

PN-AAT-049

12/11/88

THE DUAL OPPRESSION:  
TO BE POOR AND ALSO A WOMAN\*

Margaret Varma, Ph.D.  
Assistant Professor

Cook College, Rutgers University  
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

IAFP Working Paper Series Publication No. 5 (1985).

\*Presented at the Second International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women--  
held in Groningen, the Netherlands, April 17-21, 1984.

Rutgers University/Cook College  
INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD PROGRAM WORKING PAPERS

Objectives

These working papers are intended to stimulate interest in internationally relevant research, make international work at Rutgers more immediately visible, promote new professional linkages and collaboration, and provide interested faculty with a vehicle for obtaining timely comments on work which is nearing completion.

Scope

Submitted papers should include research and technical work that are in a preliminary state. Analytical, empirical, and scholarly papers will receive highest priority. The series is intended to be multidisciplinary and will include any subject of international relevance.

Format

Single spaced submissions of 10 pages or less will be preferred. Style may follow that of any professional journal. Authors are required to submit an abstract not exceeding 100 lines.

Editing

Authors will be responsible for the grammatical quality of the manuscript and abstract. Papers will be reviewed by the IAFP faculty, but reproduced largely as submitted.

Distribution

Individual papers will be distributed as they are received, together with a list of titles of other papers in the series. This will facilitate quick feedback to authors, while giving readers an overview of current work. Papers will be sent to approximately 200 individuals and institutions, including all Cook College department chairs, all international agricultural program directors in U.S. universities, AID and BIFAD, multilateral banks, USDA, and the international agricultural research centers. Authors may designate other recipients.

Costs

Reproduction and distribution costs will be assumed by the International Agricultural and Food Program.

Further Information

Contact Dr. G. William Wolfe, Department of Entomology and Economic Zoology, Cook College. Phone: 201-932-9459

PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS  
Working Paper Series  
International Agricultural and Food Program  
Cook College

1. Gallagher, P. 1983. Workshop on Irrigation and human welfare: Integrated management of water resources session notes.
2. Whelan, W.P. 1983. The nutritional component of farming systems research.
3. Krainacker, D. A. 1984. Some aspects of the functional response of Edovum puttleri (Hymenoptera: Eulophidae), an egg parasitoid of the Colorado potato beetle Leptinotarsa decemlineata (Coleoptera: Chrysomelidae).
4. Small, Leslie E. 1984. Irrigation and human welfare; a workshop report.
5. Varma, Margaret. 1985. The dual oppression: to be poor and also a woman.
6. Sawyer, R. L. 1985. Changing roles in world agriculture.
7. Nickel, John L. 1985. Low input, environmentally-sensitive technologies for agriculture.
8. Havener, Robert D. 1985. Is the green revolution still green?

## THE DUAL OPPRESSION: TO BE POOR AND ALSO A WOMAN

### Abstract:

A consciousness-raising field research presentation on Women of the Fourth World\* - people in society who are not only poor, but who are caught in a cycle of poverty which in many cases has existed for several generations--deprived not only of material well-being but of the cultural opportunities and the needed environment to develop even the simplest skills for coping with the challenges of daily life--excluded from social changes, bearing the burden of all the inequality and deprivation of the social system, and generally isolated geographically, culturally and economically.

Presently, several million young girls and women in the Western world suffer the dual oppression of being women and, at the same time, being part of the Fourth World. Women of the Fourth World are the touchstone of the struggle of all women for equal, free and total participation in the life of their countries. It seems obvious that as long as the poorest women remain without hope of escaping the cycle of poverty, no other women's achievements could be secure. The condition of Fourth World Women also brings into focus the ignorance and injustice which exists among women and within the struggle for women's rights.

---

\*(term initiated by the International Movement ATD [Aide a toute detresse] Fourth World in 1961 to indicate the urban and rural populations totally excluded at the bottom of the social scale in all countries whatever their social structure).

11

This paper deals with women and poverty, and particularly, with women in extreme poverty and exclusion--women of the fourth world. The term "Fourth World" was initiated by Joseph Wresinski, the founder of the International Movement ATD (aide a Toute Detresse) Fourth World to indicate the urban and rural populations, totally excluded, at the bottom of the social scale in all countries, whatever their social structure.

The International Movement originated almost 35 years ago in the shanty town of Noisy-le-Grand on the outskirts of Paris, when several families, social scientists and social workers assembled for their first forum to share and discuss the extreme poverty and isolation in which some of them were living. The heart-rending narratives of their many deprivations--lack of food, shelter and clothing, resulted in the launching of the Movement, primarily to defend human rights for all human beings and to restore to the extremely poor and excluded people, their chances of living free and responsible lives.

The International Movement ATD Fourth World's main goal is to help reduce and eventually eliminate this extreme form of poverty and exclusion, which does not allow individuals to enjoy the tangible and intangible benefits that a society shares among its members. This form of total exclusion, ignored by public opinion and not yet properly explained by historians nor social scientists, represents, in fact, the hidden face of all industrial societies--a hidden face never taken into account in the functioning of our democracies, nor developed or improved upon, for inclusion in new currents of thought and action.

The poorest poor are by no means a small minority of the world's total population--nor are the poorest poor exclusive to the least developed countries. They make up 40 per cent of the two and a quarter billion individuals living in developing countries. They are neither able to contribute to the nation's economic growth nor to share equitably in its economic progress. While the developing countries may have shown economic growth over the years, the benefits do not reach the poorest poor, thereby worsening their condition in relation to other social groups. And of these poor, a great majority are women.

Poverty has a variety of definitions. For the women of the Fourth World, poverty means migrating from place to place in search of work; it means separation of families, it means complete lack of amenities--contaminated water, inadequate sanitation, malnutrition, and lack of health and social services; it means mealtimes without food, sleep without a place to sleep, and abuse without recourse. Extreme poverty saps their health, constricts their world, and often affects their ability to learn. Poverty also brings exclusion by classmates when in school, by employers when looking for work, by landlords when in search of housing. Employed intermittently, if at all, they find their lives governed by policies and institutions in which they have no voice and are not represented. This cycle of dependence forces the same condition on their children.

Women of the Fourth World are those people in society who are not only poor, but who are caught in a cycle of poverty which, in many cases, has

existed for several generations. They are deprived not only of material well-being, but of the cultural opportunities and the needed environment, to develop even the simplest skills, for coping with the challenges of daily life. They are excluded from social changes and they bear the burden of all the inequalities of the social system. The Fourth World Movement is based on the premise that extreme poverty when it leads to social exclusion is the first violation of human rights, and on the belief that no real progress towards justice is possible unless the rights and dignity of the poorest poor are respected. The International Movement is a movement of solidarity with the Fourth World. It is engaged in a fight against the exclusion of the most disadvantaged and it aims to build a society based on giving priority to the poor and the excluded.

It was at the Conference of the International Women's Year held in Mexico City in 1975 that the Fourth World Movement succeeded for the first time in having a direct impact on the work of a world conference. Then in May 1980 at the Mid-Decade Conference on Women held in Copenhagen, the following resolution on Women living in Conditions of Extreme Poverty was adopted:

(Res.A/Conf.94/C.1/D27)

The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace.

Considering that extreme poverty makes it impossible for the individual to enjoy the fundamental human rights and results in cultural, social and political exclusion,

Considering also that in many regions of the world, in developing and developed countries, the poverty of some sections of the population has worsened during the first half of the Decade for Women, depriving the women of all means of personal and communal development; this impoverishment is due mainly to the consequences of colonialism and neo-colonialism, inequitable international relations and the aftermath of uncontrolled industrialization and urbanization,

Recognizing that humanity is thereby denied the collaboration of millions of women capable of making a unique and vital contribution to development,

Believing that all national and international institutions and public opinion should be kept informed of the participation of the poorest women and circumstances which continue to exclude them,

1. Urgently appeals to all women and men to concern themselves primarily with the rights of women who, with their families, still live in intolerable conditions of poverty, and to all Governments to study and eliminate the socio-economic causes of their poverty;
2. Urges women to take more action in support of the efforts made by the poorest women in pursuit of their aspirations and interests and their right to a voice and participation in public affairs, to social progress, to development and to the enjoyment of world peace;

3. Appeals to all Governments to try to associate all under-privileged social groups still living in intolerable poverty with development efforts and to promote social justice through equal opportunity and equitable income distribution;
4. Urges Governments, governmental and non-governmental organizations, the United Nations and its specialized agencies to ensure as a matter of priority that all development programmes and projects allow for the needs of the poorest women, in other words, that such programmes and projects are designed with a view to eliminating that poverty;
5. Recommends that all State Members of the United Nations submit every five years to the Commission on the Status of Women as an item in its programme a detailed report on major socio-economic policies and programmes concerning the status of women and the results achieved, with particular emphasis on the progress made with regard to the poorest women.

This Resolution, prepared by the Fourth World Movement, was an urgent call to the United Nations, governments and women's organizations to give priority to the needs of the poorest women. It pointed out that the plight of the poorest women rather than improving had worsened, and that society was thereby denied a productive contribution from millions of women. The resolution in general, urged governments and institutions and in particular, all women from all countries of the world, of all social backgrounds, to support the efforts of the poorest among them, in their struggle for participation in public life and in social progress. The Resolution was ratified by the United Nations General Assembly in October 1980.

Also in that same year, when Pope John Paul II was visiting France, a woman and a man of the Fourth World greeted him thus: "We are proud to greet you in the name of the families of the Fourth World. On their behalf we tell you that we are confident that this meeting can change the lives of our children. We don't want them to know the deep poverty we have known. It would be a great honor for us if you would agree to receive a group of children of the Fourth World. They are so often made to feel ashamed, and this would make them proud. It would show them they are loved." John Paul II fulfilled his promise in July 1982 when he received a delegation of 54 young people of the Fourth World Movement; young women and men living in abject poverty from fourteen countries of North America, Central America, Africa, Asia and Europe. What they all had in common was their heritage of extreme poverty and their history of social exclusion. Together with young supporters and volunteers of the Movement, four of whom were from the United States, they presented John Paul II with albums that described their struggles and expressed the hope of the young people living in extreme poverty and exclusion.

For many years the International Movement ATD Fourth World has had close working relations with several international and United Nations organizations, UNESCO, UNICEF and ILO. In 1981 the Movement was granted advanced consultative status as a non-governmental organization (NGO) by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, in recognition of its work, both science and service.

During 1981-82 a Human Rights campaign was launched by the International Movement. Hundreds of interviews were conducted and fact sheets were filled out in Europe and North America by families whose history continued to be one of poverty from generation to generation. The Movement's recent publication, "The Fourth World Speaks" contains authentic information compiled from those interviews and fact sheets. For over twenty-five years, permanent volunteers of the Movement have been a witness to the extreme poverty of Fourth World families, and their struggle for the recognition of their human dignity. This is in fact, the main purpose of the International Movement (ATD) Fourth World.

The problems of poor women and poor children are very inseparably intertwined. Children of the Fourth World exist in millions and millions. There are Fourth World children everywhere--in India, in the U.S. and throughout the world. Their parents love them, but because of their own difficulties, they cannot provide them with secure homes. So they grow up, at the foot of the social scale, in constant insecurity and ill-health. They attend school malnourished, anxious, frightened and because they do not learn as quickly as the others, they return home very humiliated. Let me share with you this true story from New York City. Ten-year old Tina loved her mother dearly. Nothing else she enjoyed more than a wonderful feeling of being wanted. Suddenly, one day, her mother had to be taken to the hospital with a severe attack of asthma. Tina went through the horrifying experience of hospital corridors, patients being whisked away on stretcher. That evening the last she saw of her mother was her being taken to the Emergency Room gasping for breath. The hours that evening seemed endless for Tina and a desperate feeling of helplessness engulfed her. At school the next day, the teacher punished and humiliated her for being inattentive. Her classmates, who did not have much in common with Tina to start with, excluded her from their play, teased her for her lack of concentration in class and called her names. Little did they know of her responsibilities. In school Tina was a misfit. She longed to be home with her mother where she was "someone".

James Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF and former president of the Overseas Development Council in his report entitled, "The State of the World's Children" places before us compelling, factual realities. Grant states that it takes caring sensitivity to get involved, to try to find out more, and to strive to do something to alleviate the sufferings of women--mothers, who are compelled to witness their newborn die, or their infants starve, or their children fail at school, due to the lack of the basic necessities of life. By attending to the fundamental needs of these Fourth World children, we would be alleviating the troubles and sufferings of Fourth World women, for as stated by Dr. Halfdan Mahler of the World Health Organization, the quality of life for the child begins with the quality of life of the mother. (UNICEF report "The Situation of Children in the Developing World"--a report for UNICEF at the conclusion of the International Year of the Child).

John Spargo, author of The Bitter Cry of Children stated in 1906 that "poverty (the poverty of civilized man) which is everywhere coexistent with unbounded wealth and luxury, is always ugly, repellent, and terrible, either to see or to experience; but when it assails the cradle, it assumes its most hideous form." Without any doubt, no human being would wish such

hardships on a child and even more so, the mothers of these children--for the most destructive aspect of poverty for a woman is not, the daily hardships, the compounding risks of death, disease and family crises being experienced by her children, but the stark reality that she has no power to ensure that her children's lives will be any different from her own--that her hopes and dreams may never be realized.

At the very inception of the Carnegie Council on Children, when the members were struggling to define their agenda, they decided to give top priority to stop the hurting of America's children, and immediately set out to identify the causes. Their findings: "Virtually every index of harm to children, from death at birth to poor school performance, from malnutrition to low self-esteem, was firmly associated with poverty..." (de Leon, 1979). The Council also found that although for more than a century, the American people have tried repeatedly to reduce the inequalities that adversely affect millions of children, virtually no progress has been made in that direction. And, all aspects of inequality, directly or indirectly, affect children in painful, damaging ways. It has been statistically confirmed that unemployment correlates strongly with mental illness, family breakup, and child abuse, and that when life becomes burdensome and meaningless, even parents who have a dogged determination to hold their families together and bring up their children with love, affection, and encouragement, unconsciously convey their feelings of helplessness and worthlessness to their children. It is obvious that just making incomes more equal would not eliminate personal, social and emotional problems, but it certainly would help to alleviate and/or eliminate those sufferings that result due to lack of money. The sufferings of such individuals are substantial, and they definitely affect their children.

According to de Leon (1979) if one is on the wrong end of the bell-shaped curve, growing up "unequal" has two kinds of effects. First, there are hardships and hazards, the results and injuries of poverty, which are self-evident and have been well documented for years. They start in the womb and continue through infancy: the chances of death in the first year (and every subsequent year) are much higher for poor children. The prevalence of poor health, poor and inadequate nutrition, and slower physical development also can cause health problems in later life. Poverty is strongly associated with mental retardation: some 90 percent of children labelled marginally retarded come from poor families but have no known organic brain damage. Second, while there is evidence to suggest that there are some significant improvements in poor children's health, as a result of federal health programs (poor children see doctors nearly as often as more affluent children, for example) the fact remains that their health is much worse. A study of 1,178 children receiving Medicaid in Mississippi showed that collectively, they had 1,301 major health problems, ranging from cavities and anemia to poor eyesight, untreated cardiac anomalies, and parasites. In a low-income community in Los Angeles, children had four times as much amebic dysentery as the national average, twice as much measles, mumps, and tuberculosis, and 1.4 times as much hepatitis. In Nashville, Tennessee, a study of 1,266 poor families showed that 97 percent of these children had serious health problems, yet only 13 percent of those with diagnosed medical problems were receiving proper treatment, as were only 10 percent of those with diagnosed dental problems. Another study in Rochester, New York, found that the impact of Medicaid there on the

serious health problems of poor children was, at best negligible.

While poor children are scattered through every community in America, they are more often and in greater numbers concentrated in central cities, living in dilapidated, hazardous housing, where crime rates are high, social pathology such as drug abuse is endemic, and the services provided by government from police protection to education are of questionable quality.

Kenneth Keniston (1977) in "All Our Children" while detailing facts and figures in regard to poor children, emphasizes that the harm done to them is cumulative, becoming more severe as the children grow and develop, since missed chances can seldom be made up. Inadequate prenatal care for pregnant women increases the chances that their children will be born premature, disabled, sickly or dead. For the strong ones who survive this disadvantage, early malnutrition decreases the hope for robust physical vigor. Poor living conditions increase the chance of illness, and inadequate health care allows minor illnesses to escalate into permanent handicaps.

[As an early childhood educator, I am very aware that poverty has many unexpected consequences for the health growth and development of young children, and feel convinced that every human being must accept responsibility for child advocacy with action regarding all children and their families if the cycle of extreme poverty is to be broken.]

It is an undeniable fact, that innumerable girls and women suffer the dual oppression of being women and also being poor. It is only while an infant, perhaps a toddler, that a female member of the fourth world is a child. Thereafter she is a woman, for she gets to know too much about life too soon. All the trials and turmoils, the defeats and distresses, the fears and frustrations of her parents are hers as well. They are unable to urge her to go either to school or to work, for they need her at home to care for the younger children. Her only hope of escape is to get married. It is this hope that pushes her into marriage, at a very tender age, and generally to a young man from her own milieu, whose experiences are similar. The first baby arrives when she is barely fifteen or sixteen years old, sometimes even younger. Before long, the deprivations of life, lack of family planning, inadequate prenatal care, and lack of even minimal access to general information for emotional well-being, combine to break up their marriage.

As a result, either she or her husband abandons the home, sometimes with the same hope that inspired their union, to escape misery. There is, however, no escape.

Many women of the Fourth World serve as heads of households. They are left to feed, clothe, shelter and guide their children without ever having been prepared for these tasks or having the means to do so. Their efforts to fulfill the role of wife and mother are often misunderstood and may even be harmful. For example, a mother of the Fourth World who does not send her children to school may hide them from the visiting social worker for fear they they may be taken away from her. In this case she would be judged guilty for her natural desire to keep her family together. Similarly, a woman who wants to continue a love relationship with her man, can be accused of irresponsible behavior as is manifested in this outburst by Eileen: "The social

services told me it would be better that my husband get a furnished room and live alone when he got out of prison. I said no, he's my husband and I want to live with him. Why do you think I go every visiting day to see him?" (Duquesne, 1983)

Deep, inner feelings of Fourth World women are seldom understood, and often remain unheeded. Let us turn our attention to Joanne (20) who lives in a New York slum with her mother, a brother (19) and another youngster (17). She has two children, one is living with her, the other in a foster home. Occasionally, two more children of an equally badly housed sister also move into the tiny apartment. Joanne has never had a home, a household of her own. The father of her second child lives with his parents in the same building. During a third pregnancy, his parents claimed the child was not his. Joanne in despair has had recourse to abortion. "I'll never forgive them for having forced me to kill my baby" she says. Talking of the blows she has received from this young man, she adds, "I deserved them. I try to be the man in the house, to boss him around. My family wants me to bring charges against him. No way. I cannot bring charges against the father of my child."

Joanne's voice and Eileen's voice are the voices of millions of women throughout the world, victims of hard-core poverty, chained to the very bottom of the social scale in a world apart: The Fourth World. Esperanza in New York; Shevanti in a Bombay slum; Fanette who lives with her scrap merchant husband in an old truck near Paris; Erma, wife of an unemployed gypsy; Ina, abandoned with her two children in a shed near the Amsterdam docks;--these women and so many like them who are struggling for survival, day after day, may have heard about the Women's Decade. But do they get to participate? Do they get to derive some benefit from its deliberations?

The 1975 Conference in Mexico City marked the beginning of a more fully recognized and more effectively coordinated effort to improve women's conditions throughout the world. However, the situation of Fourth World Women has not improved; rather, it has worsened. The economic crisis that is rapidly spreading throughout the world has increased their worries and sufferings, for they are the first to be affected by the political decisions that are periodically made to compensate for the overall weaknesses of the economy.

Fourth World Women and Employment: Women of the Fourth World desperately need to work to survive and make ends meet. But the only jobs available to them if at all, are very badly paid ones, due to their lack of qualifications, ill health, low esteem and general diffidence or insecurity. Increasing unemployment has worsened the plight of Fourth World women, for even the better qualified women are willing to do jobs they earlier scorned. This results in an increase rather than a decrease in exploitation at the bottom of the social scale. The feminization of poverty is a very real universal issue, with more women than ever before, in desperate need of food, clothing, shelter, child care and job training.

Young girls face no better plight. Since their very early years, they have worked at home helping their prematurely aging mothers. By the age of 14-17, they have their first baby and hence have a greater difficulty in

taking up full-time jobs. But they are accused of being lazy and are urged to abandon their babies, their symbol of a new promise--their first chance to have something (someone) new, fresh and their very own. These young mothers have little economic mobility, and many never earn more than they did several years earlier.

Fourth World Women and Health: The physical development and wellbeing of girls is endangered almost since birth, due to dilapidated housing, inadequate nutrition, unhealthy environment, and generally retarded development in early childhood, followed by far too many tasks within the home. As they grow up into young women, new handicaps arise: a low self image, a feeling of self-consciousness regarding physical appearance, and embarrassment due to frequent pregnancies frowned upon by medical and social services.

Women in extreme poverty find it very difficult, almost impossible to improve the emotional health of their school age children, who have no common reference points with other children in regard to dress, language, and habits, and who are generally, smaller in size than other children their age. As one mother commented, "It is hard in school for our children when they are asked to talk about their holidays or weekend outings, for we hardly go out and don't even talk about vacations." Outside of school work, the children do domestic chores, and are responsible for taking care of younger siblings. Besides, poor families move often, which is yet another contributory factor towards their insecurity. Over a period of eight years, one couple with five children had moved 18 different times.

Fourth World Women and Education: From the very start of their lives, women of the Fourth World are almost automatically excluded from all educational programs and benefits. As little girls they are affected by the sufferings of their parents and their family's extreme poverty. They are forced to stay home and take care of siblings and household duties. By the time girls are 14 or 15 years old, no vocational training center is able to help them due to their low educational level and many of them end up remaining illiterate all their lives, even in industrialized countries. Often school and training centers refuse to register them, and the young women themselves are very self-conscious of their ignorance, their awkwardness and their poor dress. They are afraid and ashamed. Many of them end up as marginal workers with marginal earnings just as their mothers before them. If only our formal and informal educational systems would acknowledge that we all live in an era of global interdependence and international commitment, perhaps it would be a first step towards breaking the cycle of poverty and exclusion!

At the 32nd Biennial Convention of the American Association of University Women held in San Francisco in June 1983, Fumi Takano, President of the International Federation of University Women emphatically stated that we tend to forget that there are still over 500 million illiterate women in the world--and if it is believed that the education of women is important to their growth and independence, and to the future of the world, then determined efforts must be made to achieve literacy for those millions of illiterate women. (Graduate Woman Tabloid, Vol. 77, Number 4, July/August 1983, published by the American Association of University Women).

Some of the problems outlined here may seem too large ever to be solved, yet paradoxically, the dilemmas confronting Fourth World Women will have solutions, if they are intimately linked with the overall performance of our national economies, and our international consciousness, and by building a social welfare policy that seriously takes into account, the distinct nature of women's poverty, for women's issues are national issues; in fact, they are universal issues. The report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights entitled, "A Growing Crisis: Disadvantaged Women and Their Children" very forcefully points out that the most basic of women's issues are universal issues. This report also very succinctly states that the majority of America's poor are female and single heads of households. The statistics available indicate that from 1970 to 1982 the number of households headed by single poor females has increased by 97%. Families headed by unmarried mothers has increased by 356% and as a result 20% of all children live with one parent, usually their mother. In fact, in 1981, about half of America's poor families were headed by women, many of whom are women of the Fourth World, extremely poor and excluded.

The Fourth World Movement makes a general appeal to all women and to all women's organizations to include the cause of women in hard core poverty and total exclusion in their reflections, deliberations and action programs--an appeal that women may collectively refuse an unjust and exclusive society organized without the cooperation of the poorest among the poor--an appeal that women in extreme poverty be represented at all levels of national and international development plans and decision-making.

It is hoped that various national and international organizations will work to change society so that poor girls have other opportunities in addition to early motherhood, and will demand that all policies and programs be examined and evaluated publicly, especially with regard to the real benefits they carry for women in extreme poverty and exclusion.

The Charter of the Fourth World Movement declares that "a fundamental question facing all women today is to learn if women accept, among themselves, a genuine equality of opportunity which society has not yet accepted. This equality cannot be achieved unless the women of the Fourth World are given priority. Only then will all women be equally prepared to participate fully in society."

Only when the least privileged become the priority of a society can justice and peace be achieved.

10<sup>-</sup>

REFERENCES

- Annudsen, Kirsten. The Silenced Majority. Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971.
- Boulding, Elise. The Underside of History. Westview Press, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1976.
- Cole, John. The Poor of the Earth. Westview Press,, Inc., Boulder, Colorado, 1976.
- deLone, Richard H. Small Futures: Children, Inequality and the Limits of Liberal Reform. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., New York, 1979.
- Duquesne, Lucien (Ed.) The Fourth World Speaks. N.Y. Fourth World Movement, 1983.
- Dumont, Rene and Bernard Rosier. The Hungry Future. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1969.
- Fourth World Journal, New York, N.Y.
- Freire, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Herder and Herder, New York, 1968.
- Freire, Paulo. Education for Critical Consciousness. The Seabury Press, New York, 1973.
- Frimhurst. An experience of Freedom, Aide a Toute Detresse, Pierrelaye, France, 1979.
- Gliedman, John and William Roth. The Unexpected Minority. Carnegie Council on Children, 1978.
- Graduate Women's Tabloid. Vol. 77, No. 4, July/August, 1983. Published by the American
- Grant, James. The State of the World's Children. 1982-83 Report, New York, UNICEF, 1983.
- Haq, Mahbub Ul. The Poverty Curtain Choices for the Third World. Columbia University Press, New York, 1976.
- Harrington, Michael. The Vast Majority, A Journey to the World's Poor. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1977.
- Jain, Devaki (Ed.) Indian Women. New Delhi Publications Division, 1975.
- Keniston, Kenneth, All Our Children, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., New York, 1977.
- LeSeuer, Meridel. Women on the Breadlines. The New England Free Press, Somerville, MA., 1977.
- Ridker, Ronald G. (Ed.) Changing Resource Problems of the Fourth World. Resources for the Future, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1976.

11  
REFERENCES (continued)

- Ryan, William. Blaming the Victim. Vintage Books, New York, NY 1971.
- Spargo, John. The Bitter Cry of Children. Macmillan Publishers, New York, 1906.
- Tapori. Monthly Newsletter for Children. Fourth World Movement, New York.
- Towle, Charlotte. Common Human Needs. National Association of Social Workers, Inc., New York, 1965.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Report: A Growing Crisis: Disadvantaged Women and Their Children. Clearing House Publications 78, May 1983.
- White Paper of Children of the Fourth World, Children of Our Times, ATD, Fourth World, London, 1979.
- Will, Robert E. and Harold G. Varter (Eds.) Poverty in Affluence. Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1970.
- Women of the Fourth World--Science and Service Edition--Pierre'aye, 1975.
- Women of the Fourth World--Summary of a contribution of the International Movement ATD/Fourth World to the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women in Copenhagen, July, 1980.