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THIRD WORLD WOMEN FAMILY, WORK, AND EMPOWERMENT

**Contemporary Issues for Women in Three World Areas
South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America**

An Instructional Unit for Adults

by
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Funded by
**The U.S. Agency for International Development's
Development Education Program**

Cover Photographs
(left to right)

Young woman farmer driving a tractor - central India
Dr. Doranne Jacobson

Guatemalan women.
Andri Fimmelstrup

Peul woman building her home - Senegal, West Africa
Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)

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Dear Facilitator,

This manual, *Third World Women - Family, Work, and Empowerment*, and the accompanying audiovisual presentations, can be used with a number of adult audiences:

- As a workshop for educators who are interested in including Third World women's perspectives in their courses.

For workshop use, the manual exercises and lessons can be adjusted for a day or day and a half workshop. Suggested times for lessons and adjustments are included in the facilitator instructions for each section.

- As course curriculum for undergraduate students studying women in the Third World.

In Third World or in women's studies courses, the exercises can be used in class with handouts given out as readings for homework assignments.

- Specific sections may be used for adult audiences interested in Third World issues (for example, church groups and private and voluntary organizations).

For study groups, individual exercises and audiovisual presentations may be taken from the unit.

The manual is planned for a minimum of involvement on the part of the facilitator. However, planning by the facilitator is important for adjusting the unit to the needs of the group being addressed. A careful reading of the manual and a review of the audiovisual presentations by facilitators is recommended before presenting materials in a workshop or classroom setting. All necessary handouts have been reproduced separately for ease in copying. The facilitator's manual includes background information, objectives, suggested answers to "Points to Consider," a script of the audiovisual presentation, methods for adjusting exercises and readings for various workshop and classroom formats, and handouts and resource materials.

For a one-day workshop, the focus will be on Parts II and III ("The Family and Women in the Third World" and "Women's Work in the Third World") but we suggest that the facilitator emphasize the importance of Part IV, "Empowerment of Women in the Third World." The rationale for a focus on women's organizations (page 49) should be reviewed with all workshop participants and students. Particularly point out HANDOUT 9 "Planning With Women in Mind - The Example of the Grameen Bank," (Part IV-C, page 67) as a useful selection to use with students and adults that describes conditions in the Third World and a successful worldwide program that originated in Bangladesh. Part V, "Teaching Women's History and Culture in a Global Setting" is specifically written for educators. It is recommended that this section be used when introducing materials on women's history and culture to secondary teachers and other educators.

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Time frame for a one-day workshop:

8:30 - 9:00AM

Coffee, review of the day's activities, "Introduction," and HANDOUT 1 - "Pre-workshop Response" (See, HANDOUT PACKET - yellow pages - at the end of the manual for HANDOUT 1).

9:00 - 9:30AM

Introductory Exercise A - "What is the Third World," (APPENDIX D) is described by the facilitator and Introductory Exercise B - "Who are Third World Women?" - with the accompanying slide presentation - is completed. (If Exercise A is to be used for a class exercise or as part of a longer workshop these two exercises would take at least 60 minutes.)

9:30 - 11:00AM

Part II: The Family and Women in the Third World

Break

11:10 - 12:00AM

Part III: Women's Work in the Third World
HANDOUTS 3 and 4

LUNCH: 12:00AM - 1:00 PM

Box lunches and a viewing of the audiovisual presentation, "Women and Work in South Asia."

1:00 - 2:00PM

Part III - HANDOUTS 5 - 6

2:00 - 2:30PM

Short version of Part IV - HANDOUTS 7 - 9
"Empowerment of Women in the Third World"
(See page 50 for instructions.)

2:30 - 3:30PM (FOR EDUCATORS)

Part V - Exercises 1 and 2: "Teacher Questions"
and HANDOUT 10

Summarize the day's activities by having participants review HANDOUT 11 - Resources and Selected Bibliography.

Complete HANDOUT 1 - "Post-workshop Response" (See, yellow pages)

For a longer workshop or classroom, more emphasis should be placed on Part IV - "Empowerment of Women in the Third World."

The above outline is a suggestion only. Discussions may take longer with some groups; exercises can be shortened to fit revised schedules. "Points to Consider," generally call for open-ended answers with many possible answers.

The major goal for participants is for them to discover why gender must be considered - and used as a category of analysis - when the Third World is discussed. It has been the experience of the authors that participants come to realizations about the importance of gender in their own way and within their own time frame. The facilitator can best help to bring participants along by presenting evidence and allowing for open discussion with a minimum of value judgments or comments.

Susan Hill Gross and Mary Hill Rojas

General Facilitator Instructions For Workshop Presentation

1. Each participant should have a name tag with a number that indicates their small group for the day. Small groups should be made up of four to six participants.
2. Each participant should be given a folder with the table of contents, handouts (yellow pages), and evaluation forms.

The table of contents for the workshop will give participants an idea of what to expect during the day. Care should be taken not to take away from group exercises by giving participants too much information prior to the workshop.
3. General information about time for lunch, smoking, toilet facilities, etc., should be reviewed.
4. Participants should fill out the evaluation form - the first side of HANDOUT 1. Have them place these in their folder until the end of the day when the reverse side will be filled out.
5. Read or summarize the workshop "Introduction" and "Goals."
6. Point out the glossary to participants. Many of the terms and concepts used in the workshop handouts are defined. A copy of the glossary can be reproduced for each participant or terms defined when they come up in the day's discussion. If you feel additional terms should have been included in the glossary, please pass these on to Susan Gross.
7. The workshop is designed for a minimum of facilitator involvement. **Most of the exercises use readings as the basis for small group discussions followed by large group discussions to compare findings.** The basic strategy is for the participants to discover their own answers to open-ended problems and questions.

Participants should be told that they will be doing some reading during the day as well as taking part in discussion groups and viewing audiovisual presentations. The format should be explained.

Frequently there are no right or wrong answers to these open-ended questions.

8. Room setup:

Easel with marker and paper or blackboard (easel preferred).

Carousel projector - (Introductory Exercise B - "Who Are Third World Women?")

DuKane filmstrip projector for filmstrip format or VCR for videotape format.

Tables and chairs should be arranged so small groups can meet comfortably but the room should also be arranged so that large group discussions can also take place.

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9. Suggested times for exercises and readings are meant to give facilitators an idea of how much time to allot for each section. Time periods given to discussions may vary greatly and facilitators should decide if a particular discussion should continue or be closed.

If you have questions, comments, or concerns about workshop techniques, strategies, or content, please call:

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THIRD WORLD WOMEN - FAMILY, WORK, AND EMPOWERMENT

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NOTE: HANDOUTS (yellow pages) to be reproduced for students follow page 131. These are taken from the instructor's manual, therefore, page numbering is not sequential.

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PART I: Introduction

OVERALL PURPOSES

Gender has an impact on *everyone's* lives. The relationships of men and women are fundamental to all human activities. Therefore, gender differences must be examined and gender must be given a central role in the interpretation and analysis of all human activities.

The history and culture of women has largely been overlooked in traditional social science scholarship as well as in textbooks. Therefore, it is necessary to pull out and focus on women's experiences in order to overcome their invisibility.

By the year 2000, eighty percent of the people on earth will be living in the Third World. Many areas of the industrialized world are still at the Third World stage in their economic development. Third World studies must be an important part of global studies at every educational level.

FOUR BASIC WORKSHOP GOALS

- To demonstrate why gender must be considered when contemporary Third World issues are discussed and analyzed.
- To provide examples of women's perspectives in three cultural areas focusing on women and the family, work, and empowerment.
- To suggest curriculum materials and teaching methods for incorporating women's issues into global studies, particularly at the secondary level.
- To suggest and discuss philosophical dilemmas that are present when teaching global issues, particularly those problems that have a special impact on the integration of women's history and culture into global studies curriculum.

INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS USED

- Presentation of data in the form of readings, statistics, audiovisual presentations, and videotaped discussion.
- Participant-oriented small group discussions and exercises with summary discussions in a large group.

PART I: Introduction

TOTAL TIME PART I - 60 MINUTES

****Facilitator Instructions:**

(10 MINUTES)
Housekeeping

(10 MINUTES)
Review the *Purposes* and *Goals* of the unit with participants (page 1).

Read or summarize the *Introduction* that follows (page 3).

(10 MINUTES)
Have participants fill out HANDOUT 1 - "Pre-Workshop Response"

(See yellow handout pages at the end of this manual for a copy of HANDOUT 1 Pre and Post Workshop Response.)

(30 MINUTES) Introductory Exercises A - B: APPENDIX I (page 115).
Review the five criteria and background for the term "Third World," (page 4).

If time allows have participants do the Introductory Exercise A: "What is the Third World" in APPENDIX I (pages 115 - 128). If not, point this exercise out as one to use with secondary students. Facilitators may want to use some of the statistics in Introductory Exercise A when discussing the criteria for classifying a country as Third World from page 4.

Use slide presentation Introductory Exercise B: "Who are Third World Women?" APPENDIX I (page 129) to introduce the diversity of Third World women's lives.

For these exercises review page 4 and APPENDIX I, pages 115 - 131. Note also the handouts for Introductory Exercise A: "What is the Third World?" in the yellow handouts.

PART I: Introduction

In recent years there has been a growing awareness of the importance of women's contributions to economic and human development, particularly in the Third World. Women are overwhelmingly in charge of raising the children of the world, yet women also do a majority of the world's work and grow half of the world's food. Because women account for two out of three of the world's illiterates and 70 percent of the world's poor, they labor under grave disabilities, often with severely restricted opportunities.

Along with a growing awareness of the contributions and problems of women in the Third World there has been an increasing acknowledgment of the neglect of women's contributions and concerns in social studies curriculum. In the last ten years there has been an enormous amount of research on women in developing areas. Women in development (WID) scholarship influences both foreign aid projects and the attitudes of practitioners in the field as well as policy makers and academics at the post-secondary level. However, presently there are few secondary level instructional materials on the critical roles that women play in Third World development. This instructional unit for adults is an introduction to curriculum units developed by the U.S. Agency for International Development's Development Education project, **Women and Development Issues in Three World Areas**. The project provides teachers with curriculum materials - case studies, inductive lessons, evaluation exercises, primary source readings, and sound filmstrips - that will help to fill this void in social studies courses. **This unit, Third World Women - Family, Work, and Empowerment**, is meant to acquaint teachers, general adult groups, or undergraduate level students with some of the perspectives of women in the Third World.

The instructional materials in this adult unit and those in the secondary global studies units concentrate on three cultural areas: South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka), Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America. Each secondary unit in the series includes a sound filmstrip on women and work and print materials that cover topics such as women and health and nutrition, educational opportunities, and organizing for change. A teacher's guide accompanies each of the secondary units with suggested methods for integrating women's concerns into regular curriculum, additional student projects and resources, and answers to "Points to Consider."

Through this instructional unit, **Third World Women - Family, Work, and Empowerment**, teachers and other adult audiences are introduced to some contemporary issues for women in the Third World. Used as a one-day workshop or as a series of shorter class sessions, this unit also concentrates on issues of women and the family, women and work, and empowering women. These issues reflect those of the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) which focused attention on the great need to make visible the critical roles women play in the development of their countries, both within their families and within the world of work. There has also been recognition that women, particularly those raising children as single heads of households, are often the poorest of the poor. With this recognition, women and men around the world are organizing for change and, in so doing, empowering women so that they may have more control over their lives.

INTRODUCTORY EXERCISES A AND B

"What is the Third World?"

"Who are Third World Women? Examples From India"

****Facilitator Instructions:**

For Introductory Exercises A and B turn to APPENDIX I (page 115 - white paper).
Note that the student handouts for photocopying are in yellow.

Introductory Exercise A: "What is the Third World?" involves discussing the model for Third World (as defined below) and categorizing specific countries as Third World or non-Third World. If time does not allow for this exercise, explain the model and review a few of the statistics given in the exercise.

After discussing "What is the Third World?" follow with Introductory Exercise B: "Who are Third World Women? Examples From India." This inductive exercise uses slides. A slide tray, carousel projector, and screen will be needed. The objective of the exercise is to suggest the diversity of conditions for women in the Third World. We feel this quick exercise is an important one and should be used as part of the introduction to this manual.

THE TERM "THIRD WORLD" AS IT IS USED IN THIS MANUAL: A MODEL

There is no good way of labeling the poorer countries of the world. Poorer countries are usually characterized by:

- high rates of illiteracy.
- high rates of infant mortality and low life expectancy.
- little industrialization.
- a majority of population living in rural areas as small cultivators or agricultural laborers.
- a low per capita income according to the gross national product with a high percentage of economic activity taking place in the informal sector and subsistence farming (see glossary).

Most of these countries are in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, although there are regions within the United States and other industrialized countries that have similar conditions.

These countries have been called "less-developed," "underdeveloped," "undeveloped," and "developing." We have chosen to use "Third World" as a generic term in this manual and in the curriculum for this project.

Originally, Third World was a political term chosen by countries that did not want to align themselves with either of the superpowers - the United States or the USSR - in the post - World War II era. The non-aligned countries chose this term after World War II to refer to themselves and to distinguish themselves from what was called, at the time, the "first" world (industrialized countries, generally Europe, the United States, and Canada) and the "second" world (generally the socialist countries but particularly those behind the 'iron curtain' and the USSR). Although the term "Third World" has taken on an economic meaning, it was a descriptive title that came from the areas themselves and preferable to the other labels mentioned.

(Adapted from, Ben Crow and Alan Thomas, *Third World Atlas*, 1983, p. 8.)

PART II: The Family and Women in the Third World

Objectives:

- **To make participants aware of the diversity of the world's family configurations.**
- **To focus participants on a discussion of the family unit as basic for women worldwide and of the nurturing of children and domestic tasks overwhelmingly assigned to women.**
- **To make participants aware of the complex considerations that must be taken into account when families are analyzed from the perspective of women and particularly to assess individual family members' access to and control over resources.**
- **To discuss a major issue for women worldwide - the concerns of women as single heads of households.**
- **To investigate the problems of the "double day" for women worldwide and the effect of the double day on their economic productivity.**

PART II: The Family and Women in the Third World

TOTAL TIME PART II: 80 MINUTES

****Facilitator Instructions:**

PART II-A: Defining "Family" - A Small Group Exercise

1. Divide participants into small groups and assign a recorder by an equitable method. Suggest that participants take turns as recorder throughout the day.

Have each group define the concept, "FAMILY." (10 MINUTES)

Compare the results in a large group discussion. (5 MINUTES)

List the major criteria agreed on the blackboard or easel.

Have participants compare and contrast their own family structures to those they listed as the major criteria for "family." (5 MINUTES)

PART II-B: An Audiovisual Presentation

2. Present slide/tape (or alternative sound filmstrip format):

"Family Configurations in the Third World -
A Focus on Women as Single Heads of Households" (20 MINUTES)

After viewing the presentation ask participants:

"In what ways would the criteria we listed for "family" be adjusted when looking at Third World examples? Where does our criteria agree with family configurations in the presentation?"

(Leave these additions or comments on the easel or blackboard following the group definition of "family.") (10 MINUTES)

3. Have participants define the word "RESOURCES" in small groups - add this definition to the easel or blackboard. (10 MINUTES)

PART II-C: "HANDOUT 2 and Points to Consider"

4. Pass out and have participants read -

"Examples of the Influence of Gender on the Distribution of Family Resources."
(HANDOUT 2) (10 MINUTES)

In small group discussions, have participants complete the discussion questions that follow the readings.

Compare small group answers in a large group discussion. (10 MINUTES)
(See additional instructions for HANDOUT 2 on page 15.)

PART II-B: An Audiovisual Presentation

"Family Configurations in the Third World" A Focus on Women as Single Heads of Households

20 MINUTES

GRETCHEN HEATH, NARRATOR

1. Focus Slide - Glenhurst Publications, Inc.

2. Project Slide: Women and Development Issues in Three World Areas
Funded by: The Agency for International Development's Development Education Program

International Tribune Center - Mother with Children

3. Title Slide: "Family Configurations in the Third World -
A Focus on Women as Single Heads of Households"

Andrus Himmelstrup - Guatemalan Woman and Child

4. This presentation focuses on different family configurations in the Third World. Particularly emphasized are the roles of women within family units and female-headed households.

Eileen Soderberg - Nuclear Family, United States

5. The ideal model in the United States is the nuclear family with mother, father, and children living together.

Margo Sprague - Indian Extended Family

6. Another familiar family model is the extended family - still an ideal in many world areas - where grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins live together or in close proximity.

Thomas L. Kelly - Tibetan Bride, Nepal

7. There are, however, other family configurations not so familiar to us in the United States. One of these is relatively rare, polyandry, or a family where there is one wife and several husbands. This young girl of ten is ready for her marriage day. She lives in the mountains of Nepal. She will marry three brothers.

Thomas L. Kelly - Bride with Three Grooms, Nepal

8. The three brothers are of varying ages. This system means there frequently are women-headed families with no husband present. These families are made up of the women who do not marry. These single women make a living marketing or doing other activities with members of their natal family.

Thomas L. Kelly - Buddhist Nuns, Nepal

9. Many single women in Nepal become Buddhist nuns, choosing a life of religious study and contemplation. Several of them told anthropologist Thomas Kelly that they prefer living as nuns rather than becoming wives.

Helen Henderson - Fulani Husband and Two Wives, Niger

10. Much more common, particularly in Africa and to a lesser extent in the Muslim Middle East, is the polygynous family with two or more wives and one husband. This Fulani family in Niger is composed of two wives and one husband.

Leena Kirjavainen - Family - Two Wives and One Husband, Tanzania

11. This Tanzanian man is pictured with his fifth and sixth wife. His wives reflect his prominent social and economic status. The work of each of his wives increases the economic power of the family.

Leena Kirjavainen - East Africa

12. Under polygyny, if a woman's husband takes another wife, she may find she is expected to get along on her own, as a virtual female head of household.

Doranne Jacobson - Woman Wearing Chadri, Afghanistan

13. Some women in polygynous families live in strict seclusion. This woman from Afghanistan wears a chadri in public. This seclusion of women is known as purdah. Some women are physically secluded in a compound with other women of the family for most of their adult lives. This has obvious implications for their ability to gain an education and to become economically active.

Enid Schildkrout - Hausa Girl, West Africa

14. This girl from northern Nigeria is a member of a Muslim community - the Hausa. Since she is too young to be in purdah, she is able to sell on the public streets the cooked foods her secluded mother makes. She goes to Arabic school for one hour in the morning, but if she were to go to regular school, her mother's one source of income, making and selling food, would be shut off.

Margo Sprague - Indian Child Caring for Younger Siblings

15. One reason for higher illiteracy rates for women in many world areas is that girls are important to their families as domestic helpers or caretakers for their younger siblings. Girls are often kept at home rather than being allowed to attend school.

(Clementina Butler, *Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati*, 1922) - Elderly Hindu Widow

16. Although neither polyandry nor polygyny necessarily results in female-headed families, there are other types of families characterized by the absence of a man. Two very visible examples are those of widowed and divorced women. Widows around the world have a special - often low - status. This early 20th century photograph is of a high-caste Indian widow. By custom she had her head shaved and wore a rough sari. As a widow she was considered to be bad luck - and was expected never to remarry.

Doranne Jacobson - Indian Widows at the Ganges River

17. Similar practices are still carried out in South Asia. These Indian widows are praying for their dead husbands at the Ganges; they probably will not remarry. A young woman from Nepal recently recounted that her widowed mother will never remarry, cannot attend weddings, and wears only a white sari. She commented, however, that her mother has become almost like a member of a "third sex." As a widow, her mother has some freedoms a married woman does not enjoy.

(Clementina Butler) - Child Widows, India

18. Again, in this early 20th century photograph, these child widows had their heads shaved, were considered to be bad luck, and were expected not to remarry. Until recently, girls in India were often married to much older men; they might then become widows as children and remain single all of their adult lives.

(Katherine Mayo, *The Face of Mother India*) - Young Men Pledged to Marry Child Widows

19. These young men were part of a group that worked against this practice by pledging to marry child widows.

Doranne Jacobson - Widow Selling Matches, Lahore, Pakistan

20. This widow in Lahore, Pakistan, sells matches on the street to earn a small pittance on which she lives. Without social security, older widows who do not have sons or other family members to support them are often left destitute. This is one reason that many women in South Asia desire a large family with several sons.

Jan Conkright - Mende Husband and Wife, West Africa

21. This Mende man from Sierra Leone, West Africa, married the widow of his best friend. More commonly in Africa, a woman is expected to marry her brother-in-law upon her husband's death.

Ruth Harris - Woman With Child, West Africa

22. In Burkina Faso, for example, when a woman is widowed, she must choose between staying in her husband's family or leaving it. If she chooses to stay, she is not allowed to stay as a single woman but must marry a member of the family. If she refuses, she must leave the family, including her children. The Minister of Family Affairs in Burkina Faso has come out strongly against this practice.

Doranne Jacobson - Woman and Boy at Bus Station, Konya, Turkey

23. Divorce as well as widowhood leaves women as heads of households. In parts of the Middle East, in some Muslim countries, divorce rates are high. Natal family bonds are frequently seen as more important than the bonds between husband and wife. Therefore, a divorced woman is cared for by her natal family.

Leena Kirjavainen - Village Women, Kenya

24. However, divorce may not be as important an issue in much of South Asia, Latin America, and parts of Africa. For a number of cultural reasons, divorce can be comparatively rare in these areas.

Andrus Himmelstrup - Guatemalan Woman

25. Less obvious than divorce and widowhood and less easy to detect are women who are heads of households but have never been formally married.

Eunice McCulloch - Family Group in El Corpus, Honduras

26. In many parts of the Caribbean and Central and South America, consensual unions are common where a woman and man are never formally married according to law but where children are frequently born to the couple.

Jan Painter - Man and Woman Walking, Guatemala

27. The poor often cannot afford stable, legally sanctioned marriages as there are many social and economic obligations attached to formal marriage that are prohibitively expensive. Some of these unions last a lifetime but more often they are temporary arrangements.

Eunice McCulloch - Central American Mother With Her Children

28. The dissolution of a consensual relationship places a woman in a position similar to divorce but with none of the rights of a legalized union. This Honduran woman who is part of such a relationship has healthy and well-fed children. Nevertheless, there has been a great increase in the dissolution of consensual unions in Latin America in recent years - and her economic well-being may depend on this relationship.

Eunice McCulloch - Woman and Child, Honduras

29. The ending of consensual unions leaves many single mothers. But there are many other reasons for the rapid increase in female-headed households in the last two decades.

Amnesty International - Women Demonstrators, Plaza de Mayo, Buenos Aires, Argentina

30. Political chaos and disruption leaves many men either in exile, in prison, or fighting. These are women marching in the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires. In the 1970s and early 1980s they protested the disappearance of relatives and demanded an accounting of these "disappeared ones" from the military government then in power.

Ms. Magazine - Bangladeshi Woman

31. Besides political disruptions, a rise in female-headed households may be caused by natural disasters. When there were major famines in Bengal, women like this one became wanderers. Some men resorted to the custom of korta, which means "master," and is an accepted social strategy to protect adult males. According to korta, if resources were still available in the village, the husband would stay behind while the wife and children were driven out. If there were known resources outside the village but local food supplies were exhausted, the husband would migrate.

Susan Gross - Uruguayan Woman and Child

32. Modernization, population pressure, and the lure of higher wages have led to one of the primary reasons for the increase in female-headed households - migration of the men from rural areas to cities or other countries in search of wage labor. Migration of men leaves women and children to run family farms. This Uruguayan woman in South America runs her farm while her husband works in a factory.

Howard Massey - Woman and Child, Nepal

33. In parts of Nepal, women often have control over household and agricultural production because the men are away herding or trading almost six months of the year. The children remain with their mothers at home.

Doranne Jacobson - Riffian Women, Morocco

34. These Riffian Berber women of North Africa are known for their independence. In the 1960s and 70s, many of the Riff men migrated to France as temporary workers.

Doranne Jacobson - Riffian Women at a Market, Morocco

35. The women took over at home and marketed goods.

Leena Kirjavainen - African Woman Grinding Grain

36. In African countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland, women are left with increasing work loads because men leave home to work in South African mines. African men from other areas migrate to cities for wage labor, leaving women behind in the villages. Not only do women have the household chores - such as grinding grain and

Kay Williams - Women Carrying Straw, Tanzania

37. carrying fuelwood and fodder, often from many miles distance,

Finette Magnuson - Women Farming, Narok, Kenya

38. but they also have agricultural tasks that the men once helped with or did.

Leena Kirjavainen - Woman Carrying Baby on Her Back, Togo

39. These tasks, of course, are combined with child care.

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization - Woman Escorting Her Child to School

40. The money made by the men often helps pay for school fees or household necessities, but this doesn't lessen the work load for women.

Cover of *Viva Magazine*

41. Women are left as heads of households when men migrate - requiring greater decision-making powers but with none of the legal rights of male household heads. One major problem is the lack of right to land title for women. Even a Kenyan fashion magazine featured an article on this problem.

Page from *Viva*

42. Without the title to land, women have no collateral for credit and cannot get loans to buy equipment, seed, and livestock.

Mary Rojas - Nairobi Skyline, Kenya

43. Besides migration of men, another reason for a rise in female-headed households is urbanization. The lure of the cities, here Nairobi, Kenya, and the

Ginny Seitz - Suburban African Home

44. hope for a better life have led some single women, particularly in Latin America and Asia, to move to urban areas. They leave behind their family and village social supports and often find not comfortable homes to live in,

Ginny Seitz - Cite Simone, Haiti

45. but urban slums, here Cite Simone in Haiti,

Ginny Seitz - Slum, Haiti

46. with open sewers and few resources.

Ginny Seitz - Street Vendor in Port au Prince, Haiti

47. Because of their lack of skills and training, many Third World women work in the informal sector outside of the formal, wage economy. This Haitian woman, for example, sells vegetables on the streets of Port au Prince,

Doranne Jacobson - Woman Selling Notions, Jaisalmer, India

48. and this woman sells household items in Jaisalmer, India.

Doranne Jacobson - Indian Woman Construction Worker

49. This woman from India is an urban construction worker who maintains the social custom of purdah while she works.

Doranne Jacobson - Woman Carrying Child at a Construction Site

50. She may bring her children with her to the construction site. An Indian woman organized mobile child-care centers after she saw the children of construction workers playing in the mud at a building site in New Delhi.

Eunice McCulloch - Young Woman With Children, La Laguna, Honduras

51. It is estimated that one-third of all households worldwide are headed by women. One cause of the worldwide feminization of poverty is that women - particularly women with children - are left to fend for themselves without adequate social or economic support.

United Nations Literacy Chart

52. Particularly in the Third World, many women have little education. Most of the world's illiterates are women. This means that women often must settle for unskilled, poorly paid work.

Ginny Seitz - Women Marketing Goods, Haiti

53. Women, however, have managed to contribute to family income or support themselves and their children as single heads of households against great odds. They may eke out a living as petty traders like this Haitian woman,

Finette Magnuson - Women Farmers, Narok, Kenya

54. or as farmers like these Kenyan women,

Margo Sprague - Construction Worker in India

55. or as construction workers like this woman in India.

International Women's Tribune Center - Women Marching, Nairobi, Kenya

56. Although women in the Third World face serious problems, many are organizing to change economic and social conditions to assure a brighter future for themselves and for their children.

57. THE END

58. ACKNOWLEDGMENT SLIDE

59. COPYRIGHT SLIDE - REPEAT

Footnote:

*Thomas Kelly described the Buddhist nun as blowing a musical instrument called a *kangling* held in her left hand. The *kangling* is made of a human thigh bone. Playing the *kangling* is meant to evoke the gods and is also used at the time of spiritual worship involving exorcisms. The nun beats a *ndamaru* (drum in her right hand), also to evoke the gods.

Note about polyandry: Polyandry was virtually unknown in North America. The Kaska Indians of extreme northern British Columbia practiced it but restricted polyandry to old men who could not hunt and therefore invited a younger brother or close relative to live with him and his wife. (Carolyn Niethammer, *Daughters of the Earth*, 1977.)

The groups that practice polyandry in Nepal were originally from Tibet where polyandry has been a common family configuration. The many months that men were away herding meant that frequently only one husband was present at home at any time. Polyandry was a way to keep all the land of a family intact. Sometimes polygyny and polyandry were practiced in the same family - one of the brothers bringing an additional wife to the family. In the form of polyandry practiced in Tibet, all the children born were attributed to the oldest brother. (See, Marjorie Wall Bingham and Susan Hill Gross, *Women in Modern China*, 1980, "Women of Tibet," p. 42-48.)

****Facilitator: Remember to have participants redefine "family" after the audiovisual presentation. See facilitator instructions page 6.**

Also, in the discussion that follows the filmstrip, again emphasize that the filmstrip focuses on women as single heads of households in the Third World. Although the women mentioned here are mostly economically marginal women, participants should be reminded that there are middle and upper-class women in the Third World that live very comfortable lives economically. Many of these women are well educated and, although often leaders in women's organizations, may lead lives similar to those of economically well-off women in industrialized countries.

PART II-C: HANDOUT 2
**"Examples of the Influence of Gender on the Distribution of
Family Resources"**

****Facilitator Instructions:**

Have participants read HANDOUT 2 and then discuss the "Points to Consider" on page 20 in small groups. Each group should assign a recorder to note down group ideas.

As a summary to PART II, compare answers in a large group discussion.

Suggested answers for "Points to Consider," HANDOUT 2, page 20.

The participants may give a wide range of answers to these questions. As with other exercises in this workshop, the facilitator should take a minimal role that allows for an open discussion.

The following, then, are only a few of the many possible ideas that could be brought to this discussion.

1. Resources can be both tangible and intangible in nature. Education, for example, is an important intangible resource. Boys and men are often favored when educational resources are distributed within families or by governments. An example would be the lack of attention frequently given to women farmers by extension workers. A discussion of resources may range from government priorities to intra-family distribution of goods.

2. Women's access to resources can be limited by many factors. An important one can be women's socialization. Women may see their roles as wives and mothers as being ones of self-sacrifice and long suffering. These attributes are considered ideals of womanly behavior in many cultures. The character of Sita in the Indian myth of the Ramayana or the marianismo and supermadre ideals in Latin America express these characteristics.*

Customs such as women eating last or food taboos may limit women's access to resources. Purdah restrictions and other modesty codes may severely restrict women to resources such as wage work, education, etc. There are many possible answers to this question.

3. Women may practice "self-imposed deprivation," for a number of psychological and social reasons. In many cultures this may be one of the few ways that women can feel superior to men. For example, in Latin American culture the ideal for women called "marianismo" after the Virgin Mary is one in which the mother sacrifices for her children and is seen as morally superior in this role to the father in the family. Women in many societies may get their emotional support from their children rather than from husbands. This may lead to their willingness to make significant sacrifices for their children out of love and affection as well as from social pressures. Again, there are many possible answers to this question.

4. Women in virtually all world areas have been denied access to resources at various times and places. Participants will be able to list examples from their own experience.

*See glossary for Sita, marianismo, and supermadre.

5. The distribution of resources begins at the family level. In families with severe hierarchical or patriarchal* structures, with segregation of the sexes in work and living space, and very limited resources, various age groups of women may be deprived of an equitable share of family resources. More egalitarian family structures will be more likely to distribute resources according to need and with family agreement. Accepted social norms at the family level may affect national goals and priorities.

6. Many answers are possible. For example, expectations that women will be the primary childcare providers while doing other work; the fact that women are often unschooled or illiterate but may need to provide for themselves and their children as single heads of households; and the fact that women's work is often invisible because women themselves are undervalued in many societies or much of their work is done in private may all be given as reasons.

*See glossary. This would be an appropriate place to use the brief exercise on "patriarchy" from page 41.

HANDOUT 2

"Examples of the Influence of Gender on the Distribution of Family Resources"

The following examples demonstrate how the distribution of resources in the Third World can be related to gender. The categories of resources selected as the focus are access to food and nutrition and health care. The rationale for selecting these categories is that they represent the most basic of human needs and have special implications for women who are bearing or nursing children.

The examples are taken mostly from South Asia and, to a lesser extent, Africa. Specific examples of gender biases in distribution of food within the family were not found for Latin America and rarely for Africa. Africa, perhaps, had the most frequent examples of food taboos that might influence women's health and the most rigid tradition of women being in charge of subsistence farming and cooking. This tradition gives women power as food providers as well as imposing a heavy burden of family responsibility upon them.

Researcher A. K. Sen in, *Resources, Values and Development* (1984) claims that intra-family biases in food distribution are peculiar to Asia. However, other investigators point out that discriminatory distribution of food resources favoring males within families may depend more on class or specific group. (Barbara Harriss and Elizabeth Watson, "The Sex Ratio in South Asia," in, Morsen and Townsend, *Geography*, p. 93.) In many parts of the world women are at special risk of suffering from malnutrition because of frequent pregnancies and lactation and insufficient diet.

A large percentage of women in Latin America are part of consensual unions or are single heads of households. They are often completely responsible for feeding their families - and may deprive themselves to do so. This situation is also true of women in Africa and South Asia, (and in many industrialized countries in Europe and North America). For a variety of reasons, a growing number of women are supporting themselves and their families - often as single heads of households. The lack of support systems to aid female heads of households has frequently led to inadequate nutrition for women in this family configuration.

A division of family resources, then, reflects the power structure within the family, social taboos, and the division of labor. The status of family members may be the basis of allocation - particularly where resources are limited. The evidence that women in some groups deprive themselves of food to give the best and most food to family males reveals the powerful psychological internalization by these women of their subordinate position and the ideal of female self-sacrifice.

SOUTH ASIA

According to a study of women in rural Bangladesh, adult women (15 and over) receive between 27 and 63 percent fewer calories than men. When the study was adjusted for the needs of pregnant and lactating women, the female disadvantage worsened. (L.C. Chen, E. Huo, and S. D'Souza, "Sex Bias in the Family Allocation of Food and Health Care In Rural Bangladesh," *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (1981), p. 55-70.)

A study of 17 villages in the Punjab area of India discovered that boys were breast-fed longer and given more food after they were weaned than were girls. Boys from 6 - 24 months in all castes were better nourished than girls of the same age. (Sue Ellen Charlton, *Women in Third World Development*, 1984, p. 5.)

Researcher Shirley Lindenbaum describes a rating system in Bangladesh that gives preference to boys: "mothers favor sons...and the male child receives preferential nutrition. Along with his father, he eats first; and if there is a choice, luxury foods or scarce foods are given to him rather than to his female siblings." (quoted in, Barbara Miller, "Sexual Discrimination and Population Dynamics in Rural India," unpublished dissertation, 1978, p. 137.)

In the northern Indian state of Kashmir an anthropologist reported the belief that "overfeeding" girls makes them unattractive - but there was no similar belief about overfeeding boys. (quoted in, *Ibid.*, p. 138.)

According to a study of a village in south central Bangladesh, women eat after the men and children, making do with what remains. This is largely a self-imposed form of deprivation since it is women who cook, distribute, and serve the meals. It is widely-held belief that such a practice ensures the husband's longevity and good fortune. (Naila Kabeer, "Do Women Gain from High Fertility?" in, Haleh Afshar, ed., *Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World*, 1985, p. 96.)

Hindu women are not allowed to cook or be in the kitchen when menstruating and therefore must accept what food is given them during their menstrual periods. Their food intake is frequently less than normal. (Judit Katona-Apte, "The Relevance of Nourishment to the Reproductive Cycle," in, Dana Raphael, ed. *Being Female - Reproduction, Power, and Change*, 1975, p. 46-7.)

The Indian Council of Medical Research found in 1971 that girls outnumbered boys among children with kwashiorkor, a disease resulting from severe malnutrition, but among children hospitalized with kwashiorkor, boys outnumbered girls. (Kathleen Newland, *The Sisterhood of Man*, 1979, p. 447.)

"It is not unusual to find households [in India] where the women are vegetarian but the males are not. Vegetarianism among females may be rationalized on religious grounds, thus leaving more (or all) of the high protein foods for the males." (Katona-Apte, "Relevance," p. 45.)

The state of Kerala in south India has the most balanced sex ratio - girls to boys - in India (967 males to 1000 females - comparable to Africa, Europe, and North America), while the northern state of Uttar Pradesh has a sex ratio of 1129 males for 1000 females. (Janet Henshall Momsen and Janet Townsend, *Geography of Gender*, 1987, p. 93.)

A study of a slum area in Khulna, Bangladesh, found that 56 percent of all female children from the households studied were either second or third degree undernourished (under 80 percent of expected weight for height), while only 12 percent of male children were malnourished. (Jane Pryer, "Production and Reproduction of Malnutrition in An Urban Slum in Khulna, Bangladesh," in, *Ibid.*, p. 135.)

In Bangladesh 66 percent more boys than girls under five were brought for treatment to health facilities even though there are no sexual differences in general morbidity. (L.C. Chen, E. Huq, and S. D'Souza "Sex Bias in the Family Allocation of Food and Health Care in Rural Bangladesh," *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (1981), p. 55-70.)

"From official statistics [in Bangladesh], it has been deduced that high female death rates from gastroenteritis, colitis, pneumonia, tuberculosis, avitaminosis and other diseases

associated with malnutrition are indicative of the late stage at which treatment is sought. But this evidence may also reflect influences of nutritional status." (Momsen and Townsend, *Geography*, 1987, p. 92.)

Among Hindus in Nepal, women "prepare the food (unless menstruating or recently delivered), but eat last and, therefore, within poor households, eat little. Nutritious foods such as milk, eggs and vegetables may be scarce, and are invariably offered first to men and honored visitors."

(Maggie Pearson, "Old Wives or Young Midwives? Women as Caretakers of Health: the Case of Nepal," in, Momsen, *Geography*, p. 126-27.)

AFRICA

Women provide significant labor as subsistence farmers of the Blue Nile Province in Sudan. Because of male migration, women are left behind to tend and manage the farms. As household providers, they depend on their subsistence farms and remittances from the male family members who have migrated for jobs. However, additional income earned by the men is not necessarily sent home to improve the farm or to pay family expenses. Consumer goods and alcohol are often purchased with extra income - and in many cases the husband takes an additional wife. In contrast to the men, women generally spend their income on community social occasions such as rites of passage, the household, health and schooling.

(Lina Fruzzetti, "Farm and Hearth: Rural Women in a Farming Community," in, Afshar, *Women, Work, and Ideology*, p. 42-58.)

"The cooking of food has considerable symbolical significance in relationships between men and women in most African societies, ...For a wife to refuse to cook for her husband is indicative of her extreme displeasure and tantamount almost to a sign that she is about to leave him. Similarly, for a husband to accept and eat food cooked for him by a woman other than his own wife or a relative is tantamount in her eyes to his committing adultery." (Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns*, 1973, p. 169.)

Food taboos may prevent good nutrition. In parts of Tanzania and Botswana, women are reported not to eat eggs because they think it interferes with women's fertility. The restrictions on the diets of nursing mothers in many societies are too numerous to list. (Newman, *Sisterhood*, p. 49.)

Among the Luo of Kenya, "the association of women with agriculture and men with livestock and wild game is mirrored in a series of food taboos that prevented Luo women from eating chicken, eggs, milk, sheep, rabbit, hippo, or elephant meat...Customs that reserved many of the high-protein foods for men must have had some effect on women's health, fertility, and agricultural productivity." (Margaret Jean Hay "Luo Women and Economic Change During the Colonial Period," in, Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds, *Women in Africa*, 1976, p. 91.)

Secluded muslim women in Africa, South Asia and the Middle East who keep to purdah restrictions must depend on the availability of women doctors and health care providers as it is against modesty codes to visit a male doctor. For example, in one case all the men were sent out of a north African village for a day while the women were vaccinated for tuberculosis. (Rene Gardi, *Blue Veils-Red Tents*, 1953, p. 33.)

Ewe men of east Africa traditionally grew the staple crop, yams, used primarily for subsistence. In recent years heavy male migration and growing of the cash crop, cocoa, by men has meant that women now provide food for their households. Men contribute money for occasional expenses like school fees, tools, or house maintenance but not toward food and day-to-day expenses. The Ewe women complain that the men spend cash from wages and selling cocoa on "bachelor consumption goods" such as cigarettes, palm wine, watches, and sometimes radios or bicycles.

(Esther Trenchard, "Rural Women's Work in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Implications for Nutrition," in, Mcmsen and Townsend, *Geography*, p. 165.)

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. Thinking over the discussion of the terms "family" and "resources," the audiovisual presentation "Family Configurations in the Third World - A Focus on Women as Single Heads of Households," and the information on HANDOUT 2, in what ways would you modify or change your definition of "resources"? Would you further modify your definition of "family"?
2. From these readings and your general knowledge, what specific factors limit access to - and control of - resources by women?
3. Since women are the cooks, the fact that they often are less well-fed (as Naila Kabeer commented in the example from Bangladesh in HANDOUT 2 on page 18) is largely a self-imposed form of deprivation. What factors do you think lead to this kind of self-imposed deprivation on the part of women?
4. From what you know of limitations to Third World women's access to resources, are there similar limitations for women in parts of the industrialized capitalist or socialist worlds?
5. List reasons why a knowledge of family structure is important for an understanding of the allocation of resources in all societies.
6. Speculate about ways in which this allocation of resources may relate to women's roles in economic and social development.

PART III: Women's Work in the Third World

Objectives:

- To introduce participants to the complexities of the concept "work."
- To present participants with a cross-cultural description of women's work and the division of labor by sex.
- To make participants aware of ways in which women's work is crucial to family welfare.
- To investigate reasons why women's work is frequently not perceived as work or is undervalued.

PART III- A: HANDOUT 3

"What is Work? An Exercise"

TOTAL TIME PART III - A: 60 MINUTES (HANDOUTS 3 AND 4)

**** Facilitator Instructions:**

Put the instructions for small groups below on the easel or blackboard:

- In small groups discuss and record, how you would define "WORK."
- What kinds of work does our society value most? Least? How does your group think these values are determined? (10 MINUTES)
(Record your answers for a later large group discussion.)

After participants have completed the instructions above, pass out - HANDOUTS 3-a, 3-b, 3-c, 3-d - ONE TO EACH GROUP.

(If you have more than four groups, give two small groups the same handout.)

****Facilitator** - put the following instructions on the easel or blackboard:

In small groups:

- Read over the brief description of one aspect of work.
- List in group discussion examples of this kind of work in the participants' society.

Then, as a group, decide whether in the participants' society:

- women or men are the primary people to carry out the activities in this category.
- this is a valid description of an aspect of "work."
If it is "work," how highly valued is it?

Share the definition of work that was discussed in your small group and your group decisions about this aspect of work in a large group discussion. (15 MINUTES)

HANDOUTS 3-a, 3-b, 3-c, and 3-d (One to each group)

HANDOUT 3-a

WORK AS PRODUCTION TASKS

Production is work where workers are generally paid for their labor with wages or receive payment for other income-earning activities. It also includes work, such as subsistence farming or slave labor, where the result is a consumable product. However, subsistence farming in many world areas is looked at as an extension of housework and so is not seen as "productive."

HANDOUT 3-b

WORK AS REPRODUCTION TASKS

Reproductive work can be defined as the biological reproduction of human beings and the daily maintenance of the labor force but also social reproduction; the perpetuation of the particular social system. (Lourdes Beneria - Introduction to *Women in Development*, xxiii.) Subsistence farming and work in the informal sector is often viewed as an extension of housework, so is "reproductive" work.

HANDOUT 3-c

WORK AS INTEGRATION TASKS

Integration work can be defined as those tasks that serve to hold the society together and build morale in the community. Integration work aims at tempering griefs, disappointments, failures and celebrating success and joy. These tasks often involve life stages' rituals associated with birth, passage to adulthood, courtship and marriage, and death. (Kenneth Boulding, quoted in Jessie Bernard, *The Female World From A Global Perspective*, 1987.)

HANDOUT 3-d

WORK AS STATUS ENHANCEMENT TASKS

Status enhancement tasks are those that lead to increased prestige for an individual, family, or community group within their community or society. These tasks may be associated or confused with leisure activities. They often involve various kinds of volunteer work.

PART III - A: HANDOUT 4

"A Model for Defining Work"

****Facilitator Instructions**

After completing the exercise on "work" and comparing answers in a large group discussion, have each participant read HANDOUT 4. (12-15 MINUTES - give enough time for individuals to read and study this handout.)

In small group discussions have participants review their group definitions of work. They should decide whether they want to change or modify their definition and give reasons for the changes.

Then they should complete the summary questions following HANDOUT 4 on page 31 in a small group discussion. (10 MINUTES)

Small group definitions of work and answers to summary questions should then be compared in a large group discussion. (5-10 MINUTES)

Is there a consensus of what "WORK" is?" If so, write it on the easel.

Suggested answers to "Summary Questions" HANDOUT 4, page 31.

Answers to the Summary Questions on page 31 will vary. Some work might be hard to evaluate or give a monetary value to; women's work might be undervalued because women are undervalued; child care and reproductive work - as well as status enhancing and integrative work - may be looked at as non-work - something particularly women do for others willingly, as self-sacrifice or out of love or affection.

Participants may offer other models for work. A problem with this model may be that it is too broad - and that even those things seen as non-work could be classified as work. On the other hand, the idea is to have participants look at *how they occupy their time* and to view particularly integrative tasks as very central to social survival though frequently undervalued.

HANDOUT 4

"A Model For Defining Work"

WORK AS PRODUCTION

Historically, production has been associated primarily with men.

Production involves income-generating activities, paid or wage labor. It is valued as "real," accountable work because visible cash payment is made for productive labor or economic activities. The category "productive work" should also include subsistence farming and work in the informal sector such as trading fruits and vegetables and selling homemade beer and foods. Work in the informal sector, however, is often not counted in national statistics. The work of women in the informal sector is often seen by both men and women as an extension of housework.

The capitalist view of women and productive work is that, although not the ideal, some women may need productive work to help support their families or themselves. In some countries, such as Japan and Mexico, corporations often encourage young women to work in low-level office or factory jobs. Generally these are poorly paid and are seen as temporary productive work jobs for women before marriage.

Women are needed in the productive work force in times of emergencies, particularly during wars. Through propaganda, governments encourage women to work in the productive sphere during wartime. Frequently, reverse propaganda demands they leave the productive work force at the end of war.

In the 20th century women in the capitalist world have organized to demand equal productive work opportunities and wages and to have men share in reproductive work.

The socialist view of productive work for women has encouraged women to enter the productive work force - this has been an ideological commitment.

According to socialist planning, day care for children, food, and laundry services were to be provided and women were to work for wages. For example, Lenin said that to become equal with men, "women [must] participate in common productive labor."..."housework is the most unproductive, savage and the most arduous work a woman can do."..."We are setting up model institutions, dining rooms and nurseries, that will emancipate women from housework. And the work of organizing all these institutions will fall mainly to women.... Women can also work in the sphere of food distribution, on the improvement of public catering..." (N. Lenin, "Pravda," No. 213, September 25, 1919.) In other words, in the socialist state, women would be doing tasks similar to those they did before the socialist revolution but with socialism they would do these tasks as productive wage laborers rather than as unpaid reproductive laborers.

Third World views on women as productive laborers vary - some fit the capitalist view and others fit the socialist view. However, the Third World view toward women doing productive work, as in most of the world, has been ambivalent. Young women, as in Mexico, may work for wages until marriage but the ideal is the mother at home. Many Third World women must work for wages - as with Indian construction workers or factory workers. Many Third World areas, (e.g., the Middle East), have very low rates of women in the formal productive wage force, but many subsistence workers are women - and women in the informal sector are not counted in official statistics.

Policies aimed at providing women with productive labor have often resulted in a double work day for women worldwide. Neither capitalism nor socialism have seriously addressed the problem of changing the male/female division of labor. Soviet propaganda encourages husbands to help their wives at home; men are pictured in aprons washing dishes. However, studies have shown that Soviet women are overwhelmingly in charge of domestic chores, child care, and shopping. (See, Gail Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society*, 1978). The ideal of institutionalizing day care, laundry, and food preparation tasks faded away by the Stalinist era in the U.S.S.R. and has not been possible in China because of limited resources.

The women's movement in the capitalist world has had a goal of sharing equally the home tasks between women and men as well as better public services for child care. The ideal of mothers staying at home and the lack of female political clout in many capitalist world countries has meant that progress toward equal sharing of domestic work and public support for child care are limited. Perhaps a lesson to be learned from the history of women as productive workers is that it is easier to change the status of women in laws or at the workplace than it is to change female and male roles.

Because of lack of support services, lower-class women working for wages in the Third World are frequently severely overworked. On the other hand, availability of domestic workers and the extended family ideal have meant that some highly educated women in the Third World are free to pursue careers.

WORK AS REPRODUCTION

Reproductive work is associated with domestic work and child care.

Reproductive work is generally undervalued, non-paid, and overwhelmingly associated with women.

In many world areas, subsistence farming and food preservation are seen by women and men as extensions of housework - therefore as reproductive tasks.

The capitalist solution to the undervaluing of reproductive work has been to glorify motherhood and the home. In the 19th century, for example, upper-class women in Europe and North America were often seen as the protectors of the home while men sacrificed and tainted themselves by working in the "evil" outside world of business. Women were seen as the moral force of the family and their roles as wives and mothers were venerated. (Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 18 (Summer, 1966), p. 151-66.

More recently, women have been encouraged to work for wages - but the attitude toward their productive work has been ambivalent, particularly in the United States. Child care facilities, for example, have lagged far behind need, partly because the family ideal has continued to be a mother staying at home to care for her children.

The socialist solution to undervaluing of reproductive work was to provide women with productive (wage) labor and take care of domestic work communally. Therefore, Lenin called women "household slaves," for they are overburdened with the drudgery of the most squalid, backbreaking and stultifying toil in the kitchen and the family household." The solution is the "emancipation of woman, her liberation from 'household bondage' through transition from petty individual housekeeping to large-scale socialized domestic services." (N. Lenin, speech for International Woman's Day, 1921, in, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 161-63.)

Most Third World societies put heavy emphasis on women as mothers. High infant mortality, lack of social security, preference for boys, and other factors encourage large families and a focus on motherhood for women. Women are valued as mothers but women's reproductive roles are also seen as "natural" ones and often appropriate technology to relieve the domestic labor of women is not given high priority.

Both the capitalist and socialist solutions have been unsuccessful in solving the problem of undervaluing. The capitalist solution of honoring motherhood and encouraging women to stay at home has only been applicable to a small group of upper-class women whose husbands could afford dependent wives and children; the solution does not acknowledge economic problems that frequently accompany divorce or widowhood; it assumes that all women find satisfaction in domestic work.

The socialist solution to undervaluing of domestic work has not successfully addressed the difficulties in setting up a system of "large-scale socialized domestic services." Women continue to do double duty in the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Even in an idealistic communal setting such as the kibbutzim in Israel, women still tend the "baby houses," and few men are assigned to what is seen as "women's work" such as laundry or food service. Here, as elsewhere, the tasks associated with women, such as child care, have less prestige than those associated with men, such as using farm machinery. (See: Rae Lesser Blumberg, "Kibbutz Women" in, Lynne Iglitzind and Ruth Ross, eds. *Women in the World*, 1976.)

The idea that men and women are equally responsible for child care and domestic work - that female/male roles have to change - has only recently been forwarded as a necessary element in solving the problem of acknowledging and valuing reproductive work.

WORK AS INTEGRATION TASKS

According to American economist Kenneth Boulding, the concept of "integrity" contrasts with the idea of economy and polity. As explained by sociologist Jessie Bernard, integrity "served the function of holding the parts of a society together, of preventing the economy, for example, from self-destructing. The rules which govern the way the economy and the integrity operated were almost polar opposites. The economy governed the production of goods and services for the market; the integrity did the integrating work, that is, it built morale in the community; it 'stroked,' supported, tempered griefs, disappointments, and failures...." (Bernard, *The Female World*, p. 16.)

Tasks associated with integrity are primarily assigned to women.

Many integration tasks are accomplished in the private sphere of home and family but have important implications for the public sphere. Integration tasks often involve life stages, as mentioned earlier, and making arrangements for these crucial rituals and religious observances have usually fallen to women. The care of the elderly and disabled individuals may be seen as integrative tasks (and reproductive).

Integration tasks also involve the creation of community - the formation of bonds that hold groups of people together and create loyalties and provide needed services to individuals in times of trouble. These tasks are often important in preventing the alienation of individuals, therefore, may prevent criminal or violent acts against the group or community members.

Integration tasks have been invisible as work worldwide. They have been valued in themselves - as entertainments or significant events marking traditional holidays or life stages. They have also been valued for their economic importance - as in arranged

marriages involving dowry or brideprice. But their importance as integrity has not been fully recognized. As important and time-consuming tasks primarily of women, integration tasks are generally unacknowledged as work.

WORK AS STATUS ENHANCEMENT TASKS

These tasks are associated with both sexes but more frequently are women's work.

Status enhancement tasks are generally undervalued as work and may be viewed as leisure.

Status enhancement tasks are usually seen as the result of economic privilege. Symbolic messages are one important result of this work. For example, purdah restrictions placed upon women in the Third World are seen as demonstrating a family's affluence and power. Purdah restrictions on women become a symbolic expression of a family's increased status. Work, however, in other categories may continue to be done by women with the added burden on family women of keeping purdah restrictions.

In the capitalist world, status enhancement tasks frequently involve consumerism and shopping - mainly by women. Consumerism is intended to emphasize the importance of the family or individual by "conspicuous consumption." A display of expensive consumer items or the giving of gifts may enhance the power and prestige of a family in both the capitalist and Third Worlds and can contribute to the upward social mobility of individuals or families. This is probably also true in many socialist societies although officially denied.

Other status enhancing tasks involve volunteer work. These tasks may also be seen as integrative. Frequently, however, wives (especially in the capitalist world) are expected to carry out certain kinds of volunteer work that can be status enhancing for the family or husband. In the capitalist world, volunteer work often involves public acknowledgment of the status enhancement work being done - a charity ball, for example. These time-consuming volunteer commitments can only be accomplished by wives with the time to do them - so they are a public acknowledgment of the ability of the family or husband to support the activity. In addition, entertaining - such as giving dinner or other parties arranged for and carried out mainly by women - may involve status enhancement.

Capitalist societies may swing from eras of consumerism, where symbols of affluence act as strong status enhancers, to eras of belt tightening, where conspicuous consumption is deprecated. The idea of the "social climber" is generally scorned, but social occasions are frequently used for status enhancement purposes.

In the socialist world, party activities and meetings may be important to the status enhancement of individuals. Soviet women are less able to do this kind of volunteer work because of domestic, reproductive chores that they are expected to do along with their productive, wage jobs. With this "double duty," they have significantly less time than men for the party activities that might develop into leadership positions. (See Alena Heitlinger, *Women and State Socialism*, 1979, p. 147-165 and Gail Lapidus, p. 5-6, 323.)

Socialist societies strive to eliminate many of these activities as class symbols but encourage volunteer tasks and other status enhancement activities involving party functions.

In the Third World, women are frequently in charge of social obligations. For example, one researcher found that women in the Sudan village she studied spent much time and their own earnings on cultural and social obligations - rites such as birth, marriage, circumcision, death and gift giving involved women's money and labor. (Lina Fruzzetti, "Farm and Hearth: Rural Women in a Farming Community," in Haleh Afshar, *Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World*, 1985, p. 50.)

NON-WORK

One way to think of work is to consider "how one fills one's time," and then to make a distinction between work and non-work. Non-work is perhaps more easily defined than work. Non-work can be seen as activities involving personal maintenance (specifically sleeping, eating, exercise, and physical grooming) and leisure activities of one's choice done for pleasure.

Work is not all disagreeable and not all non-work is done for pleasure. Personal maintenance tasks can be quite dull, for example. In fact, it is noteworthy that wealthy or powerful persons often hire others to do most of their non-work but not all of their work.

The line between work tasks and what is considered leisure may be unclear. Work may be a concept so narrow (only productive) or so general (all four areas equally considered) that it is not a particularly useful concept as a category of human endeavor. However, since our value or worth as human beings is partly dependent upon the work we are perceived as doing, it is essential to discuss the concept "work" when thinking about women's concerns.

Summary Questions

For large group discussion and summary:

1. Suggest reasons that you think certain types of work may not be included in national statistics? Be undervalued?
2. If you include all four categories as definitions of work, what is non-work? Do you agree with the authors' definition of non-work? Why or why not?
3. Is work a useful concept? Why or why not?

PART III - B: HANDOUT 5

"Getting at Women's Work - A Day in the Life of Third World Women"

TOTAL TIME PART II-B: 25 MINUTES

****Facilitator Instructions**

Have participants quickly read over HANDOUT 5:

"Getting at Women's Work - A Day in the Life of Third World Women"
(5 MINUTES)

Have participants write down a "day in their life" in as much detail as they can recall. They might try doing this for a recent, typical work day. (10 MINUTES)

(**Facilitators note that these directions are reproduced for participants at the beginning of HANDOUT 5.)

When they have completed their "day," have participants categorize their activities as Reproductive, Productive, Integrative, and Status Enhancing, Leisure, or Personal Maintenance. (5 MINUTES)

Discuss in the large group similarities and differences between their own typical work day and that of women in the descriptions in HANDOUT 5.

Have participants suggest ways that unpaid (often women's) work can be made more visible. These can be added to the easel or blackboard.
(Discussion total: 10 MINUTES.)

HANDOUT 5

"Getting at Women's Work - A Day in the Life of Third World Women"

To get at the reality of women's work, the usual measures that emphasize productive, wage work have had to be revised or abandoned. Official definitions of those who are "economically active" frequently do not count women who support themselves and their families by working in the informal sector of the economy.

In near subsistence societies women's labor is often crucial to family survival but frequently is not counted in the gross national product of the country. According to the United Nations definition, the poorest countries have a per capita income of \$125 or less a year. Survival for many people in these societies obviously does not depend upon cash expenditures but on subsistence activities.

Time-use studies (or time-budget surveys) have been one way to get at women's work. Many of these studies are elaborate, statistical analyses of a number of households in one particular area. (See: Mayra Buvinic, Margaret Lycette, and William McGreevey, *Women and Poverty in the Third World*, 1983; Nural M. Islam, Richard Morse, and M. Hadi Soesastro, *Rural Energy to Meet Development Needs*, 1984, for examples of time-use studies.)

This exercise does not attempt to replicate time-use studies. The following are descriptions of a few typical "days in the life" of women in a variety of world areas and times.

Directions for the Participants:

First quickly read over the descriptions of the day in the lives of five women described in HANDOUT 5.

- Think back on a recent, typical day in your life and account for how you filled your time. Try to be as accurate and complete as possible.
- Looking at your list, categorize each activity as: Reproductive, Productive, Integrative, Status Enhancing, Leisure, or Personal maintenance.
- What percentage of your time was spent in work that would be counted in the GNP - gross national product? (The total monetary value of all goods and services produced in a country in one year.)
- List specific problems you had accounting for your time. Do some activities fall into more than one category?

In small groups discuss:

- The similarities and differences between your work and those of women in the descriptions of the daily activities of the women in this handout.
- The ways that work in the informal sector - or non-wage work - could be accounted for.
- Compare ideas in a large group discussion.

Women's Long Working Day

From: Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, *In Search of Answers*, 1984, "Women's Condition and Family Life Among Agricultural Laborers and Small Farmers in a Punjab Village," data collected by Berny Horwitz, p. 89-90.

"Women's activities were centered on a continuous round of domestic and/or field labor. Their working day was much longer than that of the men of the household. The survey was carried out during the cotton picking season, a time when most women from both agricultural laborer and Jat * land owning households were heavily involved in field labor. Among the 13 agricultural laborer women who went to the fields to pick cotton (only one 80-year-old blind agricultural laborer woman did not go), the average length of the workday reported by these women was 15.5 hours every day.

"On an average, they spent almost six hours a day on domestic work. Typically, they got up at 4 or 5 AM, did cooking, cleaning and other household work until about 8 AM, reached the fields by 9 AM and picked cotton till about 6 PM. In the evening, they returned home between 6 and 7 PM, and then spent the next few hours till 9 or 10 PM doing housework."

*See glossary for Jat.

A Day in the Life of A Tamil Woman of Sri Lanka - Yogamma

From: Else Skjorsberg, *A Special Caste: Tamil Women of Sri Lanka*,
1982, p. 56-59.

Yogamma is a woman who belongs to the Hindu Palla caste. The Palla caste is considered to be the lowest of Sri Lanka Hindu Tamils - they are outcastes. She is 28 years old and has five children. She is a comparatively well-off for an outcaste woman. Her husband, a healthy and strong man, taps toddy [palm trees tapped for their sap to make a fermented drink] for wages.

By six o'clock AM she is already up, has washed, and gone to the field to do her toilet. This is the timetable for the rest of her day:

6:00AM She sweeps the kitchen and makes breakfast.

6:20 The whole family eats bread and drinks tea.

6:35 Yogamma goes to look for a cup that has been lost.

7:00 She washes up after last night's dinner.

7:25 She helps her older girls get dressed and off to school.

7:40 She washes her infant and prepares herself for going out.

8:00 She is at the Thoppukadu health center to get milk powder which is distributed to underweight infants. The child is fed there.

9:30 She is back home, where she sweeps the kitchen (which is a separate building), living quarters, and the yard.

11:10 She washes herself, hands and feet.

11:25 She comforts her baby, who is crying.

11:35 She goes to get water which is brought to Main Street in a tanker lorry, because the village wells have dried up. The water is rationed because of the drought. She is entitled to only two pots or 36 litres of water.

11:55 She goes with a neighbor to an uncultivated area to pick green leaves.

12:30 She starts making lunch: fish and "spinach."

1:35 She washes up and sweeps the kitchen.

2:00 She pounds chilies for the dinner.

3:00 She prepares her baby and herself for going to the health center again.

3:10 She goes to the health center to get milk powder for the afternoon feed and feeds the baby.

3:30 She is back home again. She leaves the baby with her elder daughter and collects dirty clothes.

3:40 She goes to the well where she washes clothes, helped by her second daughter.

4:40 She arrives back home and spreads out the clothes to dry.

4:50 She lights the fire, makes tea for her father-in-law, and drinks tea herself.

5:00 She goes to Main Street to see if she can find some cheap vegetables to buy.

5:30 She goes to the well to get water (not drinking water.) The pot she carries weighs 18 kg [about 40 pounds] when full.

5:55 She cleans the lamp, fills it with oil and lights it.

6:10 She cooks dinner: rice and fish.

6:55 She cooks milk porridge for her baby.

7:00 She gives her children dinner.

7:20 She puts the children to bed.

7:30 She sits outside the house and makes a basket from palmyra leaves, chatting with her neighbors while she works. The basket she will try and sell.

8:30 She serves dinner for her husband and father-in-law.

8:45 She eats dinner herself and washes up.

9:00 She rests.

9:30 She goes to sleep.

Timetable of Yogamma's Husband's Day

Rajendran gets up shortly after 6:00 AM. Then -

6:20 He eats breakfast which is served by his wife.

7:00 He goes to work at Kayts [a neighboring island].

8:00 He starts his job building fences, plowing, watering, building houses, or whatever work he may be put to.

12:00 He goes home.

12:30 He goes to the men's well to wash himself.

1:15 He eats the lunch prepared by his wife.

1:30 He rests.

2:00 He returns to Kayts.

2:30 He resumes work.

5:00 He leaves when the working day is over and goes home in the company of friends.

5:30 He drinks tea at home.

5:35 He goes to Main Street to be with friends, play cards, and chat.

8:30 He eats dinner.

8:45 He chats, listens to the radio or rests until bedtime.

How a Miner's Wife Spends Her Day

From: Domitila Barrios De Chungara, *Let Me Speak!*, 1978, p. 32-33.

This is the testimony of a Bolivian woman who reported at the International Women's Year Tribunal at the United Nations meeting in Mexico in 1975. She is the wife of a miner, mother of seven children, and represented the "Housewives' Committee of Siglo XX" an organization of wives of workers in the tin mines of Bolivia.

"My day begins at four in the morning, especially when my *companero* [husband] is on the first shift. I prepare his breakfast. Then I have to prepare the saltenas [Bolivian meat pie], because I make about one hundred saltenas every day and sell them in the street. I do this in order to make up for what my husband's wage doesn't cover in terms of our necessities. The night before, we prepare the dough and at four in the morning I make the saltenas while I feed the kids. The kids help me: they peel potatoes and carrots and make the dough.

"Then the ones that go to school in the morning have to get ready, while I wash the clothes I left soaking overnight.

"At eight I go out to sell. The kids that go to school in the afternoon help me. We have to go to the company store and bring home the staples. And in the store there are immensely long lines and you have to wait there until eleven in order to stock up. You have to line up for meat, for vegetables, for oil. So it's just one line after another. Since everything's in a different place that's how it has to be. So all the time I'm selling saltenas, I line up to buy my supplies at the store. I run up to the counter to get the things and the kids sell. Then the kids line up and I sell. That's how we do it...

"Well, then, from eight to eleven in the morning I sell the saltenas, I do the shopping in the grocery store, and I also work at the Housewives' Committee, talking with the sisters who go there for advice.

"At noon, lunch has to be ready because the rest of the kids have to go to school.

"In the afternoon I have to wash clothes. There are no laundries. We use troughs and have to go get the water from the pump. I've also got to correct the kids' homework and prepare everything I'll need to make the next day's saltenas...

"The work in the committee is daily. I have to be there at least two hours. It's totally volunteer work....

"The rest of the things have to get done at night...I generally go to bed at midnight."

A Day in the Life of An African Woman

From: 1984 Church World Service Third World Calendar,
New Internationalist Publications, Ltd.

According to studies of the Church World Service and the United Nations, the following would be a day in the life of a typical rural African woman.

4:00 AM - Wakes up, washes, eats some leftover food.

5:00-5:30 AM - Walks to her fields.

5:30 AM to 3:00 PM - Plows, hoes, weeds her fields.

3:00 to 4:00 PM - Collects fire wood and comes home.

4:00 to 5:30 PM - Pounds and grinds corn.

5:30 to 6:30 PM - Fetches water (2 kilometers each way).

6:30 to 7:30 PM - Lights fire and cooks for family.

7:30 to 8:30 PM - Serves food to family and eats.

8:30 to 9:30 PM - Washes children, the dishes, and herself.

9:30 PM - Goes to bed.

(Child-care chores accompany these activities.)

A Day in the Life of an Illinois Farm Woman

From: Gerda Lerner, *The Female Experience*, 1977, p. 128-129.

This article was submitted to a journal, *The Independent*, anonymously, in 1905.

"Any bright morning in the latter part of May I am out of bed at four o'clock; next, after I have dressed and combed my hair, I start a fire in the kitchen stove,...sweep the floors and then cook breakfast.

"While the other members of the family are eating breakfast I strain away the morning's milk (for my husband milks the cows while I get breakfast), and fill my husband's dinner pail, for he will go to work on our other farm for the day.

"By this time it is half-past five o'clock, my husband is gone to his work, and the stock loudly pleading to be turned into the pastures....I now drive the two cows a half-quarter mile and turn them in with the others, come back, and then there's a horse in the barn that belongs in a field where there is no water, which I take to a spring quite a distance from the barn; bring it back and turn it into a field with the sheep....

"The young calves are then turned out into the warm sunshine, and the stock hogs, which are kept in a pen, are clamoring for feed, and I carry a pailful of swill to them, and hasten to the house and turn out the chickens and put out feed and water for them, and it is, perhaps, 6:30 AM.

"I have not eaten breakfast yet, but that can wait; I make the beds next and straighten things up in the living room, for I dislike to have the early morning caller find my house topsy-turvy. When this is done I go to the kitchen, which also serves as a dining room, and uncover the table, and take a mouthful of food occasionally as I pass to and fro at my work until my appetite is appeased.

"By the time the work is done in the kitchen it is about 7:15 AM, and the cool morning hours have flown, and no hoeing done in the garden yet, and the children's toilet has to be attended to and churning has to be done.

"Finally the children are washed and churning done, and it is eight o'clock, and the sun getting hot, but no matter, weeds die quickly when cut down in the heat of the day, and I use the hoe to a good advantage until the dinner hour, which is 11:30 AM. We come in, and I comb my hair, and put fresh flowers in it, and eat a cold dinner, put out feed and water for the chickens; set a hen, perhaps, sweep the floors again; sit down and rest and read a few moments, and it is nearly one o'clock, and I sweep the door yard while I am waiting for the clock to strike the hour.

"I make and sow a flower bed, dig around some shrubbery, and go back to the garden to hoe until time to do the chores at night....

"I hoe in the garden till four o'clock; then I go into the house and get supper...when supper is all ready it is set aside, and I pull a few hundred plants of tomato, sweet potato, or cabbage for transplanting...I then go after the horse, water him, and put him in the barn; call the sheep and house them, and go after the cows and milk them, feed the hogs, put down hay for three horses, and put oats and corn in their troughs, and set those plants and come in and fasten up the chickens....It is 8 o'clock PM; my husband has come home, and we are eating supper; when we are through eating I make the beds ready, and the children and their father go to bed, and I wash the dishes and get things in shape to get breakfast quickly next morning...."

PART III - C: HANDOUT 6

"Gender Issues and Work: Cross-cultural Examples"

TOTAL TIME PART III-C: 30 MINUTES

****Facilitator Instructions:**

As a summary to Part III have participants read HANDOUT 6:
"Division of Labor by Sex - Gender Issues and Work - Cross-cultural Examples."
(10 - 15 MINUTES)

Have participants in small groups discuss the "Points to Consider" that follow the reading on page 48. Then they should share their answers in a large group discussion.
(15 MINUTES)

Suggested answers to "Points to Consider," HANDOUT 6, Page 48.

1. Women's labor may be less visible because:

- Of patriarchy (women's work is less valued).

****Patriarchy could be discussed here. In all societies there are certain fundamental institutions (cultural universals): politics, religion, economics, marriage and family, education, and the arts. To determine if - and to what extreme - a society is patriarchal, the participants might consider each area of the cultural universals and who makes the decisions within each of these institutions. For example, in the United States, who are government leaders, religious priests, financial leaders, superintendents of schools, and most highly respected as artists? If men are generally "in charge," the society can be considered to be patriarchal. Societies vary from extreme patriarchies to near equality of the sexes in decision making. A quick lesson for participants: The cultural universals can be put on the easel or blackboard and decisions for the United States or another selected society about "who is in charge" of each area could be discussed.**

- Much of women's work is done in the private world of home so is not seen.
- In many cultures women are secluded and all their work is kept from the eyes of men, therefore, male researchers are not allowed to interview women about their work.
- Women's work often includes taking care of children; therefore, women have frequently been assigned tasks that can be interrupted. This may make women's work harder to measure.

Other reasons?

2. One reason given for not extending women full rights is that they are not "productive" and therefore men are more critical to national economies. Also, the "double day" or "double duty" has meant that women are overburdened with work in most societies. This prevents them from taking part in activities that may lead to power positions.

3. The problem for women of the double day has many possible solutions. Perhaps the most realistic - but hardest to attain in many societies - is the sharing of child care and other domestic tasks between parents.

4. Many answers are possible but basically women need to have access to credit, education, technology, and support services if they are to aid their countries to develop economically and socially. A recognition of the work they do is a first step toward making sure they are given appropriate support.

HANDOUT 6

"Division of Labor By Sex Gender Issues and Work - Cross-cultural Examples"

The following questions and points for your consideration are meant to highlight the family or household unit and relate it to the division of labor by sex.

Read over these examples and then discuss the "Points to Consider" on page 48 in small groups and compare ideas in a large group discussion.

I. Who makes up the household?

Wife, husband, and children? Husbands, wives, grandparents, and children? A woman and her child? A woman alone - never married, divorced, or widowed? Man alone?

Issues for your consideration:

A. In many regions, the extended family makes a definition of "household" difficult.

In one area of Africa, the definition became "those people who eat from the same pot" or "use the same cooking fire." Relatives - even distant relatives - may live for months or even years in a household because family obligations extend far beyond immediate family members.

(As told by Mary Rojas, assistant director of International Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institution and State University.)

In the biography of his mother, the Indian author, Ved Mehta, described how "most of Daddyji's relatives in Lahore moved [into our house] so that the new house became the home of a traditional Indian joint family. [Mamaji] and Daddyji now had living with them four of Daddyji's younger brothers; three of his sister Bibi Parmeshwari Devi's teen-age children; and one of Daddyji's first cousins."

(Ved Mehta, "Mamaji - III," *The New Yorker*, July 23, 1979, p. 35.)

B. Female heads of households need to be counted.

In many parts of the world it is a matter of honor that a man be counted as head of household even though he may be absent because of death, divorce, migration, or abandonment. Those collecting data often automatically assign a man as "head of household," even if he is not present. One study in Kenya concluded that "survey data show that 30 percent of the family heads were absent..." with no recognition that a "head of household" must be the person in charge - in these cases women.

(Quoted in, Barbara Rogers, *The Domestication of Women*, 1979, p. 66.)

More difficult to discern is the case of a man classified as "head" when he might more accurately be described as a dependent or co-head. In a study of women workers in Morocco, it was found that women as single heads of households, or households where an adult male was present but the woman's earnings were the family mainstay, accounted for almost one-third of the women workers sampled. Yet women machinists - who work side by side with men - were paid 70 percent of the male wage partly because the assumption was made that women were "working for lipstick." (Susan Joekes, "Working for Lipstick? Male and Female Labour in the Clothing Industry in

Morocco," 1985, in, Haleh Afshar, ed, *Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World*, p. 205-206.)

Women in a Sri Lankan village, Ralahamywatta, obtained small loans to set themselves up as cashew nut processors in their own homes. High male unemployment in the formal economy meant that the women's profits from their production in cashew nut processing became the major source of family income. When a husband was present, would these women normally be listed in statistics and for purposes of law as the family head of household? (Rex Casinader, et al, "Women's Issues and Men's Roles: Sri Lankan Village Experience," in, Momsen and Townsend, *Geography of Gender*, p. 309-322.)

C. Different forms of living arrangements should be considered.

Different forms of living arrangements - single women living alone or in a family, monogamy, polyandry, polygyny, and consensual arrangements - have different implications for different family members, depending on age and sex. A first wife, for example, may have privileges of land tenure in a polygynous marriage that a third wife does not have.

Polygyny has been outlawed in many African countries. In Zaire, although polygyny was outlawed by decree in 1951, the practice of clandestine polygyny is still widespread with the result that only the first wife is officially acknowledged and other wives have no legal standing. (Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa*, 1983, p. 59.)

The rights of widows in Zambia depend on a written will. If the husband dies intestate - a common occurrence - the property will be transmitted according to customary law. The result is that the widow may be deprived of all her property by her husband's family. (*Ibid.*, p. 62.)

The common practice of consensual arrangements in Latin America puts many women in an economically precarious position. In their study of Andean women, Susan Bourque and Kay Warren found that women preferred formal marriages to consensual ones. The disadvantages of consensual unions included abandonment and the possibility that a wife might not be able to inherit her husband's property or animals if he died. They described the case of Lourdes. She was forced out of her home after 30 years of a *convivencia* or consensual marriage and three children. The only possessions that her wealthy consensual husband allowed her to take with her were two cows. (Susan C. Bourque and Kay Barbara Warren, *Women of the Andes*, 1981, p. 100-101.)

D. A knowledge of the ages and life stages of women as well as other considerations are important in determining women's status in the household.

In most world areas a woman's freedom and decision-making power may depend on her stage in the life cycle, to whom she is married, and the number and sex of her children. In places in the Middle East, for example, the division of labor among women is by status; "esteem-carrying" tasks are carried out by women with higher status. According to Vanessa Maher, who studied women in a village in Morocco, the most important criterion in the allocation of status is the woman's relationship to the "head of the household.*" This gives a man's mother priority over his wife but his wife priority over her mother if the context of activity is his own household. Women performing esteem-carrying tasks like cooking can call on others to help them and can "distribute tasks." (Vanessa Maher, *Women and Property in Morocco*, 1974, p. 121.)

*Notice that in this study of Moroccan women from the 1970s, the author uses "head of household" as "male head of household." This is an example, in our view, of the misuse of this term which causes confusion in describing households. The irony here is the misuse of "head of household" in a generally balanced and insightful study focusing on women's lives.

II. What household tasks are performed and by which family members?

Cooking? Gathering fuel wood? Provision of water? Child care? Health care? Wage earning tasks? Exchanges of goods and services? Farming chores? Care of livestock?

Issues for your consideration.

A. Recognition of who does what tasks may have implications for planning of Third World aid projects.

In the hill areas of Nepal, men are responsible for house and furniture construction that depend on one specie of tree. Women who collect fuel wood for cookstoves and fires depend on another specie. Both species are essential to household tasks and must be considered in aid projects. (John J. Hourihan, "Consultant's Report: Gender Issues in the Preparation and Implementation of Forestry Projects," unpublished paper submitted to the Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines, March, 1987.)

In Haiti, many men interviewed concerning community needs identified no household problem with hauling water or collecting fodder. Only by interviewing the women in the household was it learned that the women walked five kilometers each day in search of both. (Related by P. Howard Massey, Department of International Agriculture, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia.)

B. Advances which are overwhelmingly positive still may add another burden to already overworked women.

Oral Rehydration Therapy is an inexpensive medication of salts, sugar, and sterile water given to babies suffering from diarrhea. This simple technique has saved the lives of thousands of Third World children. Mothers, however, are overwhelmingly in charge of children's health care in Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. The administration of the lifesaving rehydration salts needs to be done at regular intervals over a period of a few hours to over a day. One U.S.A.I.D. official said, "We are creating a Third World version of Supermom," with women feeling guilty if they are too exhausted to carry out all the family tasks and stay up all night to give a sick child the medication. (Elayne Clift, "US AID Burdens Mothers" in, *New Directions for Women*, May/June 1986.)

C. In many world areas, cooking and serving food is women's work - and can be a way to control the behavior of men.

A wife, for example, may refuse to cook if she is angry with her husband. Among the Woyo peoples of the Congo River area, it is the custom for husbands to eat with other male friends, separate from their wives, but for the wives to do all the cooking. When a wife has a disagreement with her husband, she sends him a message in the form of a carved wooden pot lid. Normally the clay pots of food are covered with leaves by the wife to keep the food warm until served in the men's dining area. However, when displeased with a husband (or male family member), a wife replaces the leaves with the wooden pot lids. In

carved symbols, each lid tells what is bothering the woman by use of a proverb. When a woman marries, she receives various pot lids from her mother and mother-in-law that give a number of different standard messages. It is embarrassing to men to be confronted by women in public, in front of their male friends. Therefore, this custom is one way Woyo women can control the behavior of their husbands or male family members. (Marjorie Bingham and Susan Gross, Women in Africa of the Sub-Sahara, Vol. I, 1982, p.115-17.)

Tanzanian school children were asked what the Swahili phrase "*amepata jiko*" meant. All said, "he married." However, literally translated, these words mean "I married a stove." Does this idiomatic expression for "wife" reflect a low status for Tanzanian women or an acknowledgment by men of the important role of women as cooks in a society where there are strong social norms against men cooking? (As told to Mary Rojas by a Tanzanian woman attending Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1988).

D. The sexual division of labor in livestock, farming, and food gathering has important implications for power within the family.

For the Hima of Uganda subsistence was by cattle raising only - and milk was frequently the only food available; yet married women were not allowed to herd, water, or milk cattle - a powerful form of social control for the men who thus determined whether married women had access to food. (Yitzchak Elam, *The Social and Sexual Roles of Hima Women*, 1973, Chapter II.)

Among the Shona in Zimbabwe, cattle are used to enhance male status, for manure and plowing, and as payment to a bride's father. Seldom are cattle used for beef. (Sharon Lynn Deem, "A Study of Veterinary Services and the Women of Zimbabwe," Unpublished paper submitted to the Program for Women in World Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1986.)

With the Fulani in West Africa, each wife in a polygynous family arrangement is allocated a number of cows and she has control over the milk produced. If beef production is emphasized, this has a negative impact on women's income and family position. (Helen Henderson, "Case Study in Gender Issues and Agricultural Development: A West African Example," slide presentation in, *Gender Issues in International Development Programs: A Three -Part Training Program on Women in World Development*, Mary Hill Rojas, ed., Prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development's Board for International Food and Agricultural Development, 1984.)

E. Tasks associated with agriculture can be gender-specific.

In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, women are responsible for certain crops and have their own fields, often these are subsistence crops - cassava, millet, vegetables. Men are more involved with cash crops, rice, coffee, and tea. However, at times both grow subsistence crops - in parts of Nigeria women grow cassava and men concentrate on yams. (Helen Henderson, *Ibid.*)

Both men and women are active in agriculture in Sri Lanka. Men, however, are primarily responsible for land preparation and chemical application, whereas the women dominate in other tasks - seeding, transplanting, weeding, harvesting, and processing. (John J. Hourihan, "Gender Issues in the Preparation and Implementation of Forestry Projects," Unpublished paper submitted to the Asian Development Bank, March, 1987.)

In one region of Colombia, women have few tasks in the field. However, decisions on what to grow often are shared by the man and woman. One reason is that the type of bean grown for export does not have the flavor or cooking characteristics demanded by the farm woman. She is responsible for feeding the hired agricultural labor and their meals are a part of their salary. If the food is not good, the laborers will not come and crops are not harvested. (Jacqueline Ashby, "Case Study: Production and Consumption Aspects of Technology Testing" Unpublished paper submitted to the Population Council Interhousehold Allocation and Farming Systems Research Project, IFDC/CIAT, Cali, Colombia, n.d.)

SUMMARY

The usual definition of work as reflected in the GNP of nations and in everyday speech (at least in industrialized countries) is usually restricted to paid or "productive" work. Much of women's work worldwide is not counted in these statistics and is ignored or discounted in everyday speech.

In world areas where subsistence activities count heavily, the daily tasks of women like those discussed here (Domitila Barrios de Chungara of Bolivia or Africa or Asian women agriculturalists) make major contributions to their families' well-being.

To understand and appreciate the economic contributions of women:

- Work must be defined to include non-wage and income generating activities.
- Women's work must be made more visible by adapting methods of collecting data to the reality of women's work in a variety of cultural areas.
- The stereotype of women as primarily consumers - and of households as places where goods and services are consumed - must be overcome.
- The division of labor by sex must be considered; there must be a realization that tasks for men and women may differ, depending on time and place, but that most societies divide tasks according to gender.

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. Within most groups and societies - historically and in the contemporary world - work has been assigned according to gender.

List reasons why you think women's labor has been less visible than that of men in most time periods and societies.

2. In her opening remarks at the final meeting of the United Nations Decade for Women at Nairobi, Kenya, Leticia Shahani, Secretary General of the official meeting, said that the major focus and purpose of the conference would be to discuss how women can take their "rightful place in society, on an equal basis with men."

Thinking back on the readings on women and work, why do you think most observers feel that accounting for women's work is critical for enabling women to take their "rightful place?"

3. A major problem for women worldwide is that of "double duty" or the "double day." Although women in the past have overwhelmingly been in charge of children and domestic work, what conditions of modern life seem to have contributed to the burden of double duty? How can this problem for women best be addressed?

4. List all the reasons you can think of that the division of labor by sex and specifically women's work must be made more visible in the Third World if economic and social development projects are to be effective.

PART IV: Empowerment of Women in the Third World

Objectives:

- To emphasize the importance of considering women in economic planning, particularly in the Third World.
- To make participants aware of ways women are organizing for change in many Third World areas.
- To emphasize that the women's movement for equity is worldwide and not of European or United States origin.

Rationale for focusing on women's organizations and networks:

- A commonly held European and North American view sees Third World women as downtrodden victims. Women are seen as "women and children," as a single concept, and generally as people who are starving and extremely poor. Emphasizing women's organizations in the Third World shows women as active citizens, making changes and connections that they see as valuable.
- Emphasizing women's organizations blurs the undefined and often false distinction between modernity (good) and traditional (bad) in the thinking of the industrialized world, and, more recently, traditional (good) modernity (bad) among some ultra-conservative groups in many parts of the world. For women, both traditional and modern values and goals frequently have been problematic. Women's groups and networks have battled for women in both the traditional and modern sector - their networks have functioned to help women through times of social, political, and economic change.
- Although the idea of private vs. public space representing the worlds of women vs. men has much value, and the idea of studying the separate worlds of women and men is an important one, a focus on women's groups and networks shows women acting in the larger world and acknowledges their power bases in both private and public sectors.
- A focus on women's networks can help to provide reasons for the lack of progress of women in some areas and their real weakness in political and highly structured economic spheres ('old boy' networks) where women's networks have not been very effective... or their organizations have been co-opted by more powerful groups.
- The enormous variety of women's organizations can help to point up the diversity of conditions for women in the Third World. The universality of women organizing networks and support groups can point up the common experiences of women globally.

Part IV-A and B: HANDOUTS 7 AND 8

"DAWN"
and
"Women Organizing for Change"

TOTAL TIME FOR PART IV-A WILL DEPEND ON THE METHOD USED
(SEE BELOW).

THE COMPLETE LESSON WILL TAKE 30-40 MINUTES.
THE BRIEFEST REVIEW BY THE FACILITATOR ABOUT 20 MINUTES.

****Facilitator Instructions:**

HANDOUT 7 should be read by all participants or summarized in a short lecture by the facilitator. 10 minutes.

HANDOUT 8 is rather long. A number of different approaches to this selection might be considered, depending on the way the instructional unit is being used.

For classroom use, HANDOUT 8 could be a homework assignment leading to a later classroom discussion.

If HANDOUT 8 is being used as part of a workshop, it can be divided into two (or more) sections with different groups or individuals taking part of the reading and then reporting to the other participants on their selection.

For example, the participants could all read the background information on page 57 and then they could be divided with half reading about the historical organizations (page 58-60), and half reading about the contemporary organizations (pages 60-64). The "Points to Consider" on page 66 would then be done as a large group exercise with participants using examples from the organizations they read about.

If time does not allow for the reading, the Facilitator should go over the "rationale for focusing on women's organizations and networks" on page 49 and review the major background points on page 57.

If time does allow for this reading, have participants read the handout and complete the answers to the "Points to Consider" on page 66, in small groups. Then they should compare their small group answers in a large group discussion.

Suggested answers to the "Points to Consider," HANDOUT 8, page 66.

1. Women have less political and social clout in almost all societies. They have less access to resources within the family and society, as seen in many of the examples given here. They often suffer from the "double day" and frequently work at more arduous tasks than men without the benefit of technological improvements. Yet they use their influence where they can - often by utilizing their traditional roles as food providers. Exceptions might be present in some African groups mentioned where women are traditionally highly organized. Other examples may also be seen by participants as indicators of women's power.

2. Perhaps women, more frequently than men, have had to cooperate to raise children and do subsistence farming and food processing. Because they were less powerful, they needed to form female support groups.

3. Women may not have been experienced in forming complex organizations on a national scale. Class differences have frequently caused problems in organizing at the national level. Changes for women are seen as politically dangerous and threatening to social order and are often strongly opposed by women and men in power positions.

4. It may be that these issues are of special interest to women in their traditional family roles. Deforestation means women must walk further and further for firewood. Pollution can mean wells where women seek water are contaminated. The social norms of many societies allow women to publicly protest policies that have an impact on the family or children as a legitimate interest of women. At other times, any protest by women means a risk to their safety and branding as outcasts.

HANDOUT 7

INTRODUCTION "DAWN"

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) was formed in 1984 in Bangalore, India, by a group of Third World women who were "activists, researchers, and policymakers." Their aim has been "to build a social order that is just, equitable, and life-affirming for all people." Their first project was a summary of Third World women's concerns and goals written by Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions - Third World Women's Perspectives* - known as the DAWN book. One objective of the book is a review of how the modernization process frequently has had a negative impact on women in the Third World.

In 1970 a Danish sociologist, Ester Boserup, published her landmark book, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, which demonstrated that by ignoring women in the development process, development projects were actually often detrimental to women in the Third World. In the same year, the Percy Amendment mandated that United States foreign assistance projects must take into consideration their impact on women as agents and beneficiaries of aid. Following the Percy Amendment, the United States Agency for International Development formulated a policy on women that argued, aside from equity issues, that foreign assistance was utilized more efficiently when it targeted women.

The recognition of the importance of considering women in development continued throughout the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985). United States-based organizations, such as AWID (Association for Women in Development) and the women in development (WID) offices on land-grant university campuses, and organizations throughout the world such as DAWN, helped to focus attention on women in development issues.

As the importance of women's labor is made visible and the need to consider the social realities of women are considered, development projects are working to overcome this gender blindness which often led either to negative results for women or their being ignored.

Part IV - *Empowerment of Women in the Third World* - suggests the present stage for women in the social and economic development of their societies: the importance of Third World women's organizations in setting agendas for change and deciding what development projects will have a positive affect on the lives of women in their Third World area.

The first case that follows is one example of the detrimental effect of many development projects on women in the Third World. This example is taken from the DAWN book and the authors describe it as "the all too typical situation." The second case is an example of a project where the local women were central to its design and implementation. It is a success story.

First Case: The Kano River Project

"The [Kano River] project was a gravity-flow irrigation scheme covering some 120,000 acres of Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. The three official goals of the project were to increase local and national food supply; to provide employment opportunities; and to improve the standard of living through the provision of clinics, schools, water, roads, and sanitation. Three groups of women were affected: Muslim women in villages, Muslim women on dispersed homesteads, and non-Muslim women.

"The project design was based on the registration of all land ownership prior to irrigation,....Although previously many plots were owned communally, only the 'senior owners' (almost always men) were registered....Nearly one-third of the male farmers lost almost all of their land, as did roughly the same proportion of women farmers. Indeed, women farmers fared somewhat worse, since even those who continued to have access to land were now given the worst plots by their husbands. This was particularly true among non-Muslim women.

"Increased irrigation led to greater emphasis on dry-season crops....As a result, the cropping pattern shifted from previous local staples to wheat and tomatoes, but with a serious reduction in overall crop diversity. Sorghum and millet grown by women in the wet season suffered the most....The over-all effect on food consumption was that it became less equal, less varied, and less nutritious.

"Although employment in the project site and on the large farms did increase, this must be seen in the context of the growing landlessness. Women were excluded from formal employment in project construction and administration. On the farms women tended to be hired as seasonal and casual labor, while men were more likely to obtain such permanent jobs as were available....

"The destruction of...trees reduced beer-brewing income and deprived older women of income from the collection of firewood and water.

"Although the project was supposed to improve health through the provision of clinics, in fact these were few, inconveniently located, and staffed only by men. Infant mortality remains high.

"The Kano River Project is a classic example of the argument that commercialization based on unequal access to land and resources can be quite detrimental to the living standards of the poor, especially women. They lost land and sources of income, and suffered from a reduced variety of nutritious foods as well as increased drudgery....

"The project design provided for little local participation and the implementation was quite insensitive to local needs, especially those of the poor. This was seen in land allocation, crop selection, and the provision of health and sanitation services. The local opposition, particularly that of women, was very vocal against such authoritarianism."

From: Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions - Third World Women's Perspectives*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987, p. 41-43.)

The DAWN Secretariat is currently located at the Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, Rua Paulino Fernandes 32, Rio de Janeiro, R.J., 22270 Brazil.

Second Case: Mahila Navajagran Samiti (Women's Reawakening Association)

"[The] population has been on the increase in the inhabited hill regions of India... In the Himalayas, an increase of 170 percent over the last 50 years has been recorded. The mounting numbers are pushing up the valleys to the last rocky slopes. The most meager subsistence farming is carried out here. Moreover, thousands of square kilometers of forests have fallen to the plow and axe in the last 30 years. The denudation of vital forest cover has led to soil erosion, while annual floods are more disastrous and dams not sufficiently protected."

It is women of the region who are the most affected by this population increase. Let the women express their position in their own words:

"Our husbands, fathers and brothers have gone to the plains. We look after our agriculture, our children, our aged dependents. We perform most of the back-breaking tasks in agriculture, animal husbandry, and child care. We have to walk seven to ten kilometers every day to fetch fuelwood and fodder, literally for the survival of our families; we are so busy that we just cannot afford any form of recreation or cultural development."

Another woman explains, **"We are the backbone of the economy of the hill regions. We carry out almost all tasks - except plowing of fields and taking dead bodies to the cremation ground. Our work starts early in the morning and continues till late at night..."**

"Despite the central position they hold in the hill economy, women do not own land. Said one informant: **"The land is in the names of our menfolk. When they come back once a year, they make major decisions such as marriage alliances; what crops to plow. The livestock is bought with 'men's work' [their wages, so they feel they own both the land and livestock]."**

"[As author Viji Srinivasan writes about the Mahila Navajagran Samiti confederation], women have become aware of their position. Thus to them, development must also bring about what they value most: lessening of the work burden.

"In order to alleviate women's burdens, Mahila Mandals (women's groups) have sprung up....The Mahila Navajagran Samiti (MNS), a confederation of many community-based Mahila Mandals, began as a small traditional top-down welfare-oriented organization. It was initiated by a husband and wife team.

"Gradually [this husband and wife team] began to understand the problems facing women in the region. Fuelwood and forage collection are the two most arduous and time-consuming tasks village women in the area perform....At the same time, some powerful contractors in collusion with some lower-level functionaries of the Forest Department were involved in illegal felling...of trees. Spontaneously, women began to form Mahila Mandals to bring pressure on the forestry policies of the state government. [The husband and wife working with the women] began to appreciate the potential of these Mahila Mandals....They understood that the welfare-oriented top-down approach ...was not appropriate...."

"Gradually [they] assisted [the women] in developing the Mahila Mandals into strong grass-roots level village women's organizations. Through and with them, they evolved programs to provide draft animal power (mules) to transport fuelwood and fodder; set up a nursery of [trees] to make saplings available to village Mahila Mandals; encouraged and

devised improved *chulha* (traditional cooking stoves); and helped the Mahila Mandals devise systems of participative management. Another activity they devised related to camps where women from five to ten Mahila Mandals would meet and present their programs to the whole group. To provide a co-ordinative base for these women's development activities, the Mahila Navajagran Samiti was registered as a separate voluntary agency, after being elected at one of the camps.

"An international donor agency funded portions of the mules project, the training camps, the improved *chulha* project and the nursery. However, the women have remained in control of their activities, officials from the donor agency recognizing that they were in partnership with them and thereby avoiding the traditional donor-grantee relationship."

The accomplishments of women who joined together and formed the Mahila Navajagran Samiti is a success story. The major goal was to relieve the overwhelming work burdens of these women. The programs have begun to reach that goal.

From: Viji Srinivasan, "Mahila Navajagran Samiti - (Women's Reawakening Association), India," *Rural Development and Women: Lessons from the Field*, Shimwaayi Muntemba, ed. Volume II, Sections 1 and 2, Geneva: International Labour Office.

HANDOUT 8

"Women Organizing For Change"

Europeans and North Americans usually think of reform movements for women - education, suffrage, and the recent women's liberation movement - as originating in Europe. Feminist reforms are traced to the Protestant Reformation, the Enlightenment, and to thinkers such as Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Other cultural areas, however, have had their own histories of reforms for women. These movements were indigenous ones that developed out of the historical events of a particular group, society, or cultural area. In justifying modern reforms for women in India, reformers looked to ancient Vedic times for models of liberated women. In the history of many African groups there were role models of powerful women - religious leaders, queens, dual rulers of queen-mothers and sons, female chiefs, and consensus rule by groups of men and women - to emulate. Latin American women can look to the first feminist in the Americas as their role model. Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, a 17th century Mexican nun, was a distinguished philosopher, poet, and scientist who called for the end of a sexual double standard and a full academic education for women. Feminism, then, was not a movement in European and North American history - reforms for women have been part of the history of many world cultures.

Women, however, have supported each other's struggles for reforms through international networks. In 1871, Empress Haruko of Japan sent five Japanese girls to the United States to be educated. One of these was eight-year-old Tsuda Umeko. She graduated from Vassar and Bryn Mawr, returned to Japan and founded the first women's college in Tokyo. Huda Shaarawi of Egypt returned home from an international women's meeting in Italy in 1923. She unveiled publicly and later founded the Egyptian Feminist Union that worked for Egyptian nationalism and women's rights. Pandita Ramabai, a late 19th century Indian reformer, traveled to England and the United States and was aided in her efforts to help Indian widows by friends in the United States.

But contacts with European and North American culture have frequently been detrimental to women's status in other societies. For example, although colonial powers might feel they were improving the status of African women by the introduction of European style education and Christian values, traditional roles that gave authority to women were often lost under the colonial powers. Powerful roles for women in many African groups were not recognized by colonial administrators. The queen-mother of the Swazi, for example, had equal and balanced powers with her son, the king. The British sent the king to Oxford University in England but did not similarly educate the queen-mother. She lost power as the need to manipulate a European bureaucracy required a European education. (Hilda Kuper, *An African Aristocracy: Rank Among the Swazi*, 1947, p. 54-56.)

One insightful British officer noted that the colonial administrations in the 1920s did not recognize the power of these women rulers. "Today the Queen-Mothers are unrecognized by us and their position and influence are rapidly passing away." (Robert Rattray, *Ashanti*, 1923, p. 84.)

Similarly, women's organizations and networks were often unrecognized in traditional historical and anthropological studies. In the last two decades scholars have begun to investigate women's organizations. As a result, the extent of women's collective influence in Third World cultures is becoming more visible.

The following examples give some idea of the types of women's organizations that have been present in Third World cultures that have worked to protect and promote women's interests.

Historical Examples of Women's Organizations

Lelemama Associations - Mombasa, East Africa

(Communal dance festivities that became women's improvement associations).

"Lelemama was brought from Zanzibar to Mombasa at least eighty years ago. Women in their mid-eighties recall watching it as children and claim that their mother's generation danced it. Although the associations changed during the colonial period, certain features characterized lelemama throughout these years. Married women danced lelemama at weddings or other special occasions. At times cattle or goats were slaughtered at a member's farm for a picnic that culminated in a lelemama dance. Dancers from one association lined up in two groups on two benches with members of each group wearing similar attire. The women danced sedately while singing songs that revealed the misdeeds of people in the community, publicly shamed individuals, or challenged rival lelemama associations by ridiculing their dancing abilities....Lelemama networks are utilized to mobilize women for today's political struggles."

(Margaret Strobel, *Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1890-1975*, 1979, p. 156-57, 181.)

"Sitting on a Man" - Igbo Women, Nigeria, West Africa

Igbo women had a significant role in traditional political life. As individuals, they participated in village meetings with men. But their real political power was based on the solidarity of women, as expressed in their meetings, their market networks, their kinship groups, and their right to use strikes and boycotts to force change.

"Sitting on a man" or a woman, boycotts and strikes were the women's main weapons. To "sit on" a man involved gathering at his compound, sometimes late at night, dancing, singing scurrilous songs which detailed the women's grievances against him and often called his manhood into question, banging on his hut with the pestles women used for pounding yams, and perhaps demolishing his hut or plastering it with mud and roughing him up a bit. A man might be punished in this way for mistreating his wife, for violating the women's market rules, or for letting his cows eat the women's crops. The women would stay at his hut throughout the day, and late into the night, if necessary, until he repented and promised to mend his ways. Although this could hardly have been a pleasant experience for the offending man, it was considered legitimate and no man would consider intervening.

(Adapted from, Judith Van Allen, "Sitting on a Man," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. IV, (1972), p. 169-70.)

Women Organizing in India

"Two women's organizations, the Women's Indian Association (WIA) formed in 1917, and the All-India Women's Conference (AIWC) formed in 1927, sought to bring women together to advance their status through education, social reform, and politics...."

committees. [The issue of purdah - the seclusion and veiling of women - was one such social problem.] Purdah, they decided, needed to be 'treated' with propaganda. In Bihar and Bengal, where purdah was observed by the majority of Hindu women, there were attempts to break the custom with massive doses of propaganda. In Patna, women planned 'anti-purdah' days. At one of these, the speeches delivered gave various reasons why women should abandon purdah: Women needed to gain physical and mental strength so they could defend themselves; Gandhi was opposed to the custom; it had not been observed in ancient times; and it led to illiteracy and bad health. The message was loud and clear: Women would have to seize the initiative and come out of purdah....

"In Calcutta, Marwari women had begun to celebrate an annual anti-purdah day in the 1930s. By 1940, their Anti-Purdah Conference attracted 5,000 women. At the conference itself, the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, Rukmini Devi Birla, told the women that there could be no reform or progress until purdah was abolished. She urged social workers to help, and a resolution was passed to boycott weddings where purdah was practiced by women of the household. All who attended were impressed with the success of the anti-purdah day."

(Geraldine Forbes, "The Indian Women's Movement: A Struggle for Women's Rights or National Liberation?" in, Gail Minault, *The Extended Family*, 1981, p. 54, 67-68.)

Family Networks of Urban Upper-Class Women in Mexico

"In 1970 [researchers Larissa Lomnitz and Marisol Perez-Lizaur] began a study of kinship structure in an upper-class family in Mexico City that ranged over five generations of men and women, including 118 nuclear families. These were the descendants of Carlos Gomez (1825-76)....

"Information, the most elementary and basic type of exchange within the clan, involves a wide spectrum of facts, ranging from family gossip to knowledge about relatives and ultimately to clan ideology. Women have always played a large role in the transmission of such information, which is one of the main mechanisms of clan solidarity. Prominent female figures, who devoted their lives to creating and transmitting a clan ideology, established information networks over certain branches of the family kindred, often across generational and socioeconomic boundaries. The personal prestige of these 'centralizing women' was based on their authoritative knowledge of the family history, including the personal backgrounds and relationships among individual members.

"Women are prominent in the organization and promotion of all [family] reunions, as well as of informal parties, games, theater parties, and so on. The kind of gossip exchanged during such events is not restricted to personal affairs; on the contrary, business gossip is prominent.... Women are conversant with a wealth of details concerning the business affairs of family members, past and present, which constitutes vital background information of those deals initiated or formalized during family reunions. These 'centralizing women' often also act as brokers for needy relatives or relatives looking for jobs." (Larissa Lomnitz and Marisol Perez-Lizaur, "Kinship Structure and the Role of Women in the Urban Upper Class of Mexico," *Signs*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (Autumn 1979), p. 164-67.)

The above four historical examples suggest some of the types of women's networks and organizations that have operated in Third World cultures. They range from formal organizations - legally recognized and publicly visible - like the All-Indian Women's Conference to informal family networks like that of the women in the Gomez family of

Mexico. Recent studies like these of women's organizations and networks reveal that women have had considerable authority gained through organizing and networking.

The history of Third World cultures, then, demonstrates that these societies have had their own struggles with reforms for women and a diversity of roles and status for women, depending on many factors such as time period, life stage, class, and individual talents.

Reform movements for women differ depending on the world area but have in common a desire for more equitable treatment for women and a greater recognition of their contributions to their societies. At this time in history the women's organizations in India, Kenya, or Peru may be seen as more active - even militant - than those in the United States and Europe.

Contemporary Examples of Women's Organizations

***Manushi* - India**

This Indian women's magazine and organization was founded in 1978 as "a medium for women to speak out, to help raise questions in their own minds,...to generate a widespread debate about ways of bringing about change...[to] bring women's organizations ...in touch with each other,..."

The magazine staff sometimes goes further than describing and advertising women's problems. On March 4, 1985, *Manushi* organized a demonstration at a court room in Delhi protesting judgments that acquitted a husband (along with his sister and mother) of murdering his wife by burning her to death.

Editor Madhu Kishwar writes letters to officials supporting the cause of women and petitions courts on their behalf. The magazine has worked to help tribal women to regain their land rights; has protested against dowry payments; has worked for better education for women and for better working conditions for women in factories.
(Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, *In Search of Answers*, 1984, p. 301-311.)

Mobile Creches - India

This organization was founded by Meera Mahadevan in 1969 after she saw the children of construction workers playing in the mud at a building site in New Delhi. "She began with a tent, a handful of well-intentioned volunteers, no theories, no money, and unswerving determination," wrote Ms. Swaminathan, the author of a recent study of Indian day-care facilities.

The organization grew rapidly with volunteers and government and private funding. In the past 18 years Mobile Creches has opened 162 day-care facilities - moving these with construction sites as needed.

Today the organization runs about 50 centers, serving about 4,000 children on a particular day. Other voluntary agencies have been inspired to offer similar services - serving 200,000 children. The Mobile Creches idea was an imaginative solution to help some of the neediest people in India - female construction workers and their children.
(*Christian Science Monitor*, May 18, 1987, p. 25.)

Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) - India

SEWA works primarily with rural women who have migrated to the Ahmedabad area (in the state of Gujarat, west central India) - often on a temporary basis as a survival technique in times of famine or drought.

SEWA was organized in 1972 by Ela Bhatt as a union for the city's many female street vendors of vegetables and used clothing, manual laborers, and pieceworkers.

Before SEWA, these women had led a miserable existence, eking out a livelihood walking miles around the city selling goods or fighting over a place on the pavement. Capital to buy the goods they sold came from money lenders who usually charged 50 percent per day interest.

SEWA members established their own cooperative bank. They also have a day-care center for members. Other projects include providing information and courses to members on family planning, yoga, money management, and sex education.

In 1977 Ela Bhatt and SEWA received the Ramon Magsaysay Foundation award, the Asian equivalent of the Nobel Prize, for "fostering development where it matters most, among the poorest and the weakest..."

(From, Terry Alliband, *Catalysts of Development: Voluntary Agencies in India*, 1983, p. 49-50.)

Women's Action Forum (WAF) - Pakistan

WAF is a lobbying and pressure group organized to further women's civil, political, and economic rights. Considering the repressive military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq and his push for the Islamization of Pakistan, WAF has had considerable success.

Although it has had internal organization problems, WAF chapters have been founded in major cities in Pakistan. In May 1982 the Lahore chapter of WAF held a *jalsa* - an event between a rally and a meeting - with a central topic, speeches, poems, humorous skits, songs, and resolutions.

"Recognizing that most women live a life of oppressive drudgery and are well aware of their oppressed state, WAF started from the premise that to call them to meetings where privileged women would tell them how miserable their lives actually were would be to add insult to injury. Hence in the *jalsa* speeches were kept to a minimum and the skits presented deliberately humorous...inviting the audience to laugh along with the organizers and performers at the absurdity of various policies..." The Lahore *jalsa* was so successful that other WAF chapters have held similar meetings and even rival organizations have replicated *jalsas* throughout Pakistan.

Just how successful WAF has been is still in question. The military government supports (some say even started) a rival, more conservative women's organization. Perhaps this indicates that the government feels threatened by WAF. One observer commented that "WAF has provided a name around which those concerned with women's rights can rally." (From, Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, eds. *Women of Pakistan, Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?*, 1987, p.123-24, 135, and 141.)

Peruvian Feminist Organizations

There are various feminist centers throughout Peru, according to Virginia Vargas coordinator of one such center, Centro Flora Tristan, located in the capital city of Lima. Flora Tristan - and another women's group, Manuela Ramos - are dedicated to education. Other women's organizations in Lima with a wide variety of missions are the Aurora Vivar Association, Peru Mujer, CESIP- Woman, and the Woman and Society Association. Peruvian women's groups are also active in the countryside outside of Lima. Among them are the "Amanta Association" of Cusco; the Women's Democratic Front of Cajamarca; the Woman's Office in Chimbote.

All of these Peruvian groups work with women who are urban and rural slum residents, workers, farmers, and housemaids to promote an understanding of women's reality and to address women's daily struggles and needs. Their projects include educating poor women in urban slums of their legal rights and providing information for rural people, especially women, on family health, domestic violence, and family planning. Their overall purpose is to promote the organization of women with the goal of strengthening local women's movements through educational action.

(Virginia Vargas, "Reflections on Women's Education in Peru," unpublished paper presented at Mt. Holyoke College conference, "Worldwide Education for Women," November 4-7, 1987.)

Centro de Orientacion de la Mujer Obrera (COMO) - Mexico

This organization was founded in Juarez, Mexico to deal with the exploitive conditions for women in many of the *maquiladora* or export-oriented border assembly plants. Women, who made up 80 percent of the plant employees, frequently did not know their rights under Mexican law, which led to abuses by the plant managers.

COMO was the result of the vision, determination and drive of a group of concerned upper-class women led by Dr. Guillermina Valdez de Villalva, a social psychologist. After they met with working women, COMO was founded as an organization to provide guidance, support, and advice to single working women in the Juarez area.

COMO has been involved in literacy programs for adults, health campaigns, and provided on-the-job training to workers. In addition, COMO provided psychological counseling, legal aid, and referred women to family-planning services. Eventually COMO expanded into consumer cooperatives as well.

After a period of organizational difficulties, COMO regrouped with a new director - an *obrero* (woman factory worker). COMO now provides leadership and organizational training to women of all social classes. Although it is not the widespread organization that it once was, it has had a lasting impact for women in Mexico. One staff member commented, "We go against so many traditional systems; our only arm, our only defense, is to present positive results." (Sally W. Yudelman, *Hopeful Openings*, 1987, p. 17-31.)

Federacion Hondurena de Mujeres Campesinas (FEHMUC) - Honduras

FEHMUC grew out of rural housewives' clubs established by the social action arm of the Catholic Church in 1967. FEHMUC is now made up of 294 peasant women's groups with over 5,000 members. Many members are single mothers and most are landless - the poorest of the poor.

The long-term goals are to integrate peasant women into the social, economic, and political life of Honduras. The FEHMUC program aims at working with members in four major areas: consciousness-raising and organization; health and nutrition; agriculture; and crafts and clothing production. Each area has a diverse group of projects offering services and resources.

FEHMUC's health program has been particularly successful. FEHMUC also addresses issues of women's rights and has worked to change the image of Honduran peasant women from passive and inactive to that of strong and capable women who play an important role in development.

Although the organization presently faces major institutional problems, development consultant Sally Yudelman who studied FEHMUC, claims that "there is cause for optimism [about the future of FEHMUC]. Over the years, FEHMUC has demonstrated its resiliency and capacity to survive, to overcome setbacks, to grow."
(Yudelman, *Hopeful Openings*, p. 35-46.)

African Association of Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) - Dakar, Senegal

The African Association of Women for Research and Development was founded in 1977 by African women scholars and development professionals. The focus is on having African women research their societies and formulate their own theories and development programs.

In 1986 AAWORD started publishing a quarterly newsletter, *ECHO*, in English and French. Projects that have been launched by AAWORD include a 1985 meeting of the AAWORD working group on women and reproduction. The meeting reviewed research papers, and proceedings and bibliographies were made available. Similar meetings and seminars are a major goal of AAWORD. (Write for more information: AAWORD B.P. 11007 CD Annex, Dakar, Senegal.)

Zambian Association for Research and Development (ZARD) - Zambia, Africa

ZARD is a non-governmental organization of women which is concerned with furthering action-oriented research on women's issues. A recent project was to compile an annotated bibliography of research on Zambian women. The directors of the project were faculty members of the University of Zambia and funding was provided by a number of sources, but ZARD initiated and sponsored the project.

The rationale for the bibliography serves also as the rationale for ZARD: "Zambian women are increasingly becoming aware of their own status and of gender inequalities which structure their opportunities in the wider society. All too often it has been foreign agencies which identify problems, such as the lack of integration of women in development, and propose solutions. This work arises from local initiative and will argue that women are integrated in Zambian development, but unequally so." (*An Annotated Bibliography of Research on Zambian Women*. Zambia Association for Research and Development, P.O. Box 37836, Lusaka, Zambia.)

The Women's Group Movement - Nyanza Province, Kenya

The Women's Group Movement in Nyanza was organized to focus on the special needs of women. There are now many of these groups in the Nyanza area of Kenya. Since independence, women found that they had common problems which could not be met or solved by individuals. For example, after independence, Kenya introduced universal educational opportunities, but women frequently were not given adequate educations because they often dropped out of school to get married or their families favored sons for higher levels of schooling.

In recent years women often found themselves living alone in rural areas and providing for their families by their farm labor while husbands went to urban areas for white-collar jobs. Even when husbands were present, they often assumed that women should do the farming and provide for the family. Most of the Women's Groups, therefore, started with farming activities. Issues of land ownership, decision making, division of family labor, and technology which is appropriate for the needs of farm women are some of the issues addressed by these groups.

The St. Joseph Women's Group, for example, was started mainly to aid widows of the Luo ethnic group. To earn money for this and other projects, the women's group built a poultry house and started to keep hens. Each member bought three hens, sold the eggs and then bought more hens. The group also started keeping bees and farmed several acres of land together as a group project. Although they have encountered setbacks from time to time, they say they have achieved a higher standard of living, improved schools, clinics and decent housing. (Adapted from: *Hunger Notes*, Vol. XI, No. 9-10, April-May, 1986. "Women Farmers of Kenya" World Hunger Education Service, 1317 G. Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005.)

SUMMARY

These examples are only a few of the hundreds of contemporary women's organizations that have been formed in the Third World in the last few decades.

Several historical reasons have led to the increasing attention by Third World women to organizing:

- The realization that development projects often were not helping women.
- The disillusionment felt by women when newly acquired political independence in their various countries had usually not led to equality for women in new laws and policies.
- The need to take control of their own destinies. Fatma Alloo and Sumati Nair wrote in AAWORD's newsletter, *ECHO*, that "it is time we women from Third World countries develop an understanding of our own situation and then prepare the grounds for a dialogue with white feminists--on our terms. We are the ones to change our situation.."
- The traditions of Third World women's organizations and networks that could be called upon and expanded to fit modern needs has meant that women have an organizational structure to work within.
- The declaration of the United Nations Decade for Women that focused on the needs of women worldwide and the final meeting of the Decade for Women in Nairobi which emphasized the organizational abilities and activism of Third World women.

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. The following statement concerns women in two Peruvian villages:

"The analysis of [the lives of women of Chiuchin and Mayobamba] clearly shows that women are not hapless victims, immobilized in the face of the forces of an economy and a political system marshaled against them. Rather, our material suggests that women mobilize a variety of resources to help them cope with their limited and restricted influence."

(Susan Bourque and Kay Barbara Warren, *Women of the Andes*, 1981, p. 9.)

Mention a few ways that women have mobilized to cope with the realities of their lives.

What indications are there in the materials you read that women's influence is restricted when compared to that of men?

Do you see exceptions to this in these materials?

2. What advantages might women have in organizing informal networks when compared to men? Formal organizations?

3. In these examples, what problems did women have in forming organizations? What problems might they encounter as their organizations become larger and more involved with changes for women?

4. Women frequently organize around issues that can be considered domestic ones - extensions of their roles as housewives. For example, when there were food shortages during the time of Salvador Allende's presidency in Chile in the 1970s women protested food shortages by beating on pans in mass demonstrations. In recent years Japanese women have protested high rice prices by organizing parades carrying rice-paddle banners with slogans written on them. As pointed out earlier, women in many areas of Africa refuse to cook as a way to protest what they see as the misbehavior of men. "Mother's Clubs" were formed in many Latin American countries. Women in several world areas have organized around environmental issues such as deforestation and pollution.

Why do you think women's public protests often center on food, environmental, or health issues?

Part IV - C: HANDOUT 9

"Planning With Women in Mind - The Example of the Grameen Bank"

TOTAL TIME WILL DEPEND ON THE METHOD SELECTED

****Facilitator Instructions:**

For classroom use, this reading could be given for a homework assignment and discussed in class.

For use in a workshop:

Have participants read HANDOUT 9 and complete the answers to the "Points to Consider" that follow the reading on page 75. This can be done individually or in small groups. Compare answers in a large group discussion. (30 MINUTES)

Alternative method:

Have all participants read pages 69-71 (background information on the Grameen Bank Project). Have them read the case studies after the workshop or divide the participants into three groups and have each group read one of the case studies. Then in a large group discussion have the participants complete the "Points to Consider" on page 75. (20 MINUTES)

Suggested Answers to the "Points to Consider," page 75:

There are many possible answers to these questions.

1. Small loans are particularly valuable for people working in the informal sector as these people normally do not have access to credit. Without a steady, wage job, they do not have the necessary collateral to guarantee a normal bank loan. This means that to carry on their small businesses, they must get loans from money lenders who charge very high interest rates. Since women in the Third World overwhelmingly work in the informal sector, small loans are most beneficial to them. Women have even less access to credit than men in the Third World. Male heads of households usually hold title to family land and control family property so women would not have collateral for loans.
2. Answers will vary, but safety of water supplies and dowry would not apply in the United States; the group meetings and exercise might work well!
3. That the poor - particularly poor women - are vulnerable and need special support systems but that they are also capable, hard working, and responsible. The point here might be that the Grameen Bank is a social and economic institution. The Grameen Bank brings services to needy people but also provides them with the support and incentives to succeed and repay the loans. Welfare mothers and minority women in poor areas of the United States might similarly benefit by a system that keeps them from being isolated but also applies peer pressure to repay loans.

4. It is clear that without a realistic support system the loans are not as readily repayed. Again points can be made about how vulnerable and isolated many of these women are. Half of Samina's first loan was stolen (page 72); houses of the poor are often insecure. Their health may not be good, yet their income-generating project depends on physical work. For many reasons, then, the poor - particularly poor women with children - need the kinds of support systems and motivators that the Grameen Bank provides.

HANDOUT 9

"Planning With Women in Mind - The Example of the Grameen Bank"

The Grameen Bank Project, launched in 1976 in the Bangladesh village of Jobra, was based on what might have been seen as a radical idea. The Grameen Bank Project aimed at loaning money to poor, landless, rural people in Bangladesh. These men and women had no collateral - and none would be required for the loans. But the loans were to be secured; the persons receiving loans would be responsible for their repayment with interest. The method of securing loans without collateral helps to explain why the Grameen Bank Project has become a model for similar programs throughout the Third World and in the United States.

The idea for the project came from Professor Muhammad Yunus, Director of the Rural Economics Program at the University of Chittagong in Bangladesh. The intention was to extend banking privileges to poor women and men; to eliminate the exploitation of money lenders; to provide disadvantaged people with a financial support system based on sound banking principles; and to reverse the vicious cycle of "low income, low savings, low investment, low income." Women who applied for loans would not need the approval of their husbands or other family members to receive loans in their own names. This provision was a radical departure from traditional custom. As one man wrote, "all this has occurred in a Moslem society where women traditionally have few individual rights to say nothing of being able to borrow money for their own business enterprises. To do this, no laws were passed or changed and the husband's permission is not required. Grameen bank managers simply went ahead and made loans to women because it was sound business to do so even though it violated custom and tradition." (Richard Saunders, ZATPID memorandum to Dr. Muleya, MAWD, memorandum, "Sound Money for Small Farmers," January 5, 1988, Lusaka, Zambia.)

The loans would be small ones averaging \$US 60.00. However, these small loans to poor villagers could mean flexibility and opportunity for starting small income-generating projects. Although normal interest rates would be charged, borrowers would be protected from the enormous interest rates of moneylenders - rates that often kept them in a cycle of overwhelming debt.

The first step in starting the Grameen Bank Project in Jobra, was to reach poor villagers and help them to understand the program. To reach women in a predominately Muslim country such as Bangladesh was a formidable task.

Because Dr. Yunus was known and respected in the village of Jobra, he was allowed to hold a meeting with village women at night when they would be able to attend after the day's work. The women, however, maintained a distance by taking their places at the meeting in a hut while Dr. Yunus sat outside in the yard talking to them through two female aides. The women in the hut were not seen or heard. As the discussion began (through the interpreters), it also started to rain. Dr. Yunus was given shelter in a hut - but not the one where the women were sitting. As the discussion continued, it became obvious that direct communication was needed to make the program clear to the women.

Finally, the women understood that Dr. Yunus was trying to explain something in their interest - that he was speaking of bank loans available to them. They moved to his hut, taking their place behind a partition so they could hear him and he could hear them without seeing each other. After a long session, the women were convinced of the benefit of taking out loans from the Grameen Bank so they could participate in small income-generating projects. (*Bank Credit for Rural Women - Report on Study Tour of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh*, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, November 1984.)

Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries in the world, according to ordinary statistics that rely on an accounting of the formal economic sector. According to the 1981 Bangladesh census, only 40 percent of the population over ten years of age participated in economic activities - and for women the figure is four percent. However, virtually all adults and majority of children are engaged in some form of economic activity in the informal sector.

The Grameen Bank Project focused on credit because having access to credit greatly increases the economic strength and flexibility of poor people. The project quickly expanded and by 1987 over three hundred thousand loans had been given - the large majority of these loans had gone to women.

How does this banking system for the poor work?

- Each Grameen Bank branch is headed by a manager who commands a field staff of three male and three female bank workers. All staff members are required to live in the villages in which they are assigned to work.
- Bank workers visit the villages and talk informally to villagers explaining the rules and benefits of the bank.
- Any person who owns less than 0.5 acre of cultivable land and has a severely limited income is eligible for a loan for any income-generating activity.
- To get the loan, the individual must form a group of five similar people. Each group elects its own chairperson and secretary and holds weekly meetings. Several groups meet at the same time in a village; this group of meetings is called a Center. The Center elects a Center-Chief who conducts the weekly meetings and is responsible for the observance of all rules prescribed by the bank.
- Loans are given to individuals or groups; only the person receiving the loan is responsible for his/her loan.
- All loans are for one year and are paid back in weekly installments.
- Each week every group member deposits one Taka (Bangladesh currency) as personal saving. This fund is operated by the group. In addition, each member pays a "tax" into a group fund. The group also must set up an emergency fund to which all group members contribute as insurance against default, death, or disability of members.

The formation of the groups are a key to the bank's success. An individual poor person - particularly a woman - may feel exposed and powerless but group membership makes her feel protected and less alone. Peer pressure helps to keep members in line with the Grameen Bank rules and assures repayment of the loans.

Discipline, unity, courage, and labor are the four principles of the Grameen Bank. The Grameen Bank is more than an economic system for loans and credit, it is a social system as well. Therefore, along with the loans, each member promises to:

- Repair old and construct new houses.
- Cultivate, eat, and sell vegetables annually.
- Plant as many trees as possible.
- Plan their families.
- Educate their children.
- Drink tube well water.
- Introduce physical exercises in Centers.
- Refuse to pay dowry in their children's marriages. [Dowry payments have been a serious financial drain on families when arranging marriages for daughters. The undervaluing of girls in South Asia can partly be traced to demands for dowry payments from the bride's family upon marriage of daughters.]
- Undertake social activities collectively.
- Participate in joint activities for earning higher incomes.
- Fight injustice and oppression.

The results of the banking program:

Since 1976 the Grameen Bank has lent an average of \$60 to a total of 300,000 people. Eighty percent of the borrowers were women. The repayment rate is 97 percent - much higher than the repayment rate of bank loans secured by collateral.

The focus has increasingly been to encourage women borrowers. Mohammad Yunus commented in a recent interview that, "in the case of a man, too often the beneficiaries are himself and his friends. A loan to a woman results in more benefits to the family." (Kristin Helmore, "Banking of the Poor: Changing the Face of Foreign Aid," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 30, 1987, p. 16.)

Case Studies of Grameen Bank Borrowers

Samina - An Interview with Grameen Bank Manager Abdur Rashid Khan, Rangpur.

"A small path winding through the green of paddy fields takes you to Samina's house in Mirjapur....Looking at this 32 year old woman in her tattered sari, I knew what kind of life she was living; a life of relentless struggle with poverty ...

"There were no windows in Samina's hut. The sky was very heavy after the rain. It was difficult to see anything distinctly in the fading light of the evening... I asked Samina, 'What do you eat your meals in?' 'In earthen plates, Sir,' she said shyly, 'Since we have very few of them, we let our children eat first. My husband and I eat afterwards. She then showed me an earthen jug, a very old glass of aluminium, and a spoon. 'These are gifts from my mother. I have preserved them with care.'"

Samina told Abdur Khan about her life. Perhaps the worst period was during the famines of 1974. "In that winter [Samina's family] had no means to buy rice at.... They sustained themselves by eating boiled banana leaves. Sometimes they had nothing at all to eat for days. Her eldest daughter Mannara would cry for rice. Samina herself felt like crying because she could not give the hungry little girl any."

In 1983 Samina received a loan from the Grameen Bank Taka 1000 (US \$36.45). With the money, her husband Matiur and she set up a rice husking business. Matiur went to other villages to buy the rice and collect fuel while both carried out the rice husking business at home.

"This is how Samina, working on a capital of US \$18.50 [half of the loan was stolen] and hard work and determination was able to pay off the entire loan of Taka 1,000 (\$US 36.45) on the 17th of April 1984. Apart from the extreme hard work and the attendant physical exhaustion, Samina was now free from worries about food for the family. They had just enough to eat; not a day of starvation in the whole of that year. The children even had new clothes and books. A few necessary domestic articles were bought....

Samina has paid her installments and her special savings account money very regularly. So far she has never missed a weekly group meeting, not even when she has been sick. 'I would feel very bad if I ever missed a meeting.'...

"I asked her about her feelings when she first received the loan from the Bank. 'I felt very happy, Sir. It was like having a new friend.

"Samina has applied for a second loan from the Bank. It has been approved...Her plan is to continue in rice husking with part of the money and put the rest into setting up a grocery shop." (*Bank Credit for Rural Women*, 1984, p. 108-111.)

Bhagya Rani - The Results of A Loan, An Interview with Grameen Bank Manager Itme-dad-ud-Doula

Bhagya Rani's husband was disabled by illness. Bhagya Rani eked out a living for the family, "winnowing by day as well as by night. The payment was made in kind;...Recalling her experience of that part of her life Bhagya Rani said, through tears, 'you know, Sir, those people with money just didn't think we were human beings. They would use most horrible language if I was ever late by a minute. However, I never protested. I thought I owed my life to them, otherwise I would just be without work and starve.'...

"I do not have words to tell you how I felt [when I got my bank loan from the Grameen Bank]. I came back home with the money, a thousand Taka (\$US 36.40).... I had never been able to send my children to school or buy them clothes at the *puja* [village shop]. I could not even arrange for my husband's [medical] treatment. I set out in search of rice...I dried the parboiled rice in four days and got it husked at a rice mill...I made a profit [from the husked rice] of Taka 184 (\$US 6.70). I wept in sheer joy" [This meant Bhagya Rani realized an average of Taka 150 (\$US 5.40) profit each week.]

"I requested Bhagya Rani to tell me something about the difference she had evidently experienced in the condition of life before and after joining the Bank.

"Well Sir, ...before joining the Bank, I just could not think of myself as a human being. What have I not done to manage two bare meals for myself and my family. As I have already mentioned, I was thrown out by my father because my husband could not do

anything. He was forced to ignore his fatal condition [tuberculosis] and beg along the streets of Galachipa for work and trying to get something for the hungry children. I myself went to work at the rice-mill, though I know well enough what nasty things people might say of me. Even then I could not get enough food for my children. I could not think of giving them an education or buying them new clothes. Because I was poor, nobody cared to know what I was living through. But now things have changed. And the change is as a result of the Grameen Bank...We now eat three meals a day. My husband is having the kind of medical treatment tuberculosis calls for. He doesn't have to work. My children are going to school. Before this Bank business, my parents did not bother to enquire after me. Now my neighbors love to come to me and have a chat. I am the chief of my Center....My luck had abandoned me for want of money. Now it has returned to me due to the Grameen Bank."(*Bank Credit for Rural Women*, p. 105-107.)

Sultana - An Interview with A.S.M. Mohiuddin, Branch Manager.

"Sultana was hard working and practical minded right from her childhood. She became a wage income earner from the age of 12...

"Impressed with Sultana's business ability [peddling wares in the village] her uncle Abdur Rahman expressed a desire to bring her into his house as his daughter-in-law. Her father was delighted and at the age of eighteen Sultana married Chand Miah and moved to his village.

"Sultana's mother-in-law had not been too enthusiastic about the marriage. However, Chand Miah gave her a sari, blouse, petticoat, and a nose ring. Her father gave Sultana a pair of gold earrings [and promised to pay Taka 1000 (\$US 36.40) in dowry for his daughter]. Due to his pecuniary condition he could not immediately make the payment. However, after the wedding he paid Taka 400 (\$US 14.58) in two installments.

"Chand Miah worked in a shoe shop. He was not pleased at the fact that his father-in-law had not met his end of the bargain of paying Taka 1,000 (\$US 36.40) as dowry for marrying his daughter. While he could do nothing to the father, Sultana had to bear the brunt of his anger as well as that of her mother-in-law. They insulted her at every opportunity, humiliated her by abusing her father. And often they would beat her mercilessly and afterwards send her to her father's house for the remaining amount of money...

"[The last time] her father accompanied her to explain to his son-in-law. On reentering her husband's house Sultana saw some festivities going on. Realization dawned on her with horror. Chand Miah was getting married again and this time with even a bigger dowry....Her mother-in-law was triumphant. Seeing Sultana and her father in the midst of her festivities she became enraged....this lady refused them entry into the house and told them never to return again. Seeing the commotion Chand Miah also entered the scene. The sight of his wife and the father-in-law was like a red rag to a bull. He pulled Sultana by her hair, dragged her in the mud, beat her mercilessly, and with a final vicious kick...he shouted these dreaded sentences. 'I divorce you,' clearly three times by which any [Muslim] man can dissolve his marriage just like that and proceed on with another marriage...."

Sultana's second marriage was also unfortunate. Her husband was totally idle - the spoiled only son in a family with seven daughters.

She was told about the Grameen Bank by an employer and friend, "Sultana did not take him seriously in the beginning. What could she offer to the Grameen Bank as collateral or

guarantee. A poor, hopeless woman with nothing to her name, with the exception of the clothes she had on her back. What bank would take her seriously?"

Sultana formed a group and was approved for a loan. "The first thing the group was taught was to sign their names....The first time Sultana signed her name on a receipt of the Taka 800.00 (\$US 29.16) loan her hands shook visibly. So much money in her hands was like a tonic for Sultana." She bought \$US 30.00 worth of goods before returning home.

"Early the next morning Sultana set out on her rounds to sell her goods...The profits of the first day truly excited Sultana...[After a week] her profit had been on the average Taka 55.00 (\$US 1.46) every day...Her reputation spread far and wide as she would not sell below standard articles, nor would she ever cheat anyone. Her next task was to set up a small grocery and variety store for her husband...Next to the shop Sultana constructed a tiny house for her family. She was a proud woman..." (*Bank Credit for Rural Women*, p. 120-124.)

The Grameen Bank Project has been imitated worldwide as a successful way to reach the poor and encourage development. The *Prodem* credit program in Bolivia and *Finca* - Foundation for International Community Assistance - are two such projects. The World Bank, United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development, and the United States Agency for International Development now earmark funds for credit programs for poor people in the Third World.

This is one indication of a change in thinking about foreign aid from a "macro" approach of investing in large-scale industrial projects to investing in "micro" ones that concentrate on small-scale projects for poor individuals. Large scale programs often did not help poor Third World people to improve their standard of living - the "trickle down" effect did not occur. This negative impact of large scale projects was often particularly harmful to women.

Credit is seen as a central way of improving the living standards for the very poor. "Money lenders charge between two and 25 percent interest per day," says Maria Otero, regional director of a credit program in Honduras. "More than anything, this [charging of high interest rates] hampers individual economic growth and perpetuates poverty." (*Christian Science Monitor*, September 30, 1987.)

Barbara Rodey, Executive Director of *Finca*, reported, "We estimate that in Latin America [alone] there are approximately 140 million people living in life-threatening poverty. These are the poorest of the poor...." "We try to guide the money into the hands of women," says *Finca's* director John Hatch. "If the money is available to the wife, she will spend it on rapid-turnover investments like buying and selling vegetables, raising chickens or pigs. She knows what to do with her \$50 [loan]....It's ironic that the woman has traditionally seen herself as a nobody, now, with access to credit, she's empowered." (*Ibid.*)

"We [at *Finca*] believe that when you give somebody something as charity, you lower their self-esteem," says Barbara Rodey, "But when they feel that what they have done has been through their own efforts, it changes their lives."

Particularly for women, direct loans made to them for projects that they devise are critical in raising their feeling of having power over their lives and futures. Dr. Yunus commented that the Grameen Bank Program, "builds up the dignity of human beings while building up a country's economy." (*Ibid.*)

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. "In most third-world countries more than half the workers belong to the 'informal sector.' These are people who survive, often marginally, through self-employment, outside the economic structures. They are fruit vendors in Cartagena, Colombia; ragpickers in India; basketmakers in Accra, Ghana. In India, for example, a country of 770 million, more than 80 percent of workers are in the informal sector." (Kristin Helmore, *Christian Science Monitor*, September 30, 1987.)

Why do you think small loans particularly benefit these informal sector workers?

Why might women particularly benefit?

2. Look back at the two lists of promises (economic and social) that borrowers make before receiving loans from the Grameen Bank. What criteria would seem to be ones that could be applied in the United States for similar programs for the poor? What ones would seem to apply only for the Third World or would be difficult to implement in the United States?

3. Recently a similar program of making small loans to the poor was begun in the Chicago area. What things might we learn from Third World experiences that could be applied here in the United States?

4. A study of women borrowers who had participated in a government-sponsored program in India of bank loans to poor in the Bombay area showed a wide range of repayment rates. After isolating several variables, the study showed that women who were organized into women's organizations with requirements similar to those of the Grameen Bank had a repayment rate of 90 percent. However, those that were not organized and had only a "social worker" (an intermediary who might be a politician, slum leader, or raw materials supplier) or a state agency called the BCC (Backward Classes Corporation) because their loan agency had a rate of repayment that ranged from a low of 44 percent to a high of 71 percent.

Even accounting for the possibility that the women's organization (Annapurna Mahila Mandal) recruited borrowers with a better chance of carrying out successful enterprises, this study showed the positive effect of the women's organizations in encouraging loan repayment.

(Jana Everett and Mira Savara, "Bank Loans to the Poor in Bombay: Do Women Benefit?," in Barbara Gelpi, et al, eds., *Women and Poverty*, 1986.)

Why do you think that women's organizations or similar groups might be a key to the success of these projects for providing poor women with loans?

PART V: TEACHING CONTEMPORARY THIRD WORLD WOMEN'S ISSUES

Objectives

- To make educators aware of philosophical and practical dilemmas and problems when women's history and culture are incorporated into K-12 curriculum.
- To provide educators with techniques for achieving a balance between cultural relativism and ethnocentrism in teaching about women in world cultures.
- To provide sources of instructional materials, book lists, and bibliographies on women in Third World cultures.

PART V: EXERCISES 1 AND 2

"Teacher Questions" and "Teaching Women's History and Culture in a Global Setting"

TOTAL TIME PART V: 60 MINUTES (EXERCISES AND HANDOUT 10)

****Facilitator Instructions:**

When this unit is conducted as a workshop for educators, a suggested conclusion for the day is a discussion of the concerns of teachers about incorporating new materials into their curriculum and courses.

EXERCISE 1: "Teacher Questions" (page 79) (20 MINUTES)

This exercise can be done in one of two ways:

1. Each small group is given one of four "teacher questions" (page 79) on an index card. In a small group discussion, solutions are suggested to the problem and then shared in a large group discussion. (10 MINUTES in small group; 10 MINUTES to compare in large group discussion.)
2. Each of the four "teacher questions" (page 79) are discussed by participants in a large group as a summary for the day. A list of all four are put on the easel or blackboard. (20 MINUTES)

EXERCISE 2: "Teaching Women's History and Culture in a Global Setting"

A fifth question frequently posed by teachers is:

"How do I teach students to respect and understand other cultures while discussing customs and conditions that have a negative impact on girls and women?"

HANDOUT 10 "Cultural Relativism vs. Neo-ethnocentrism," suggests some possible ways to find a balance in teaching about women in a global context.

After participants have completed **EXERCISE 1** have them complete Problem 1 of **EXERCISE 2** on pages 81 to 82 in small groups (15 MINUTES).

Participants should then read **HANDOUT 10**, complete Problem 2 on page 83 (25 MINUTES) and compare solutions to Problems 1 and 2 in a large group discussion.

If time does not allow for this exercise, **HANDOUT 10** can be given to participants to read and think about after the workshop.

Educators will decide on many different solutions to the problems posed in **EXERCISES 1 and 2**. Therefore, no particular answers are suggested here.

EXERCISE 1

"TEACHER QUESTIONS"

When teachers are asked to include new perspectives and materials in existing curriculum and courses, they frequently raise a number of concerns about these changes. When the discussion involves integrating women's history and culture into social studies courses, teachers frequently raise these questions:

1. I have too much to teach already and I need to teach to standardized tests that are important in the evaluation of my teaching and my student's learning. How can I make room for these new materials in my social studies courses?
2. Where do I start? The enormous amount of recent scholarship and new curriculum on women's history and culture is overwhelming.
3. How do I know this new curriculum isn't just a "trendy" new angle but a genuinely needed new perspective?
4. My students are often hostile to new materials and boys particularly don't want to study about girls and women. How do I overcome this hostility?

EXERCISE 2

"TEACHING WOMEN'S HISTORY AND CULTURE IN A GLOBAL SETTING"

A fifth question frequently posed by teachers about incorporating women's history and culture into global education curriculum and courses is:

"How do I teach students to respect and understand other cultures while discussing customs and conditions that have a negative impact on girls and women?"

Women as a class have had less economic and political clout than men in virtually every world area. This lack of power often translates at the family level into an uneven distribution of resources within the family unit. Similarly, from the village to national levels economic and political agendas and policies are usually set by men - and priorities often reflect male perceptions of what is valuable.

A discussion, then, of women's history and culture will inevitably deal with what is unequal or oppressive in a particular society or culture - as well as what is positive, beautiful, and uniquely valuable. How does a teacher find a balance between teaching respect for other cultures and discussing women's concerns?

Teachers must discover their own ways to deal with this difficult question. The following exercise, however, presents two commonly held - but opposing - views of the "proper" way to approach the teaching of global issues - especially controversial ones. Used as a conceptual framework, these two approaches may suggest to teachers ways to balance their curriculum between two opposing positions.

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Exercise Two

Participant Instructions:

In a small group discussion complete Problem 1.

Problem 1: Perhaps because women have generally had less political clout than men and are seen as upholding traditional values in many cultures, some customs or actions that affect women in many world areas can be seen as unfair, oppressive, or offensive. A few examples of such customs or actions are:

- Differences between the wages paid to women and men in many countries.
- Rape of women in all world areas.
- Veiling and seclusion of women in the Middle East.
- Female genital mutilation in parts of Africa and the Middle East.
- Restriction of women from jobs and careers in many world areas because of their sex.
- Wife beating and abuse worldwide.
- The "double day" with women working much longer hours than men particularly in the Third World.
- Property rights and other laws that often favor men in many countries.
- Prostitution - including sex tours of men to Third World countries.
- Uneven distribution of resources within the family that favor men and boys.

In a small group discussion first decide which of these issues *should* be included in a discussion of women and contemporary global concerns. What factors influenced your decision about which issues to include? What issues do you feel should be excluded, if any? Justify your answers.

If your group agrees that a particular issue should be included, discuss:

- how you would fit this issue into the global studies curriculum.
- problems that you might encounter, and give suggestions for overcoming these problems.

When your group has finished Problem 1 read HANDOUT 10 and then complete Problem 2.

Problem 2: After reading HANDOUT 10 decide where you feel you fall on the continuum below and why. (What issues you feel should be taught and how these should be taught might influence where you would place yourself philosophically.)

Cultural Relativism

Neo-ethnocentrism

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Share additional small group conclusions in a large group discussion.

In large group discussion compare your small group solutions to Problem 1 and your individual conclusions of your philosophical position as represented by where you placed yourself on the continuum.

HANDOUT 10

"Cultural Relativism vs. Neo-ethnocentrism Two Philosophical Positions on Teaching Global Issues"

The labels given to two approaches to teaching global issues are "cultural relativism" and "neo-ethnocentrism."

Those that advocate a "cultural relativist" approach take the position that, although world cultures are very diverse, they are equally valuable. Therefore, when discussing other cultures, teachers must use extreme caution not to denigrate customs, laws, or attitudes which are different from our own. Aspects of other societies or cultures that might cast them in a bad light should be avoided when teaching world studies.

Those that take an "neo-ethnocentric" approach claim that "Western" (European and North American) culture is superior in most ways to those of socialist and Third World countries. Global education (and foreign policy - including foreign aid) should demonstrate the value and necessity of spreading European and North American culture - particularly democracy and capitalism worldwide.

Cultural Relativism

The "cultural relativist" view developed from the liberal - left tradition of post-colonialism in which the industrialized world began to question the morality and benefits of colonialism. With the formation of the United Nations after World War II there was also a growing appreciation of Third World cultures.

European and North American educators increasingly felt that they should use extreme caution when criticizing the customs, standards, or mores of other cultures, societies, or nations. Cultural relativists strongly support learning about other cultures, but customs that might be perceived negatively by outsiders should be played down, ignored, or only discussed when similar examples from their culture, society, or nation are used. According to this view, people in different times and places do different things, and it is improper for outsiders to make value judgments about these things that others do.

For women's issues, however, taking a cultural relativist approach may mean that critical problems are avoided or ignored. Women as a class have had less public, political power in most world areas. Women have frequently suffered because of asymmetrical laws and customs that restricted their life choices and even physical movement.

Women's work has tended to be more invisible than that of most classes of men - and thus less rewarded. Important topics for women will include aspects of the sexism present in varying degrees in the overwhelming majority of human societies.

Suggested ways to avoid cultural relativism:

1. Discuss with students the distinction between propaganda and analytical scholarship.

Teachers can point out that we in the United States, for example, no longer find it acceptable to teach only positive aspects of our own history and culture. Textbooks that overemphasize the positive and ignore past and present injustices are seen as presenting simplistic views; propaganda rather than history.

In the case of Third World cultures, avoiding all subjects that might be perceived as negative by North American or European standards assumes that other peoples are so powerless that they cannot stand up and argue effectively for things they may feel are uniquely valuable in their own societies. It also assumes that these societies are too fragile

to withstand outside criticism and are unable to change things they come to perceive as damaging. Looked at in this way, such an unbalanced treatment would, in actuality, be a form of ethnocentrism.

2. Emphasize differences *within* societies or cultural areas.

When studying the continent of Africa, individual countries or ethnic groups should be the focus of discussion rather than continued references to "Africa." If the African continent is presented as a complex area with over 40 countries and 1000 ethnic groups, the diversity of customs can be discussed as they differ from group to group. For example, seen from the view of specific ethnic groups, practices such as polygyny or female genital mutilation can be viewed as part of the diversity of African life - some groups may practice these customs while others reject them.

For example:

The Kikuyu of Kenya practiced female genital mutilation while the Luo, their neighbors, did not. President Daniel Moi, a member of the Luo minority, banned the practice of female circumcision in Kenya in 1982 after the reported deaths of 14 girls as a result of genital operations. President Moi declared, "I will not allow children to die when I am the leader of this country." (Quoted in: *WIN News*, Vol. 8, no. 4, p. 34, Autumn 1982.) As a member of a Kenya minority group that did not practice this custom, his declaration banning these practices was a daring political move.

An issue of serious concern in India is the unbalanced sex ratio favoring men. However, although the sex ratio imbalance favoring boys and men (a probable indication of neglect of female infants and babies) is pronounced in areas of North India, South India has approximately the same sex ratio as North American countries and those of Africa.

While footbinding was a custom that severely restricted women in traditional China, various minority groups in China did not practice footbinding for girls.

In India some tribal groups resisted the commonly accepted practice of female child marriage by marrying their girls to objects such as trees, arrows, or wheat paddles - then, at a more suitable age, married them again to a young man.

Cultural areas - or particular societies - are not monolithic. Many are very diverse in their peoples and geography. Customs depend on area, class, and time period. Comparisons and contrasts can be made from within a society. Statistical comparisons can be made *within* a cultural area or country that indicate diversity depending on internal conditions. Historical processes can then be traced that indicate some of the reasons for these differences. Pointing up internal differences provides a way to avoid "us" vs. "them" ethnocentrism while discussing a variety of cultural norms.

3. Cultures and societies change through time.

Few people in the United States would like to reinstate slavery or take the vote away from women. We now are ashamed of conditions such as slavery and the denial of basic political rights to classes of citizens that we tolerated at other times in our national history. But we are proud of reformers who worked to change these practices.

Similarly, reformers - both men and women - in other countries and cultures have worked to eliminate customs they thought were harmful or outdated.

For example:

Emperor Shun-Zhi in the 17th century tried to outlaw footbinding in China by decree. As a Manchu emperor he was seen as an outsider and was unsuccessful; he was afraid to use more forceful measures as these might have incited rebellion. Chinese author Li Ruzhen wrote a famous satire criticizing the custom in about 1800, and the empress-dowager Ci Xi finally outlawed footbinding in China in 1907.

Many reformers in Indian history worked against the practice of widow burning (sati or suttee), child marriage, and the forbidding of widow remarriage. D. K. Karve, a 19th century reformer, set up homes for widows. He and other men married widows at great personal cost - their families or villages often treated them as outcasts. Women like Pandita Ramabai, Muthulakshmi Reddi, and Ramabai Ranade also worked against child marriage, the restrictions on widow remarriage, and for women's education in India.

Latin American women writers faced much criticism and scorn in the late 19th and early 20th century as poets, journalists, and prose writers. They followed in the tradition of the first feminist of the Americas - poet, scientist, and philosopher-nun, Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz. She was eventually silenced by the Roman Catholic Church for her scientific studies and her writings that advocated the equality of the sexes and the need to get rid of the sexual double standard.

Each world area and society has had reformers who were agents of change. These reformers were sometimes aided by outsiders but their accomplishments are as much a part of the history of their society as the conditions that brought about the need for their reforms. This is equally true today. As seen in this unit, women and men throughout the world are working for reforms to improve the living conditions of people in their societies - particularly reforms for women.

4. Sometimes a push from the outside is useful.

Although it may be painful to national honor, outside criticism is not necessarily destructive.

For example:

In 1893 a French aristocrat, the Duc d'Harcourt, visited Egypt and returned home to write a highly critical book of his observations - particularly about the inequality of Egyptian women. Outraged, an Egyptian jurist, Qasim Amin, wrote a rebuttal in French. But in doing so he slowly gained a new view - and six years later he published *The Emancipation of Woman* in which he called for reforms in family and property laws to improve the legal and social position of Egyptian women.

From 1938 to 1942 Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist and sociologist, conducted a study for the Carnegie Foundation entitled, "The American Negro Problem in America." From this study he wrote *The American Dilemma*. This book was a benchmark in the modern Civil Rights movement in the United States. Many people in the United States awoke to the evils of "Jim Crow" and the treatment of Blacks as second-class citizens after seeing these conditions from the view of an outsider.

Neo-ethnocentrism

A "neo-ethnocentric" approach to teaching world studies arose in recent United States history. Ethnocentric views of other cultures and laudatory, super-patriotic United States history texts and teaching are not new. However, a resurgence of ethnocentrism has occurred. This neo-ethnocentrism was a response to "United States bashing" by some Third World countries' representatives in the United Nations, the conservative swing in United States politics and foreign policy, and a revival of patriotism and nationalism in the United States in the post-Vietnam era.

This neo-ethnocentric view declares that the United States is the "City on the Hill" - a model to the world with the duty to impose our values on other societies. In this view the customs, standards, and even "pop" culture of the United States rightfully should be spread throughout the world. European and North American cultures are seen as superior. Taken to the extreme it is a neo-colonialist outlook.

This view assumes that improvements and positive traditions for women have come from the "Western" world. It ignores the many positive role models for women present in the history of other cultures that may not be present in European or North American cultures.

Suggested ways to avoid neo-ethnocentrism:

1. Comparisons between the Third World and the United States (or European) should be made with care.

For example:

Conceptual labels describing the Third World and the industrialized countries such as Western, developed, underdeveloped, primitive, and civilized should be used with great care. For example, is "Western" culture being confused with technology and industrial output? Does our unfamiliarity with other cultures diminish our appreciation of them? Do we confuse military might with superiority in all areas? Does underdeveloped mean industrialized countries' views of what constitutes "development"?

Comparisons between Third World societies and the United States or European cultures generally should favor the other society or culture. This is a matter of good international manners - and does not mean that outsiders cannot criticize other societies or cultures.

Historical comparisons can be useful. Property rights of women in the United States in the 19th century were severely restricted while at a similar time period Islamic states, following Koranic law, provided women with guaranteed property rights of inheritance, upon divorce, and within marriage.

Students may feel less distant from Third World women hauling water if they know that in the 1920s over 50 percent of women in farm states such as Minnesota had to haul water from wells or streams to their homes.

(University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin #234, June 1927.)

2. Allow students to have and express their feelings about other people's customs and values - to even feel that customs in other cultures are "weird" or strange. The idea of differences between peoples and cultures can pique the interest of students. After they have expressed their surprise or even disgust they can slowly be introduced to human values, needs, and aspirations that are universal. World history and culture teaches the diversity of the human condition, the complexity of causation, and the fact that customs and values change over time in all cultural areas.

3. United Nations standards and statistics can be used as an internationally accepted guide to issues such as human rights, health issues, and equity. Other international organizations such as the Red Cross or the YWCA provide almost universally accepted standards to guide national human rights and customary practices. The use of these standards avoids "us" vs. "them" divisive comparisons.

For example:

The Declaration of Human Rights was accepted by all the nations that signed the United Nations charter - and each can be held to that standard. As of July 25, 1985, 105 countries, including the United States, have signed the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." The United States has not yet ratified the Convention, but 78 countries have and, therefore, can be held to its provisions.

The World Health Organization, at a 1979 international conference at Khartoum, Sudan, declared that genital mutilation was a dangerous and medically valueless practice.

The presence of United Nations personnel in the United States after World War II helped to end the practice of Jim Crow in the South when delegates from African countries objected to the treatment that they received in public accommodations.

4. Recognize that many of our cultural ideals are not those of other cultures.

The attitude that one's own cultural ideals are superior is the basis of an ethnocentric view. Teachers can use examples presented here to show how our "ideals" are not always shared ones. Repeat the point made about the nuclear family being an ideal in the United States and many other industrialized countries but not necessarily a reflection of reality here - nor an ideal in other cultures. Another example is the industrialized countries' assumption that modernizing is good and beneficial. Modernization, as seen in this unit, has not necessarily been beneficial for Third World people - particularly for Third World women.

The impact of modernization projects on women in the Third World has often been negative. Because women's work contributions were not acknowledged nor their social context not considered, development projects meant to aid Third World people often actually undermined women's economic base. (Refer to HANDOUT 7 for a specific example of a project that was detrimental for women. See also, HANDOUT 6).

HANDOUT 11

RESOURCES AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources of Information About Women's History and Women in Development*

Association for Women in Development
P.O. Box 66133
Washington, D.C. 20035
(202) 833-3380

Canadian International Development Agency
Public Affairs Branch
200 Promenade du Portage
Hull, Quebec KIA OG4
(819) 997-6100

EPC.C: Equity Policy Center
4818 Drummond Avenue
Chevy Chase, MD 20815
(301) 656-4475
c/o Irene Tinker

Global Connections
American Home Economics Association
2010 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-8300

Written to be included in home economics classes, units include slides and print materials on family life, education, clothing, food production, etc. in Africa, Asia, Caribbean, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Harbourfront
417 Queen's Quay West
Suite 500
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5V 1A2

With the National Film Board of Canada they have developed a list of films on the United Nations Decade for Women and women's issues. Catalog available.

*Organizations with instructional materials are annotated.

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Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs
Women, Public Policy, and Development Project
Arvonne Fraser, Project Director
301 19th Avenue So.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455
(612) 625-2505

Publications include "Forward Looking Strategies" - an abridged version of the document adopted by the United Nations Conference on Women at Nairobi, July 1985. Other useful documents on women's concerns in a global setting. Price lists available - minimal charges.

International Center of Research on Women
1717 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 797-0007
c/o Mayra Buvinic

ILO: International Labour Office
CH-1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland

Washington Branch:
1750 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 374-2315

An ILO brochure features women and development materials. Also available upon request, a free pamphlet "Equal Rights for Working Women."

INSTRAW: International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
Cesar N. Penson 102-A,
P.O. Box 21747
Santo Domingo
Dominican Republic
(809) 685-2111

Focus is on research, training, and information activities to promote the full participation of women in all aspects of development. Newsletter, fliers, and other publications available upon request. Programs include Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

International Tribune Center
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
c/o Ann Walker
(212) 687-8633

Many excellent materials, graphics, posters, post cards, particularly on Third World women. Free catalog available.

ISIS - Women's International Information and Communication Services
Via Santa Maria dell'Anima, 30
00186 Rome, Italy
(tel: 656-5842)

Spanish edition:
ISIS Internacional
Casill 2067
Correo Central
Santiago Chile
(tel: 490-271)

United States address:
ISIS
P.O. Box 25711
Philadelphia, PA 19144

Excellent newsletter and other publications available in Spanish and English.

National Public Radio
Cassette Publishing
2025 M Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Audio cassette "A Global Gathering of Women: The Decade of Women Conference,
Nairobi HO 85-09-04, 1/2 hour, \$9.95. Other tapes on women's issues available.

National Women's History Project
P.O. Box 3716
Santa Rosa, CA 95402
c/o Molly MacGregor
(707) 526-5974

Many resources for women's history K-adult. Excellent catalog. Yearly poster for
National Women's History Month, March. Emphasis is on United States women's
history.

OEF International
Development Education Program
1815 H Street N.W.
11th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 466-3430

Excellent videotape "Seeds of Promise" on Third World women's development projects
and print materials available. Write for free brochures.

Office of Women in Development
Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20523

The resource center of the Office of Women in Development (WID) has bibliographies, some articles, and a book list available free of charge.

SEEDS
P.O. Box 3923
Grand Central Station
New York, NY 10163

Booklets available on specific new projects that have had a positive impact on women.

Sisterhood is Global, Robin Morgan, ed., 1984.
Anchor Press/Doubleday
501 Franklin Avenue
Garden City, NY 11530

Country-by-country information on women - very useful.
Available at bookstores - \$12.95.

TABS: Aids for Equal Education
744 Carroll Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215

Many excellent posters particularly for younger students. Catalog available.

United Nations Development Fund for Women
304 East 45th Street, Room 1106
New York, NY 10017
Margaret Snyder, Information Officer
(212) 906-6453

Women Associated for Global Education (WAGE)
c/o The Immaculate Heart College Center
10951 West Pico Blvd. Suite 2021
Los Angeles, CA 90064
(213) 470-2293

A nationwide network of female educators and administrators founded to remedy the lack of emphasis on gender-related issues in global education.
The newsletter of the Immaculate Heart College Center, *Global Pages*, is an excellent resource emphasizing women's issues through the "WAGE PAGE."

WEAL: Women's Equity Action League
1250 I Street N.W.
Suite 305
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 898-1588

WEAL publications are concerned mostly with issues for women in the United States but cover a wide variety of topics that may be useful in cross-cultural comparisons. Catalog available.

WIN News
c/o Fran Hosken
187 Grant Street
Lexington, MA 02173

A journal of excerpts from world newspapers and magazines on women's concerns. Excellent for current issues.

WIRE: Women's International Resource Exchange Service
2700 Broadway, Room 7
New York, N.Y. 10025

Catalog of many useful publications on women worldwide. Reprints of articles and books.

Women: A World Report, Debbie Taylor, ed.
Methuen London Ltd.
11 New Fetter Lane
London EC4P 4EE
England

Women...A World Survey, Ruth Legar Sivard
World Priorities
Box 25240
Washington, D.C. 20007

Easily reproduced graphs, etc. for classroom use. This publication is included in a kit of materials from the Population Reference Bureau, (see below.)

Women in Development:
A Resource Guide for Organization and Action, 1984.
New Society Publishers
4722 Baltimore
Philadelphia, PA 19143

\$14.95 plus \$1.50 postage.
Very useful, materials, charts, statistics on women in a world context.

Women in World Area Studies and
Women and Development Issues in Three World Areas
c/o The Upper Midwest Women's History Center
6300 Walker Street
St. Louis Park, MN 55416
(612) 925-3632

These programs have developed curriculum materials on the history of women in eight cultural areas and contemporary women and development issues for secondary to adult students. Write for free catalog from Glenhurst Publications at the above address. Brochures and newsletters also available from the Upper Midwest Women's History Center.

Women in the World Atlas, Joni Seager and Ann Olson, Touchstone Book, Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1986.

Excellent source of statistics and charts on women in a geographic setting. Original and pertinent graphics used. Available at book stores for \$12.95.

Women in the World: Annotated History Resources for the Secondary Student, compiled and edited by Lyn Reese and Jean Wilkinson, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., Methuchen, NJ, 1987. Available from Glenhurst Publications, 6300 Walker Street, St. Louis Park, MN 55416.

An important new book of sources - well annotated, publishers listed - useful and appropriate. \$19.50 prepaid postage included.

Women of the World: A Chartbook for Developing Regions, United States Agency for International Development
Office of Women in Development
From: Superintendent of Documents
United States Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20037

"The World's Women: A Profile"
Population Reference Bureau, Inc.
2213 M Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 639-8040

Wall chart on women worldwide. Kit of materials on women also available - includes *Women...A World Survey* listed above.

The Arno Peters projection of the world map shows world areas and countries according to their actual size and does not favor the northern hemisphere. The map is produced with support from the United Nations Development Programme and is available from:

Friendship Press New York
Order from:
P.O.Box 37844
Cincinnati, Ohio 45237 ISBN 0-377-73009-0

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HANDOUT 12

GLOSSARY

Agricultural laborer

A person who works on another person's land for wages and is not involved in supervision of other laborers or decisions about crops.

Agronomy

The science of soil management and production of field crops; scientific agriculture.

Appropriate technology

The recognition that much of modern technology does not benefit the greatest number of needy people in the Third World has led to discussions of "appropriate technology." Traditional technologies have not always produced the agricultural surpluses needed for population increases. Modern technology may require skills and money to use and maintain this same technology that are not available in the Third World. Intermediate or appropriate technologies - those between complex and traditional - should improve productivity but, at the same time, their introduction should not contribute to unemployment since labor is a plentiful resource in the Third World. Specific questions for women must be asked of any new technology: Will it add to women's work burdens? Will women have access to the new technology? Will women be consulted about its adoption? (Adapted from: Sue Ellen Charlton, *Women in Third World Development*, 1984, p. 85.)

Basic Needs Approach (or Basic Human Needs.)

Advocated by Mahbub ul Haq of the World Bank and publicly debated at the ILO (International Labor Office) World Employment conference in 1976, this is one approach to development in the Third World. Basic needs are defined as: food specified in terms of calories and specific to age, sex occupation; potable water reasonably close to people's homes; clothing and shelter adequate to the locality; medical care including preventive medicine, sanitation, health services, nutrition, family planning; education; participation in decision making; and human rights. BNA advocates claim that large-scale development projects have failed to reach the poor and, instead, the aim of development should be fulfilling the basic needs of all human beings. (See, James Weaver and Kenneth Jameson, *Economic Development: Competing Paradigms*, 1981.)

Brideprice (or bride wealth)

Money or goods paid to the bride's family by the groom's at the time of the wedding or soon afterward. Often the exchange takes place between the bride's father and the groom's father.

Consensual unions

Ones in which an adult man and woman live together and/or have children together but their relationship is not officially sanctioned by the church or state.

Cultivators

Agricultural laborers who work on land that they own or lease.

Cultural Relativism

A view that discourages the criticism of other cultures as ethnocentric. Cultural relativists believe that it is improper for outsiders to judge another culture's mores, standards, or customs.

Cultural Universals

The activities of all human cultures can be divided roughly into six "cultural universals." All human societies include activities in these six areas. Generally these six areas are labeled: education, politics, economics, social arrangements, art, and religion.

Development

Economic Development: Changes which include increased industrialization, using technological advances, and increased national product.

Social Development: Changes which involve widespread distribution of income and "social goods" such as education, health services, adequate housing, recreation facilities, and participation in political decision making among the population.

Cultural Development: Reaffirmation of national identity and traditions; a new and positive self-image and the dispelling of second-rate feelings and external subordination. (Adapted from Alejandro Portes, "On the Sociology of National Development: Theories and Issues," *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1976, p. 56.)

Double day (double duty)

The entrenched division of labor by sex that views women as being in charge of children and the home even when they work full or part time at subsistence or wage labor jobs. This view has often led to women working far longer hours than men with little leisure time available to them.

Dowry

Payment in money, goods, or land to the groom or groom's family by the bride's family.

Ethnocentrism

A belief in the inherent superiority of one's own culture or group with contempt for other cultures and a tendency to view other groups in one's own terms.

Food cycle

A number of activities concerning the growing of food: planting, weeding, harvesting, storing, transporting, delivering, preparing, and consuming. Food consumption determines nutrition and affects participation in the cycle. Women's labor in the food cycle has often been invisible when compared to that of men. (Adapted from Charlton, *Women in Third World Development*, p. 61.)

Formal sector

That part of the economy that is counted in the gross national product, it involves paid wages or returns from investments, and is regulated by labor and business laws. In many Third World areas the formal sector accounts for less than half of those that are "economically active."

First World

The First World refers to industrialized countries of the West - Europe and North America. (See also: Third World)

Gender

Refers to social experience (while sex is a biological basis for distinction). "A perspective that is sensitive to gender not only focuses on the categories of men and women, but examines the origins and implications of the relationships between them. It demonstrates how socialization creates gender distinctions and reveals inequities that stem from patriarchal social organization." (Janice Monk and Jane Williamson-Fien, "Stereoscopic Visions: Perspectives on Gender - Challenges for the Geography Classroom" in, *Teaching Geography for a Better World*, Brisbane, Australia: Australian Geography Teacher's Association and the Jacaranda Press, 1986, 188.)

Green Revolution

The term for agricultural developments such as the more efficient use of fertilizer and water and the introduction of HYV (high-yield crop varieties) of grains - particularly wheat and rice - into the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia in the 1960s. Norman Borlaug, the agronomist who developed these seed varieties, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1970 for his work which was hailed as indicating the possible end of hunger in many parts of the Third World. Unforeseen results, however, have occurred since. Generally the larger landowners were able to take advantage of these innovations because the high cost of inputs (seed, fertilizers, machinery) allowed them to borrow the money needed and use these technologies the most efficiently. In general, for women, the Green Revolution has meant the loss of traditional farming roles and, because of the loss of family farms, poorer women have become agricultural laborers rather than cultivators.

Gross national product

The total monetary value of all final goods and services produced in a country during one year. GNP is "widely used as an indicator of development. Usually it only includes productive activities in the 'modern,' money economy - an overwhelmingly male environment - excludes production and services provided by women in the home and in the so-called "traditional" and "informal" economies." (Monk and Williamson-Fien, "Stereoscopic Visions," p. 194.)

Informal sector

Involves activities outside of the formal economy (as defined above) such as trading done by street vendors, selling of home-made food products, subsistence farming, home craft production, flower selling, and other activities generally not enumerated in national statistics and not counted in the gross national product (GNP).

Integry

Making whole - a condition of organizing members of a community into an integrated group. (For further explanation and origin see Part III- HANDOUT 4).

Jat

A group of Indo-Aryan peoples who live in northwestern India.

Korta

Male head of household in Bangladesh; master. (See filmstrip /video " Women and the Family in Three World Areas," Part II)

Machismo

A cultural ideal common in Latin America. A masculine code where men are to be personally brave, protective of family (especially women), able to operate effectively in the outside world, and are usually quick to take insult.

Marianismo

A cultural ideal common in Latin America. A feminine code where women are to be religious and pious, focused on family, secluded at home, and the moral force of their families.

Natal family

The family of one's birth.

Patriarchy

See Page 41 for an exercise on defining "patriarchy."

Historian Linda Gordon recently described "patriarchy" as follows:

"I find particularly ahistorical the use of the term 'patriarchy' to mean a universal, unchanging, deterministic social structure which denies agency to women. I prefer to use the term ... in a narrower sense, referring to a form of male dominance in which fathers control families and families are the units of social and economic power." For this manual, the latter definition describes our use of the term patriarchy.

(from Linda Gordon. *Heroes of Their own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence*. New York: Viking, 1988. p. vi.)

Polity

A form of government or the condition of being organized as a state or organized community.

Polyandry

The practice of having more than one husband at a time.

Polygamy

Having several spouses at the same time.

Polygyny

The practice of having more than one wife at a time.

Poverty

People who share the common characteristics of low income, poor health and nutrition, and lack of basic needs. (Thomas Merrick and Marianne Schmink, "Households Headed by Women and Urban Poverty in Brazil," in Mayra Buvinic, et al, *Women and Poverty in the Third World*, 1983, p. 244.)

Production

See Part III, HANDOUT 4.

Purdah (or Parda)

Comes from the Persian word meaning curtain. It refers to the seclusion, especially of Muslim and Hindu women, by covering them with veils in public, restricting them to a harem, zenana, or women's quarter in the home, and by generally discouraging contact between the sexes except for close family members.

Reproduction

See Part III, HANDOUT 4.

Seclusion

In the Middle East, South Asia, and parts of sub-Saharan Africa this, refers to the custom of severely restricting the physical movements of women to home or, when in public, women are veiled or in covered vehicles. Also a practice of certain classes in traditional China and periods of Russian and Latin American history.

Second World

Refers to the communist or socialist countries, particularly the USSR and China. (See also, Third World).

Sita

Is a hero of the Hindu epic poem, the Ramayana, dating from ca. 500 B.C. Married to Rama the male hero, Sita was captured by the demon-king Ravana and taken to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Finally freed, Rama fears she has had sexual relations with Ravana. Although she successfully undergoes an ordeal by fire to prove her innocence, Rama sends her away to the forest. There she bears his twin sons, raises them to be brave and good, and is eventually welcomed back by Rama. Self-sacrifice, faithfulness, long-suffering, uncomplaining (even when unjustly treated), and sexual purity are Sita's qualities that are considered to be an Indian ideal for women.

Status Enhancement

See Part III, HANDOUT 4.

Supermadre

The "supermadre" model was described by political scientist Elsa Chaney as a woman politician who stresses her motherly concern for her constituents. She does not confront the male world by trying to fit into it. Instead, she carries her domestic role further into the outer world of politics. (Elsa Chaney, *Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America!*, 1979, p. 22.)

Third World

A movement in the 1950s among nations who increasingly refused to align themselves with either of the superpowers (United States or the USSR) "Originally, the term 'Third World' characterized those countries that eschewed alignment with either the First World of the West or the Second World of the East. Although the term now has an economic meaning as well, the idea of the Third World is still most accurately described as a political concept." (Quoted from Sue Ellen Charlton, *Women in the Third World*, p. 13, as she adapted it from Wayne Clegern, "What is the Third World? *Technos* . Vol. 8 (January-December 1980.) The term Third World is used here in preference to terms such as "underdeveloped" or "developing" world as being a label chosen by people in these world areas.

Trickle down (or Oil stain)

A theory of development that proposed that prosperity in one sector of the economy or among one class would eventually spread to other people and groups and that the general population would eventually benefit.

Trickle up

A theory that "small is beautiful" in development projects. This theory claims that small projects and loans at the individual, family, or village level that improve ordinary people's lives are more effective in overcoming poverty in the Third World than large scale projects to modernize the general economy.

Tube well water

Safe drinking water from wells dug in Bangladesh villages rather than water in surface creeks or ponds. As the water must be brought from the well, it may be less convenient - thus the Grameen Bank requires its use to encourage safe drinking water for villagers.

Unorganized sector

Refers to the large sector of economic activity which does not lie within labor legislation and is, therefore, not counted in labor statistics. Comparable to "informal" but may mean a widespread condition such as in India where perhaps 80 percent of all work takes place in the "unorganized sector."

Use value

Products made within the family that are not assigned a monetary value or sold but have economic value because they are consumed within the family unit.

APPENDIX I Introductory Exercises

EXERCISE A "What is the Third World?"

****Facilitator Instructions - Class Preparation:**

1. Before the class or workshop make up ten 8 x 5 index cards with the country name and questions on the front side and the statistical data for that country on the flip side.
2. Each group should have a copy of "Selected Industrialized Countries: Standards for Comparison." Make enough photocopies of this handout so every group can have one.
3. Have available:
 - A wall map of the world map. (For information on how to obtain an Arno Peters projection that shows countries in their proper places and scale see the last item in the resources list HANDOUT 11).
 - Five or six copies of the glossary from the manual.

Recommended:

- A recent yearly almanac such as *Information Please* .
- Joni Seager and Ann Olson, *Women in the World Atlas*, New York: Simon & Schuster - Touchstone Book, 1986.

Infant mortality, rural populations, illiteracy rates, and life expectancy were taken from Seager and Olson, *Women in the World Atlas*. Economic statistics from: *Information Please Almanac, Atlas, and Yearbook, 1988* (41st Edition), Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1988.

****Facilitator Instructions - Class Exercise:**

1. Write the five criteria for Third World listed above on the blackboard or easel. Go over the following criteria for the model of "Third World":
(SEE ALSO - PAGE 4)

- high rates of illiteracy.
- high rates of infant mortality and low life expectancy.
- little industrialization.
- a majority of population living in rural areas as small cultivators or agricultural laborers.
- a low per capita income according to the Gross National Product with a high percentage of economic activity taking place in the informal sector and subsistence farming (see glossary).

Most of these countries are in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, although there are regions within the United States and other industrialized countries that have similar conditions.

Students or participants can be reminded that:

A model is a design that is meant to reflect and explain reality. In this model for the complex concept "Third World," the five criteria mentioned above are usually present in poorer countries - what is called the "Third World."

You might want to tell participants that seventeen countries have lower infant mortality rates than the United States (see statistics on the United States with this exercise) and several have higher per capita incomes (Japan, Switzerland, Austria, West Germany, etc.) and that many regions of the United States - for example, Appalachia, urban ghettos, some Indian reservations - are often compared to Third World countries.

In this model, to be classified as a Third World country, at least four of the five criteria should be present. In doing the exercise, participants will discover that one of the ten countries selected (Uruguay) would probably not be classified as a Third World country even though it is in South America. Sri Lanka (at least before the current civil war) - having used limited resources for health and education - may be an exceptional case and difficult to categorize. **Allow participants/students to make these discoveries for themselves when doing the exercise.**

There may be other exceptions that you might want to mention. For example, oil-rich countries such as Saudi Arabia - with a high per capita income but otherwise fitting the Third World criteria - would be another case of a country difficult to categorize.

2. Divide the large group into small groups of five or less students. Have each group take one or more of the cards for the ten countries. Use all ten cards.

Have each group assign a person to take notes and to report for the large group discussion. (In an alternative method, groups would do some of the same cards and see if there are disagreements about categorizing Third World countries.) If groups are unsure of the location of their assigned country they should locate it on a world map.

3. Have each group complete the questions on the front of the card or cards assigned to them.

4. When the small groups have completed the questions and discussed the statistics, have each group report to the large group:

- What they noticed about the country from the statistics.
- Their decision as to whether this country should be classified as a Third World country and why or why not.

Facilitators should spell the country being discussed on the blackboard and point it out on the world map.

5. Invite other groups to agree or disagree with the reported conclusions. If necessary, review the concept of a "model" and "criteria" and remind participants that, for this model, to be classified as a "Third World" country at least four of the five criteria should be present.

Some of the statistics have been broken out by gender. Participants might notice that in these examples only Bangladesh and India have lower life expectancy for women than men. They may also become aware of the higher illiteracy rates for women in most Third World areas. This exercise may serve as a reminder of how a general lesson on defining "Third World" can be given a gender spin.

UPDATE OF INFANT MORTALITY FIGURES

The following statistics are taken from the UNICEF document, *Statistics on Children in UNICEF Assisted Countries*, April 1988. They are more precise than the figures used in the exercise, "What is the Third World?" Instructors may want to write these additional statistics on the blackboard or easel or change the cards that are given to students. ■

UNICEF - 1986	Deaths per thousand live births.
Bangladesh:	121
Bolivia:	113
Burkina-Faso:	141
Honduras:	71
India:	101
Nigeria:	107
Sri Lanka:	34
Tanzania:	107
Urugua:	27
Zambia:	82

STATISTICS

(Cut and paste the countries and questions on the front of an 8 x 5 index card. On the flip side paste the statistics that belong with that country.)

BANGLADESH

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Bangladesh as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - BANGLADESH (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 87 percent
Male - 63 percent

4. Rural population:
88 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$150 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 46.1 years
Male - 47.1 years

3. Industrialization:
11 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 107,100,000

BOLIVIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Bolivia as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - BOLIVIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 49 percent
Male - 24 percent

4. Rural population:
67 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income
\$400 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 50.9
Male - 46.5

3. Industrialization:
19 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 6,500,000

BURKINA FASO

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Burkina Faso as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - BURKINA FASO (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 97 percent
Male - 85 percent

4. Rural population:
91 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$160 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 41.6
Male - 38.5

3. Industrialization:
No labor force statistics for industry listed
91 percent of labor force in agriculture

Total population: 7,300,000

HONDURAS

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.

2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Honduras as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - HONDURAS (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 45 percent
Male - 41 percent

4. Rural population:
64 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 51 and 100 per one thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$815 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 58.9
Male - 55.4

3. Industrialization:
14 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 4,700,000

INDIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify India as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - INDIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 81 percent
Male - 52 percent

4. Rural population:
78 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$240 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 50
Male - 51.2

3. Industrialization:
Estimated 12 percent of labor force in industry*

Total population: 800,300,000

NIGERIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Nigeria as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

* According to the 1981 Indian census, out of a population of 685,000,000 at that time, only 12,900,000 people worked in the formal sector. Therefore, 12 percent industrial laborers is probably an overestimation.

STATISTICS - NIGERIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 77 percent
Male - 55 percent

4. Rural population:
80 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$790 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 48.1
Male - 44.9

3. Industrialization:
10 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 108,600,000

SRI LANKA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.

2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Sri Lanka as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - SRI LANKA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 19 percent
Male - 9 percent

4. Rural population:
73 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 26 and 50 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$320 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 66.5
Male - 63.5

3. Industrialization:
15 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 16,300,000

TANZANIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card would you classify Tanzania as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - TANZANIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 30 percent
Male - 22 percent

4. Rural population:
88 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 51-100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$210 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 50.7
Male - 47.3

3. Industrialization:
Statistics on labor force in industry not available
90 percent of the labor force is in agriculture

Total population: 23,500,000

URUGUAY

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
3. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Uruguay as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - URUGUAY (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 6 percent
Male - 7 percent

4. Rural population:
16 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 26-50 per thousand live births.

5. GNP per capita income:
\$2,491 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 73
Male - 66.4

3. Industrialization:
29 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 3,100,000

ZAMBIA

1. List findings your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.

2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Zambia as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - Zambia (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 42 percent
Male - 21 percent

4. Rural population:
62 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 51-100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$397 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 51
Male - 47.7

3. Industrialization:
15 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 7,100,000

SELECTED INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES

Standards for Comparison

This chart presents the data for four industrialized, non-Third World countries. Two of these countries were selected as representing industrialized capitalist countries; two from industrialized socialist countries. These statistics for non-Third World countries are meant to suggest standards for analysis as you make your decisions about the country or countries you have been asked to classify as Third World or non-Third World.

The United States:

1. Illiteracy rates:

Female - less than one percent

Male - less than one percent

(Recent figures measuring functional illiteracy are as high as 10 percent.)

2. Infant mortality rate:

25 or under per thousand live births

Life expectancy:

Females - 77.2

Males - 69.4

3. Industrialization:

97 percent of labor force in non-agricultural areas

4. Rural population :

23 percent; 2.7 percent of labor force in agriculture

5. GNP per capita income:

\$14, 461 per citizen per year

Total population: 243,800,000

Italy:

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 7 percent
Male - 5 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
25 or under per thousand live births

Life expectancy:
Female - 76.9
Male - 70.4

3. Industrialization:
38 percent of the labor force in industry

4. Rural population:
30 percent

5. GNP per capita income:
\$7,151 per citizen per year

Total population: 57,400,000

USSR - The Soviet Union:

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - less than one percent
Male - less than one percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 26 and 50 per thousand live births

Life expectancy:
Female - 74.3
Male - 65

3. Industrialization:
78 percent of the labor force in industry*

4. Rural population:
Statistics not available on numbers living in rural areas
22 percent of the population in agriculture (*Information Please*)

5. GNP per capita income:
\$7,896 per citizen per year

Total population: 284,000,000

**The 1988 Information Please states that the labor force in industry for the USSR is 42 percent. However, almanacs from 1985-1987 give 78 percent as the figure. The 1988 figure (when compared to other sources) appears to be an error.*

Hungary:

1. Illiteracy rates:

Female - two percent

Male - one percent

2. Infant mortality rate:

25 or under per thousand live births

Life expectancy:

Female - 73.3

Male - 66.7

3. Industrialization:

32 percent of the labor force in industry

4. Rural population:

46 percent

5. GNP per capita income:

\$7,200 per citizen per year

Total population: 10,600,000

EXERCISE B

"Who Are Third World Women? Examples from India"

Background:

Introductory Exercise B - "Who are Third World Women? Examples from India," is meant to emphasize the diversity of Third World women's lives. There are classes of women in all Third World countries - even the poorest nations - who are educated and/or well-to-do. Some women live in great wealth. Well-to-do women from Third World countries may be able to carry on careers or serious avocations more easily than women from industrialized, non-Third World areas. The availability of inexpensive domestic and child-care workers in most Third World countries makes life more comfortable for middle and upper-class women who work outside their homes.

This instructional unit, *Third World Women - Family, Work, and Empowerment*, focuses on the overwhelming majority of Third World women who generally are poor, unschooled, and overburdened with work. However, it is important to note the diversity of classes of Third World women - and the diversity of careers and levels of education that many have acquired - just as it is important that participants be reminded again that there are people in the United States living in poverty who are undereducated and groups that might fit the model for "Third World." This exercise, then, is meant to emphasize the diversity of women in the Third World by focusing on images of women in one Third World country, India.

****Facilitator's Class Preparations and Instructions:**

This simple, inductive exercise is meant to modify stereotyped ideas about women in the Third World. The exercise focuses on India as a case study.

A carousel projector, screen, and slide tray will be needed for the exercise.

For this exercise the facilitator should show each slide at a deliberate pace and, without comment, read the caption for each. As the slides are being shown, have the participants or students:

"Write down things that you notice about the images in this presentation. All the women are from India, but they range from Goan women, on the south central Indian coast, to west central Indian woman."

CAPTIONS

1. A village woman from central India is cooking in a traditional Indian kitchen.
2. This well-to-do woman is cooking in her kitchen in Malabar Hill, Bombay. She is a free-lance journalist and publishes articles in Indian women's magazines.
3. This agricultural laborer from central India weeds a rice plot.
4. A woman bank officer works at her desk at the State Bank of India in Ahmedabad.
5. These women laborers haul dirt for a construction project in Rajasthan.
6. Here a sister teaches her brother to read. (central India)
7. These village women get water at a well in a village in central India.
8. A woman scientist uses a magnetometer and computer at the Physical Research Laboratory in Ahmedabad.
9. A woman of the potter caste from Nimkhera village in Madhya Pradesh is decorating pots her husband fired.
10. This Pathan Muslim woman from Bhopal, central India, writes a letter to relatives overseas.
11. Fisherwomen from Goa in south central India collect fish from nets. The women divide up the catch made by the men and take the surplus to market for sale.
12. An Indian woman from central India wears traditional jewelry and gold embroidery.
13. This sweeper woman from the central Indian state of Madhya Pradesh, stands outside the area where a wedding feast is going on. As guests depart, they throw their leaf plates, with their leavings, into her basket.
14. This woman harvests wheat on a farm in central India.
15. A New Delhi career woman drives her car to work.
16. A village girl from central India makes cow dung fuel cakes.
17. A woman teaches a computer literacy class in New Delhi.
18. This woman from the state of Bihar is designing a traditional Madhubani painting for the international market.
19. A Jodhpur potter woman stands with wedding pots she is selling.
20. An educated city woman interviews an illiterate village woman for a research project in central India.

Facilitator:

- After showing the slides, have workshop participants or students share their observations about the slides in a large group discussion.
- The facilitator should write down participants' ideas on the blackboard or easel, with little comment.
- Ask the participants, "In what ways are your ideas about the Third World and Third World women modified by these slides of India? In what ways do they agree with your previous ideas about Third World women?"

Finally, participants/students should be reminded that for this unit most of the materials focus on economically marginal women - those most affected by development projects and those representing the overwhelming majority of women in the Third World.

Note to the Facilitator:

Answers to the open ended question above will vary. The major point here is the idea of diversity. Participants may also notice that most of the women are beautifully dressed in colorful clothing. The single exception is the untouchable woman. Perhaps she gains sympathy by her appearance? or represents the very poor?

Several of the educated women are engaged in non-traditional careers for women such as science or computers. The woman working in the village (slide #20) has chosen not to marry, to live at home, and work with the poor. It is very unusual for Indian women not to marry - but by living at home her life style does not defy other social norms.

The slides used in this presentation are by Dr. Doranne Jacobson, noted anthropologist and photographer. Dr. Jacobson's photographs have appeared in National Geographic Magazine, United Nations calendars, and the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Her studies of women in India have been widely published. For additional information about these slides or Dr. Jacobson's photography library call or write:

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(217) 787-0939

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Many people have worked for this project. Marjorie Bingham, co-director of Women in World Area Studies, read and made notations for much of the women in development materials. Janet Donaldson, editor, spent many hours editing and proofreading the units and wrote much of the advertising materials used to disseminate the project. Eileen Soderberg, office administrator for the project, has taken care of the financial records, sent mailings, planned open houses, organized convention displays, compiled resources, and helped with proofreading. Alyce Fuller, secretary, organized the bibliographies and wrote numerous letters requesting permissions for photographs and other materials used in the instructional units. Yasko Ito, our visiting Japanese volunteer, has spent many hours at the Women's History Center, organizing bibliography cards and files. Elspeth Slayter, Macalester College Women's History Center intern, compiled bibliographies, collected hundreds of documents at the University of Minnesota library, and reorganized the research files at the Women's History Center. The many hours she spent gathering the needed research materials and having them reproduced was invaluable for the success of the program.

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We are grateful to the many individuals who donated slides for the audiovisual presentation, "Family Configurations in the Third World - A Focus on Women as Single Heads of Households." We have acknowledged their contributions within the printed narration of the presentation.

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This unit was produced by a collaborative effort of many people. We wish to thank everyone involved in the production of this unit for their help. We hope that our work will result in a better understanding among educators and the general public of the concerns, contributions, and strength of women in the Third World.

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For information about other units in the **Women and Development Issues in Three World Areas** program or the **Women in World Area Studies** series write or call:

The Upper Midwest Women's History Center for Teachers
Central Community Center
6300 Walker Street
St. Louis Park, MN 55416

(612) 925 - 3632

HANDOUTS

THIRD WORLD WOMEN - FAMILY, WORK, AND EMPOWERMENT

**Contemporary Issues for Women in Three World Areas
South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America**

An Instructional Unit for Adults

by

**Susan Hill Gross
Upper Midwest Women's History Center for Teachers**

and

**Mary Hill Rojas
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University**

Funded by

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Development Education Program**

****Facilitator Instructions - HANDOUTS**

A special copyright allows the owner of this manual to reproduce these handouts for classroom or workshop use. The handouts can be reproduced by a copy service and purchased by students at cost.

Before reproduction, facilitators should pull out of this packet HANDOUT 3 (page 24) and STATISTICS for Introductory Exercise "What is the Third World?" (pages 119-28) as these are part of group exercises. See instructions for these exercises on pages 23 and 115-17.

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THIRD WORLD WOMEN - FAMILY, WORK, AND EMPOWERMENT

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APPENDIX I - Introductory Exercises

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NOTE: HANDOUTS, (yellow pages) to be reproduced for students follow page 131. These are taken from the instructor's manual, therefore, page numbering is not sequential.

HANDOUT 1 - PRE-WORKSHOP RESPONSE

In the left-hand column below
list words or phrases
you associate with the concept
THIRD WORLD.

In the right-hand column below
list words or phrases
you associate with
THIRD WORLD WOMEN.

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HANDOUT 1 - POST-WORKSHOP RESPONSE

Looking back at your lists on HANDOUT 1 and thinking of the day's activities:
(Use additional paper if you wish.)

1. In what ways have your ideas about the Third World been:

Reenforced:

Modified:

Altered:

2. In what ways have your ideas about Third World women been:

Reenforced:

Modified:

Altered:

3. What new information did you learn from the workshop.

4. Was there information or aspects of the workshop that you felt were general knowledge and would not have to be investigated here? If your answer is yes, give examples.

5. Do you feel that the workshop helped to give you a women's perspective and reasons for including gender information in teaching about the Third World? If your answer is yes, give examples.

6. General comments on the workshop:

I was confused by:

I would have changed:

I enjoyed (or additional comments):

131

HANDOUT 2

"Examples of the Influence of Gender on the Distribution of Family Resources"

The following examples demonstrate how the distribution of resources in the Third World can be related to gender. The categories of resources selected as the focus are access to food and nutrition and health care. The rationale for selecting these categories is that they represent the most basic of human needs and have special implications for women who are bearing or nursing children.

The examples are taken mostly from South Asia and, to a lesser extent, Africa. Specific examples of gender biases in distribution of food within the family were not found for Latin America and rarely for Africa. Africa, perhaps, had the most frequent examples of food taboos that might influence women's health and the most rigid tradition of women being in charge of subsistence farming and cooking. This tradition gives women power as food providers as well as imposing a heavy burden of family responsibility upon them.

Researcher A. K. Sen in, *Resources, Values and Development* (1984) claims that intra-family biases in food distribution are peculiar to Asia. However, other investigators point out that discriminatory distribution of food resources favoring males within families may depend more on class or specific group. (Barbara Harriss and Elizabeth Watson, "The Sex Ratio in South Asia," in, Momsen and Townsend, *Geography*, p. 93.) In many parts of the world women are at special risk of suffering from malnutrition because of frequent pregnancies and lactation and insufficient diet.

A large percentage of women in Latin America are part of consensual unions or are single heads of households. They are often completely responsible for feeding their families - and may deprive themselves to do so. This situation is also true of women in Africa and South Asia, (and in many industrialized countries in Europe and North America). For a variety of reasons, a growing number of women are supporting themselves and their families - often as single heads of households. The lack of support systems to aid female heads of households has frequently led to inadequate nutrition for women in this family configuration.

A division of family resources, then, reflects the power structure within the family, social taboos, and the division of labor. The status of family members may be the basis of allocation - particularly where resources are limited. The evidence that women in some groups deprive themselves of food to give the best and most food to family males reveals the powerful psychological internalization by these women of their subordinate position and the ideal of female self-sacrifice.

SOUTH ASIA

According to a study of women in rural Bangladesh, adult women (15 and over) receive between 27 and 63 percent fewer calories than men. When the study was adjusted for the needs of pregnant and lactating women, the female disadvantage worsened. (L.C. Chen, E. Huo, and S. D'Souza, "Sex Bias in the Family Allocation of Food and Health Care In Rural Bangladesh," *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (1981), p. 55-70.)

A study of 17 villages in the Punjab area of India discovered that boys were breast-fed longer and given more food after they were weaned than were girls. Boys from 6 - 24 months in all castes were better nourished than girls of the same age. (Sue Ellen Charlton, *Women in Third World Development*, 1984, p. 5.)

Researcher Shirley Lindenbaum describes a rating system in Bangladesh that gives preference to boys: "mothers favor sons...and the male child receives preferential nutrition. Along with his father, he eats first; and if there is a choice, luxury foods or scarce foods are given to him rather than to his female siblings."
(quoted in, Barbara Miller, "Sexual Discrimination and Population Dynamics in Rural India," unpublished dissertation, 1978, p. 137.)

In the northern Indian state of Kashmir an anthropologist reported the belief that "overfeeding" girls makes them unattractive - but there was no similar belief about overfeeding boys. (quoted in, *Ibid.*, p. 138.)

According to a study of a village in south central Bangladesh, women eat after the men and children, making do with what remains. This is largely a self-imposed form of deprivation since it is women who cook, distribute, and serve the meals. It is widely-held belief that such a practice ensures the husband's longevity and good fortune.
(Naila Kabeer, "Do Women Gain from High Fertility?" in, Haleh Afshar, ed., *Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World*, 1985, p. 96.)

Hindu women are not allowed to cook or be in the kitchen when menstruating and therefore must accept what food is given them during their menstrual periods. Their food intake is frequently less than normal.
(Judith Katona-Apte, "The Relevance of Nourishment to the Reproductive Cycle," in, Dana Raphael, ed. *Being Female - Reproduction, Power, and Change*, 1975, p. 46-7.)

The Indian Council of Medical Research found in 1971 that girls outnumbered boys among children with kwashiorkor, a disease resulting from severe malnutrition, but among children hospitalized with kwashiorkor, boys outnumbered girls.
(Kathleen Newland, *The Sisterhood of Man*, 1979, p. 447.)

"It is not unusual to find households [in India] where the women are vegetarian but the males are not. Vegetarianism among females may be rationalized on religious grounds, thus leaving more (or all) of the high protein foods for the males."
(Katona-Apte, "Relevance," p. 45.)

The state of Kerala in south India has the most balanced sex ratio - girls to boys - in India (967 males to 1000 females - comparable to Africa, Europe, and North America), while the northern state of Uttar Pradesh has a sex ratio of 1129 males for 1000 females.
(Janet Henshall Momsen and Janet Townsend, *Geography of Gender*, 1987, p. 93.)

A study of a slum area in Khulna, Bangladesh, found that 56 percent of all female children from the households studied were either second or third degree undernourished (under 80 percent of expected weight for height), while only 12 percent of male children were malnourished.
(Jane Pryer, "Production and Reproduction of Malnutrition in An Urban Slum in Khulna, Bangladesh," in, *Ibid.*, p. 135.)

In Bangladesh 66 percent more boys than girls under five were brought for treatment to health facilities even though there are no sexual differences in general morbidity.
(L.C. Chen, E. Huq, and S. D'Souza "Sex Bias in the Family Allocation of Food and Health Care in Rural Bangladesh," *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (1981), p. 55-70.)

"From official statistics [in Bangladesh], it has been deduced that high female death rates from gastroenteritis, colitis, pneumonia, tuberculosis, avitaminosis and other diseases

associated with malnutrition are indicative of the late stage at which treatment is sought. But this evidence may also reflect influences of nutritional status." (Momsen and Townsend, *Geography*, 1987, p. 92.)

Among Hindus in Nepal, women "prepare the food (unless menstruating or recently delivered), but eat last and, therefore, within poor households, eat little. Nutritious foods such as milk, eggs and vegetables may be scarce, and are invariably offered first to men and honored visitors."

(Maggie Pearson, "Old Wives or Young Midwives? Women as Caretakers of Health: the Case of Nepal," in, Momsen, *Geography*, p. 126-27.)

AFRICA

Women provide significant labor as subsistence farmers of the Blue Nile Province in Sudan. Because of male migration, women are left behind to tend and manage the farms. As household providers, they depend on their subsistence farms and remittances from the male family members who have migrated for jobs. However, additional income earned by the men is not necessarily sent home to improve the farm or to pay family expenses. Consumer goods and alcohol are often purchased with extra income - and in many cases the husband takes an additional wife. In contrast to the men, women generally spend their income on community social occasions such as rites of passage, the household, health and schooling.

(Lina Fruzzetti, "Farm and Hearth: Rural Women in a Farming Community," in, Afshar, *Women, Work, and Ideology*, p. 42-58.)

"The cooking of food has considerable symbolical significance in relationships between men and women in most African societies, ...For a wife to refuse to cook for her husband is indicative of her extreme displeasure and tantamount almost to a sign that she is about to leave him. Similarly, for a husband to accept and eat food cooked for him by a woman other than his own wife or a relative is tantamount in her eyes to his committing adultery." (Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns*, 1973, p. 169.)

Food taboos may prevent good nutrition. In parts of Tanzania and Botswana, women are reported not to eat eggs because they think it interferes with women's fertility. The restrictions on the diets of nursing mothers in many societies are too numerous to list. (Newman, *Sisterhood*, p. 49.)

Among the Luo of Kenya, "the association of women with agriculture and men with livestock and wild game is mirrored in a series of food taboos that prevented Luo women from eating chicken, eggs, milk, sheep, rabbit, hippo, or elephant meat...Customs that reserved many of the high-protein foods for men must have had some effect on women's health, fertility, and agricultural productivity." (Margaret Jean Hay "Luo Women and Economic Change During the Colonial Period," in, Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds, *Women in Africa*, 1976, p. 91.)

Secluded muslim women in Africa, South Asia and the Middle East who keep to purdah restrictions must depend on the availability of women doctors and health care providers as it is against modesty codes to visit a male doctor. For example, in one case all the men were sent out of a north African village for a day while the women were vaccinated for tuberculosis. (Rene Gardi, *Blue Veils-Red Tents*, 1953, p. 33.)

Ewe men of east Africa traditionally grew the staple crop, yams, used primarily for subsistence. In recent years heavy male migration and growing of the cash crop, cocoa, by men has meant that women now provide food for their households. Men contribute money for occasional expenses like school fees, tools, or house maintenance but not toward food and day-to-day expenses. The Ewe women complain that the men spend cash from wages and selling cocoa on "bachelor consumption goods" such as cigarettes, palm wine, watches, and sometimes radios or bicycles.
(Esther Trenchard, "Rural Women's Work in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Implications for Nutrition," in, Momsen and Townsend, *Geography*, p. 165.)

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. Thinking over the discussion of the terms "family" and "resources," the audiovisual presentation "Family Configurations in the Third World - A Focus on Women as Single Heads of Households," and the information on HANDOUT 2, in what ways would you modify or change your definition of "resources"? Would you further modify your definition of "family"?
2. From these readings and your general knowledge, what specific factors limit access to and control of - resources by women?
3. Since women are the cooks, the fact that they often are less well-fed (as Naila Kaber commented in the example from Bangladesh in HANDOUT 2 on page 18) is largely a self-imposed form of deprivation. What factors do you think lead to this kind of self-imposed deprivation on the part of women?
4. From what you know of limitations to Third World women's access to resources, are there similar limitations for women in parts of the industrialized capitalist or socialist worlds?
5. List reasons why a knowledge of family structure is important for an understanding of the allocation of resources in all societies.
6. Speculate about ways in which this allocation of resources may relate to women's roles in economic and social development.

HANDOUTS 3-a, 3-b, 3-c, and 3-d (One to each group)

HANDOUT 3-a

WORK AS PRODUCTION TASKS

Production is work where workers are generally paid for their labor with wages or receive payment for other income-earning activities. It also includes work, such as subsistence farming or slave labor, where the result is a consumable product. However, subsistence farming in many world areas is looked at as an extension of housework and so is not seen as "productive."

HANDOUT 3-b

WORK AS REPRODUCTION TASKS

Reproductive work can be defined as the biological reproduction of human beings and the daily maintenance of the labor force but also social reproduction; the perpetuation of the particular social system. (Lourdes Beneria - Introduction to *Women in Development*, xxiii.) Subsistence farming and work in the informal sector is often viewed as an extension of housework, so is "reproductive" work.

HANDOUT 3-c

WORK AS INTEGRATION TASKS

Integration work can be defined as those tasks that serve to hold the society together and build morale in the community. Integration work aims at tempering griefs, disappointments, failures and celebrating success and joy. These tasks often involve life stages' rituals associated with birth, passage to adulthood, courtship and marriage, and death. (Kenneth Boulding, quoted in Jessie Bernard, *The Female World From A Global Perspective*, 1987.)

HANDOUT 3-d

WORK AS STATUS ENHANCEMENT TASKS

Status enhancement tasks are those that lead to increased prestige for an individual, family, or community group within their community or society. These tasks may be associated or confused with leisure activities. They often involve various kinds of volunteer work.

HANDOUT 4

"A Model For Defining Work"

WORK AS PRODUCTION

Historically, production has been associated primarily with men.

Production involves income-generating activities, paid or wage labor. It is valued as "real," accountable work because visible cash payment is made for productive labor or economic activities. The category "productive work" should also include subsistence farming and work in the informal sector such as trading fruits and vegetables and selling homemade beer and foods. Work in the informal sector, however, is often not counted in national statistics. The work of women in the informal sector is often seen by both men and women as an extension of housework.

The capitalist view of women and productive work is that, although not the ideal, some women may need productive work to help support their families or themselves. In some countries, such as Japan and Mexico, corporations often encourage young women to work in low-level office or factory jobs. Generally these are poorly paid and are seen as temporary productive work jobs for women before marriage.

Women are needed in the productive work force in times of emergencies, particularly during wars. Through propaganda, governments encourage women to work in the productive sphere during wartime. Frequently, reverse propaganda demands they leave the productive work force at the end of war.

In the 20th century women in the capitalist world have organized to demand equal productive work opportunities and wages and to have men share in reproductive work.

The socialist view of productive work for women has encouraged women to enter the productive work force - this has been an ideological commitment.

According to socialist planning, day care for children, food, and laundry services were to be provided and women were to work for wages. For example, Lenin said that to become equal with men, "women [must] participate in common productive labor."... "housework is the most unproductive, savage and the most arduous work a woman can do."... "We are setting up model institutions, dining rooms and nurseries, that will emancipate women from housework. And the work of organizing all these institutions will fall mainly to women.... Women can also work in the sphere of food distribution, on the improvement of public catering..." (N. Lenin, "Pravda," No. 213, September 25, 1919.) In other words, in the socialist state, women would be doing tasks similar to those they did before the socialist revolution but with socialism they would do these tasks as productive wage laborers rather than as unpaid reproductive laborers.

Third World views on women as productive laborers vary - some fit the capitalist view and others fit the socialist view. However, the Third World view toward women doing productive work, as in most of the world, has been ambivalent. Young women, as in Mexico, may work for wages until marriage but the ideal is the mother at home. Many Third World women must work for wages - as with Indian construction workers or factory workers. Many Third World areas, (e.g., the Middle East), have very low rates of women in the formal productive wage force, but many subsistence workers are women - and women in the informal sector are not counted in official statistics.

Policies aimed at providing women with productive labor have often resulted in a double work day for women worldwide. Neither capitalism nor socialism have seriously addressed the problem of changing the male/female division of labor. Soviet propaganda encourages husbands to help their wives at home; men are pictured in aprons washing dishes. However, studies have shown that Soviet women are overwhelmingly in charge of domestic chores, child care, and shopping. (See, Gail Lapidus, *Women in Soviet Society*, 1978). The ideal of institutionalizing day care, laundry, and food preparation tasks faded away by the Stalinist era in the U.S.S.R. and has not been possible in China because of limited resources.

The women's movement in the capitalist world has had a goal of sharing equally the home tasks between women and men as well as better public services for child care. The ideal of mothers staying at home and the lack of female political clout in many capitalist world countries has meant that progress toward equal sharing of domestic work and public support for child care are limited. Perhaps a lesson to be learned from the history of women as productive workers is that it is easier to change the status of women in laws or at the workplace than it is to change female and male roles.

Because of lack of support services, lower-class women working for wages in the Third World are frequently severely overworked. On the other hand, availability of domestic workers and the extended family ideal have meant that some highly educated women in the Third World are free to pursue careers.

WORK AS REPRODUCTION

Reproductive work is associated with domestic work and child care.

Reproductive work is generally undervalued, non-paid, and overwhelmingly associated with women.

In many world areas, subsistence farming and food preservation are seen by women and men as extensions of housework - therefore as reproductive tasks.

The capitalist solution to the undervaluing of reproductive work has been to glorify motherhood and the home. In the 19th century, for example, upper-class women in Europe and North America were often seen as the protectors of the home while men sacrificed and tainted themselves by working in the "evil" outside world of business. Women were seen as the moral force of the family and their roles as wives and mothers were venerated. (Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 18 (Summer, 1966), p. 151-66.

More recently, women have been encouraged to work for wages - but the attitude toward their productive work has been ambivalent, particularly in the United States. Child care facilities, for example, have lagged far behind need, partly because the family ideal has continued to be a mother staying at home to care for her children.

The socialist solution to undervaluing of reproductive work was to provide women with productive (wage) labor and take care of domestic work communally. Therefore, Lenin called women "'household slaves,' for they are overburdened with the drudgery of the most squalid, backbreaking and stultifying toil in the kitchen and the family household." The solution is the "emancipation of woman, her liberation from 'household bondage' through transition from petty individual housekeeping to large-scale socialized domestic services." (N. Lenin, speech for International Woman's Day, 1921, in, *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 161-63.)

Most Third World societies put heavy emphasis on women as mothers. High infant mortality, lack of social security, preference for boys, and other factors encourage large families and a focus on motherhood for women. Women are valued as mothers but women's reproductive roles are also seen as "natural" ones and often appropriate technology to relieve the domestic labor of women is not given high priority.

Both the capitalist and socialist solutions have been unsuccessful in solving the problem of undervaluing. The capitalist solution of honoring motherhood and encouraging women to stay at home has only been applicable to a small group of upper-class women whose husbands could afford dependent wives and children; the solution does not acknowledge economic problems that frequently accompany divorce or widowhood; it assumes that all women find satisfaction in domestic work.

The socialist solution to undervaluing of domestic work has not successfully addressed the difficulties in setting up a system of "large-scale socialized domestic services." Women continue to do double duty in the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Even in an idealistic communal setting such as the kibbutzim in Israel, women still tend the "baby houses," and few men are assigned to what is seen as "women's work" such as laundry or food service. Here, as elsewhere, the tasks associated with women, such as child care, have less prestige than those associated with men, such as using farm machinery. (See: Rae Lesser Blumberg, "Kibbutz Women" in, Lynne Iglitzind and Ruth Ross, eds. *Women in the World*, 1976.)

The idea that men and women are equally responsible for child care and domestic work - that female/male roles have to change - has only recently been forwarded as a necessary element in solving the problem of acknowledging and valuing reproductive work.

WORK AS INTEGRATION TASKS

According to American economist Kenneth Boulding, the concept of "integrity" contrasts with the idea of economy and polity. As explained by sociologist Jessie Bernard, integrity "served the function of holding the parts of a society together, of preventing the economy, for example, from self-destructing. The rules which govern the way the economy and the integrity operated were almost polar opposites. The economy governed the production of goods and services for the market; the integrity did the integrating work, that is, it built morale in the community; it 'stroked,' supported, tempered griefs, disappointments, and failures...." (Bernard, *The Female World*, p. 16.)

Tasks associated with integrity are primarily assigned to women.

Many integration tasks are accomplished in the private sphere of home and family but have important implications for the public sphere. Integration tasks often involve life stages, as mentioned earlier, and making arrangements for these crucial rituals and religious observances have usually fallen to women. The care of the elderly and disabled individuals may be seen as integrative tasks (and reproductive).

Integration tasks also involve the creation of community - the formation of bonds that hold groups of people together and create loyalties and provide needed services to individuals in times of trouble. These tasks are often important in preventing the alienation of individuals, therefore, may prevent criminal or violent acts against the group or community members.

Integration tasks have been invisible as work worldwide. They have been valued in themselves - as entertainments or significant events marking traditional holidays or life stages. They have also been valued for their economic importance - as in arranged

marriages involving dowry or brideprice. But their importance as integrity has not been fully recognized. As important and time-consuming tasks primarily of women, integration tasks are generally unacknowledged as work.

WORK AS STATUS ENHANCEMENT TASKS

These tasks are associated with both sexes but more frequently are women's work.

Status enhancement tasks are generally undervalued as work and may be viewed as leisure.

Status enhancement tasks are usually seen as the result of economic privilege. Symbolic messages are one important result of this work. For example, purdah restrictions placed upon women in the Third World are seen as demonstrating a family's affluence and power. Purdah restrictions on women become a symbolic expression of a family's increased status. Work, however, in other categories may continue to be done by women with the added burden on family women of keeping purdah restrictions.

In the capitalist world, status enhancement tasks frequently involve consumerism and shopping - mainly by women. Consumerism is intended to emphasize the importance of the family or individual by "conspicuous consumption." A display of expensive consumer items or the giving of gifts may enhance the power and prestige of a family in both the capitalist and Third Worlds and can contribute to the upward social mobility of individuals or families. This is probably also true in many socialist societies although officially denied.

Other status enhancing tasks involve volunteer work. These tasks may also be seen as integrative. Frequently, however, wives (especially in the capitalist world) are expected to carry out certain kinds of volunteer work that can be status enhancing for the family or husband. In the capitalist world, volunteer work often involves public acknowledgment of the status enhancement work being done - a charity ball, for example. These time-consuming volunteer commitments can only be accomplished by wives with the time to do them - so they are a public acknowledgment of the ability of the family or husband to support the activity. In addition, entertaining - such as giving dinner or other parties arranged for and carried out mainly by women - may involve status enhancement.

Capitalist societies may swing from eras of consumerism, where symbols of affluence act as strong status enhancers, to eras of belt tightening, where conspicuous consumption is deprecated. The idea of the "social climber" is generally scorned, but social occasions are frequently used for status enhancement purposes.

In the socialist world, party activities and meetings may be important to the status enhancement of individuals. Soviet women are less able to do this kind of volunteer work because of domestic, reproductive chores that they are expected to do along with their productive, wage jobs. With this "double duty," they have significantly less time than men for the party activities that might develop into leadership positions. (See Alena Heidinger, *Women and State Socialism*, 1979, p. 147-165 and Gail Lapidus, p. 5-6, 323.)

Socialist societies strive to eliminate many of these activities as class symbols but encourage volunteer tasks and other status enhancement activities involving party functions.

In the Third World, women are frequently in charge of social obligations. For example, one researcher found that women in the Sudan village she studied spent much time and their own earnings on cultural and social obligations - rites such as birth, marriage, circumcision, death and gift giving involved women's money and labor. (Lina Fruzzetti, "Farm and Hearth: Rural Women in a Farming Community," in Halch Afshar, *Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World*, 1985, p. 50.)

NON-WORK

One way to think of work is to consider "how one fills one's time," and then to make a distinction between work and non-work. Non-work is perhaps more easily defined than work. Non-work can be seen as activities involving personal maintenance (specifically sleeping, eating, exercise, and physical grooming) and leisure activities of one's choice done for pleasure.

Work is not all disagreeable and not all non-work is done for pleasure. Personal maintenance tasks can be quite dull, for example. In fact, it is noteworthy that wealthy or powerful persons often hire others to do most of their non-work but not all of their work.

The line between work tasks and what is considered leisure may be unclear. Work may be a concept so narrow (only productive) or so general (all four areas equally considered) that it is not a particularly useful concept as a category of human endeavor. However, since our value or worth as human beings is partly dependent upon the work we are perceived as doing, it is essential to discuss the concept "work" when thinking about women's concerns.

Summary Questions

For large group discussion and summary:

1. Suggest reasons that you think certain types of work may not be included in national statistics? Be undervalued?
2. If you include all four categories as definitions of work, what is non-work? Do you agree with the authors' definition of non-work? Why or why not?
3. Is work a useful concept? Why or why not?

HANDOUT 5

"Getting at Women's Work - A Day in the Life of Third World Women"

To get at the reality of women's work, the usual measures that emphasize productive, wage work have had to be revised or abandoned. Official definitions of those who are "economically active" frequently do not count women who support themselves and their families by working in the informal sector of the economy.

In near subsistence societies women's labor is often crucial to family survival but frequently is not counted in the gross national product of the country. According to the United Nations definition, the poorest countries have a per capita income of \$125 or less a year. Survival for many people in these societies obviously does not depend upon cash expenditures but on subsistence activities.

Time-use studies (or time-budget surveys) have been one way to get at women's work. Many of these studies are elaborate, statistical analyses of a number of households in one particular area. (See: Mayra Buvinic, Margaret Lycette, and William McGreevey, *Women and Poverty in the Third World*, 1983; Nural M. Islam, Richard Morse, and M. Hadi Soesastro, *Rural Energy to Meet Development Needs*, 1984, for examples of time-use studies.)

This exercise does not attempt to replicate time-use studies. The following are descriptions of a few typical "days in the life" of women in a variety of world areas and times.

Directions for the Participants:

First quickly read over the descriptions of the day in the lives of five women described in HANDOUT 5.

- Think back on a recent, typical day in your life and account for how you filled your time. Try to be as accurate and complete as possible.
- Looking at your list, categorize each activity as: Reproductive, Productive, Integrative, Status Enhancing, Leisure, or Personal maintenance.
- What percentage of your time was spent in work that would be counted in the GNP - gross national product? (The total monetary value of all goods and services produced in a country in one year.)
- List specific problems you had accounting for your time. Do some activities fall into more than one category?

In small groups discuss:

- The similarities and differences between your work and those of women in the descriptions of the daily activities of the women in this handout.
- The ways that work in the informal sector - or non-wage work - could be accounted for.
- Compare ideas in a large group discussion.

Women's Long Working Day

From: Mridhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, *In Search of Answers*, 1984, "Women's Condition and Family Life Among Agricultural Laborers and Small Farmers in a Punjab Village," data collected by Berny Horwitz, p. 89-90.

"Women's activities were centered on a continuous round of domestic and/or field labor. Their working day was much longer than that of the men of the household. The survey was carried out during the cotton picking season, a time when most women from both agricultural laborer and Jat * land owning households were heavily involved in field labor. Among the 13 agricultural laborer women who went to the fields to pick cotton (only one 80-year-old blind agricultural laborer woman did not go), the average length of the workday reported by these women was 15.5 hours every day.

"On an average, they spent almost six hours a day on domestic work. Typically, they got up at 4 or 5 AM, did cooking, cleaning and other household work until about 8 AM, reached the fields by 9 AM and picked cotton till about 6 PM. In the evening, they returned home between 6 and 7 PM, and then spent the next few hours till 9 or 10 PM doing housework."

*See glossary for Jat.

A Day in the Life of A Tamil Woman of Sri Lanka - Yogamma

From: Else Skjorsberg, *A Special Caste: Tamil Women of Sri Lanka*,
1982, p. 56-59.

Yogamma is a woman who belongs to the Hindu Palla caste. The Palla caste is considered to be the lowest of Sri Lanka Hindu Tamils - they are outcastes. She is 28 years old and has five children. She is a comparatively well-off for an outcaste woman. Her husband, a healthy and strong man, taps toddy [palm trees tapped for their sap to make a fermented drink] for wages.

By six o'clock AM she is already up, has washed, and gone to the field to do her toilet. This is the timetable for the rest of her day:

6:00AM She sweeps the kitchen and makes breakfast.

6:20 The whole family eats bread and drinks tea.

6:35 Yogamma goes to look for a cup that has been lost.

7:00 She washes up after last night's dinner.

7:25 She helps her older girls get dressed and off to school.

7:40 She washes her infant and prepares herself for going out.

8:00 She is at the Thoppukadu health center to get milk powder which is distributed to underweight infants. The child is fed there.

9:30 She is back home, where she sweeps the kitchen (which is a separate building), living quarters, and the yard.

11:10 She washes herself, hands and feet.

11:25 She comforts her baby, who is crying.

11:35 She goes to get water which is brought to Main Street in a tanker lorry, because the village wells have dried up. The water is rationed because of the drought. She is entitled to only two pots or 36 litres of water.

11:55 She goes with a neighbor to an uncultivated area to pick green leaves.

12:30 She starts making lunch: fish and "spinach."

1:35 She washes up and sweeps the kitchen.

2:00 She pounds chilies for the dinner.

3:00 She prepares her baby and herself for going to the health center again.

3:10 She goes to the health center to get milk powder for the afternoon feed and feeds the baby.

3:30 She is back home again. She leaves the baby with her elder daughter and collects dirty clothes.

3:40 She goes to the well where she washes clothes, helped by her second daughter.

4:40 She arrives back home and spreads out the clothes to dry.

4:50 She lights the fire, makes tea for her father-in-law, and drinks tea herself.

5:00 She goes to Main Street to see if she can find some cheap vegetables to buy.

5:30 She goes to the well to get water (not drinking water.) The pot she carries weighs 18 kg [about 40 pounds] when full.

5:55 She cleans the lamp, fills it with oil and lights it.

6:10 She cooks dinner: rice and fish.

6:55 She cooks milk porridge for her baby.

7:00 She gives her children dinner.

7:20 She puts the children to bed.

7:30 She sits outside the house and makes a basket from palmyra leaves, chatting with her neighbors while she works. The basket she will try and sell.

8:30 She serves dinner for her husband and father-in-law.

8:45 She eats dinner herself and washes up.

9:00 She rests.

9:30 She goes to sleep.

Timetable of Yogamma's Husband's Day

Rajendran gets up shortly after 6:00 AM. Then -

6:20 He eats breakfast which is served by his wife.

7:00 He goes to work at Kayts [a neighboring island].

8:00 He starts his job building fences, plowing, watering, building houses, or whatever work he may be put to.

12:00 He goes home.

12:30 He goes to the men's well to wash himself.

1:15 He eats the lunch prepared by his wife.

1:30 He rests.

2:00 He returns to Kayts.

2:30 He resumes work.

5:00 He leaves when the working day is over and goes home in the company of friends.

5:30 He drinks tea at home.

5:35 He goes to Main Street to be with friends, play cards, and chat.

8:30 He eats dinner.

8:45 He chats, listens to the radio or rests until bedtime.

How a Miner's Wife Spends Her Day

From: Domitila Barrios De Chungara, *Let Me Speak!*, 1978, p. 32-33.

This is the testimony of a Bolivian woman who reported at the International Women's Year Tribunal at the United Nations meeting in Mexico in 1975. She is the wife of a miner, mother of seven children, and represented the "Housewives' Committee of Siglo XX" an organization of wives of workers in the tin mines of Bolivia.

"My day begins at four in the morning, especially when my *companero* [husband] is on the first shift. I prepare his breakfast. Then I have to prepare the saltenas [Bolivian meat pie], because I make about one hundred saltenas every day and sell them in the street. I do this in order to make up for what my husband's wage doesn't cover in terms of our necessities. The night before, we prepare the dough and at four in the morning I make the saltenas while I feed the kids. The kids help me: they peel potatoes and carrots and make the dough.

"Then the ones that go to school in the morning have to get ready, while I wash the clothes I left soaking overnight.

"At eight I go out to sell. The kids that go to school in the afternoon help me. We have to go to the company store and bring home the staples. And in the store there are immensely long lines and you have to wait there until eleven in order to stock up. You have to line up for meat, for vegetables, for oil. So it's just one line after another. Since everything's in a different place that's how it has to be. So all the time I'm selling saltenas, I line up to buy my supplies at the store. I run up to the counter to get the things and the kids sell. Then the kids line up and I sell. That's how we do it...

"Well, then, from eight to eleven in the morning I sell the saltenas, I do the shopping in the grocery store, and I also work at the Housewives' Committee, talking with the sisters who go there for advice.

"At noon, lunch has to be ready because the rest of the kids have to go to school.

"In the afternoon I have to wash clothes. There are no laundries. We use troughs and have to go get the water from the pump. I've also got to correct the kids' homework and prepare everything I'll need to make the next day's saltenas...

"The work in the committee is daily. I have to be there at least two hours. It's totally volunteer work....

"The rest of the things have to get done at night...I generally go to bed at midnight."

A Day in the Life of An African Woman

From: 1984 Church World Service Third World Calendar,
New Internationalist Publications, Ltd.

According to studies of the Church World Service and the United Nations, the following would be a day in the life of a typical rural African woman.

4:00 AM - Wakes up, washes, eats some leftover food.

5:00-5:30 AM - Walks to her fields.

5:30 AM to 3:00 PM - Plows, hoes, weeds her fields.

3:00 to 4:00 PM - Collects fire wood and comes home.

4:00 to 5:30 PM - Pounds and grinds corn.

5:30 to 6:30 PM - Fetches water (2 kilometers each way).

6:30 to 7:30 PM - Lights fire and cooks for family.

7:30 to 8:30 PM - Serves food to family and eats.

8:30 to 9:30 PM - Washes children, the dishes, and herself.

9:30 PM - Goes to bed.

(Child-care chores accompany these activities.)

A Day in the Life of an Illinois Farm Woman

From: Gerda Lerner, *The Female Experience*, 1977, p. 128-129.

This article was submitted to a journal, *The Independent*, anonymously, in 1905.

"Any bright morning in the latter part of May I am out of bed at four o'clock; next, after I have dressed and combed my hair, I start a fire in the kitchen stove,...sweep the floors and then cook breakfast.

"While the other members of the family are eating breakfast I strain away the morning's milk (for my husband milks the cows while I get breakfast), and fill my husband's dinner pail, for he will go to work on our other farm for the day.

"By this time it is half-past five o'clock, my husband is gone to his work, and the stock loudly pleading to be turned into the pastures....I now drive the two cows a half-quarter mile and turn them in with the others, come back, and then there's a horse in the barn that belongs in a field where there is no water, which I take to a spring quite a distance from the barn; bring it back and turn it into a field with the sheep....

"The young calves are then turned out into the warm sunshine, and the stock hogs, which are kept in a pen, are clamoring for feed, and I carry a pailful of swill to them, and hasten to the house and turn out the chickens and put out feed and water for them, and it is, perhaps, 6:30 AM.

"I have not eaten breakfast yet, but that can wait; I make the beds next and straighten things up in the living room, for I dislike to have the early morning caller find my house topsy-turvy. When this is done I go to the kitchen, which also serves as a dining room, and uncover the table, and take a mouthful of food occasionally as I pass to and fro at my work until my appetite is appeased.

"By the time the work is done in the kitchen it is about 7:15 AM, and the cool morning hours have flown, and no hoeing done in the garden yet, and the children's toilet has to be attended to and churning has to be done.

"Finally the children are washed and churning done, and it is eight o'clock, and the sun getting hot, but no matter, weeds die quickly when cut down in the heat of the day, and I use the hoe to a good advantage until the dinner hour, which is 11:30 AM. We come in, and I comb my hair, and put fresh flowers in it, and eat a cold dinner, put out feed and water for the chickens; set a hen, perhaps, sweep the floors again; sit down and rest and read a few moments, and it is nearly one o'clock, and I sweep the door yard while I am waiting for the clock to strike the hour.

"I make and sow a flower bed, dig around some shrubbery, and go back to the garden to hoe until time to do the chores at night....

"I hoe in the garden till four o'clock; then I go into the house and get supper...when supper is all ready it is set aside, and I pull a few hundred plants of tomato, sweet potato, or cabbage for transplanting...I then go after the horse, water him, and put him in the barn; call the sheep and house them, and go after the cows and milk them, feed the hogs, put down hay for three horses, and put oats and corn in their troughs, and set those plants and come in and fasten up the chickens....It is 8 o'clock PM; my husband has come home, and we are eating supper; when we are through eating I make the beds ready, and the children and their father go to bed, and I wash the dishes and get things in shape to get breakfast quickly next morning...."

HANDOUT 6

"Division of Labor By Sex Gender Issues and Work - Cross-cultural Examples"

The following questions and points for your consideration are meant to highlight the family or household unit and relate it to the division of labor by sex.

Read over these examples and then discuss the "Points to Consider" on page 48 in small groups and compare ideas in a large group discussion.

I. Who makes up the household?

Wife, husband, and children? Husbands, wives, grandparents, and children? A woman and her child? A woman alone - never married, divorced, or widowed? Man alone?

Issues for your consideration:

A. In many regions, the extended family makes a definition of "household" difficult.

In one area of Africa, the definition became "those people who eat from the same pot" or "use the same cooking fire." Relatives - even distant relatives - may live for months or even years in a household because family obligations extend far beyond immediate family members.

(As told by Mary Rojas, assistant director of International Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institution and State University.)

In the biography of his mother, the Indian author, Ved Mehta, described how "most of Daddyji's relatives in Lahore moved [into our house] so that the new house became the home of a traditional Indian joint family. [Mamaji] and Daddyji now had living with them four of Daddyji's younger brothers; three of his sister Bibi Parmeshwari Devi's teen-age children; and one of Daddyji's first cousins."

(Ved Mehta, "Mamaji - III," *The New Yorker*, July 23, 1979, p. 35.)

B. Female heads of households need to be counted.

In many parts of the world it is a matter of honor that a man be counted as head of household even though he may be absent because of death, divorce, migration, or abandonment. Those collecting data often automatically assign a man as "head of household," even if he is not present. One study in Kenya concluded that "survey data show that 30 percent of the family heads were absent..." with no recognition that a "head of household" must be the person in charge - in these cases women.

(Quoted in, Barbara Rogers, *The Domestication of Women*, 1979, p. 66.)

More difficult to discern is the case of a man classified as "head" when he might more accurately be described as a dependent or co-head. In a study of women workers in Morocco, it was found that women as single heads of households, or households where an adult male was present but the woman's earnings were the family mainstay, accounted for almost one-third of the women workers sampled. Yet women machinists - who work side by side with men - were paid 70 percent of the male wage partly because the assumption was made that women were "working for lipstick." (Susan Joekes, "Working for Lipstick? Male and Female Labour in the Clothing Industry in

Morocco," 1985, in, Haleh Afshar, ed, *Women, Work, and Ideology in the Third World*, p. 205-206.)

Women in a Sri Lankan village, Ralahamywatta, obtained small loans to set themselves up as cashew nut processors in their own homes. High male unemployment in the formal economy meant that the women's profits from their production in cashew nut processing became the major source of family income. When a husband was present, would these women normally be listed in statistics and for purposes of law as the family head of household? (Rex Casinader, et al, "Women's Issues and Men's Roles: Sri Lankan Village Experience," in, Momsen and Townsend, *Geography of Gender*, p. 309-322.)

C. Different forms of living arrangements should be considered.

Different forms of living arrangements - single women living alone or in a family, monogamy, polyandry, polygyny, and consensual arrangements - have different implications for different family members, depending on age and sex. A first wife, for example, may have privileges of land tenure in a polygynous marriage that a third wife does not have.

Polygyny has been outlawed in many African countries. In Zaire, although polygyny was outlawed by decree in 1951, the practice of clandestine polygyny is still widespread with the result that only the first wife is officially acknowledged and other wives have no legal standing. (Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, *Women of Africa*, 1983, p. 59.)

The rights of widows in Zambia depend on a written will. If the husband dies intestate - a common occurrence - the property will be transmitted according to customary law. The result is that the widow may be deprived of all her property by her husband's family. (*Ibid.*, p. 62.)

The common practice of consensual arrangements in Latin America puts many women in an economically precarious position. In their study of Andean women, Susan Bourque and Kay Warren found that women preferred formal marriages to consensual ones. The disadvantages of consensual unions included abandonment and the possibility that a wife might not be able to inherit her husband's property or animals if he died. They described the case of Lourdes. She was forced out of her home after 30 years of a *convivencia* or consensual marriage and three children. The only possessions that her wealthy consensual husband allowed her to take with her were two cows. (Susan C. Bourque and Kay Barbara Warren, *Women of the Andes*, 1981, p. 100-101.)

D. A knowledge of the ages and life stages of women as well as other considerations are important in determining women's status in the household.

In most world areas a woman's freedom and decision-making power may depend on her stage in the life cycle, to whom she is married, and the number and sex of her children. In places in the Middle East, for example, the division of labor among women is by status; "esteem-carrying" tasks are carried out by women with higher status. According to Vanessa Maher, who studied women in a village in Morocco, the most important criterion in the allocation of status is the woman's relationship to the "head of the household.*" This gives a man's mother priority over his wife but his wife priority over her mother if the context of activity is his own household. Women performing esteem-carrying tasks like cooking can call on others to help them and can "distribute tasks." (Vanessa Maher, *Women and Property in Morocco*, 1974, p. 121.)

*Notice that in this study of Moroccan women from the 1970s, the author uses "head of household" as "male head of household." This is an example, in our view, of the misuse of this term which causes confusion in describing households. The irony here is the misuse of "head of household" in a generally balanced and insightful study focusing on women's lives.

II. What household tasks are performed and by which family members?

Cooking? Gathering fuel wood? Provision of water? Child care? Health care?
Wage earning tasks? Exchanges of goods and services? Farming chores? Care of livestock?

Issues for your consideration.

A. Recognition of who does what tasks may have implications for planning of Third World aid projects.

In the hill areas of Nepal, men are responsible for house and furniture construction that depend on one specie of tree. Women who collect fuel wood for cookstoves and fires depend on another specie. Both species are essential to household tasks and must be considered in aid projects. (John J. Hourihan, "Consultant's Report: Gender Issues in the Preparation and Implementation of Forestry Projects," unpublished paper submitted to the Asian Development Bank, Manila, Philippines, March, 1987.)

In Haiti, many men interviewed concerning community needs identified no household problem with hauling water or collecting fodder. Only by interviewing the women in the household was it learned that the women walked five kilometers each day in search of both. (Related by P. Howard Massey, Department of International Agriculture, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, Virginia.)

B. Advances which are overwhelmingly positive still may add another burden to already overworked women.

Oral Rehydration Therapy is an inexpensive medication of salts, sugar, and sterile water given to babies suffering from diarrhea. This simple technique has saved the lives of thousands of Third World children. Mothers, however, are overwhelmingly in charge of children's health care in Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. The administration of the lifesaving rehydration salts needs to be done at regular intervals over a period of a few hours to over a day. One U.S.A.I.D. official said, "We are creating a Third World version of Supermom," with women feeling guilty if they are too exhausted to carry out all the family tasks and stay up all night to give a sick child the medication. (Elayne Clift, "US AID Burdens Mothers" in, *New Directions for Women*, May/June 1986.)

C. In many world areas, cooking and serving food is women's work - and can be a way to control the behavior of men.

A wife, for example, may refuse to cook if she is angry with her husband. Among the Woyo peoples of the Congo River area, it is the custom for husbands to eat with other male friends, separate from their wives, but for the wives to do all the cooking. When a wife has a disagreement with her husband, she sends him a message in the form of a carved wooden pot lid. Normally the clay pots of food are covered with leaves by the wife to keep the food warm until served in the men's dining area. However, when displeased with a husband (or male family member), a wife replaces the leaves with the wooden pot lids. In

carved symbols, each lid tells what is bothering the woman by use of a proverb. When a woman marries, she receives various pot lids from her mother and mother-in-law that give a number of different standard messages. It is embarrassing to men to be confronted by women in public, in front of their male friends. Therefore, this custom is one way Woyo women can control the behavior of their husbands or male family members. (Marjorie Bingham and Susan Gross, Women in Africa of the Sub-Sahara, Vol. I, 1982, p.115-17.)

Tanzanian school children were asked what the Swahili phrase "*amepata jiko*" meant. All said, "he married." However, literally translated, these words mean "I married a stove." Does this idiomatic expression for "wife" reflect a low status for Tanzanian women or an acknowledgment by men of the important role of women as cooks in a society where there are strong social norms against men cooking? (As told to Mary Rojas by a Tanzanian woman attending Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1988).

D. The sexual division of labor in livestock, farming, and food gathering has important implications for power within the family.

For the Hima of Uganda subsistence was by cattle raising only - and milk was frequently the only food available; yet married women were not allowed to herd, water, or milk cattle - a powerful form of social control for the men who thus determined whether married women had access to food. (Yitzchak Elam, *The Social and Sexual Roles of Hima Women*, 1973, Chapter II.)

Among the Shona in Zimbabwe, cattle are used to enhance male status, for manure and plowing, and as payment to a bride's father. Seldom are cattle used for beef. (Sharon Lynn Deem, "A Study of Veterinary Services and the Women of Zimbabwe," Unpublished paper submitted to the Program for Women in World Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1986.)

With the Fulani in West Africa, each wife in a polygynous family arrangement is allocated a number of cows and she has control over the milk produced. If beef production is emphasized, this has a negative impact on women's income and family position. (Helen Henderson, "Case Study in Gender Issues and Agricultural Development: A West African Example," slide presentation in, *Gender Issues in International Development Programs: A Three-Part Training Program on Women in World Development*, Mary Hill Rojas, ed., Prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development's Board for International Food and Agricultural Development, 1984.)

E. Tasks associated with agriculture can be gender-specific.

In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, women are responsible for certain crops and have their own fields, often these are subsistence crops - cassava, millet, vegetables. Men are more involved with cash crops, rice, coffee, and tea. However, at times both grow subsistence crops - in parts of Nigeria women grow cassava and men concentrate on yams. (Helen Henderson, *Ibid.*)

Both men and women are active in agriculture in Sri Lanka. Men, however, are primarily responsible for land preparation and chemical application, whereas the women dominate in other tasks - seeding, transplanting, weeding, harvesting, and processing. (John J. Hourihan, "Gender Issues in the Preparation and Implementation of Forestry Projects," Unpublished paper submitted to the Asian Development Bank, March, 1987.)

In one region of Colombia, women have few tasks in the field. However, decisions on what to grow often are shared by the man and woman. One reason is that the type of bean grown for export does not have the flavor or cooking characteristics demanded by the farm woman. She is responsible for feeding the hired agricultural labor and their meals are a part of their salary. If the food is not good, the laborers will not come and crops are not harvested. (Jacqueline Ashby, "Case Study: Production and Consumption Aspects of Technology Testing" Unpublished paper submitted to the Population Council Interhousehold Allocation and Farming Systems Research Project, IFDC/CIAT, Cali, Colombia, n.d.)

SUMMARY

The usual definition of work as reflected in the GNP of nations and in everyday speech (at least in industrialized countries) is usually restricted to paid or "productive" work. Much of women's work worldwide is not counted in these statistics and is ignored or discounted in everyday speech.

In world areas where subsistence activities count heavily, the daily tasks of women like those discussed here (Domitila Barrios de Chungara of Bolivia or Africa or Asian women agriculturalists) make major contributions to their families' well-being.

To understand and appreciate the economic contributions of women:

- Work must be defined to include non-wage and income generating activities.
- Women's work must be made more visible by adapting methods of collecting data to the reality of women's work in a variety of cultural areas.
- The stereotype of women as primarily consumers - and of households as places where goods and services are consumed - must be overcome.
- The division of labor by sex must be considered; there must be a realization that tasks for men and women may differ, depending on time and place, but that most societies divide tasks according to gender.

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. Within most groups and societies - historically and in the contemporary world - work has been assigned according to gender.

List reasons why you think women's labor has been less visible than that of men in most time periods and societies.

2. In her opening remarks at the final meeting of the United Nations Decade for Women at Nairobi, Kenya, Leticia Shahani, Secretary General of the official meeting, said that the major focus and purpose of the conference would be to discuss how women can take their "rightful place in society, on an equal basis with men."

Thinking back on the readings on women and work, why do you think most observers feel that accounting for women's work is critical for enabling women to take their "rightful place?"

3. A major problem for women worldwide is that of "double duty" or the "double day." Although women in the past have overwhelmingly been in charge of children and domestic work, what conditions of modern life seem to have contributed to the burden of double duty? How can this problem for women best be addressed?

4. List all the reasons you can think of that the division of labor by sex and specifically women's work must be made more visible in the Third World if economic and social development projects are to be effective.

HANDOUT 7

INTRODUCTION "DAWN"

Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) was formed in 1984 in Bangalore, India, by a group of Third World women who were "activists, researchers, and policymakers." Their aim has been "to build a social order that is just, equitable, and life-affirming for all people." Their first project was a summary of Third World women's concerns and goals written by Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions - Third World Women's Perspectives* - known as the DAWN book. One objective of the book is a review of how the modernization process frequently has had a negative impact on women in the Third World.

In 1970 a Danish sociologist, Ester Boserup, published her landmark book, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, which demonstrated that by ignoring women in the development process, development projects were actually often detrimental to women in the Third World. In the same year, the Percy Amendment mandated that United States foreign assistance projects must take into consideration their impact on women as agents and beneficiaries of aid. Following the Percy Amendment, the United States Agency for International Development formulated a policy on women that argued, aside from equity issues, that foreign assistance was utilized more efficiently when it targeted women.

The recognition of the importance of considering women in development continued throughout the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985). United States-based organizations, such as AWID (Association for Women in Development) and the women in development (WID) offices on land-grant university campuses, and organizations throughout the world such as DAWN, helped to focus attention on women in development issues.

As the importance of women's labor is made visible and the need to consider the social realities of women are considered, development projects are working to overcome this gender blindness which often led either to negative results for women or their being ignored.

Part IV - *Empowerment of Women in the Third World* - suggests the present stage for women in the social and economic development of their societies: the importance of Third World women's organizations in setting agendas for change and deciding what development projects will have a positive affect on the lives of women in their Third World area.

The first case that follows is one example of the detrimental effect of many development projects on women in the Third World. This example is taken from the DAWN book and the authors describe it as "the all too typical situation." The second case is an example of a project where the local women were central to its design and implementation. It is a success story.

First Case: The Kano River Project

"The [Kano River] project was a gravity-flow irrigation scheme covering some 120,000 acres of Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. The three official goals of the project were to increase local and national food supply; to provide employment opportunities; and to improve the standard of living through the provision of clinics, schools, water, roads, and sanitation. Three groups of women were affected: Muslim women in villages, Muslim women on dispersed homesteads, and non-Muslim women.

"The project design was based on the registration of all land ownership prior to irrigation,....Although previously many plots were owned communally, only the 'senior owners' (almost always men) were registered....Nearly one-third of the male farmers lost almost all of their land, as did roughly the same proportion of women farmers. Indeed, women farmers fared somewhat worse, since even those who continued to have access to land were now given the worst plots by their husbands. This was particularly true among non-Muslim women.

"Increased irrigation led to greater emphasis on dry-season crops....As a result, the cropping pattern shifted from previous local staples to wheat and tomatoes, but with a serious reduction in overall crop diversity. Sorghum and millet grown by women in the wet season suffered the most....The over-all effect on food consumption was that it became less equal, less varied, and less nutritious.

"Although employment in the project site and on the large farms did increase, this must be seen in the context of the growing landlessness. Women were excluded from formal employment in project construction and administration. On the farms women tended to be hired as seasonal and casual labor, while men were more likely to obtain such permanent jobs as were available....

"The destruction of...trees reduced beer-brewing income and deprived older women of income from the collection of firewood and water.

"Although the project was supposed to improve health through the provision of clinics, in fact these were few, inconveniently located, and staffed only by men. Infant mortality remains high.

"The Kano River Project is a classic example of the argument that commercialization based on unequal access to land and resources can be quite detrimental to the living standards of the poor, especially women. They lost land and sources of income, and suffered from a reduced variety of nutritious foods as well as increased drudgery....

"The project design provided for little local participation and the implementation was quite insensitive to local needs, especially those of the poor. This was seen in land allocation, crop selection, and the provision of health and sanitation services. The local opposition, particularly that of women, was very vocal against such authoritarianism."

From: Gita Sen and Caren Grown, *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions - Third World Women's Perspectives*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1987, p. 41-43.)

The DAWN Secretariat is currently located at the Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, Rua Paulino Fernandes 32, Rio de Janeiro, R.J., 22270 Brazil.

Second Case: Mahila Navajagran Samiti (Women's Reawakening Association)

"[The] population has been on the increase in the inhabited hill regions of India... In the Himalayas, an increase of 170 percent over the last 50 years has been recorded. The mounting numbers are pushing up the valleys to the last rocky slopes. The most meager subsistence farming is carried out here. Moreover, thousands of square kilometers of forests have fallen to the plow and axe in the last 30 years. The denudation of vital forest cover has led to soil erosion, while annual floods are more disastrous and dams not sufficiently protected."

It is women of the region who are the most affected by this population increase. Let the women express their position in their own words:

"Our husbands, fathers and brothers have gone to the plains. We look after our agriculture, our children, our aged dependents. We perform most of the back-breaking tasks in agriculture, animal husbandry, and child care. We have to walk seven to ten kilometers every day to fetch fuelwood and fodder, literally for the survival of our families; we are so busy that we just cannot afford any form of recreation or cultural development."

Another woman explains, "We are the backbone of the economy of the hill regions. We carry out almost all tasks - except plowing of fields and taking dead bodies to the cremation ground. Our work starts early in the morning and continues till late at night...."

"Despite the central position they hold in the hill economy, women do not own land. Said one informant: "The land is in the names of our menfolks. When they come back once a year, they make major decisions such as marriage alliances; what crops to plow. The livestock is bought with 'men's work' [their wages, so they feel they own both the land and livestock]."

"[As author Viji Srinivasan writes about the Mahila Navajagran Samiti confederation], women have become aware of their position. Thus to them, development must also bring about what they value most: lessening of the work burden.

"In order to alleviate women's burdens, Mahila Mandals (women's groups) have sprung up.... The Mahila Navajagran Samiti (MNS), a confederation of many community-based Mahila Mandals, began as a small traditional top-down welfare-oriented organization. It was initiated by a husband and wife team.

"Gradually [this husband and wife team] began to understand the problems facing women in the region. Fuelwood and forage collection are the two most arduous and time-consuming tasks village women in the area perform.... At the same time, some powerful contractors in collusion with some lower-level functionaries of the Forest Department were involved in illegal felling...of trees. Spontaneously, women began to form Mahila Mandals to bring pressure on the forestry policies of the state government. [The husband and wife working with the women] began to appreciate the potential of these Mahila Mandals.... They understood that the welfare-oriented top-down approach ... was not appropriate....

"Gradually [they] assisted [the women] in developing the Mahila Mandals into strong grass-roots level village women's organizations. Through and with them, they evolved programs to provide draft animal power (mules) to transport fuelwood and fodder; set up a nursery of [trees] to make saplings available to village Mahila Mandals; encouraged and

devised improved *chulha* (traditional cooking stoves); and helped the Mahila Mandals devise systems of participative management. Another activity they devised related to camps where women from five to ten Mahila Mandals would meet and present their programs to the whole group. To provide a co-ordinative base for these women's development activities, the Mahila Navajagran Samiti was registered as a separate voluntary agency, after being elected at one of the camps.

"An international donor agency funded portions of the mules project, the training camps, the improved *chulha* project and the nursery. However, the women have remained in control of their activities, officials from the donor agency recognizing that they were in partnership with them and thereby avoiding the traditional donor-grantee relationship."

The accomplishments of women who joined together and formed the Mahila Navajagran Samiti is a success story. The major goal was to relieve the overwhelming work burdens of these women. The programs have begun to reach that goal.

From: Viji Srinivasan, "Mahila Navajagran Samiti - (Women's Reawakening Association), India," *Rural Development and Women: Lessons from the Field*, Shimwaayi Muntemba, ed. Volume II, Sections 1 and 2, Geneva: International Labour Office.

HANDOUT 8

"Women Organizing For Change"

Europeans and North Americans usually think of reform movements for women - education, suffrage, and the recent women's liberation movement - as originating in Europe. Feminist reforms are traced to the Protestant Reformation, the Enlightenment, and to thinkers such as Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Other cultural areas, however, have had their own histories of reforms for women. These movements were indigenous ones that developed out of the historical events of a particular group, society, or cultural area. In justifying modern reforms for women in India, reformers looked to ancient Vedic times for models of liberated women. In the history of many African groups there were role models of powerful women - religious leaders, queens, dual rulers of queen-mothers and sons, female chiefs, and consensus rule by groups of men and women - to emulate. Latin American women can look to the first feminist in the Americas as their role model. Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, a 17th century Mexican nun, was a distinguished philosopher, poet, and scientist who called for the end of a sexual double standard and a full academic education for women. Feminism, then, was not a movement in European and North American history - reforms for women have been part of the history of many world cultures.

Women, however, have supported each other's struggles for reforms through international networks. In 1871, Empress Haruko of Japan sent five Japanese girls to the United States to be educated. One of these was eight-year-old Tsuda Umeko. She graduated from Vassar and Bryn Mawr, returned to Japan and founded the first women's college in Tokyo. Huda Shaarawi of Egypt returned home from an international women's meeting in Italy in 1923. She unveiled publicly and later founded the Egyptian Feminist Union that worked for Egyptian nationalism and women's rights. Pandita Ramabai, a late 19th century Indian reformer, traveled to England and the United States and was aided in her efforts to help Indian widows by friends in the United States.

But contacts with European and North American culture have frequently been detrimental to women's status in other societies. For example, although colonial powers might feel they were improving the status of African women by the introduction of European style education and Christian values, traditional roles that gave authority to women were often lost under the colonial powers. Powerful roles for women in many African groups were not recognized by colonial administrators. The queen-mother of the Swazi, for example, had equal and balanced powers with her son, the king. The British sent the king to Oxford University in England but did not similarly educate the queen-mother. She lost power as the need to manipulate a European bureaucracy required a European education. (Hilda Kuper, *An African Aristocracy: Rank Among the Swazi*, 1947, p. 54-56.)

One insightful British officer noted that the colonial administrations in the 1920s did not recognize the power of these women rulers. "Today the Queen-Mothers are unrecognized by us and their position and influence are rapidly passing away." (Robert Rattray, *Ashanti*, 1923, p. 84.)

Similarly, women's organizations and networks were often unrecognized in traditional historical and anthropological studies. In the last two decades scholars have begun to investigate women's organizations. As a result, the extent of women's collective influence in Third World cultures is becoming more visible.

The following examples give some idea of the types of women's organizations that have been present in Third World cultures that have worked to protect and promote women's interests.

Historical Examples of Women's Organizations

Lelemama Associations - Mombasa, East Africa

(Communal dance festivities that became women's improvement associations).

"Lelemama was brought from Zanzibar to Mombasa at least eighty years ago. Women in their mid-eighties recall watching it as children and claim that their mother's generation danced it. Although the associations changed during the colonial period, certain features characterized lelemama throughout these years. Married women danced lelemama at weddings or other special occasions. At times cattle or goats were slaughtered at a member's farm for a picnic that culminated in a lelemama dance. Dancers from one association lined up in two groups on two benches with members of each group wearing similar attire. The women danced sedately while singing songs that revealed the misdeeds of people in the community, publicly shamed individuals, or challenged rival lelemama associations by ridiculing their dancing abilities....Lelemama networks are utilized to mobilize women for today's political struggles."

(Margaret Strobel, *Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1890-1975*, 1979, p. 156-57, 181.)

"Sitting on a Man" - Igbo Women, Nigeria, West Africa

Igbo women had a significant role in traditional political life. As individuals, they participated in village meetings with men. But their real political power was based on the solidarity of women, as expressed in their meetings, their market networks, their kinship groups, and their right to use strikes and boycotts to force change.

"Sitting on a man" or a woman, boycotts and strikes were the women's main weapons. To "sit on" a man involved gathering at his compound, sometimes late at night, dancing, singing scurrilous songs which detailed the women's grievances against him and often called his manhood into question, banging on his hut with the pestles women used for pounding yams, and perhaps demolishing his hut or plastering it with mud and roughing him up a bit. A man might be punished in this way for mistreating his wife, for violating the women's market rules, or for letting his cows eat the women's crops. The women would stay at his hut throughout the day, and late into the night, if necessary, until he repented and promised to mend his ways. Although this could hardly have been a pleasant experience for the offending man, it was considered legitimate and no man would consider intervening.

(Adapted from, Judith Van Allen, "Sitting on a Man," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. IV, (1972), p. 169-70.)

Women Organizing in India

"Two women's organizations, the Women's Indian Association (WIA) formed in 1917, and the All-India Women's Conference (AIWC) formed in 1927, sought to bring women together to advance their status through education, social reform, and politics....

committees. [The issue of purdah - the seclusion and veiling of women - was one such social problem.] Purdah, they decided, needed to be 'treated' with propaganda. In Bihar and Bengal, where purdah was observed by the majority of Hindu women, there were attempts to break the custom with massive doses of propaganda. In Patna, women planned 'anti-purdah' days. At one of these, the speeches delivered gave various reasons why women should abandon purdah: Women needed to gain physical and mental strength so they could defend themselves; Gandhi was opposed to the custom; it had not been observed in ancient times; and it led to illiteracy and bad health. The message was loud and clear: Women would have to seize the initiative and come out of purdah....

"In Calcutta, Marwari women had begun to celebrate an annual anti-purdah day in the 1930s. By 1940, their Anti-Purdah Conference attracted 5,000 women. At the conference itself, the Chairwoman of the Reception Committee, Rukmini Devi Birla, told the women that there could be no reform or progress until purdah was abolished. She urged social workers to help, and a resolution was passed to boycott weddings where purdah was practiced by women of the household. All who attended were impressed with the success of the anti-purdah day."

(Geraldine Forbes, "The Indian Women's Movement: A Struggle for Women's Rights or National Liberation?" in, Gail Minault, *The Extended Family*, 1981, p. 54, 67-68.)

Family Networks of Urban Upper-Class Women in Mexico

"In 1970 [researchers Larissa Lomnitz and Marisol Perez-Lizaur] began a study of kinship structure in an upper-class family in Mexico City that ranged over five generations of men and women, including 118 nuclear families. These were the descendants of Carlos Gomez (1825-76)....

"Information, the most elementary and basic type of exchange within the clan, involves a wide spectrum of facts, ranging from family gossip to knowledge about relatives and ultimately to clan ideology. Women have always played a large role in the transmission of such information, which is one of the main mechanisms of clan solidarity. Prominent female figures, who devoted their lives to creating and transmitting a clan ideology, established information networks over certain branches of the family kindred, often across generational and socioeconomic boundaries. The personal prestige of these 'centralizing women' was based on their authoritative knowledge of the family history, including the personal backgrounds and relationships among individual members.

"Women are prominent in the organization and promotion of all [family] reunions, as well as of informal parties, games, theater parties, and so on. The kind of gossip exchanged during such events is not restricted to personal affairs; on the contrary, business gossip is prominent... Women are conversant with a wealth of details concerning the business affairs of family members, past and present, which constitutes vital background information of those deals initiated or formalized during family reunions. These 'centralizing women' often also act as brokers for needy relatives or relatives looking for jobs." (Larissa Lomnitz and Marisol Perez-Lizaur, "Kinship Structure and the Role of Women in the Urban Upper Class of Mexico," *Signs*, Vol. 5, No. 1, (Autumn 1979), p. 164-67.)

The above four historical examples suggest some of the types of women's networks and organizations that have operated in Third World cultures. They range from formal organizations - legally recognized and publicly visible - like the All-Indian Women's Conference to informal family networks like that of the women in the Gomez family of

Mexico. Recent studies like these of women's organizations and networks reveal that women have had considerable authority gained through organizing and networking.

The history of Third World cultures, then, demonstrates that these societies have had their own struggles with reforms for women and a diversity of roles and status for women, depending on many factors such as time period, life stage, class, and individual talents.

Reform movements for women differ depending on the world area but have in common a desire for more equitable treatment for women and a greater recognition of their contributions to their societies. At this time in history the women's organizations in India, Kenya, or Peru may be seen as more active - even militant - than those in the United States and Europe.

Contemporary Examples of Women's Organizations

Manushi - India

This Indian women's magazine and organization was founded in 1978 as "a medium for women to speak out, to help raise questions in their own minds,...to generate a widespread debate about ways of bringing about change...[to] bring women's organizations ...in touch with each other,..."

The magazine staff sometimes goes further than describing and advertising women's problems. On March 4, 1985, *Manushi* organized a demonstration at a court room in Delhi protesting judgments that acquitted a husband (along with his sister and mother) of murdering his wife by burning her to death.

Editor Madhu Kishwar writes letters to officials supporting the cause of women and petitions courts on their behalf. The magazine has worked to help tribal women to regain their land rights; has protested against dowry payments; has worked for better education for women and for better working conditions for women in factories.
(Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, *In Search of Answers*, 1984, p. 301-311.)

Mobile Creches - India

This organization was founded by Meera Mahadevan in 1969 after she saw the children of construction workers playing in the mud at a building site in New Delhi. "She began with a tent, a handful of well-intentioned volunteers, no theories, no money, and unswerving determination," wrote Ms. Swaminathan, the author of a recent study of Indian day-care facilities.

The organization grew rapidly with volunteers and government and private funding. In the past 18 years Mobile Creches has opened 162 day-care facilities - moving these with construction sites as needed.

Today the organization runs about 50 centers, serving about 4,000 children on a particular day. Other voluntary agencies have been inspired to offer similar services - serving 200,000 children. The Mobile Creches idea was an imaginative solution to help some of the neediest people in India - female construction workers and their children.
(*Christian Science Monitor*, May 18, 1987, p. 25.)

Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) - India

SEWA works primarily with rural women who have migrated to the Ahmedabad area (in the state of Gujarat, west central India) - often on a temporary basis as a survival technique in times of famine or drought.

SEWA was organized in 1972 by Ela Bhatt as a union for the city's many female street vendors of vegetables and used clothing, manual laborers, and pieceworkers.

Before SEWA, these women had led a miserable existence, eking out a livelihood walking miles around the city selling goods or fighting over a place on the pavement. Capital to buy the goods they sold came from money lenders who usually charged 50 percent per day interest.

SEWA members established their own cooperative bank. They also have a day-care center for members. Other projects include providing information and courses to members on family planning, yoga, money management, and sex education.

In 1977 Ela Bhatt and SEWA received the Ramon Magsaysay Foundation award, the Asian equivalent of the Nobel Prize, for "fostering development where it matters most, among the poorest and the weakest..."
(From, Terry Alliband, *Catalysts of Development: Voluntary Agencies in India*, 1983, p. 49-50.)

Women's Action Forum (WAF) - Pakistan

WAF is a lobbying and pressure group organized to further women's civil, political, and economic rights. Considering the repressive military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq and his push for the Islamization of Pakistan, WAF has had considerable success.

Although it has had internal organization problems, WAF chapters have been founded in major cities in Pakistan. In May 1982 the Lahore chapter of WAF held a *jalsa* - an event between a rally and a meeting - with a central topic, speeches, poems, humorous skits, songs, and resolutions.

"Recognizing that most women live a life of oppressive drudgery and are well aware of their oppressed state, WAF started from the premise that to call them to meetings where privileged women would tell them how miserable their lives actually were would be to add insult to injury. Hence in the *jalsa* speeches were kept to a minimum and the skits presented deliberately humorous...inviting the audience to laugh along with the organizers and performers at the absurdity of various policies..." The Lahore *jalsa* was so successful that other WAF chapters have held similar meetings and even rival organizations have replicated *jalsas* throughout Pakistan.

Just how successful WAF has been is still in question. The military government supports (some say even started) a rival, more conservative women's organization. Perhaps this indicates that the government feels threatened by WAF. One observer commented that "WAF has provided a name around which those concerned with women's rights can rally."
(From, Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, eds. *Women of Pakistan, Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?*, 1987, p.123-24, 135, and 141.)

Peruvian Feminist Organizations

There are various feminist centers throughout Peru, according to Virginia Vargas coordinator of one such center, Centro Flora Tristan, located in the capital city of Lima. Flora Tristan - and another women's group, Manuela Ramos - are dedicated to education. Other women's organizations in Lima with a wide variety of missions are the Aurora Vivar Association, Peru Mujer, CESIP- Woman, and the Woman and Society Association. Peruvian women's groups are also active in the countryside outside of Lima. Among them are the "Amanta Association" of Cusco; the Women's Democratic Front of Cajamarca; the Woman's Office in Chimbote.

All of these Peruvian groups work with women who are urban and rural slum residents, workers, farmers, and housemaids to promote an understanding of women's reality and to address women's daily struggles and needs. Their projects include educating poor women in urban slums of their legal rights and providing information for rural people, especially women, on family health, domestic violence, and family planning. Their overall purpose is to promote the organization of women with the goal of strengthening local women's movements through educational action.

(Virginia Vargas, "Reflections on Women's Education in Peru," unpublished paper presented at Mt. Holyoke College conference, "Worldwide Education for Women," November 4-7, 1987.)

Centro de Orientacion de la Mujer Obrera (COMO) - Mexico

This organization was founded in Juarez, Mexico to deal with the exploitive conditions for women in many of the *maquiladora* or export-oriented border assembly plants. Women, who made up 80 percent of the plant employees, frequently did not know their rights under Mexican law, which led to abuses by the plant managers.

COMO was the result of the vision, determination and drive of a group of concerned upper-class women led by Dr. Guillermina Valdez de Villalva, a social psychologist. After they met with working women, COMO was founded as an organization to provide guidance, support, and advice to single working women in the Juarez area.

COMO has been involved in literacy programs for adults, health campaigns, and provided on-the-job training to workers. In addition, COMO provided psychological counseling, legal aid, and referred women to family-planning services. Eventually COMO expanded into consumer cooperatives as well.

After a period of organizational difficulties, COMO regrouped with a new director - an *obrero* (woman factory worker). COMO now provides leadership and organizational training to women of all social classes. Although it is not the widespread organization that it once was, it has had a lasting impact for women in Mexico. One staff member commented, "We go against so many traditional systems; our only arm, our only defense, is to present positive results." (Sally W. Yudelman, *Hopeful Openings*, 1987, p. 17-31.)

Federacion Hondurena de Mujeres Campesinas (FEHMUC) - Honduras

FEHMUC grew out of rural housewives' clubs established by the social action arm of the Catholic Church in 1967. FEHMUC is now made up of 294 peasant women's groups with over 5,000 members. Many members are single mothers and most are landless - the poorest of the poor.

The long-term goals are to integrate peasant women into the social, economic, and political life of Honduras. The FEHMUC program aims at working with members in four major areas: consciousness-raising and organization; health and nutrition; agriculture; and crafts and clothing production. Each area has a diverse group of projects offering services and resources.

FEHMUC's health program has been particularly successful. FEHMUC also addresses issues of women's rights and has worked to change the image of Honduran peasant women from passive and inactive to that of strong and capable women who play an important role in development.

Although the organization presently faces major institutional problems, development consultant Sally Yudelman who studied FEHMUC, claims that "there is cause for optimism [about the future of FEHMUC]. Over the years, FEHMUC has demonstrated its resiliency and capacity to survive, to overcome setbacks, to grow." (Yudelman, *Hopeful Openings*, p. 35-46.)

African Association of Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) - Dakar, Senegal

The African Association of Women for Research and Development was founded in 1977 by African women scholars and development professionals. The focus is on having African women research their societies and formulate their own theories and development programs.

In 1986 AAWORD started publishing a quarterly newsletter, *ECHO*, in English and French. Projects that have been launched by AAWORD include a 1985 meeting of the AAWORD working group on women and reproduction. The meeting reviewed research papers, and proceedings and bibliographies were made available. Similar meetings and seminars are a major goal of AAWORD. (Write for more information: AAWORD B.P. 11007 CD Annex, Dakar, Senegal.)

Zambian Association for Research and Development (ZARD) - Zambia, Africa

ZARD is a non-governmental organization of women which is concerned with furthering action-oriented research on women's issues. A recent project was to compile an annotated bibliography of research on Zambian women. The directors of the project were faculty members of the University of Zambia and funding was provided by a number of sources, but ZARD initiated and sponsored the project.

The rationale for the bibliography serves also as the rationale for ZARD: "Zambian women are increasingly becoming aware of their own status and of gender inequalities which structure their opportunities in the wider society. All too often it has been foreign agencies which identify problems, such as the lack of integration of women in development, and propose solutions. This work arises from local initiative and will argue that women are integrated in Zambian development, but unequally so." (*An Annotated Bibliography of Research on Zambian Women*. Zambia Association for Research and Development, P.O. Box 37836, Lusaka, Zambia.)

The Women's Group Movement - Nyanza Province, Kenya

The Women's Group Movement in Nyanza was organized to focus on the special needs of women. There are now many of these groups in the Nyanza area of Kenya. Since independence, women found that they had common problems which could not be met or solved by individuals. For example, after independence, Kenya introduced universal educational opportunities, but women frequently were not given adequate educations because they often dropped out of school to get married or their families favored sons for higher levels of schooling.

In recent years women often found themselves living alone in rural areas and providing for their families by their farm labor while husbands went to urban areas for white-collar jobs. Even when husbands were present, they often assumed that women should do the farming and provide for the family. Most of the Women's Groups, therefore, started with farming activities. Issues of land ownership, decision making, division of family labor, and technology which is appropriate for the needs of farm women are some of the issues addressed by these groups.

The St. Joseph Women's Group, for example, was started mainly to aid widows of the Luo ethnic group. To earn money for this and other projects, the women's group built a poultry house and started to keep hens. Each member bought three hens, sold the eggs and then bought more hens. The group also started keeping bees and farmed several acres of land together as a group project. Although they have encountered setbacks from time to time, they say they have achieved a higher standard of living, improved schools, clinics and decent housing. (Adapted from: *Hunger Notes*, Vol. XI, No. 9-10, April-May, 1986. "Women Farmers of Kenya" World Hunger Education Service, 1317 G. Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20005.)

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SUMMARY

These examples are only a few of the hundreds of contemporary women's organizations that have been formed in the Third World in the last few decades.

Several historical reasons have led to the increasing attention by Third World women to organizing:

- The realization that development projects often were not helping women.
- The disillusionment felt by women when newly acquired political independence in their various countries had usually not led to equality for women in new laws and policies.
- The need to take control of their own destinies. Fatma Alloo and Sumati Nair wrote in AAWORD's newsletter, *ECHO*, that "it is time we women from Third World countries develop an understanding of our own situation and then prepare the grounds for a dialogue with white feminists--on our terms. We are the ones to change our situation.."
- The traditions of Third World women's organizations and networks that could be called upon and expanded to fit modern needs has meant that women have an organizational structure to work within.
- The declaration of the United Nations Decade for Women that focused on the needs of women worldwide and the final meeting of the Decade for Women in Nairobi which emphasized the organizational abilities and activism of Third World women.

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. The following statement concerns women in two Peruvian villages:

"The analysis of [the lives of women of Chiuchin and Mayobamba] clearly shows that women are not hapless victims, immobilized in the face of the forces of an economy and a political system marshaled against them. Rather, our material suggests that women mobilize a variety of resources to help them cope with their limited and restricted influence."

(Susan Bourque and Kay Barbara Warren, *Women of the Andes*, 1981, p. 9.)

Mention a few ways that women have mobilized to cope with the realities of their lives.

What indications are there in the materials you read that women's influence is restricted when compared to that of men?

Do you see exceptions to this in these materials?

2. What advantages might women have in organizing informal networks when compared to men? Formal organizations?

3. In these examples, what problems did women have in forming organizations? What problems might they encounter as their organizations become larger and more involved with changes for women?

4. Women frequently organize around issues that can be considered domestic ones - extensions of their roles as housewives. For example, when there were food shortages during the time of Salvador Allende's presidency in Chile in the 1970s women protested food shortages by beating on pans in mass demonstrations. In recent years Japanese women have protested high rice prices by organizing parades carrying rice-paddle banners with slogans written on them. As pointed out earlier, women in many areas of Africa refuse to cook as a way to protest what they see as the misbehavior of men. "Mother's Clubs" were formed in many Latin American countries. Women in several world areas have organized around environmental issues such as deforestation and pollution.

Why do you think women's public protests often center on food, environmental, or health issues?

HANDOUT 9

"Planning With Women in Mind - The Example of the Grameen Bank"

The Grameen Bank Project, launched in 1976 in the Bangladesh village of Jobra, was based on what might have been seen as a radical idea. The Grameen Bank Project aimed at loaning money to poor, landless, rural people in Bangladesh. These men and women had no collateral - and none would be required for the loans. But the loans were to be secured; the persons receiving loans would be responsible for their repayment with interest. The method of securing loans without collateral helps to explain why the Grameen Bank Project has become a model for similar programs throughout the Third World and in the United States.

The idea for the project came from Professor Muhammad Yunus, Director of the Rural Economics Program at the University of Chittagong in Bangladesh. The intention was to extend banking privileges to poor women and men; to eliminate the exploitation of money lenders; to provide disadvantaged people with a financial support system based on sound banking principles; and to reverse the vicious cycle of "low income, low savings, low investment, low income." Women who applied for loans would not need the approval of their husbands or other family members to receive loans in their own names. This provision was a radical departure from traditional custom. As one man wrote, "all this has occurred in a Moslem society where women traditionally have few individual rights to say nothing of being able to borrow money for their own business enterprises. To do this, no laws were passed or changed and the husband's permission is not required. Grameen bank managers simply went ahead and made loans to women because it was sound business to do so even though it violated custom and tradition." (Richard Saunders, ZATPID memorandum to Dr. Muleya, MAWD, memorandum, "Sound Money for Small Farmers," January 5, 1988, Lusaka, Zambia.)

The loans would be small ones averaging \$US 60.00. However, these small loans to poor villagers could mean flexibility and opportunity for starting small income-generating projects. Although normal interest rates would be charged, borrowers would be protected from the enormous interest rates of moneylenders - rates that often kept them in a cycle of overwhelming debt.

The first step in starting the Grameen Bank Project in Jobra, was to reach poor villagers and help them to understand the program. To reach women in a predominately Muslim country such as Bangladesh was a formidable task.

Because Dr. Yunus was known and respected in the village of Jobra, he was allowed to hold a meeting with village women at night when they would be able to attend after the day's work. The women, however, maintained a distance by taking their places at the meeting in a hut while Dr. Yunus sat outside in the yard talking to them through two female aides. The women in the hut were not seen or heard. As the discussion began (through the interpreters), it also started to rain. Dr. Yunus was given shelter in a hut - but not the one where the women were sitting. As the discussion continued, it became obvious that direct communication was needed to make the program clear to the women.

Finally, the women understood that Dr. Yunus was trying to explain something in their interest - that he was speaking of bank loans available to them. They moved to his hut, taking their place behind a partition so they could hear him and he could hear them without seeing each other. After a long session, the women were convinced of the benefit of taking out loans from the Grameen Bank so they could participate in small income-generating projects. (*Bank Credit for Rural Women - Report on Study Tour of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh*, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, November 1984.)

Bangladesh is one of the poorest countries in the world, according to ordinary statistics that rely on an accounting of the formal economic sector. According to the 1981 Bangladesh census, only 40 percent of the population over ten years of age participated in economic activities - and for women the figure is four percent. However, virtually all adults and majority of children are engaged in some form of economic activity in the informal sector.

The Grameen Bank Project focused on credit because having access to credit greatly increases the economic strength and flexibility of poor people. The project quickly expanded and by 1987 over three hundred thousand loans had been given - the large majority of these loans had gone to women.

How does this banking system for the poor work?

- Each Grameen Bank branch is headed by a manager who commands a field staff of three male and three female bank workers. All staff members are required to live in the villages in which they are assigned to work.
- Bank workers visit the villages and talk informally to villagers explaining the rules and benefits of the bank.
- Any person who owns less than 0.5 acre of cultivable land and has a severely limited income is eligible for a loan for any income-generating activity.
- To get the loan, the individual must form a group of five similar people. Each group elects its own chairperson and secretary and holds weekly meetings. Several groups meet at the same time in a village; this group of meetings is called a Center. The Center elects a Center-Chief who conducts the weekly meetings and is responsible for the observance of all rules prescribed by the bank.
- Loans are given to individuals or groups; only the person receiving the loan is responsible for his/her loan.
- All loans are for one year and are paid back in weekly installments.
- Each week every group member deposits one Taka (Bangladesh currency) as personal saving. This fund is operated by the group. In addition, each member pays a "tax" into a group fund. The group also must set up an emergency fund to which all group members contribute as insurance against default, death, or disability of members.

The formation of the groups are a key to the bank's success. An individual poor person - particularly a woman - may feel exposed and powerless but group membership makes her feel protected and less alone. Peer pressure helps to keep members in line with the Grameen Bank rules and assures repayment of the loans.

Discipline, unity, courage, and labor are the four principles of the Grameen Bank. The Grameen Bank is more than an economic system for loans and credit, it is a social system as well. Therefore, along with the loans, each member promises to:

- Repair old and construct new houses.
- Cultivate, eat, and sell vegetables annually.
- Plant as many trees as possible.
- Plan their families.
- Educate their children.
- Drink tube well water.
- Introduce physical exercises in Centers.
- Refuse to pay dowry in their children's marriages. [Dowry payments have been a serious financial drain on families when arranging marriages for daughters. The undervaluing of girls in South Asia can partly be traced to demands for dowry payments from the bride's family upon marriage of daughters.]
- Undertake social activities collectively.
- Participate in joint activities for earning higher incomes.
- Fight injustice and oppression.

The results of the banking program:

Since 1976 the Grameen Bank has lent an average of \$60 to a total of 300,000 people. Eighty percent of the borrowers were women. The repayment rate is 97 percent - much higher than the repayment rate of bank loans secured by collateral.

The focus has increasingly been to encourage women borrowers. Mohammad Yunus commented in a recent interview that, "in the case of a man, too often the beneficiaries are himself and his friends. A loan to a woman results in more benefits to the family." (Kristin Helmore, "Banking of the Poor: Changing the Face of Foreign Aid," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 30, 1987, p. 16.)

Case Studies of Grameen Bank Borrowers

Samina - An Interview with Grameen Bank Manager Abdur Rashid Khan, Rangpur.

"A small path winding through the green of paddy fields takes you to Samina's house in Mirjapur....Looking at this 32 year old woman in her tattered sari, I knew what kind of life she was living; a life of relentless struggle with poverty ...

"There were no windows in Samina's hut. The sky was very heavy after the rain. It was difficult to see anything distinctly in the fading light of the evening... I asked Samina, 'What do you eat your meals in?' 'In earthen plates, Sir,' she said shyly, 'Since we have very few of them, we let our children eat first. My husband and I eat afterwards. She then showed me an earthen jug, a very old glass of aluminium, and a spoon. These are gifts from my mother. I have preserved them with care.'"

Samina told Abdur Khan about her life. Perhaps the worst period was during the famines of 1974. "In that winter [Samina's family] had no means to buy rice at.... They sustained themselves by eating boiled banana leaves. Sometimes they had nothing at all to eat for days. Her eldest daughter Mannara would cry for rice. Samina herself felt like crying because she could not give the hungry little girl any."

In 1983 Samina received a loan from the Grameen Bank Taka 1000 (US \$36.45). With the money, her husband Matiur and she set up a rice husking business. Matiur went to other villages to buy the rice and collect fuel while both carried out the rice husking business at home.

"This is how Samina, working on a capital of US \$18.50 [half of the loan was stolen] and hard work and determination was able to pay off the entire loan of Taka 1,000 (\$US 36.45) on the 17th of April 1984. Apart from the extreme hard work and the attendant physical exhaustion, Samina was now free from worries about food for the family. They had just enough to eat; not a day of starvation in the whole of that year. The children even had new clothes and books. A few necessary domestic articles were bought....

"Samina has paid her installments and her special savings account money very regularly. So far she has never missed a weekly group meeting, not even when she has been sick. 'I would feel very bad if I ever missed a meeting.'...

"I asked her about her feelings when she first received the loan from the Bank. 'I felt very happy, Sir. It was like having a new friend.

"Samina has applied for a second loan from the Bank. It has been approved...Her plan is to continue in rice husking with part of the money and put the rest into setting up a grocery shop." (*Bank Credit for Rural Women*, 1984, p. 108-111.)

Bhagya Rani - The Results of A Loan, An Interview with Grameen Bank Manager Itme-dad-ud-Doula

Bhagya Rani's husband was disabled by illness. Bhagya Rani eked out a living for the family, "winnowing by day as well as by night. The payment was made in kind;...Recalling her experience of that part of her life Bhagya Rani said, through tears, 'you know, Sir, those people with money just didn't think we were human beings. They would use most horrible language if I was ever late by a minute. However, I never protested. I thought I owed my life to them, otherwise I would just be without work and starve.'...

"I do not have words to tell you how I felt [when I got my bank loan from the Grameen Bank]. I came back home with the money, a thousand Taka (\$US 36.40).... I had never been able to send my children to school or buy them clothes at the *puja* [village shop]. I could not even arrange for my husband's [medical] treatment. I set out in search of rice...I dried the parboiled rice in four days and got it husked at a rice mill...I made a profit [from the husked rice] of Taka 184 (\$US 6.70). I wept in sheer joy" [This meant Bhagya Rani realized an average of Taka 150 (\$US 5.40) profit each week.]

"I requested Bhagya Rani to tell me something about the difference she had evidently experienced in the condition of life before and after joining the Bank.

"Well Sir, ...before joining the Bank, I just could not think of myself as a human being. What have I not done to manage two bare meals for myself and my family. As I have already mentioned, I was thrown out by my father because my husband could not do

anything. He was forced to ignore his fatal condition [tuberculosis] and beg along the streets of Galachipa for work and trying to get something for the hungry children. I myself went to work at the rice-mill, though I know well enough what nasty things people might say of me. Even then I could not get enough food for my children. I could not think of giving them an education or buying them new clothes. Because I was poor, nobody cared to know what I was living through. But now things have changed. And the change is as a result of the Grameen Bank...We now eat three meals a day. My husband is having the kind of medical treatment tuberculosis calls for. He doesn't have to work. My children are going to school. Before this Bank business, my parents did not bother to enquire after me. Now my neighbors love to come to me and have a chat. I am the chief of my Center....My luck had abandoned me for want of money. Now it has returned to me due to the Grameen Bank."(*Bank Credit for Rural Women*, p. 105-107.)

Sultana - An Interview with A.S.M. Mohiuddin, Branch Manager.

"Sultana was hard working and practical minded right from her childhood. She became a wage income earner from the age of 12...

"Impressed with Sultana's business ability [peddling wares in the village] her uncle Abdur Rahman expressed a desire to bring her into his house as his daughter-in-law. Her father was delighted and at the age of eighteen Sultana married Chand Miah and moved to his village.

"Sultana's mother-in-law had not been too enthusiastic about the marriage. However, Chand Miah gave her a sari, blouse, petticoat, and a nose ring. Her father gave Sultana a pair of gold earrings [and promised to pay Taka 1000 (\$US 36.40) in dowry for his daughter]. Due to his pecuniary condition he could not immediately make the payment. However, after the wedding he paid Taka 400 (\$US 14.58) in two installments.

"Chand Miah worked in a shoe shop. He was not pleased at the fact that his father-in-law had not met his end of the bargain of paying Taka 1,000 (\$US 36.40) as dowry for marrying his daughter. While he could do nothing to the father, Sultana had to bear the brunt of his anger as well as that of her mother-in-law. They insulted her at every opportunity, humiliated her by abusing her father. And often they would beat her mercilessly and afterwards send her to her father's house for the remaining amount of money...

"[The last time] her father accompanied her to explain to his son-in-law. On reentering her husband's house Sultana saw some festivities going on. Realization dawned on her with horror. Chand Miah was getting married again and this time with even a bigger dowry....Her mother-in-law was triumphant. Seeing Sultana and her father in the midst of her festivities she became enraged....this lady refused them entry into the house and told them never to return again. Seeing the commotion Chand Miah also entered the scene. The sight of his wife and the father-in-law was like a red rag to a bull. He pulled Sultana by her hair, dragged her in the mud, beat her mercilessly, and with a final vicious kick...he shouted these dreaded sentences. 'I divorce you,' clearly three times by which any [Muslim] man can dissolve his marriage just like that and proceed on with another marriage...."

Sultana's second marriage was also unfortunate. Her husband was totally idle - the spoiled only son in a family with seven daughters.

She was told about the Grameen Bank by an employer and friend, "Sultana did not take him seriously in the beginning. What could she offer to the Grameen Bank as collateral or

guarantee. A poor, hopeless woman with nothing to her name, with the exception of the clothes she had on her back. What bank would take her seriously?"

Sultana formed a group and was approved for a loan. "The first thing the group was taught was to sign their names....The first time Sultana signed her name on a receipt of the Taka 800.00 (\$US 29.16) loan her hands shook visibly. So much money in her hands was like a tonic for Sultana." She bought \$US 30.00 worth of goods before returning home.

"Early the next morning Sultana set out on her rounds to sell her goods...The profits of the first day truly excited Sultana...[After a week] her profit had been on the average Taka 55.00 (\$US 1.46) every day...Her reputation spread far and wide as she would not sell below standard articles, nor would she ever cheat anyone. Her next task was to set up a small grocery and variety store for her husband...Next to the shop Sultana constructed a tiny house for her family. She was a proud woman..." (*Bank Credit for Rural Women*, p. 120-124.)

The Grameen Bank Project has been imitated worldwide as a successful way to reach the poor and encourage development. The *Prodem* credit program in Bolivia and *Finca* - Foundation for International Community Assistance - are two such projects. The World Bank, United Nations International Fund for Agricultural Development, and the United States Agency for International Development now earmark funds for credit programs for poor people in the Third World.

This is one indication of a change in thinking about foreign aid from a "macro" approach of investing in large-scale industrial projects to investing in "micro" ones that concentrate on small-scale projects for poor individuals. Large scale programs often did not help poor Third World people to improve their standard of living - the "trickle down" effect did not occur. This negative impact of large scale projects was often particularly harmful to women.

Credit is seen as a central way of improving the living standards for the very poor. "Money lenders charge between two and 25 percent interest per day," says Maria Otero, regional director of a credit program in Honduras. "More than anything, this [charging of high interest rates] hampers individual economic growth and perpetuates poverty." (*Christian Science Monitor*, September 30, 1987.)

Barbara Rodey, Executive Director of *Finca*, reported, "We estimate that in Latin America [alone] there are approximately 140 million people living in life-threatening poverty. These are the poorest of the poor...." "We try to guide the money into the hands of women," says *Finca's* director John Hatch. "If the money is available to the wife, she will spend it on rapid-turnover investments like buying and selling vegetables, raising chickens or pigs. She knows what to do with her \$50 [loan]....It's ironic that the woman has traditionally seen herself as a nobody, now, with access to credit, she's empowered." (*Ibid.*)

"We [at *Finca*] believe that when you give somebody something as charity, you lower their self-esteem," says Barbara Rodey, "But when they feel that what they have done has been through their own efforts, it changes their lives."

Particularly for women, direct loans made to them for projects that they devise are critical in raising their feeling of having power over their lives and futures. Dr. Yunus commented that the Grameen Bank Program, "builds up the dignity of human beings while building up a country's economy." (*Ibid.*)

POINTS TO CONSIDER

1. "In most third-world countries more than half the workers belong to the 'informal sector.' These are people who survive, often marginally, through self-employment, outside the economic structures. They are fruit vendors in Cartagena, Colombia; ragpickers in India; basketmakers in Accra, Ghana. In India, for example, a country of 770 million, more than 80 percent of workers are in the informal sector." (Kristin Helmore, *Christian Science Monitor*, September 30, 1987.)

Why do you think small loans particularly benefit these informal sector workers?

Why might women particularly benefit?

2. Look back at the two lists of promises (economic and social) that borrowers make before receiving loans from the Grameen Bank. What criteria would seem to be ones that could be applied in the United States for similar programs for the poor? What ones would seem to apply only for the Third World or would be difficult to implement in the United States?

3. Recently a similar program of making small loans to the poor was begun in the Chicago area. What things might we learn from Third World experiences that could be applied here in the United States?

4. A study of women borrowers who had participated in a government-sponsored program in India of bank loans to poor in the Bombay area showed a wide range of repayment rates. After isolating several variables, the study showed that women who were organized into women's organizations with requirements similar to those of the Grameen Bank had a repayment rate of 90 percent. However, those that were not organized and had only a "social worker" (an intermediary who might be a politician, slum leader, or raw materials supplier) or a state agency called the BCC (Backward Classes Corporation) because their loan agency had a rate of repayment that ranged from a low of 44 percent to a high of 71 percent.

Even accounting for the possibility that the women's organization (Annapurna Mahila Mandal) recruited borrowers with a better chance of carrying out successful enterprises, this study showed the positive effect of the women's organizations in encouraging loan repayment.

(Jana Everett and Mira Savars, "Bank Loans to the Poor in Bombay: Do Women Benefit?," in Barbara Gelpi, et al, eds., *Women and Poverty*, 1985.)

Why do you think that women's organizations or similar groups might be a key to the success of these projects for providing poor women with loans?

EXERCISE 1

"TEACHER QUESTIONS"

When teachers are asked to include new perspectives and materials in existing curriculum and courses, they frequently raise a number of concerns about these changes. When the discussion involves integrating women's history and culture into social studies courses, teachers frequently raise these questions:

1. I have too much to teach already and I need to teach to standardized tests that are important in the evaluation of my teaching and my student's learning. How can I make room for these new materials in my social studies courses?
2. Where do I start? The enormous amount of recent scholarship and new curriculum on women's history and culture is overwhelming.
3. How do I know this new curriculum isn't just a "trendy" new angle but a genuinely needed new perspective?
4. My students are often hostile to new materials and boys particularly don't want to study about girls and women. How do I overcome this hostility?

EXERCISE 2

"TEACHING WOMEN'S HISTORY AND CULTURE IN A GLOBAL SETTING"

A fifth question frequently posed by teachers about incorporating women's history and culture into global education curriculum and courses is:

"How do I teach students to respect and understand other cultures while discussing customs and conditions that have a negative impact on girls and women?"

Women as a class have had less economic and political clout than men in virtually every world area. This lack of power often translates at the family level into an uneven distribution of resources within the family unit. Similarly, from the village to national levels economic and political agendas and policies are usually set by men - and priorities often reflect male perceptions of what is valuable.

A discussion, then, of women's history and culture will inevitably deal with what is unequal or oppressive in a particular society or culture - as well as what is positive, beautiful, and uniquely valuable. How does a teacher find a balance between teaching respect for other cultures and discussing women's concerns?

Teachers must discover their own ways to deal with this difficult question. The following exercise, however, presents two commonly held - but opposing - views of the "proper" way to approach the teaching of global issues - especially controversial ones. Used as a conceptual framework, these two approaches may suggest to teachers ways to balance their curriculum between two opposing positions.

Exercise Two

Participant Instructions:

In a small group discussion complete Problem 1.

Problem 1: Perhaps because women have generally had less political clout than men and are seen as upholding traditional values in many cultures, some customs or actions that affect women in many world areas can be seen as unfair, oppressive, or offensive. A few examples of such customs or actions are:

- Differences between the wages paid to women and men in many countries.
- Rape of women in all world areas.
- Veiling and seclusion of women in the Middle East.
- Female genital mutilation in parts of Africa and the Middle East.
- Restriction of women from jobs and careers in many world areas because of their sex.
- Wife beating and abuse worldwide.
- The "double day" with women working much longer hours than men particularly in the Third World.
- Property rights and other laws that often favor men in many countries.
- Prostitution - including sex tours of men to Third World countries.
- Uneven distribution of resources within the family that favor men and boys.

In a small group discussion first decide which of these issues *should* be included in a discussion of women and contemporary global concerns. What factors influenced your decision about which issues to include? What issues do you feel should be excluded, if any? Justify your answers.

If your group agrees that a particular issue should be included, discuss:

- how you would fit this issue into the global studies curriculum.
- problems that you might encounter, and give suggestions for overcoming these problems.

When your group has finished Problem 1 read HANDOUT 10 and then complete Problem 2.

Problem 2: After reading HANDOUT 10 decide where you feel you fall on the continuum below and why. (What issues you feel should be taught and how these should be taught might influence where you would place yourself philosophically.)

Cultural Relativism

Neo-ethnocentrism

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Share additional small group conclusions in a large group discussion.

In large group discussion compare your small group solutions to Problem 1 and your individual conclusions of your philosophical position as represented by where you placed yourself on the continuum.

HANDOUT 10

"Cultural Relativism vs. Neo-ethnocentrism Two Philosophical Positions on Teaching Global Issues"

The labels given to two approaches to teaching global issues are "cultural relativism" and "neo-ethnocentrism."

Those that advocate a "cultural relativist" approach take the position that, although world cultures are very diverse, they are equally valuable. Therefore, when discussing other cultures, teachers must use extreme caution not to denigrate customs, laws, or attitudes which are different from our own. Aspects of other societies or cultures that might cast them in a bad light should be avoided when teaching world studies.

Those that take an "neo-ethnocentric" approach claim that "Western" (European and North American) culture is superior in most ways to those of socialist and Third World countries. Global education (and foreign policy - including foreign aid) should demonstrate the value and necessity of spreading European and North American culture - particularly democracy and capitalism worldwide.

Cultural Relativism

The "cultural relativist" view developed from the liberal - left tradition of post-colonialism in which the industrialized world began to question the morality and benefits of colonialism. With the formation of the United Nations after World War II there was also a growing appreciation of Third World cultures.

European and North American educators increasingly felt that they should use extreme caution when criticizing the customs, standards, or mores of other cultures, societies, or nations. Cultural relativists strongly support learning about other cultures, but customs that might be perceived negatively by outsiders should be played down, ignored, or only discussed when similar examples from their culture, society, or nation are used. According to this view, people in different times and places do different things, and it is improper for outsiders to make value judgments about these things that others do.

For women's issues, however, taking a cultural relativist approach may mean that critical problems are avoided or ignored. Women as a class have had less public, political power in most world areas. Women have frequently suffered because of asymmetrical laws and customs that restricted their life choices and even physical movement.

Women's work has tended to be more invisible than that of most classes of men - and thus less rewarded. Important topics for women will include aspects of the sexism present in varying degrees in the overwhelming majority of human societies.

Suggested ways to avoid cultural relativism:

1. Discuss with students the distinction between propaganda and analytical scholarship.

Teachers can point out that we in the United States, for example, no longer find it acceptable to teach only positive aspects of our own history and culture. Textbooks that overemphasize the positive and ignore past and present injustices are seen as presenting simplistic views; propaganda rather than history.

In the case of Third World cultures, avoiding all subjects that might be perceived as negative by North American or European standards assumes that other peoples are so powerless that they cannot stand up and argue effectively for things they may feel are uniquely valuable in their own societies. It also assumes that these societies are too fragile

to withstand outside criticism and are unable to change things they come to perceive as damaging. Looked at in this way, such an unbalanced treatment would, in actuality, be a form of ethnocentrism.

2. Emphasize differences *within* societies or cultural areas.

When studying the continent of Africa, individual countries or ethnic groups should be the focus of discussion rather than continued references to "Africa." If the African continent is presented as a complex area with over 40 countries and 1000 ethnic groups, the diversity of customs can be discussed as they differ from group to group. For example, seen from the view of specific ethnic groups, practices such as polygyny or female genital mutilation can be viewed as part of the diversity of African life - some groups may practice these customs while others reject them.

For example:

The Kikuyu of Kenya practiced female genital mutilation while the Luo, their neighbors, did not. President Daniel Moi, a member of the Luo minority, banned the practice of female circumcision in Kenya in 1982 after the reported deaths of 14 girls as a result of genital operations. President Moi declared, "I will not allow children to die when I am the leader of this country." (Quoted in: *WIN News*, Vol. 8, no. 4, p. 34, Autumn 1982.) As a member of a Kenya minority group that did not practice this custom, his declaration banning these practices was a daring political move.

An issue of serious concern in India is the unbalanced sex ratio favoring men. However, although the sex ratio imbalance favoring boys and men (a probable indication of neglect of female infants and babies) is pronounced in areas of North India, South India has approximately the same sex ratio as North American countries and those of Africa.

While footbinding was a custom that severely restricted women in traditional China, various minority groups in China did not practice footbinding for girls.

In India some tribal groups resisted the commonly accepted practice of female child marriage by marrying their girls to objects such as trees, arrows, or wheat paddles - then, at a more suitable age, married them again to a young man.

Cultural areas - or particular societies - are not monolithic. Many are very diverse in their peoples and geography. Customs depend on area, class, and time period. Comparisons and contrasts can be made from within a society. Statistical comparisons can be made *within* a cultural area or country that indicate diversity depending on internal conditions. Historical processes can then be traced that indicate some of the reasons for these differences. Pointing up internal differences provides a way to avoid "us" vs. "them" ethnocentrism while discussing a variety of cultural norms.

3. Cultures and societies change through time.

Few people in the United States would like to reinstate slavery or take the vote away from women. We now are ashamed of conditions such as slavery and the denial of basic political rights to classes of citizens that we tolerated at other times in our national history. But we are proud of reformers who worked to change these practices.

Similarly, reformers - both men and women - in other countries and cultures have worked to eliminate customs they thought were harmful or outdated.

For example:

Emperor Shun-Zhi in the 17th century tried to outlaw footbinding in China by decree. As a Manchu emperor he was seen as an outsider and was unsuccessful; he was afraid to use more forceful measures as these might have incited rebellion. Chinese author Li Ruzhen wrote a famous satire criticizing the custom in about 1800, and the empress-dowager Ci Xi finally outlawed footbinding in China in 1907.

Many reformers in Indian history worked against the practice of widow burning (sati or suttee), child marriage, and the forbidding of widow remarriage. D. K. Karve, a 19th century reformer, set up homes for widows. He and other men married widows at great personal cost - their families or villages often treated them as outcasts. Women like Pandita Ramabai, Muthulakshmi Reddi, and Ramabai Ranade also worked against child marriage, the restrictions on widow remarriage, and for women's education in India.

Latin American women writers faced much criticism and scorn in the late 19th and early 20th century as poets, journalists, and prose writers. They followed in the tradition of the first feminist of the Americas - poet, scientist, and philosopher-nun, Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz. She was eventually silenced by the Roman Catholic Church for her scientific studies and her writings that advocated the equality of the sexes and the need to get rid of the sexual double standard.

Each world area and society has had reformers who were agents of change. These reformers were sometimes aided by outsiders but their accomplishments are as much a part of the history of their society as the conditions that brought about the need for their reforms. This is equally true today. As seen in this unit, women and men throughout the world are working for reforms to improve the living conditions of people in their societies - particularly reforms for women.

4. Sometimes a push from the outside is useful.

Although it may be painful to national honor, outside criticism is not necessarily destructive.

For example:

In 1893 a French aristocrat, the Duc d'Harcourt, visited Egypt and returned home to write a highly critical book of his observations - particularly about the inequality of Egyptian women. Outraged, an Egyptian jurist, Qasim Amin, wrote a rebuttal in French. But in doing so he slowly gained a new view - and six years later he published *The Emancipation of Woman* in which he called for reforms in family and property laws to improve the legal and social position of Egyptian women.

From 1938 to 1942 Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist and sociologist, conducted a study for the Carnegie Foundation entitled, "The American Negro Problem in America." From this study he wrote *The American Dilemma*. This book was a benchmark in the modern Civil Rights movement in the United States. Many people in the United States awoke to the evils of "Jim Crow" and the treatment of Blacks as second-class citizens after seeing these conditions from the view of an outsider.

Neo-ethnocentrism

A "neo-ethnocentric" approach to teaching world studies arose in recent United States history. Ethnocentric views of other cultures and laudatory, super-patriotic United States history texts and teaching are not new. However, a resurgence of ethnocentrism has occurred. This neo-ethnocentrism was a response to "United States bashing" by some Third World countries' representatives in the United Nations, the conservative swing in United States politics and foreign policy, and a revival of patriotism and nationalism in the United States in the post-Vietnam era.

This neo-ethnocentric view declares that the United States is the "City on the Hill" - a model to the world with the duty to impose our values on other societies. In this view the customs, standards, and even "pop" culture of the United States rightfully should be spread throughout the world. European and North American cultures are seen as superior. Taken to the extreme it is a neo-colonialist outlook.

This view assumes that improvements and positive traditions for women have come from the "Western" world. It ignores the many positive role models for women present in the history of other cultures that may not be present in European or North American cultures.

Suggested ways to avoid neo-ethnocentrism:

1. Comparisons between the Third World and the United States (or European) should be made with care.

For example:

Conceptual labels describing the Third World and the industrialized countries such as Western, developed, underdeveloped, primitive, and civilized should be used with great care. For example, is "Western" culture being confused with technology and industrial output? Does our unfamiliarity with other cultures diminish our appreciation of them? Do we confuse military might with superiority in all areas? Does underdeveloped mean industrialized countries' views of what constitutes "development"?

Comparisons between Third World societies and the United States or European cultures generally should favor the other society or culture. This is a matter of good international manners - and does not mean that outsiders cannot criticize other societies or cultures.

Historical comparisons can be useful. Property rights of women in the United States in the 19th century were severely restricted while at a similar time period Islamic states, following Koranic law, provided women with guaranteed property rights of inheritance, upon divorce, and within marriage.

Students may feel less distant from Third World women hauling water if they know that in the 1920s over 50 percent of women in farm states such as Minnesota had to haul water from wells or streams to their homes.
(University of Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin #234, June 1927.)

2. Allow students to have and express their feelings about other people's customs and values - to even feel that customs in other cultures are "weird" or strange. The idea of differences between peoples and cultures can pique the interest of students. After they have expressed their surprise or even disgust they can slowly be introduced to human values, needs, and aspirations that are universal. World history and culture teaches the diversity of the human condition, the complexity of causation, and the fact that customs and values change over time in all cultural areas.

3. United Nations standards and statistics can be used as an internationally accepted guide to issues such as human rights, health issues, and equity. Other international organizations such as the Red Cross or the YWCA provide almost universally accepted standards to guide national human rights and customary practices. The use of these standards avoids "us" vs. "them" divisive comparisons.

For example:

The Declaration of Human Rights was accepted by all the nations that signed the United Nations charter - and each can be held to that standard. As of July 25, 1985, 105 countries, including the United States, have signed the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." The United States has not yet ratified the Convention, but 78 countries have and, therefore, can be held to its provisions.

The World Health Organization, at a 1979 international conference at Khartoum, Sudan, declared that genital mutilation was a dangerous and medically valueless practice.

The presence of United Nations personnel in the United States after World War II helped to end the practice of Jim Crow in the South when delegates from African countries objected to the treatment that they received in public accommodations.

4. Recognize that many of our cultural ideals are not those of other cultures.

The attitude that one's own cultural ideals are superior is the basis of an ethnocentric view. Teachers can use examples presented here to show how our "ideals" are not always shared ones. Repeat the point made about the nuclear family being an ideal in the United States and many other industrialized countries but not necessarily a reflection of reality here - nor an ideal in other cultures. Another example is the industrialized countries' assumption that modernizing is good and beneficial. Modernization, as seen in this unit, has not necessarily been beneficial for Third World people - particularly for Third World women.

The impact of modernization projects on women in the Third World has often been negative. Because women's work contributions were not acknowledged nor their social context not considered, development projects meant to aid Third World people often actually undermined women's economic base. (Refer to HANDOUT 7 for a specific example of a project that was detrimental for women. See also, HANDOUT 6).

HANDOUT 11

RESOURCES AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources of Information About Women's History and Women in Development*

Association for Women in Development
P.O. Box 66133
Washington, D.C. 20035
(202) 833-3380

Canadian International Development Agency
Public Affairs Branch
200 Promenade du Portage
Hull, Quebec KIA 0G4
(819) 997-6100

EPOC: Equity Policy Center
4818 Drummond Avenue
Chevy Chase, MD 20815
(301) 656-4475
c/o Irene Tinker

Global Connections
American Home Economics Association
2010 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-8300

Written to be included in home economics classes, units include slides and print materials on family life, education, clothing, food production, etc. in Africa, Asia, Caribbean, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Harbourfront
417 Queen's Quay West
Suite 500
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5V 1A2

With the National Film Board of Canada they have developed a list of films on the United Nations Decade for Women and women's issues. Catalog available.

*Organizations with instructional materials are annotated.

Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs
Women, Public Policy, and Development Project
Arvonne Fraser, Project Director
301 19th Avenue So.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, MN 55455
(612) 625-2505

Publications include "Forward Looking Strategies" - an abridged version of the document adopted by the United Nations Conference on Women at Nairobi, July 1985. Other useful documents on women's concerns in a global setting. Price lists available - minimal charges.

International Center of Research on Women
1717 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 797-0007
c/o Mayra Buvinic

ILO: International Labour Office
CH-1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland

Washington Branch:
1750 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 374-2315

An ILO brochure features women and development materials. Also available upon request, a free pamphlet "Equal Rights for Working Women."

INSTRAW: International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
Cesar N. Penson 102-A,
P.O. Box 21747
Santo Domingo
Dominican Republic
(809) 685-2111

Focus is on research, training, and information activities to promote the full participation of women in all aspects of development. Newsletter, fliers, and other publications available upon request. Programs include Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

International Tribune Center
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
c/o Ann Walker
(212) 687-8633

Many excellent materials, graphics, posters, post cards, particularly on Third World women. Free catalog available.

ISIS - Women's International Information and Communication Services
Via Santa Maria dell'Anima, 30
00186 Rome, Italy
(tel: 656-5842)

Spanish edition:
ISIS Internacional
Casill 2067
Correo Central
Santiago Chile
(tel: 490-271)

United States address:
ISIS
P.O. Box 25711
Philadelphia, PA 19144

Excellent newsletter and other publications available in Spanish and English.

National Public Radio
Cassette Publishing
2025 M Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Audio cassette "A Global Gathering of Women: The Decade of Women Conference, Nairobi HO-85-09-04, 1/2 hour, \$9.95. Other tapes on women's issues available.

National Women's History Project
P.O. Box 3716
Santa Rosa, CA 95402
c/o Molly MacGregor
(707) 526-5974

Many resources for women's history K-adult. Excellent catalog. Yearly poster for National Women's History Month, March. Emphasis is on United States women's history.

OEF International
Development Education Program
1815 H Street N.W.
11th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 466-3430

Excellent videotape "Seeds of Promise" on Third World women's development projects and print materials available. Write for free brochures.

Office of Women in Development
Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20523

The resource center of the Office of Women in Development (WID) has bibliographies, some articles, and a book list available free of charge.

SEEDS
P.O. Box 3923
Grand Central Station
New York, NY 10163

Booklets available on specific new projects that have had a positive impact on women.

Sisterhood is Global, Robin Morgan, ed., 1984.
Anchor Press/Doubleday
501 Franklin Avenue
Garden City, NY 11530

Country-by-country information on women - very useful.
Available at bookstores - \$12.95.

TABS: Aids for Equal Education
744 Carroll Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215

Many excellent posters particularly for younger students. Catalog available.

United Nations Development Fund for Women
304 East 45th Street, Room 1106
New York, NY 10017
Margaret Snyder, Information Officer
(212) 906-6453

Women Associated for Global Education (WAGE)
c/o The Immaculate Heart College Center
10951 West Pico Blvd. Suite 2021
Los Angeles, CA 90064
(213) 470-2293

A nationwide network of female educators and administrators founded to remedy the lack of emphasis on gender-related issues in global education.
The newsletter of the Immaculate Heart College Center, *Global Pages*, is an excellent resource emphasizing women's issues through the "WAGE PAGE."

WEAL: Women's Equity Action League
1250 I Street N.W.
Suite 305
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 898-1588

WEAL publications are concerned mostly with issues for women in the United States but cover a wide variety of topics that may be useful in cross-cultural comparisons. Catalog available.

WIN News
c/o Fran Hosken
187 Grant Street
Lexington, MA 02173

A journal of excerpts from world newspapers and magazines on women's concerns. Excellent for current issues.

WIRE: Women's International Resource Exchange Service
2700 Broadway, Room 7
New York, N.Y. 10025

Catalog of many useful publications on women worldwide. Reprints of articles and books.

Women: A World Report, Debbie Taylor, ed.
Methuen London Ltd.
11 New Fetter Lane
London EC4P 4EE
England

Women...A World Survey, Ruth Legar Sivaró
World Priorities
Box 25240
Washington, D.C. 20007

Easily reproduced graphs, etc. for classroom use. This publication is included in a kit of materials from the Population Reference Bureau, (see below.)

Women in Development:
A Resource Guide for Organization and Action, 1984.
New Society Publishers
4722 Baltimore
Philadelphia, PA 19143

\$14.95 plus \$1.50 postage.
Very useful, materials, charts, statistics on women in a world context.

Women in World Area Studies and
Women and Development Issues in Three World Areas
c/o The Upper Midwest Women's History Center
6300 Walker Street
St. Louis Park, MN 55416
(612) 925-3632

These programs have developed curriculum materials on the history of women in eight cultural areas and contemporary women and development issues for secondary to adult students. Write for free catalog from Glenhurst Publications at the above address. Brochures and newsletters also available from the Upper Midwest Women's History Center.

Women in the World Atlas, Joni Seager and Ann Olson, Touchstone Book, Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1986.

Excellent source of statistics and charts on women in a geographic setting. Original and pertinent graphics used. Available at book stores for \$12.95.

Women in the World: Annotated History Resources for the Secondary Student, compiled and edited by Lyn Reese and Jean Wilkinson, The Scoville Press, Inc., Methuchen, NJ, 1987. Available from Glenhurst Publications, 6300 Walker Street, St. Louis Park, MN 55416.

An important new book of sources - well annotated, publishers listed - useful and appropriate. \$19.50 prepaid postage included.

Women of the World: A Chartbook for Developing Regions.
United States Agency for International Development
Office of Women in Development
From: Superintendent of Documents
United States Government Printing Office
Washington, D.C. 20037

"The World's Women: A Profile"
Population Reference Bureau, Inc.
2213 M Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 639-8040

Wall chart on women worldwide. Kit of materials on women also available - includes *Women...A World Survey* listed above.

The Arno Peters projection of the world map shows world areas and countries according to their actual size and does not favor the northern hemisphere. The map is produced with support from the United Nations Development Programme and is available from:

Friendship Press New York
Order from:
P.O.Box 37844
Cincinnati, Ohio 45237 ISBN 0-377-73009-0

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HANDOUT 12

GLOSSARY

Agricultural laborer

A person who works on another person's land for wages and is not involved in supervision of other laborers or decisions about crops.

Agronomy

The science of soil management and production of field crops; scientific agriculture.

Appropriate technology

The recognition that much of modern technology does not benefit the greatest number of needy people in the Third World has led to discussions of "appropriate technology." Traditional technologies have not always produced the agricultural surpluses needed for population increases. Modern technology may require skills and money to use and maintain this same technology that are not available in the Third World. Intermediate or appropriate technologies - those between complex and traditional - should improve productivity but, at the same time, their introduction should not contribute to unemployment since labor is a plentiful resource in the Third World. Specific questions for women must be asked of any new technology: Will it add to women's work burdens? Will women have access to the new technology? Will women be consulted about its adoption? (Adapted from: Sue Ellen Charlton, *Women in Third World Development*, 1984, p. 85.)

Basic Needs Approach (or Basic Human Needs.)

Advocated by Mahbub ul Haq of the World Bank and publicly debated at the ILO (International Labor Office) World Employment conference in 1976, this is one approach to development in the Third World. Basic needs are defined as: food specified in terms of calories and specific to age, sex occupation; potable water reasonably close to people's homes; clothing and shelter adequate to the locality; medical care including preventive medicine, sanitation, health services, nutrition, family planning; education; participation in decision making; and human rights. BNA advocates claim that large-scale development projects have failed to reach the poor and, instead, the aim of development should be fulfilling the basic needs of all human beings. (See, James Weaver and Kenneth Jameson, *Economic Development: Competing Paradigms*, 1981.)

Brideprice (or bride wealth)

Money or goods paid to the bride's family by the groom's at the time of the wedding or soon afterward. Often the exchange takes place between the bride's father and the groom's father.

Consensual unions

Ones in which an adult man and woman live together and/or have children together but their relationship is not officially sanctioned by the church or state.

Cultivators

Agricultural laborers who work on land that they own or lease.

Cultural Relativism

A view that discourages the criticism of other cultures as ethnocentric. Cultural relativists believe that it is improper for outsiders to judge another culture's mores, standards, or customs.

Cultural Universals

The activities of all human cultures can be divided roughly into six "cultural universals." All human societies include activities in these six areas. Generally these six areas are labeled: education, politics, economics, social arrangements, art, and religion.

Development

Economic Development: Changes which include increased industrialization, using technological advances, and increased national product.

Social Development: Changes which involve widespread distribution of income and "social goods" such as education, health services, adequate housing, recreation facilities, and participation in political decision making among the population.

Cultural Development: Reaffirmation of national identity and traditions; a new and positive self-image and the dispelling of second-rate feelings and external subordination. (Adapted from Alejandro Portes, "On the Sociology of National Development: Theories and Issues," *American Journal of Sociology*, July 1976, p. 56.)

Double day (double duty)

The entrenched division of labor by sex that views women as being in charge of children and the home even when they work full or part time at subsistence or wage labor jobs. This view has often led to women working far longer hours than men with little leisure time available to them.

Dowry

Payment in money, goods, or land to the groom or groom's family by the bride's family.

Ethnocentrism

A belief in the inherent superiority of one's own culture or group with contempt for other cultures and a tendency to view other groups in one's own terms.

Food cycle

A number of activities concerning the growing of food: planting, weeding, harvesting, storing, transporting, delivering, preparing, and consuming. Food consumption determines nutrition and affects participation in the cycle. Women's labor in the food cycle has often been invisible when compared to that of men. (Adapted from Charlton, *Women in Third World Development*, p. 61.)

Formal sector

That part of the economy that is counted in the gross national product, it involves paid wages or returns from investments, and is regulated by labor and business laws. In many Third World areas the formal sector accounts for less than half of those that are "economically active."

First World

The First World refers to industrialized countries of the West - Europe and North America. (See also: Third World)

Gender

Refers to social experience (while sex is a biological basis for distinction).

"A perspective that is sensitive to gender not only focuses on the categories of men and women, but examines the origins and implications of the relationships between them. It demonstrates how socialization creates gender distinctions and reveals inequities that stem from patriarchal social organization." (Janice Monk and Jane Williamson-Fien, "Stereoscopic Visions: Perspectives on Gender - Challenges for the Geography Classroom" in, *Teaching Geography for a Better World*, Brisbane, Australia: Australian Geography Teacher's Association and the Jacaranda Press, 1986, 188.)

Green Revolution

The term for agricultural developments such as the more efficient use of fertilizer and water and the introduction of HYV (high-yield crop varieties) of grains - particularly wheat and rice - into the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia in the 1960s. Norman Borlaug, the agronomist who developed these seed varieties, received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1970 for his work which was hailed as indicating the possible end of hunger in many parts of the Third World. Unforeseen results, however, have occurred since. Generally the larger landowners were able to take advantage of these innovations because the high cost of inputs (seed, fertilizers, machinery) allowed them to borrow the money needed and use these technologies the most efficiently. In general, for women, the Green Revolution has meant the loss of traditional farming roles and, because of the loss of family farms, poorer women have become agricultural laborers rather than cultivators.

Gross national product

The total monetary value of all final goods and services produced in a country during one year. GNP is "widely used as an indicator of development. Usually it only includes productive activities in the 'modern,' money economy - an overwhelmingly male environment - excludes production and services provided by women in the home and in the so-called "traditional" and "informal" economies." (Monk and Williamson-Fien, "Stereoscopic Visions," p. 194.)

Informal sector

Involves activities outside of the formal economy (as defined above) such as trading done by street vendors, selling of home-made food products, subsistence farming, home craft production, flower selling, and other activities generally not enumerated in national statistics and not counted in the gross national product (GNP).

Integry

Making whole - a condition of organizing members of a community into an integrated group. (For further explanation and origin see Part III- HANDOUT 4).

Jat

A group of Indo-Aryan peoples who live in northwestern India.

Korta

Male head of household in Bangladesh; master. (See filmstrip /video " Women and the Family in Three World Areas," Part II)

Machismo

A cultural ideal common in Latin America. A masculine code where men are to be personally brave, protective of family (especially women), able to operate effectively in the outside world, and are usually quick to take insult.

Marianismo

A cultural ideal common in Latin America. A feminine code where women are to be religious and pious, focused on family, secluded at home, and the moral force of their families.

Natal family

The family of one's birth.

Patriarchy

See Page 41 for an exercise on defining "patriarchy."

Historian Linda Gordon recently described "patriarchy" as follows:

"I find particularly ahistorical the use of the term 'patriarchy' to mean a universal, unchanging, deterministic social structure which denies agency to women. I prefer to use the term ... in a narrower sense, referring to a form of male dominance in which fathers control families and families are the units of social and economic power." For this manual, the latter definition describes our use of the term patriarchy.

(from Linda Gordon. *Heroes of Their own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence*. New York: Viking, 1988. p. vi.)

Polity

A form of government or the condition of being organized as a state or organized community.

Polyandry

The practice of having more than one husband at a time.

Polygamy

Having several spouses at the same time.

Polygyny

The practice of having more than one wife at a time.

Poverty

People who share the common characteristics of low income, poor health and nutrition, and lack of basic needs. (Thomas Merrick and Marianne Schmink, "Households Headed by Women and Urban Poverty in Brazil," in Mayra Buvinic, et al, *Women and Poverty in the Third World*, 1983, p. 244.)

Production

See Part III, HANDOUT 4.

Purdah (or Parda)

Comes from the Persian word meaning curtain. It refers to the seclusion, especially of Muslim and Hindu women, by covering them with veils in public, restricting them to a harem, zenana, or women's quarter in the home, and by generally discouraging contact between the sexes except for close family members.

Reproduction

See Part III, HANDOUT 4.

Seclusion

In the Middle East, South Asia, and parts of sub-Saharan Africa this, refers to the custom of severely restricting the physical movements of women to home or, when in public, women are veiled or in covered vehicles. Also a practice of certain classes in traditional China and periods of Russian and Latin American history.

Second World

Refers to the communist or socialist countries, particularly the USSR and China. (See also, Third World).

Sita

Is a hero of the Hindu epic poem, the Ramayana, dating from ca. 500 B.C. Married to Rama the male hero, Sita was captured by the demon-king Ravana and taken to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Finally freed, Rama fears she has had sexual relations with Ravana. Although she successfully undergoes an ordeal by fire to prove her innocence, Rama sends her away to the forest. There she bears his twin sons, raises them to be brave and good, and is eventually welcomed back by Rama. Self-sacrifice, faithfulness, long-suffering, uncomplaining (even when unjustly treated), and sexual purity are Sita's qualities that are considered to be an Indian ideal for women.

Status Enhancement

Sec Part III, HANDOUT 4.

Supermadre

The "supermadre" model was described by political scientist Elsa Chaney as a woman politician who stresses her motherly concern for her constituents. She does not confront the male world by trying to fit into it. Instead, she carries her domestic role further into the outer world of politics. (Elsa Chaney, *Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America!*, 1979, p. 22.)

Third World

A movement in the 1950s among nations who increasingly refused to align themselves with either of the superpowers (United States or the USSR) "Originally, the term 'Third World' characterized those countries that eschewed alignment with either the First World of the West or the Second World of the East. Although the term now has an economic meaning as well, the idea of the Third World is still most accurately described as a political concept." (Quoted from Sue Ellen Charlton, *Women in the Third World*, p. 13, as she adapted it from Wayne Clegern, "What is the Third World? *Technos*, Vol. 8 (January-December 1980.) The term Third World is used here in preference to terms such as "underdeveloped" or "developing" world as being a label chosen by people in these world areas.

Trickle down (or Oil stain)

A theory of development that proposed that prosperity in one sector of the economy or among one class would eventually spread to other people and groups and that the general population would eventually benefit.

Trickle up

A theory that "small is beautiful" in development projects. This theory claims that small projects and loans at the individual, family, or village level that improve ordinary people's lives are more effective in overcoming poverty in the Third World than large scale projects to modernize the general economy.

Tube well water

Safe drinking water from wells dug in Bangladesh villages rather than water in surface creeks or ponds. As the water must be brought from the well, it may be less convenient - thus the Grameen Bank requires its use to encourage safe drinking water for villagers.

Unorganized sector

Refers to the large sector of economic activity which does not lie within labor legislation and is, therefore, not counted in labor statistics. Comparable to "informal" but may mean a widespread condition such as in India where perhaps 80 percent of all work takes place in the "unorganized sector."

Use value

Products made within the family that are not assigned a monetary value or sold but have economic value because they are consumed within the family unit.

STATISTICS

(Cut and paste the countries and questions on the front of an 8 x 5 index card. On the flip side paste the statistics that belong with that country.)

BANGLADESH

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Bangladesh as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - BANGLADESH (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 87 percent
Male - 63 percent

4. Rural population:
88 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$150 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 46.1 years
Male - 47.1 years

3. Industrialization:
11 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 107,100,000

BOLIVIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Bolivia as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - BOLIVIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 49 percent
Male - 24 percent

4. Rural population:
67 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income
\$400 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 50.9
Male - 46.5

3. Industrialization:
19 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 6,500,000

BURKINA FASO

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Burkina Faso as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - BURKINA FASO (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 97 percent
Male - 85 percent

4. Rural population:
91 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$160 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 41.5
Male - 38.5

3. Industrialization:
No labor force statistics for industry listed
91 percent of labor force in agriculture

Total population: 7,300,000

HONDURAS

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.

2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Honduras as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - HONDURAS (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 45 percent
Male - 41 percent

4. Rural population:
64 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 51 and 100 per one thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$815 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 58.9
Male - 55.4

3. Industrialization:
14 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 4,700,000

INDIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify India as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - INDIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 81 percent
Male - 52 percent

4. Rural population:
78 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$240 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 50
Male - 51.2

3. Industrialization:
Estimated 12 percent of labor force in industry*

Total population: 800,300,000

NIGERIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Nigeria as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

* According to the 1981 Indian census, out of a population of 685,000,000 at that time, only 12,900,000 people worked in the formal sector. Therefore, 12 percent industrial laborers is probably an overestimation.

STATISTICS - NIGERIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 77 percent
Male - 55 percent

4. Rural population:
80 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Above 100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$790 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 48.1
Male - 44.9

3. Industrialization:
10 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 108,600,000

SRI LANKA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Sri Lanka as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - SRI LANKA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 19 percent
Male - 9 percent

4. Rural population:
73 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 26 and 50 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$320 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 66.5
Male - 63.5

3. Industrialization:
15 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 16,300,000

TANZANIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card would you classify Tanzania as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - TANZANIA (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 30 percent
Male - 22 percent

4. Rural population:
88 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 51-100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$210 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 50.7
Male - 47.3

3. Industrialization:
Statistics on labor force in industry not available
90 percent of the labor force is in agriculture

Total population: 23,500,000

URUGUAY

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.
3. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Uruguay as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - URUGUAY (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 6 percent
Male - 7 percent

4. Rural population:
16 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 26-50 per thousand live births.

5. GNP per capita income:
\$2,491 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 73
Male - 66.4

3. Industrialization:
29 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 3,100,000

ZAMBIA

1. List things your group notices about the statistics given on the back of this card; speculate about what these statistics indicate regarding this country.

2. After looking over the statistics on the back of this card, would you classify Zambia as a Third World country? Give reasons for your answers.

STATISTICS - Zambia (Flip side of the card)

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 42 percent
Male - 21 percent

4. Rural population:
62 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 51-100 per thousand live births

5. GNP per capita income:
\$397 per citizen per year

Life expectancy:
Female - 51
Male - 47.7

3. Industrialization:
15 percent of the labor force in industry

Total population: 7,100,000

SELECTED INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES Standards for Comparison

This chart presents the data for four industrialized, non-Third World countries. Two of these countries were selected as representing industrialized capitalist countries; two from industrialized socialist countries. These statistics for non-Third World countries are meant to suggest standards for analysis as you make your decisions about the country or countries you have been asked to classify as Third World or non-Third World.

The United States:

1. Illiteracy rates:

Female - less than one percent

Male - less than one percent

(Recent figures measuring functional illiteracy are as high as 10 percent.)

2. Infant mortality rate:

25 or under per thousand live births

Life expectancy:

Females - 77.2

Males - 69.4

3. Industrialization:

97 percent of labor force in non-agricultural areas

4. Rural population :

23 percent; 2.7 percent of labor force in agriculture

5. GNP per capita income:

\$14,461 per citizen per year

Total population: 243,800,000

Italy:

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - 7 percent
Male - 5 percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
25 or under per thousand live births

Life expectancy:
Female - 76.9
Male - 70.4

3. Industrialization:
38 percent of the labor force in industry

4. Rural population:
30 percent

5. GNP per capita income:
\$7,151 per citizen per year

Total population: 57,400,000

USSR - The Soviet Union:

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - less than one percent
Male - less than one percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
Between 26 and 50 per thousand live births

Life expectancy:
Female - 74.3
Male - 65

3. Industrialization:
78 percent of the labor force in industry*

4. Rural population:
Statistics not available on numbers living in rural areas
22 percent of the population in agriculture (*Information Please*)

5. GNP per capita income:
\$7,806 per citizen per year

Total population: 284,000,000

*The 1988 *Information Please* states that the labor force in industry for the USSR is 42 percent. However, almanacs from 1985-1987 give 78 percent as the figure. The 1988 figure (when compared to other sources) appears to be an error.

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Hungary:

1. Illiteracy rates:
Female - two percent
Male - one percent

2. Infant mortality rate:
25 or under per thousand live births

Life expectancy:
Female - 73.3
Male - 66.7

3. Industrialization:
32 percent of the labor force in industry

4. Rural population:
46 percent

5. GNP per capita income:
\$7,200 per citizen per year

Total population: 10,600,000

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