Nansensgade 1 1366 Copenhagen, Denmark	

GENERAL COMMENTS AND EMPLOYMENT ISSUES AT COPENHAGEN

by Maria Riley

The airy reaches of Bella Centre, a latterday Crystal Palace of modern Danish design was an appropriate background for the colorful World Conference on the UN Decade for Women held in Copenhagen, Denmark, July 14-30, 1980. Graceful saris, bold African prints, formal oriental dress, severe moslem chadors and contemporary European dress signaled the diversity of the delegates who came to discuss a common concern: the situation of women throughout the world. Of the 1,326 official delegates representing 145 countries, 1,019 were women and 307 were men. They came to Copenhagen to assess the progress women throughout the world have or have not made since the Mexico City Conference in 1975 and to frame a Program of Action for the next five years.

The delegates were divided into three working committees and the Plenary. While the delegates in the Plenary sessions presented positive pictures of the situation of women in the respected countries, committee one hammered out a program of action to improve the real situation on the national level and committee two worked on the regional and international level. The third committee, called the Committee of the Whole, was created at the Conference to address the historical perspective and conceptual framework of the oppression of women in the draft Program of Action. The committee worked entirely in closed sessions as delegates representing the various ideological positions that structure all UN meetings struggled to reach a consensus on the roots of women's oppression: economic imperialism, her reproduction function or sexism. All their causes prevailed, with sexism being relegated to a footnote.

## THE VOTE

For many women from the developed countries, the UN Conference ended in disarray. When the final Plenary session accepted the so-called India Amendment, which calls upon all UN agencies and funds to provide assistance to Palestinian women in consultation and cooperation with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the efforts to negotiate the political division within the Conference was over. The delegate from Canada spoke first, giving a feminist critique of the politization of the Conference. Sarah Weddington, Co-chair of the US delegation, then called for an immediate roll-call vote on the entire Program of Action: 94 nations voted in favor, four voted against (Canada, US, Israel, and Australia) and 22 nations, mostly western developed nations abstained. Except for explanations and recriminations on the vote, the Conference was over. What had happened?

Were women again victims and pawns of the male-dominated politics that controls the UN or did the liberation movements of the people prevail? Both answers were proclaimed by delegates to the Conference, and each has an element of truth. For although most of the delegates were women, all delegates were instructed by their governments still dominated by men. The reality, however, should not obscure another reality: women, particularly women involved in liberation struggles, feel passionately about the political issues which were before the conference, namely Apartheid and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

So how is one to analyze the Women's Conference at Copenhagen? What questions must women continue to probe in the liberation struggle?

## TWO AGENDAS

In fact there were two operative agendas at the Conference: one, the highly publicized, inflated political rhetoric of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; and two, the drafting of the Program of Action for the next five years to improve the situation of women throughout the world. The second agenda is also highly political, having as its goal the equality of women and men in all spheres of human activity; however this movement to create a human order of equality is not yet perceived as revolutionary by many persons. Or is it? And does that perception explain the virulence of the attacks against the Equal Rights Amendment in the US? Some women at Copenhagen speculated that the so-called politization of the Conference was not only an effort to use another UN forum to debate the Middle East questions, but also an attempt by male-dominated governments to deflect the revolution that women are carrying on throughout the world.

However, underneath the political rhetoric of the Conference, committee one and committee two carried forward the women's agenda, outlining the Program of Action for the national and the international levels. In the committees' work, the voices of the women delegates shaped an agenda which identifies the myriad dimensions of women's oppression and outlines a program of change that addresses these dimensions from an equal sharing of household and parenting responsibilities between husbands and wives to full and equal participation of women in shaping the political, economic, social and cultural environments of their respective countries and of the world.

## RESULTS

Unfortunately, the implementation of the Program of Action will

lack the universal support it needs to continue the work of reversing the deeply entrenched historical prejudice against women. All countries and all women will suffer as a result. Because the US voted no to the Program of Action, little official institutionalized effort will be made to disseminate or implement it in the US. Women in the US, one of the few nations in the world that does not have equality for women as a constitutional right, will not benefit from the insights of women from countries with more enlightened social policies than our own in regard to child care, pay equity, shared parenting rights and responsibilities, maternity leave benefits, and retirement benefits, to name a few. In the UN forums, the US will have to vote no to all proposals on women which cite the Copenhagen Program of Action. The fate of US contributions to the UN Voluntary Fund for women rests in the members of Congress.

For women in developing countries, the majority of which voted for the Program, the continuing economic stress of their countries under the existing economic order will inhibit their ability to implement the Program of Action. This reality is not a direct result of their support or non-support of the Program of Action, but it raises several questions concerning the political content of the Conference.

#### MORE QUESTIONS

There was little discussion, relatively speaking, on the international economic and development issues which are so vital to developing countries and to women within those countries. Why was this so? Why were the developing nations willing to risk alienating the western developed nations, with whom they seek to negotiate a new international economic order, with their affirmative votes on the controversial Palestinian amendments? Is it because there was no real

power in the Women Conference? Was the political rhetoric so excessive in Copenhagen because there was little to gain or to lose? Were women again made scapegoats in order to promote other interests? Will the same rhetoric prevail at the UN General Assembly Special Session on Economic Issues (UNGASS), August 25-September 5, 1980, in New York?

#### ASSESSMENT

The final assessment of the Copenhagen Conference does not lie in the political rhetoric or even in the written documents, the Program of Action and the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Rather, the final assessment lies in the hearts and wills of the women who came to Copenhagen (over 8,000 to the non-governmental Forum in addition to the 3,000 at the official conference), who met and who recognized the continuing oppression of women in each other. From this experience new networks were formed across political and ideological barriers and the participants went home more deeply committed to the struggle for women's equality everywhere.

## Employment Issues at Copenhagen

At the pre-Conference press briefing for the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, Kirshna Patel from the Office for Women Workers' Questions of the International Labor Organization (ILO) outlined three arenas of immobility for women workers: immobility in the household, in the market place and in the power structure. This analysis offers a comprehensive framework to study the work-related issues women identified at the Forum and the employment recommendations the official conference outlined in the Program of Action.

### Immobility in the Household

The central women-and-work issue is the sexual division of labor. The social myth that men's work is in the paid employment sector and women's in the unpaid continues to be held up as the norm in most societies despite the evidence that nearly half the world's adult women are in the labor force--a category that does not include the women who do unpaid work at home or in family enterprises.

The sexual division of labor also defines "women's work" and "men's work" in the paid labor force. Women's work is consistently undervalued and underpaid, because the prevailing social myth/<sup>holds</sup> that men are the bread winners and women who work outside the home do so only as a secondary activity to earn supplementary income.

The fall out of the sexual division of labor is best expressed in a oft-quoted statistic from the Program of Action: women represent 50 per cent of the world adult population, one third per cent of the official work force; they perform nearly two thirds of all working hours, receive only one tenth of the world's income and own less than 1 per cent of world property.

In practical terms these statistics mean that women carry an unequal burden of labor; they have little or no income, therefore, no power; lacking income, they are dependent upon others, and they are tied to family responsibilities that deny them job stability and mobility on a par with men.

In response to these realities in women's lives the Program of Action recommends a variety of approaches to free women from this form of immobility. The primary target for change is the sexual division of labor in the household. Several articles of the Program promote the concept that both women and men have the possibility to combine paid work with household responsibilities and the caring for children. Actions recommended to implement this concept include (1) the development of infra-structures such as adequate housing, safe water, energy, child care facilities and amenities for adolescents to reduce women's traditional work load; (2) flexible time and reduced working hours for both women and men; (3) Social Security and other benefits for part-time workers; (4) assessing value to women's traditional work; (5) legislation and implementation to secure for women and men the same right to work and to unemployment benefits; (6) legislation to guarantee that women are not discriminated against on the grounds of pregnancy, maternity or marital status; (8) ensuring in all sectors that the economic returns for women's work accrue directly to them.

#### Immobility in the Marketplace

Immobility in the marketplace is another dimension of the sexual division of labor. The traditional concept that women are responsible for the care of children and the care of the home makes women very vulnerable in the market place to any exigency in the home: children's illness, spouse's change of job, care of household duties, i.e. shopping

or growing and processing food, cooking, gathering fuel, carrying water caring for children and the elderly. In addition the concept of "women work" has consistently determined women workers access to the job market. Women workers are generally stratified in low income and low status with little opportunity for promotion.

Moreover, governments and business have been encouraging development and industrialization, both of which either demand a large pool of women workers or deprive them of their traditional means of self-sustaining work, thus forcing women into the paid work force. However, neither government nor industry have adequately addressed the needs of women and their families in these processes which have demanded of women a double work load and, in many cases, have diminished the quality of family life.

To address these inequities, the Program of Action advocates a variety of changes which include (1) pay equity, equal pay for work of equal value; (2) equality in employment opportunities and training; (3) maternity protection; (4) attention to technology's impact upon women; (5) legislation to protect women from sexual harassment in the work place; (6) guaranteeing the right of free association and the right to organize among women workers; (7) disseminating information on employment opportunities and on the legal rights of workers; (8) extending labor legislation to include domestic servants; (9) designing flexible and informal training programs to promote women in non-traditional areas of work; (10) developing job evaluation criteria which does not denigrate "women's work"; (11) studying impact of traditional corporations to ensure that they offer greater employment opportunities for women and to prevent their negative effects on women; (12) taking measures to insure that women do not suffer the negative impact of recession more severely than men and (13) ensuring that women and men are able to

harmonize their occupational activities with family life, shared parenting, flexible work schedules and leisure for culture and recreation.

### Immobility in the Power Structure

Power is the central issue being raised by women: who has power, what kind of power, how power is used and to whose benefit? The women who came to Copenhagen raised these questions in many areas of relationships: the relationship between women and men, the relationship between developing and developed countries, political relationships and economic relationships. It was clear to the women that women have no power, have no say in how power is used and do not benefit from the use of power. Power is a central concern for women. Gaining access to power is a central theme of the Program of Action.

Before I go any further on this topic, I offer the caution that women need to assess the whole notion of power and how it is used. Feminist today are calling for a kind of power which is participative, enabling and integrative in contrast to the kind of power which we see operative in today's world, which is hierarchical, dominative and competitive. The transformation of the notion and use of power is as radical as the transformation of the traditional sexual division of labor, and they flow from the same vision.

However, vision is implemented by actions and the Program of Action consistently calls for women's participation in decision-making in all arenas of life. In the area of employment the Program advocates (1) the training and promotion of women to managerial levels; (2) enlarging the number of women in policy-making positions in national planning agencies; (3) increasing the number of women at decision-making levels in both national and international worker's organizations (read trade unions and ILO) to a level proportionate to the number of women

working; (4) developing equal opportunity programs to promote access of women to all levels of management and decision-making positions, and (5) guaranteeing to women workers the right to organize, to create co-operatives and to undertake any such ventures that will give them greater control over their lives.

The issues related to women and work carry with them the heavy freight of tradition, a tradition which goes by many names, but which always succeeds in maintaining women in a dependent stance. To begin to implement the Program of Action in the area of employment holds the promise of destroying the centuries old sexual division of labor.

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

The following titles are available at the library of Equity Policy Center for your review inhouse. For copies, please contact the organization listed under the author's name, or Equity Policy Center.

GREEN, Cynthia P. Mid-Decade Conference for Women.

This is a memorandum dated August 1980 containing overview remarks and special attention to family planning. 16 pages. Population Crisis Committee, Washington, D.C.

HOWELL, Barbara. Report on the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women and the Non-Governmental Organization Forum.

This is a general summary oriented around issues. 9 pages. Bread for the World, Washington Office

LEIPER, Jane C. Copenhagen Report: Impressions, Understandings, Facts, and Opinions of one of the 8000 Women from 138

Countries who Shared and Created the Copenhagen Experience. This is a detailed account of the Conference and Forum. 22 pages. National Council of Churches, Washington, D.C.

LEWIS, Helen S. The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: A Chilling Experience.

This is an argued discussion of the racism/Zionism issue. 7 pages. Equity Policy Center, Washington, D.C.

RILEY, Maria. World Conference on the UN Decade for Women.

This is Women's Project Memorandum #1 which contains a general discussion with attention to the Programme of Action. 11 pages. Center of Concern, Washington, D.C.

WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAM AND POLICY CENTER. Workshops on "Growing Older Female: The Needs and Resources of Aging Women" at the UN Mid-Decade Forum, Copenhagen.

This is a review of three two-hour workshops sponsored at the Conference by WSPPC. 7 pages.

The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

TINKER, Irene. A Feminist View of Copenhagen.

This is an argued discussion of events and issues at the World Conference in Copenhagen. 3 pages.

Equity Policy Center,

VOTAW, Carmen Delgado. Copenhagen and Onwards For Women.  
This is an overview with analysis of the influence of  
procedures on the panels. 5 pages.  
Inter-American Commission of Women, Washington, D.C.

Agenda '80s: Point of Reference Between the World Conference  
for the United Nations Decade for Women and the New Inter-  
national Development Strategy Special Session of the UN.  
This is a brief but thorough overview. 5 pages.