Women and World Development

edited by
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Prepared under the auspices of the
American Association for the Advancement of Science

overseas development council
Foreword

Countless actions and events around us—highlighted by the World Conference of International Women's Year held in Mexico City in June 1975—provide vivid testimony of the dramatically changing expectations of women. In all countries, women are increasingly impatient to widen the options for realizing their potential and to participate on an equal basis with men in the productive and creative achievements, as well as in the reward systems, of their societies.

While the specific situations and concerns of women are as diverse as the cultures in which they live, their recent demands—and the beginnings of their action efforts at the family, community, national, and world levels—show a common commitment to obtaining results within their own lifetimes. The speed and extent to which this activist desire of women to improve their lot has intensified and spread around the world—in countries as varied as the United States, China, Tanzania, and Mexico, to name only a few—in barely more than a decade is one of the most remarkable happenings of modern times.

"Equality, development, and peace" were the three main themes of International Women's Year. Until recently, the goal of "development" has been identified by those in the industrialized countries as a "Third World" concern. But economic and power upheavals and new uncertainties have spurred growing awareness that development problems have global manifestations which more and more often require cooperative solutions. Equally important is the now widespread, if belated, perception that economic remedies alone will not solve the problems of economic stagnation and poverty. A major reassessment has been taking place in the 1970s in the thinking of many development experts on the relationship between the goals of social justice and economic growth. The new aim of this rethinking process is a more humane order. Thus far, however, serious work has barely begun on the redesigning of development strategies to focus on the critical immediate as well as long-term needs of people. The motivation behind this search for new approaches is rooted in the reassertion of human values in many industrialized countries. Its feasibility is bolstered by evidence that policies which emphasize raising the well-being of the poor—by increasing employment and broadening access to education, health, credit, and other services—not only need not hinder but often may actually speed up economic growth.

Together with the emergence of the worldwide women's movement, the exploration of such people-oriented approaches has begun to sensitize planners to the necessity of deliberate attention—if programs are to suc-
ceed—to the work and roles of women in different traditional as well as modern societies. The virtual exclusion of women from the development planning process has actually whittled down women's preexisting functions and status in relation to men.

The fact that the data base is still thin and that there are many gaps in knowledge in this field does not justify the continuation of practices which preliminary research shows to be detrimental to women. Increasing evidence of existing (and even increasing) disparities between men's and women's access to education, employment, and professional and political participation should not be disregarded. Development agencies as well as governments need to become more responsive to those conditions of relative disadvantage which call for special measures—and may require shifts of priorities and funding—on behalf of women.

This volume and its companion annotated bibliography* are a major product of the AAAS Seminar on Women in Development held in Mexico City in June 1975 just prior to the World Conference of International Women's Year. United Nations-sponsored international conferences on most other issues generally have been preceded by nationally and internationally funded rounds of preparatory experts' meetings. It seemed highly desirable to have one such international meeting prior to the IWY Conference which would focus on development. This was why AAAS offered to convene and co-sponsor the Seminar on Women in Development. It was joined in this endeavor by the U.N. Development Programme, the U.N. Institute for Training and Research, and the Mexican National Council of Science and Technology.

Like most genuine expressions of social inequities and strains, many of the views that emerge in the independent essays and in the proceedings of the Seminar on Women in Development included in this volume are controversial; by preparing and issuing these volumes, AAAS and ODC intend to stimulate further debate and research on these issues. It is our shared hope that, long before the 1975-1985 Decade for Women has run out, Women and World Development will help prompt innovative action, shaped jointly by women and men, to fully integrate women into the total development effort.

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Washington, D.C.
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Women and World Development
Acknowledgments

The editors, who were also the coordinators of the Seminar on Women in Development, wish to express their appreciation to all of the participants who contributed to the success of the Seminar. Particular thanks are due to the authors of the Seminar papers, which are presented as chapters in this volume.

The Seminar itself would not have been possible without the major contributions of the cosponsoring organizations in its planning and execution; the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, and the Mexican National Council of Science and Technology. The AAAS would like to express special appreciation in this connection to Ulia Olin and Virginia Saurwein of UNDP, and to Gordon Hawkins and Anne Winslow of UNITAR.

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Without the steadfast support of Aida Gonzalez, head of the Liaison Committee for International Women’s Year at the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations, as well as the assistance of members of her staff, many of the complications of running a seminar in a foreign country would have become major crises. With such a small staff within AAAS to organize this major undertaking, only a close and cooperative relationship could survive. We wish particularly to thank Diane Small, whose patience and willingness were beyond the call of duty and whose efforts made in Mexico City on behalf of the Seminar were inestimable. Thanks are also due to Rita Doherty and William Wight, both of the Office of International Science of AAAS, for their cooperation and support, and Mayra Buvinic, also of AAAS, for her assistance in editorial and administrative matters.

In the publication of this book, we worked in close collaboration with the staff of the Overseas Development Council. We are most grateful to them and, in particular, to Valeriana Kalliab, ODC’s Executive Editor, for her dedication to this project, and to Judith H. Johnson, Nancy J. Krekel, and Rosemarie Phillips for their editorial and production contributions to the issuance of this volume. Finally, our sincere thanks go to The Pathfinder Fund and the Overseas Development Council for providing the funds and the staff time to prepare, produce, and disseminate this book.

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Office of International Science
American Association for the Advancement of Science
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# DEBATE AT AN INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

*Proceedings of the Seminar on Women in Development (Mexico City, June 15-18, 1975)*

*Irene Tinker and Michèle Bo Bramsen*

## An Overview of the Major Concerns of the Seminar

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## The Initial Impact and Long-Term Aims of the Seminar

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Introduction: The Seminar on Women in Development

irene Tinker

When 1975, the mid-point of the Second United Nations Development Decade, was proclaimed International Women's Year (IWY), a serious assessment of how well women were being integrated into development plans and strategies was identified as one of the year's major objectives. Recent studies had shown that few development projects had given serious consideration to the specific situation and roles of women—or, very importantly, to the work traditionally performed by women—in the societies for which these projects were designed. Consequently, development schemes too often had undercut women's traditional economic and social roles, thus widening the gap between opportunities available to women and men.

An experts' conference, such as those which had preceded the U.N.-sponsored world conferences on other issues, seemed necessary to focus attention on this growing evidence, to encourage further research, and to make recommendations for improving women's integration into the total development effort. When it became apparent that the United Nations itself would not be able to fund such a meeting, the Office of International Science of the American Association for the Advancement of Science offered to pursue this objective by assuming a leading role in the convening of a Seminar on Women in Development. Three other organizations joined AAAS as cosponsors of the meeting: the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), and the Mexican National Council of Science and Technology (CONACYT).

The Seminar which took place in Mexico City, June 15-18, 1975—just prior to the World Conference of International Women's Year—was attended by 95 women and men from 55 countries. Participants included experts from the staffs of development agencies, universities, and foundations, as well as leaders from professional associations, women's organizations, student groups, and various activist organizations concerned with the situation of women in many countries. The Seminar was recognized as an official parallel activity to the World Conference.

The first objective of the Seminar was to show how and why development programs often have failed to reach women and to emphasize the waste of human potential that has resulted from ignoring the contribution of women to economic and social growth. Its second objective was to bring together

academic researchers and persons actually involved in the design or implementation of development plans, in order to bridge the gap between theory and practice. In preparation for this task, the AAAS Office of International Science asked all participants to provide brief case studies—and a few to prepare longer background papers—that could be useful in analyzing why some programs had failed and others had succeeded in reaching women. A preliminary bibliography of published and unpublished works on women in development was also prepared prior to the Seminar; this was a precursor of a much expanded annotated bibliography prepared by Mayra Buvinic for AAAS and being issued by the Overseas Development Council as a companion to this volume. It was hoped that these materials would help the Seminar identify some new approaches to the formulation of development programs that would help women acquire—or maintain—an equal place with men in their societies. Most of the Seminar's work was conducted in five simultaneous workshops which concentrated on:

1. Food production and the introduction of small-scale technology into rural life
2. Urban living, migration, and employment
3. Education and communication
4. Health, nutrition, and family planning; and
5. Women's formal and informal organizations.

An overview of the debate and summaries of these workshops are provided in the second half of this volume.

The twelve essays included in the first part of this volume were prepared as background papers for the Seminar, and many of the ideas they present were the focus of the workshop discussions. Taken as a whole, the papers provide a valuable and provocative sampling of the situation of women in developing countries and of the problems of integrating women into developing economies as equal partners with men.

Margaret Mead, Rae Lesser Blumberg, Irene Tinker, and Fatima Mernissi agree that there tends to be a negative relationship between a nation's socio-economic development or modernization and the economic, social, and psychological development of its women. In a brief historical survey, Margaret Mead calls attention to the fact that women have been denied access to modern agricultural techniques, in part because of the belief that women cannot handle modern machinery. Mead warns of the dangers—not only to women, but to the health of all human beings—of further dissemination throughout the world of flaws inherent in the traditional U.S. model of agricultural training. She points out that this model has long emphasized the male-dominated field of scientific agricultural production while neglecting the important fields of nutrition and food processing. These latter two fields, Mead points out, have been relegated to a lesser order of priority—at least

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3 See pp. 141-77.
partly due to their widely accepted designation as "female," and therefore less prestigious, fields.

The unquestioned transfer of erroneous beliefs about women from developed Western to developing societies seems to be at the root of many of the negative effects development has had on women's lives. Mead touches on this point in her comment, and it is made even more explicitly in the essays by Blumberg and Tinker. Rae Blumberg identifies and discusses several of these "myths," focusing in particular on the relationship between women's economic productivity and their reproductive functions. She provides evidence that contradicts the widely held assumptions that most women are unproductive members of society, and that they are irrational and compulsive childbearers. Irene Tinker focuses on the detrimental effects on women of development projects based on Western ethnocentric views. She reviews some of the literature on the changing roles of women that indicates that development widens the gap between women's and men's earning power, because the planners' Western middle-class bias blinds them to the important role women play in many subsistence economies.

If it is true that in many traditional societies women have shared with men not only the burdens but also the benefits of productive work, it is also true that in many others sexual inequality has been an accepted, indeed central, part of life for centuries. Drawing her data from Moslem countries, Fatima Mernissi explores the effects of modernization in such societies, showing that industrialization and modernization frequently have merely strengthened sexual inequality or the patriarchal status quo. Mernissi points out that in the Moslem countries, existing legislation providing for economic equality between the sexes has little significance, since most women continue to be "excluded from development" by traditional family codes and values. The Moroccan statistics cited by the author show that the female labor force remains very small, is employed in the lowest wage-earning categories, and has a far greater rate of unemployment than the male labor force. Moreover, statistics show that a large proportion of the women counted in the labor force are either divorced or widowed, and either very young or quite old—suggesting that for these women, working outside the home is no social and personal "breakthrough," but a desperate resort of those who lack other means of support.

Development triggers legal and institutional as well as socio-economic changes. Women seem to have fared better in obtaining equality and recognition in the laws of their countries than in real life. The discrepancy between legal and de facto rights is pointed out clearly by Mernissi as well as by Teresa Orrego de Figueroa, who describes the situation of women in Latin America. Both Moslem and Latin American countries have modern legislation promoting equal rights. Latin American governments have set up special women's bureaus within the government to encourage the integration of women into the modern socio-economic sector of society, but Figueroa's analysis reveals that the lag in adjustment between legal models and reality is not being successfully bridged by these women's affairs offices. She concludes that while the efforts of such offices generally have helped women in many areas, their effectiveness in most cases has been hampered by the fact that their main objective is helping the needy rather than improving the condition of women.
Hanna Papanek, Nadia Youssef, and Kenneth Little examine the more specific situation of women in cities in the developing world. Hanna Papanek gives an overall, comprehensive review of the problems and perspectives of urban women. She argues that women encounter a double set of discrimination barriers—those based on their class position and those based on their sex. The city by no means weakens these obstacles. The exploitation of women in urban areas persists despite measures taken to minimize it. Moreover, Papanek points out, such measures sometimes hinder rather than help urban women. For instance, efforts to encourage the hiring of women may lead to more employment only because employers see them as a source of cheap labor. Another aspect of this problem, as Nadia Youssef points out, is that legislation aimed at preventing such discrimination may restrict job opportunities by raising the cost to employers of hiring women. Pointing to evidence of an interrelationship between women's education and job opportunities and fertility rates, Youssef states that the creation of more paid jobs for women is an essential element in a program to integrate women into the development of their cities. More specifically, she proposes that income-generating activities outside the wage sector (such as part-time employment) should be created for women during early phases of industrial development, when the wage sector cannot yet provide sufficient employment. Papanek also suggests that women's formal and informal associations can be an effective means for achieving recognition and gaining participation in the development process.

Kenneth Little's essay provides insights into the motivations and adaptive patterns of African women and men who migrate from rural areas to cities. While the reasons why men migrate are generally described in terms of "progress"—more jobs and better pay—women often leave the villages because they want to be free from the restrictions of tribal life. Little warns against the misinterpretation of the sexual and domestic relationships and arrangements of both women and men in African cities by outsiders who lack knowledge of their cultural context.

Mary Elmendorf's case study provides a vivid picture of the effect of the opening of a road to larger towns on the women in a small rural Mexican village. Elmendorf is concerned with the erosion that traditional Indian egalitarianism might suffer when confronted with "modern" values. In particular, she states how, as a result of the new road, not only women's traditional economic roles might be jeopardized but also the feelings of self-esteem and fulfillment which are dependent on their enactment of these roles.

In her paper, Mallica Vajrathon looks at the problem of integrating women into the development process as one that necessitates not just institutional change but also change in the attitudes and behavior of people. From the perspective that radical behavioral changes are necessary to end sexual inequality, she proposes a communication strategy for changing stereotypical attitudes about women at all levels of society, as well as for encouraging two-way communication between planners and the groups for which their programs are designed.

The last two essays in this collection offer, respectively, a conceptual and a methodological model for the integration of women into development. Both models view development as a behavioral rather than a mechanical process and stress the need to study the behavioral and social problems
raised by development from a holistic perspective. Ulla Olin presents a theoretical explanation for seeing the family as the general model of human social organization. She suggests that the gross overemphasis of the male role in the public sphere and the male's lack of influence in the private sphere reflect a social malfunctioning in the current pattern of management. She argues that women should be active participants in the management of public affairs, especially since studies of behavioral differences between the sexes suggest that women might be better qualified than men to handle the human problems confronting this area of management. Erskine Childers analyzes the vicious circles of underdevelopment and offers methodological suggestions on how to transform development efforts, which until now have too frequently been wasteful and wasted, into positive cycles of growth. To achieve greater participation of women in development, he recommends that centrally developed plans based on imported myths should be replaced by inquiry into the needs as perceived by the people of the community to be served by the planner.

A conclusion that can be drawn from these essays as a whole is that development has had a negative effect on women because planning has erred in one or more of the following ways:

(a) By omission—that is, by failing to notice and utilize the traditional productive roles which women are playing,

(b) By reinforcement of values already in existence in the society which restrict women's activities to household, child-bearing, and child-rearing tasks; and

(c) By addition—that is, by superimposing Western values of what is appropriate work for women in modern society on developing societies.

These three categories of negative effects immediately suggest three general approaches to counteracting the negative impact of development on women.

Errors of omission are due mainly to a lack of knowledge or understanding of the role of women in particular societies. Additional research on women appears to be the solution. While all authors point out the urgent need to conduct research on all aspects of women's lives, it is worth noticing that not just any kind of research will help. The research needed has to go beyond "traditional" content areas and methodologies. For instance, occupational statistics that are based on traditional wage-employment criteria will not provide any better understanding of women's contribution to the economy. Nor will knowledge of women's decision-making prerogatives be enhanced if research focuses only on women's public status, ignoring their private status. The task of research is further complicated by the interrelatedness of subject areas. Both researchers and policy makers will have to recognize that programs designed to have an effect on one area, such as employment, will also have an effect on other areas, such as education and fertility, which, in turn, will have repercussions on employment. Research designs and development plans will have to take into account such "circular" cause-effect relationships.

Errors by reinforcement of traditional values call for change-oriented development programs. How to institute change is the subject of concern
throughout these readings. The many different change-oriented recommendations proposed here can be subsumed into strategies aiming at two different targets: the society or the individual. New legislation and new governmental policies are examples of the former type of strategy; improved communications systems are among the strategies aimed at the individual. However, most people would agree that change-oriented programs aimed at both targets are necessary to achieve equality and integration.

Errors by addition are a result of the exportation of Western values; these errors can be lessened and eliminated by an awareness on the part of researchers and developers of the values behind the aid and technology they export as well as by an increased understanding of the "target" society. This awareness, too, can be enhanced by improved project evaluation and by further research. At a more basic level, however, a prerequisite for this awareness seems to be the conception that the process of development is directed by behavioral considerations rather than by mechanical laws and that the goal of development is not only improved technological and material well-being but also improved social organization and well-being. Only such a broad conception of development offers real insurance against further neglect of the lesson of the past that is the central focus of this volume: Even technological developments that are seemingly "harmless" or "value-free" (such as the building of a road to link a Mexican village to the outside world) can, if carelessly implemented, have a special negative effect—distinct from its effect on men—on the material and social well-being of women; this negative impact, in turn, is likely to impede, or even set back, the condition of the community as a whole.

Many of the ideas and recommendations presented in these essays subsequently emerged as subjects of discussion in the five workshops of the Seminar on Women in Development whose proceedings are briefly summarized on pp. 141-77 of this volume. It should be noted that these background papers were contributed by their authors in their personal capacities, and therefore should not necessarily be taken to represent the views of the organizations with which they are at present affiliated.
Essays on Selected Issues
I. A Comment on the Role of Women in Agriculture

Margaret Mead

Two major world conferences held in 1974—the U.N. Population Conference and the U.N. World Food Conference—and then the 1975 International Women’s Year Conference itself, finally brought into the limelight the very serious condition of women in the world, particularly in rural societies. The U.N. Population Conference called attention to the role played by women in population control and to the devastating results of removing women from agricultural production after the introduction of machinery. The World Food Conference highlighted the extent to which concern about the difficult problems of agricultural production has tended to obscure the need for far more attention to the problems of the preservation, distribution, and nutritional value of food. It is to aspects of the problem of women in agriculture that are related to these points that I wish to draw attention in this brief commentary.

The Impact of Mechanization

Until the agricultural revolution introduced the animal-drawn plough, women played a crucial role in agriculture, sharing with men the subsistence activities of food production, conservation, and distribution. This was true in all types of societies. With the introduction of the plough, the increasing productivity of agriculture, and the development of foods that could be stored for long periods, some men and women were relieved from day-to-day preoccupation with the problems of subsistence. These innovations freed the men from food-gathering activities, but they did not—as might have been expected—free the women from maintenance activities involved with food; for the most part women continued to be bound to the household by the need to produce many children, because so many of their children died. Whatever their social class, women could not easily escape this restrictive role unless they chose to give up child bearing, as in the case of nuns, priestesses, and some women professionals—roles which normally were not as highly valued by society as motherhood.

Today, in those parts of the world where pre-agricultural-revolution conditions prevail, women are still the principal producers of food. They are,

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however, being displaced by machines (which, it is believed, only men can operate), just as women were displaced 10,000 years ago when animals (also considered the sole province of men) were introduced into agriculture. Hence women are being converted from producers of food to consumers only. One of the consequences of barring women from participating in the production of food is a decrease in agricultural production, especially in those areas where the men work for wages away from the village. War-time experience in Europe demonstrated that women were fully capable of using modern agricultural machinery, but this evidence appears to have had no effect on society's beliefs about women. It seems clear that such beliefs are having a negative effect on both the women and society. Therefore, for women's and society's sake, a major effort should be made to bypass the archaic notion that machinery (as a replacement for large domestic animals) is the sole prerogative of men.

Modern Marketing Techniques and the Division of Labor

Freeing many men, but few women, from the demands of subsistence tended to stratify societies. Over the years, decisions about the allocation of food and marketing, and about the allotment of fertilizers and pesticides for growing subsistence or cash crops were transferred first from the village to the provincial city, then to the capital city, and finally to the international marketplace. These decisions thereby increasingly became removed from the daily input of women. Aspects of the process of food production such as the local consumption, allocation, or preservation of foods, which traditionally were the province of women, progressively have become components of global agricultural transactions. Food today is treated as a commodity in large-scale production or as a weapon in economic negotiations. Its use at the local level as the main means of freeing human beings from hunger is being neglected. Half a harvest may be lost in a country where food is considered solely as a cash crop and where the traditional role of women in allocating part of the crop for local consumption is ignored.

The “Professionalization” of Agriculture

The Euro-American tendency to attribute the concern with agricultural production (with food before it leaves the harvest field) to men and to attribute the concern with food after it leaves the harvest field to women led to the dual assumption that scientific agriculture was a male field and scientific food knowledge (food preservation, nutrition, child rearing, and home management) was a female field. This seemed to be a step in the right direction when it first was developed in the United States and initially was spread around the world through technical agricultural schools for males and home economics schools for females. Actually its effects have been disastrous. The historic tendency of males to regard their activities (usually extradomestic) as more important than those of females was thus accentuated when the roles of men and women on the farm were professionalized. Nutrition, since it was considered a female field, became devalued in some cases, as in the United States, the whole field of home economics was devalued. Women concerned with improving their status refused to become home economists. Hence,
before U.S. training methods for occupations concerned with food produc-
tion, distribution, preservation, processing, and consumption are dissemi-
nated further around the world, the dangers of this type of segregated
occupational training should be recognized and corrected.

The Need for a New Approach

What is needed are departments or schools in which all the skills related to
food—including plant genetics, animal husbandry, veterinary skills, nutrition,
child development, food management, etc.—are taught without discrimina-
tion to both men and women. Only in this way can there be any hope of
including women at every level of the decision-making process and of
restoring the concept that the primary function of food is to feed people, and
to feed them well, not to serve as a form of national aggrandizement.

The inclusion of women in agriculture in those countries where there
never has been large-scale agriculture also is important. The 1974 World
Food Conference emphasized that it is essential that all countries—especially
tropical countries whose soil is rapidly being destroyed by modern agricul-
tural methods—make more use of their traditional local food sources, the
knowledge of which is very often the province of women. Renewed aware-
ness of the nutritional value of fruit trees is particularly important. The
separation of women from agriculture and the displacement of traditional
methods of production and traditional food sources by imported machinery
and imported cereals (which should be reserved for emergency relief and
disasters) should be watched most carefully. Far from being discouraged
from participating in decisions regarding crop planning, women should be
trained further in the nutritional value of traditional crops, and their advice
should be sought when village agricultural plans are discussed.

Moreover, women should be particularly concerned with what role they
can have in shaping decisions that affect all human beings—men, women,
and children—not only with their own status. They should emphasize that it is
a great loss for everyone when women, whether professionally or experien-
tially trained, are barred from participating meaningfully in the decision-
making process, be it at the traditional historic locus of the household and
village or at international deliberations about global problems.
II. Fairy Tales and Facts: Economy, Family, Fertility, and the Female

Rae Lesser Blumberg

The integration of women into their nations' processes of economic development was one of the three major, long-term goals of International Women's Year. Although working toward this goal clearly requires some detailed knowledge about the relationship of women to both production and reproduction in different types of societies, there seem to be more fairy tales than facts floating about on this topic. Using the "dart" of social science research data, this paper will identify and attempt to puncture six myths: 1) women are economic parasites; 2) economic development always improves women's lives; 3) the poor—especially the urban poor—are trapped in poverty by their "disorganized," female-centered family patterns; 4) before the development of modern contraceptives, women were "non-stop breeding machines"; 5) fertility is basically irrational; and 6) there are no systematic links between women's economic position, their status, and their fertility.

Myth 1. For most of human history, women have been economic parasites, who have contributed little to their families' subsistence. As Charlotte Perkins Gilman put it in 1894: "The female of genus homo is economically dependent on the male. He is her food supply." This view, even though it is wrong, has been very prevalent in twentieth century social science theory. As recently as 1955, the influential U.S. sociologist Talcott Parsons wrote that the husband is the main provider, "whereas the wife is primarily the giver of love."2

How much more than love do women contribute? One estimate is that, on a worldwide basis, women contribute 44 per cent of the food supply.3

Clearly women are not parasites. Nevertheless, the range of variation of women's work is quite great. In about 2 per cent of the 1,170 societies represented in Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas*, women contributed virtually...
nothing to the food supply; in another 2 per cent, women contributed two thirds or more. Since women's economically productive work seems to be the first precondition to power and equality (as will be argued below), it is important to understand under which conditions and in which types of societies women are important providers.

Two main factors seem to determine women's participation in the labor force: a) the extent to which the economic activity is compatible with women's simultaneous child-care responsibilities, especially breast feeding; and b) the state of the male labor force supply versus the total demand for labor. Some types of activities are very compatible with child-rearing obligations, and women often are an important labor force in these activities—if the surplus of male labor is not so large that men may squeeze women out of the work. Two examples from simple societies are gathering and hoe horticulture, and in both we find a predominantly female labor force. In fact, in Africa, where hoe horticulture is still the main cultivation method, the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa has just ascertained that 70 per cent of agricultural production is in the hands of women. Handicrafts and cottage-industry activities that can be carried out in the home, and poultry that can be raised in the yard—these, too, are activities in which women are often the main labor force. On the other hand, the activities of plough agriculture—the subsistence base of a majority of the world's population even today—tend to be less easily combined with simultaneous infant care. The work may be located farther from the home, making it inconvenient to bring children along or return to nurse them. And plough agriculture is relatively less labor-intensive than hoe horticulture, so that agrarian societies based on plough cultivation tend to have large surplus labor populations of underemployed and unemployed males. It is not surprising, then, to find that in agrarian societies based on non-irrigated plough cultivation, women play a very negligible economic role. Ironically, all of today's industrialized societies, both capitalist and socialist, emerged from precisely this sort of agrarian base. (Little wonder, then, that the industrialized world's social scientists, with their ethnocentric perspective, should view women as economic parasites!)

But these points raise an interesting question: Since industrial production and most "modern-sector" jobs take place away from home, hearth, and children, why is it that women are a large and growing proportion of the labor force in all industrial societies? The answer seems to be mainly economic expansion, coupled, in the case of nations like Japan, West Germany, and the Eastern European socialist countries, with the after-effects of high male death rates in World War II. Also, generally speaking, the rate of female labor force participation is higher in the socialist countries. In the Soviet Union, for example, women account for half the labor force; and in the major years of child rearing—twenty to thirty-nine—fully 80 per cent of women work. In the

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4Murdock, World Ethnographic Atlas, op. cit.
United States, although only 20 per cent of women eighteen to sixty-four years old were in the labor force in 1900, the number had increased to 50 per cent by 1970 and has risen higher since then.\footnote{U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Marital and Family Characteristics of Workers, Special Labor Force Reports No. 130 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. A-10.}

In short, even though women in Third World countries encounter a dreadful scarcity of so-called "modern-sector" job opportunities, we may consider the first myth invalid.

**Myth 2. Economic development always provides an improvement in women’s lives.** This is an easy myth to discredit, given the large amount of evidence that has been accumulated to show that this is not always the case. Ester Boserup has shown that in Africa, the introduction of cash crops grown for a world market often has been accompanied by an erosion of women’s traditional rights and their position as important agricultural producers who typically controlled disposition of the crops they raised.\footnote{Ester Boserup, Woman’s Role in Economic Development (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1970).} The new system was introduced by males from nations without a tradition of female farming, and they ignored and undercut the women. Even in trade, the traditional economic power and autonomy of West African women is threatened as large-scale, capitalist, export-oriented trade is introduced (by males) in competition with traditional markets. Frequently, even in societies without a prior tradition of female economic productivity and power, the new opportunities brought by economic development go to a relative handful of elite or middle-class women. At the same time, the lot of the rural majority and the increasing hordes pushed off the land into urban areas may become more miserable than ever. In most cases (the oil-producing nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries are fortunate exceptions), Third World countries are beset by declining terms of trade while becoming ever more enmeshed, on increasingly unfavorable terms, in the cash nexus world economy. As rural poverty and urban unemployment and underemployment mount, opportunities for the majority of women—the poor—cannot avoid being adversely affected.

**Myth 3. In many countries the poor—especially the urban poor—become trapped in poverty by their “disorganized,” female-centered family patterns.** This is a classic case of putting the cart before the horse. Actually, the situation is the other way around. All over the world, in both urban and rural areas, there exists today a problem of surplus labor population—people who cannot find stable, year-round employment at an adequate level of subsistence. In those situations where economic uncertainty prevails but women have the possibility of achieving viable subsistence by their own labor, welfare payments, or the efforts of their children to whose earnings they have access, there is a high proportion of female heads of families. This phenomenon has been studied mostly among poor blacks in the United States and the Caribbean, but it is worldwide and not confined to blacks. In 1976, Blumberg and Garcia, using U.S. census data, showed that poor whites
and blacks have identical—and high—proportions of female-headed families when income level and rural versus urban residence are held constant.\(^{10}\)

It is poverty and the economic prospects of women that combine to make the female-headed type of family prevalent among certain economically marginal groups. Economic uncertainty tends to make marital or consensual unions unstable. If the woman cannot make a go of her own separate family unit when her partner departs, then she and her children may turn to relatives, or she may have to enter a new union—or face starvation. But this pattern of shifting family composition and high proportions of families headed by females is not necessarily family "disorganization," nor does it cause the poor to become embedded in some alleged "culture of poverty."\(^{11}\)

Instead, an adaptive pattern of sharing is prevalent. Female-headed families tend to be joined with close kin (especially on the female side) in a network of give and take. Household composition may shift, with adults and children—as well as money, goods, and services—moving around the network as circumstances dictate.\(^{12}\) Moreover, it has been demonstrated mathematically that sharing aids in the survival of the group by smoothing out fluctuations in its scarce, uncertain, and variable resource base.\(^{13}\) It seems no coincidence that anthropologists have found sharing by group members to be universal among hunting and gathering societies with similarly scarce and fluctuating resources.\(^{14}\) In sum, families headed by females emerge under certain marginal economic conditions where women as well as men have independent access to subsistence. Units headed by women tend to be poorer than those headed by males;\(^{15}\) so the people involved try to make the

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best of their situation, with flexible family organization and patterns of sharing.

However, making the best of the situation often involves having a large family. Although it has been found that the female family head has slightly lower fertility than a woman of the same social class living in a conjugal union, female family heads are not shown to be a low-fertility group. Moreover, studies have shown that their fertility behavior follows a consistent pattern. Typically, they had their first child within several years of puberty. Whether they were in a union or not, having the child almost invariably shut the door on additional educational training or other opportunities that could lead to a good, stable job and a brighter, lower-fertility future. The men of the "urban underclass" also tend to have unstable, ill-paid work, and intermittent and disastrous periods of unemployment. Such economic uncertainty makes unions very fragile. Once a woman has borne a child at an early age, her chances of getting out of the "urban underclass" on her own are extremely low. It appears that the best strategy for a woman who has had a child very young and does not have a stable conjugal union is to have more children, often by several partners. Having a child may help to cement a relationship, and perhaps, if she is lucky, the new partner will find one of the rare regular jobs that permits a stable subsistence for his family. If not, her children may prove a good investment.

Children can be economically useful in many ways for "urban underclass" members. From a very early age, they can be seen helping with the family laundry route, shining shoes, running errands, and baby-sitting. The poor cannot afford to invest in clothes, medical care, school fees, or summer camps for their children, so the costs of child rearing are often overshadowed by the expected benefits—both short- and long-term. For in societies without extensive state welfare programs, where else can one turn except to one's kin and children? So the woman keeps having children (although she may well terminate a given pregnancy because she feels the circumstances are not favorable for having a child at that point). By the time she is of an age that makes entering a new union difficult, she probably has children old enough to help support her.

Had this cycle been broken at the beginning, by providing educational and employment opportunities—as well as contraceptive information—to adolescent girls, the story might have been different. We already know from numerous fertility studies that education and stable employment outside the home delay the age of entering into a marital or consensual union, delay the age of first birth, and result in lower family size. But this lower family size

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17 In Latin America, enormous proportions of the pregnancies in urban areas are terminated by illegal abortions. For statistics from a number of studies, see Nora Scott Kinzer, "Priests. Marcs, and Babies: Or Latin American Women and the Manichean Heresy," Journal of Marriage and the Family. Vol 36 (1973), pp. 390-12. Moreover, worldwide, abortion is considered the most prevalent method of birth control. See the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Culture and Population Change (Washington, D.C. American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1974).
springs from the woman's new self-interest as a consequence of her expanded opportunities. It cannot be brought about by even the most persuasive of family-planning posters if having fewer children is against her perceived self-interest. In spite of all this, historically, women's reproductive behavior has been seen as compulsive and irrational. Let us examine these two assumptions.

Myth 4. Throughout human history, until the development of modern contraceptive methods, women were "non-stop breeding machines." This is the famous Malthusian myth and is contradicted by the fact that human societies throughout history have regulated population and fertility. For example, even in today's underdeveloped countries, fertility is 40-60 per cent below the upper limit established by the Hutterites (a small fundamentalist sect that averages more than ten children per family). Moreover, European fertility rates prior to industrialization also were less than 60 per cent of the Hutterite level. Even more myth-shattering is the extremely low level of fertility of the world's simplest societies, the hunting-gathering bands. Since gathering provides 60-80 per cent of the diet in almost all hunting-gathering groups in non-Arctic latitudes—and since women are the main gatherers—women are the predominant producers among most such groups. Most of these societies are also more-or-less nomadic, and women's daily gathering may cover a fairly large area. Since anything that would interfere with their mobility and gathering also would decrease group food supply, it is not too astonishing to find that hunting-gathering societies have a) wide child spacing, averaging about four years between births in contemporary hunting-gathering populations; and b) low completed family size.

How did they do it before the pill? Apparently by a variety of methods, including late weaning, abortion, infanticide, and plants with contraceptive properties. Interestingly enough, in other major types of pre-industrial societies in which women are the main producers—for example, among the hoe horticulturalists of sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania—there is also evidence of wide spacing and fewer births than among their less productive sisters of agrarian societies. In fact comparison of three industrial societies of differing modes of subsistence production shows fertility to be inversely related to both women's productive labor and their social status. In contemporary developing and industrial societies, economically productive women have been shown to have greater power, including household power, and they use that power to control their fertility. One example of this may be

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seen in the Eastern European socialist countries, where most women of childbearing age work, but labor-saving household aids and child care are at a premium. In these countries, women tend to have unilateral control over abortion. The net result is a fertility rate below replacement level (2.1 children per couple) in the cities. Many women in these countries want only one child, and they have the household power and abortion control to enforce their decision.

People tend to regulate their fertility, but they may regulate it at high, rather than low, levels. This was found to be the case among Indian peasants studied by Mahmood Mamdani. These peasants felt that having large families was not the cause of their poverty; indeed, many children could be a solution to their poverty, since children (especially sons, because this was an agrarian area where women did not work in the fields) could help them work the land or send back remittances from city jobs.21

Myth 5. Fertility is basically irrational, and people have lots of children out of ignorance or tradition. The basis for dispelling this myth has been implied above: first in the discussion of the lower fertility of economically productive women who would be inconvenienced by more, or more closely spaced, offspring, and again in the peasants’ explanation of their high family size uncovered in Mamdani’s research. Let us be more specific. What seems to affect births is each partner’s perception of the expected costs versus the expected benefits each partner hopes to get out of a family of given size, spacing, and sex ratio.22 In other words, fertility behavior is basically rational. So if a peasant woman tells an interviewer she “wants all the children providence may send her,” we can predict: 1) her contribution to the family food supply tends to be limited; 2) she gets status from having a large family—in many peasant societies perhaps her only source of status in a generally sexist culture;23 and 3) she anticipates other benefits from her children, such as help in crises and old age and help around the house when they are growing up, which she does not view as likely to come from any other source (e.g., the government). Even though for the woman’s nation, her high fertility may be a greater burden than benefit, family planners will have a hard time convincing her (or her husband) that two children are the ideal number when she has objective grounds for knowing her welfare would be adversely affected if she had fewer than five or six children.

The same data that destroyed the previous myth also indicate that modern contraception can make fertility regulation more efficient, but that modern contraception is not enough. The determinants of fertility patterns reside in the social and economic situation of the man and woman—especially their relation to their society’s mode of production. The situation of each partner is what affects his or her perceived utilities in children. And in

turn, the perceived costs versus benefits of children affect the resulting fertility pattern. It should be noted, however, that the partners' child utilities do not always coincide (as implied in the example of Eastern European socialist countries cited above). But the extent to which the woman's child utilities prevail in determining fertility outcomes seems to depend on her degree of economically derived household power.

Myth 6. There are no systematic links between the economic position of women in a society, their status, and their fertility. Bits and pieces of evidence contradicting this myth already have emerged in various parts of this paper. First, we already have seen that in societies where women have higher status they have lower fertility. Also, where women are employed for wages outside the home, they have more household power and fewer children. Why is this so? Elsewhere, I have suggested a paradigm of factors affecting female status. The paradigm is based on Gerhard Lenski's argument concerning factors influencing a society's inequality system. He proposes that privilege (as well as status) in a society is distributed largely on the basis of power. Power is defined as "the probability of persons or groups carrying out their will even when opposed by others." He then names three sources of power affecting a society's inequality system: 1) power of property (or more generally, economic power); 2) power of position (e.g., in a political hierarchy); and 3) power of force. Translating this to the area of sexual equality, I argue that, for women, economic power is the most important influence on their relative equality (with the men of their class or group) with respect to some very basic privileges. These I term "life options." Life options are issues which occur in all human groups and include: 1) deciding whether and whom to marry; 2) deciding to end a marriage; 3) control over freedom of movement; 4) control over pre- and extra-marital sex; 5) control over fertility regulation to the extent biologically possible (including deciding on methods used, such as contraception, abortion, infanticide); 6) access to educational opportunities; and 7) degree of household authority. On each of these issues, women's say can range from none, to equal to, to greater than that of the men of their group or class.

Why should economic power be the most influential? For one thing, it has been recognized as such in a number of theories of sexual status, as well as in a number of both Marxist and non-Marxist structural theories of stratification. For another, it is the only one of the three sources of power named by Lenski in which women's position has been found empirically to run the gamut from low to high. There are societies where women have virtually no control over the means and fruits of production, relative to the


26Lenski, Power and Privilege, op. cit.

men of the same class or group (such as the Rwala Bedouin). There are other societies where women have the major control in these areas, leaving men with very little economic power (such as the Iroquois). But men monopolize power in the other two power arenas. There are no known societies where women have more than a small share in the top slots of the “power of position” hierarchies—political, religious, administrative, etc. And women fare even worse with respect to the power of force: women are almost never those who exercise it and conversely are often on the receiving end.

How do women get economic power? Peggy Sanday's empirical results show that the chain starts with women's economic productivity; where women do not help to produce the food supply, their status is invariably low. On the other hand, mere work does not guarantee either power or privilege. After all, slaves work too. And Sanday found groups where women did most of the productive labor and were treated little better than slaves.

Consequently, my paradigm begins by predicting the conditions under which women will participate in the main productive activities of their societies. As already noted, these are: 1) the degree of compatibility of the activity with simultaneous child-care responsibilities, particularly breast feeding; and 2) demand for labor in comparison with the available male supply.

What helps translate “mere work” into relative economic power over the means and fruits of production? The paradigm next identifies a series of factors which affect the strategic indispensability of both the women's activities and the women producers themselves. In brief, the higher the strategic indispensability of women's activities, the greater the likelihood of women gaining some economic power from their production. Kinship systems favoring maternal kin are also hypothesized as enhancing the possibilities of female economic power.

Finally, the paradigm identifies several other variables which affect the life options, but these variables are seen as influenced by the major sources of power, especially the economic dimension. In other words, these are viewed as “intervening variables” between power and privilege. They include the prevailing ideology concerning male supremacy, and the extent to which men participate in the “female” areas of child care and domestic tasks.

Thus far with a pilot sample of 61 societies, preliminary findings indicate that I have confirmed the hypothesized pattern of relationships. Economic power of women is the strongest influence on the “life options” variables; the correlation is quite large (R = .67). Second in importance is the power of force. But interestingly enough, in groups where women have near-equal economic power, the power of force (measured by wife beating) tends not to be used against them—the data show a fairly strong inverse correlation between women's economic power and wife beating. Ideology concerning male superiority ranked a distant third in importance of the present variable set. (These relationships, incidentally, emerged not only in

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29I presently have data for all paradigm variables except the ‘strategic indispensability’ factors, women’s relative access to education, and—unfortunately—regulation of fertility. These results will be treated in detail in a forthcoming paper.
simple correlations but also under "multivariate analysis," where the relative strength of variables can be ascertained more exactly than with correlations between two factors.) In short, the paradigm, its results to date, and the other findings (mentioned earlier in this paper) linking economic factors, female status, and fertility all seem to form a fairly coherent and systematic pattern.

What can we learn from this pattern? First, that economic opportunity for women—and the educational opportunity underlying it—is a sound policy for any nation attempting to lower fertility rates. Other measures that increase women’s rights and privileges also may be a help, although the evidence is less clear than with schooling and stable outside-the-home jobs. In those societies where population growth drains rather than enhances resources, we can speculate that every dollar spent on education for boys which is not matched by expenditures on girls’ education probably will be wiped out by those girls’ greater subsequent fertility. To development experts who fear implementing such a policy on the grounds that “the women would be taking jobs away from men and thus bread away from male-headed families,” Ester Boserup’s finding that this is not the case should be illuminating. On the contrary, she argues, adding women into development plans—and putting them to work—increases the size of the economic pie.

In sum, educated, economically productive women not only will have fewer children but also will enhance national output and welfare (not to mention the welfare and human dignity of the women involved!). Thus it behooves planners to analyze development plans very carefully with respect to their impact on female productivity. Will new opportunities be created for women or will old ones be destroyed by a given program? Suddenly this looms as more than an abstract question of human rights or social justice, for national development is involved. Fortunately for the goals of International Women’s Year, it seems that development will be furthered by precisely those measures which also increase human rights and social as well as sexual justice.

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30 In preliminary computer runs, 57 per cent of the variance in a scale of “life options” was explained, and 47 per cent (over 4 of 5 of the explained variance) was accounted for by the index of women’s relative economic power.

III. The Adverse Impact of Development on Women

Irene Tinker

During much of the last quarter century, "development" has been viewed as the panacea for the economic ills of all less developed countries: create a modern infrastructure and the economy will take off, providing a better life for everyone. Yet in virtually all countries and among all classes, women have lost ground relative to men; development, by widening the gap between incomes of men and women, has not helped improve women's lives, but rather has had an adverse effect upon them.

The major reason for this deplorable phenomenon is that planners, generally men—whether in donor-country agencies or in recipient countries—have been unable to deal with the fact that women must perform two roles in society, whereas men perform only one. In subsistence societies, it is understood that women bear children and at the same time carry out economic activities that are essential to the family unit. Western industrial societies have chosen to celebrate the child-bearing role, glorifying motherhood while downgrading the economic functions attached to child bearing and household care, and erecting barriers to paid work for women. Accepting this stereotype of women's roles, economic theorists in the West imbued their students, indigenous and foreign, with the cliché that "women's place is in the home," classifying them forever as economically dependent. In doing so, they followed the unequivocal depiction of women in the law as legally dependent minors. Small wonder that the spread of Western "civilization," with its view of woman as "child-mother," has had an adverse impact on the more sexually equal subsistence societies. Communist doctrine errs in the opposite direction: women are economic units first, mothers second. Since children interfere with work, the government provides day care; but little has been done in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe to encourage men to share the responsibilities of children and home. This leaves women two time-consuming jobs: full-time work plus daily shopping, cooking, cleaning, and care of the children in the evening. Not surprisingly, the result is a drastic fall in birthrates throughout Eastern Europe—accompanied (at least in the Soviet Union) by evidence of increased marital instability and a high incidence of alcoholism among men. Yet even in these societies, where doctrine asserts that women and men are supposed to be economic equals, employment data

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show that women hold the least prestigious jobs. It may be that in these countries also, men "subtract" a woman's home and child-care responsibilities from her ability to hold down important positions. Whatever the explanation, it would seem women lose twice.

Development planners must begin to recognize women's dual roles and stop using mythical stereotypes as a base for their development plans. A first step is to recognize the actual economic contributions of women. Even this is difficult. Statistics, the "holy building blocks" of developers, are made of the same mythical assumptions: a) "work" is performed for money, and b) "work" is located only in the modern sector. Thus the U.S. Department of Labor can issue a statement saying that in Africa only 5 per cent of the women work. This clearly is an absurd assertion about a continent where women are reported to be doing 60-80 per cent of the work in the fields and working up to 16 hours a day during the planting season.

The "explanation" for the 5 per cent figure is that agricultural work done by family members is not recorded as "work." Nor are exchange labor, household work, child care, or many activities in the tertiary or informal sector counted as work. And since statistics do not show women working, planners do not plan for women to work. Too often new projects actually intrude on activities in which women already are engaged; but instead of providing services or training to women, assumptions about proper sex roles dictate that men receive the new training, new seeds, or new loans. The gap widens.

Unfortunately, this phenomenon of increased dependency of women on men is not new. The pattern has been repeated time and time again, whenever a given society developed beyond sheer subsistence and created a civilization which required functional specialization. Documenting the erosion of women's position in ancient Greece and Rome, for example, Evelyne Sullerot has observed that "as a rule it is in the early periods of each civilization that the least difference exists between the position of men and that of women. As a civilization asserts and refines itself, the gap between the relative status of men and women widens." May Ebihara has noted similar "reductions" of women's status in Southeast Asia's past. She points out that a Chinese visitor to the Khmer empire in Angkor in the thirteenth century recorded that women held many positions in the court; yet within a century, due to the spread of Chinese influence after the fall of the Khmer empire, women were reduced to being legal minors of their husbands.

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2U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, "International Protection of Human Rights" (hearings August-December 1973), 93rd Congress, p. 444
Historically, these bureaucratic states produced a stratified society with the higher classes living in towns. It seemed to follow inevitably that women, separated from their essential food production functions, became more dependent upon men, especially as upper-class men commanded large incomes and generally adopted a more ostentatious style of living. Women lost their economic base and came to be valued mainly for their female attributes of child bearing and providing sexual gratification. Thus they increasingly came to be "protected" or "confined"—perceived as "jewels" for men to play with or as vehicles for perpetuating the family line. However, they were then also perceived—accurately—as economic liabilities. In subsistence societies, where women are a valuable economic commodity, a man pays a bride price to the bride's father to buy her services. In societies where women have lost their economic function, the exchange of money is reversed, and the bride's family pays the groom to accept her.

Recent studies recording women's roles in subsistence economies show a panoply of traditional roles, both economic and familial, whose patterns more often add up to near servitude than to any significant degree of independence and personal dignity for women. Yet these studies show that, however onerous women's lives, development plans have seldom helped them. Rather, development has tended to put obstacles in women's way that frequently prevent them even from maintaining what little economic independence they do have. Laws and customs designed to protect women also can cause hardship. Even education can widen the gap between men and women. This is not to say that development never helps women; the case being made is that, compared to men, women almost universally have lost as development has proceeded. If economic planners would only look at recent (and long-standing) anthropological evidence, they hopefully would recognize that women's productive contributions to the economy have been and can continue to be important, and perhaps would begin to plan projects which not only support women's work but also open up opportunities for women to become part of the modern economic system. With this objective in mind, this paper will now review the existing evidence which shows how development has negatively affected the productivity of women in different areas of life.

Change in Subsistence Economies

In subsistence economies every family member traditionally is assigned roles which are essential to the survival of the unit, whether that unit is a small "nuclear" family or an extended one. Men as well as women have dual functions: family roles are integrated with economic roles. While in any given society these roles generally are sex-specific, they vary from culture to culture. Almost everywhere change has meant a diminution of men's roles in caring for and training children or assisting in household tasks. Since development is primarily concerned with economic activity, and since it is women's traditional economic role that has been ignored, we shall focus on this function and how it has changed for both men and women.

Ester Boserup—in her landmark book, Woman's Role in Economic Development—has linked the variation of sex roles in farming to different types of agriculture. In subsistence farming where land is plentiful, a slash-
and-burn technique is the typical agricultural style; generally men clear the land and women do the bulk of the farming. This agricultural technique is still predominant in Africa but is also found in many parts of Asia and Central and South America. When population increase limits land availability, draft animals are brought in to increase productivity through the use of the plough.

And the advent of the plough usually entails a radical shift in sex roles in agriculture; men take over the ploughing even in regions where the hoeing had formerly been women’s work. At the same time, the amount of weeding to be done by the women may decline on land ploughed before sowing and planting, and either men or women may get a new job of collecting feed for the animals and feeding them. As population pressure on land increases further, more labor-intensive crops are introduced and grown year-round in irrigated fields. Women are drawn back into the fields—to plant, weed, and harvest alongside the men.

In addition to their important role in farming, women in subsistence economies traditionally have engaged in a variety of other economic activities—spinning fibers, weaving cloth, drawing water, tending market gardens, and processing and preserving foods gathered from communal property. Women in Southeast Asia boil palm sugar. West African women brew beer. Women in parts of Mexico and elsewhere make pottery. Women in most countries weave cloth and make clothes. Women in most cultures sell their surplus food in local markets. Profits from these activities generally belong to the women themselves. Thus women in many parts of the world have become known for their astuteness in the marketplace. Javanese women have a reputation for being thrifty, while Javanese men consider themselves incapable of handling money wisely. In Nicaragua, women continue to dominate the traditional marketplace, which caters to the lower classes, despite the availability of modern supermarkets nearby. Market women of West Africa have parlayed their economic strength into political power as well. In contrast, Hindu and Arab women seldom are seen in the markets as buyers and never as sellers. But these women come from societies that have long been bureaucratized and in which women have lost some of their earlier economic independence.

Erosion of the role that women played in subsistence economies began under colonial rule. Policies aimed at improving or modernizing the farming systems, particularly the introduction of the concept of private property and the encouragement of cash crops, favored men. Under tribal custom, women who were farmers had users’ rights to land. Colonial regimes, past and recent, seldom have felt comfortable with customary communal land-tenure rights and have tended to convert land to private ownership—in some cultures thereby dispossessing the women, in disregard of local tradition, by recognizing men as the new owners. This was as true of the Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Spanish in Latin America as it was of the Europeans in Asia and

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Africa. Thus woman still farmed the land but no longer owned it and therefore became dependent on their fathers or their brothers. Wherever colonial governments introduced cash crops, these were considered to be men's work. Much of the agricultural development was focused on improving these crops. To encourage the men to take jobs on plantations or to grow cash crops on their own land, governments frequently introduced taxes—thereby forcing men (who were more mobile) into the modern money economy, while women (with child-rearing responsibilities) remained in rural areas and hence in the subsistence economy. Their lack of access to money and loss of control of land left women with little incentive to improve either crops or the land in areas where they continued to dominate the farming system. Furthermore, access to the modern sector, whether in agriculture or industry, has drawn men away from their households and often even from their land, and thus has given women additional tasks that formerly were men's work. Not surprisingly, productivity has declined as "development" has proceeded.

Efforts to reverse this trend have been undertaken by development agencies, but their stereotypes concerning the sex of the farmer often have led to ridiculous results. In 1974 Liberia decided to try to encourage wet-rice cultivation and brought to the country a team of Taiwanese farmers. To assure attendance at the demonstration planting, the government offered wages to the observers. Many unemployed men participated in the experiment while the women continued their work in the fields. Throughout Africa, rural extension services, modeled on those in the United States, have been staffed and attended by men only: custom prevented rural women from attending courses taught by men, and the courses taught by women—mainly home economics courses on canning and sewing—were irrelevant to their needs. Cooperatives, too, tended to assume that farmers were males. Thus the men had access to credit or to improved seeds which they used to produce cash crops; women in the subsistence sector were barred from membership as well as from growing cash crops.

Perhaps because the economic position of women in Africa was deteriorating so quickly, active opposition to this trend started there. Nigerian women formed all-female cooperatives and demanded credit to buy more efficient oil pressers to use in processing palm-oil nuts. Under pressure from women's groups, the government of Kenya reinterpreted the cooperative regulations to allow membership to women, and then formed a special task force to show women how to utilize this new opportunity. Zambian women were taught how to grow onions as a cash crop, in between rows of the usual subsistence crops. They were so successful that men demanded similar assistance; this venture turned sour when the women refused to tend the men's onions, claiming it was not a traditional obligation! In Tanzania the government is encouraging the establishment of Ujamaa villages, where land is held communally and workers are paid according to their efforts; in these villages, women for the first time are being paid for growing subsistence crops. Marjorie Mbilinyi writes that "it is therefore not surprising that women are the most ardent supporters of socialist rural policies in many areas of Tanzania."6

The ways in which development agencies have introduced new technologies likewise have tended to contribute to the undermining of women's traditional roles. Small implements such as presses, grinders, or cutters generally have been introduced to men, even when the work for which they are a substitute traditionally has been done by women. The availability of corn grinders in Kenya, for example, clearly saves women many hours of manual effort—though they also spend hours going to the grinding center. But why are women themselves not taught to operate these grinders? Oil presses in Nigeria, tortilla-making machines in Mexico, and sago-processing machines in Sarawak also are purchased and operated by men—because only men have access to credit or to money. Stereotypes that women cannot manage technology are reinforced by the fact that illiteracy is more widespread among women, who therefore cannot read instructions.

Agricultural technology has produced the "green revolution" and has altered traditional agricultural practices. The high capitalization involved in buying improved seed varieties and fertilizers has pressured farmers into more efficient harvesting arrangements which often utilize fewer laborers and increase unemployment. Planners know this and often have tried to create alternative employment for the displaced men. But, in most economies that rely on wet-rice cultivation, it is the women who do the harvesting. A detailed study on Central Java, for example, noted that the women formerly accepted low wages for planting in order to receive payment in rice itself for harvesting work. Today the harvesting is done by mobile teams of men using the more efficient scythe; women, who harvested with a hand knife, have lost their rights to harvest and have not yet been able to obtain higher wages for planting.

Improved transportation systems have affected traditional markets in both positive and negative ways. In Mexico, for example, improved transport has increased demand for locally made ceramic animal figures, thereby increasing rural earnings. It has made manufactured fabrics available in even the smallest towns, enabling women to make clothing without having to weave the cloth. Moreover, travel to markets in town has eased the drudgery of women's lives in rural areas. On the other hand, improved transport has made many traditional occupations redundant. It has opened new markets for manufactured goods that compete with local, hand-made artifacts. Traders from more distant towns are taking over local markets, undercutting the traditional suppliers: women traders from outlying villages. In Java, the importation of Coca-Cola and Australian ice cream ruined local soft drink manufacture and ice cream production; both enterprises had been dominated.


by women. Sago processing by women in Sarawak was replaced by machine processing run by Chinese men. Men's enterprises also have suffered from competition with national or international firms. A study of governmental policies in Zaria, Nigeria, showed that small businesses run by men suffered from the lack of basic services—particularly water, light, and credit—and that this prevented their expansion; in contrast, two large local factories, producing tobacco and textiles, were fostered by governmental policy. 12 Planners usually are aware of and try to ease the demise of small businesses in the wake of modern industrialization. What they have forgotten, however, is the sex of the entrepreneurs—and hence have attempted to provide alternative employment for men only.

Change in the Modern Sector and Women's Education

The elite character of all education as well as its bias in favor of men everywhere in the world means that rural women seldom are literate—a fact that inhibits their ability to move into new sectors when their traditional economic roles are superseded. Furthermore, according to the most recent UNESCO figures, the disparity between male and female illiteracy is growing. In Africa (where illiteracy is extremely high among both sexes), nine out of ten women still are illiterate. In Asia, female illiteracy rates range from 87 per cent in India to 52 per cent in Hong Kong; and even in Hong Kong, women are five times more likely to be illiterate than men. Generally, the higher the level of education, the lower the female enrollment. In Africa, some 20-30 per cent of female children attend primary school, but only 10-20 per cent of the secondary-school children are girls. 13 In South Asia, of the 2.5 per cent of the adult population that continues in school beyond the age of fourteen, about one fifth are women. In Latin America, in contrast, where the percentage of adults who receive higher education varies from 2 per cent to 10 per cent, nearly half the students enrolled in higher-education institutions are women. 14 However, these few highly educated women remain limited in their options by the widely held belief that men and women have separate "proper spheres" in professional and public life.

In traditional rural pursuits, the lack of education was a relatively less serious problem. But that is changing as the modern sector invades the traditional sphere. Women in the markets, for example, are at a disadvantage because of their illiteracy and lack of knowledge of modern packaging techniques. The lack of education limits women's options even more severely when they migrate to the city. When they move with their husbands, they may be able to continue household crafts or petty trading. But trading on a small scale takes place within an established circle of customers; frequent moving can destroy a business. In some businesses, such as tailoring, women compete with men who have easier access to credit and therefore can provide

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14 Boserup, Woman’s Role, op. cit., p. 121.
a wider variety of fabrics. Lack of education is a handicap to these women. Dorothy Remy, who has studied the economic activity of women in Nigeria, has commented that "without exception, the women in my sample who had been able to earn a substantial independent income had attended primary school. All of these women had learned to read, write, and speak some English."\(^{15}\)

While married women find their economic independence severely limited in the towns of the less developed world, they at least have husbands to support them; life for unmarried women is more difficult. Surveys conducted in Dahomey indicated that from 25-30 per cent of women living in towns were on their own.\(^{16}\) In Latin America young women migrate into cities in larger numbers than men, and some seek employment in domestic service or as shop assistants; more often, however, prostitution is mentioned as the primary means of subsistence. Other women fit into the uncounted interstices of the economy. They buy a pack of cigarettes and sell them one at a time. They cook food and hawk it on the street. Although male migrants, too, engage in this informal sector, they usually progress into the "modern sector," where they are included in employment statistics. For the most part, however, women continue to work at marginal jobs and remain uncounted, since these economic activities do not enter into that mythical standard, the "gross national product."

All this is not to say that education has not opened up some new occupations for women, particularly for middle- and upper-class women. Since most of the early education systems in colonial countries were run by missionaries who placed a high value on education regardless of sex, girls have had some access to schools. In many countries, nursing and teaching are considered respectable female occupations. In fact, there are more opportunities for women as teachers, nurses, and doctors in societies where sex segregation continues and men are limited in their contact with women than there are in less traditional societies.\(^{17}\) As sex segregation is relaxed, however, making this "market" for female professional employment less exclusive, the number of women employed in these fields declines—providing yet another example of the negative impact of development on women.

In those areas of Southeast Asia and West Africa where trading traditionally has been the women's preserve, many educated women have retained their entrepreneurial role, adjusting successfully to modern market conditions. In Ghana, the major marmalade manufacturer is a woman. The strength of organized market women in Guinea and Nigeria has given them influence in affecting government decisions. In Jakarta, the wives of the higher-grade civil servants run shops and make jewelry. In Thailand, several large hotels are owned and run by women. In the Philippines, women are adept as real estate agents, stockbrokers, and business managers: the fact that more Philippine women than men have attended private schools is a

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\(^{17}\) Boserup, *Woman's Role*, op. cit.
clear indicator of the value placed in that country on the ability of women to learn and to earn.18

Only in crisis situations, however, are women generally permitted by society to engage in economic activities that otherwise remain closed to them. In Vietnam, for example, women were forced to support their families through years of war. Marilyn Hoskins has pointed out that women in Vietnam traditionally have been pivotal in the family, thus any activity that ensures the family’s continuity or aids in its comfort is socially acceptable.19 Undoubtedly aiding in this acceptance are the many folk tales which portray Vietnamese women as heroines in the days before Chinese and French colonialism. A similar ability of women to respond to modern demands (more quickly than their husbands) is found today among the Yemenite migrants into Israel. Yemenite men, more circumscribed than women by carefully delimited roles, have difficulty adapting to their new surroundings, while the women, expected to see to the needs of their families, have moved into the modern economic sector and in many cases have become the major income producers in their families.20

Thus education has only partly countered the historic phenomenon typical of the earlier bureaucratic as well as the later industrial societies—assigning of women to the home. Those women who succeeded in obtaining a higher education during the colonial period usually could find jobs as easily as men, both because of the dearth of trained nationals and because the society itself was in a state of political and economic transition. An important factor enabling these women to participate was the existence of a supportive family structure in which kin and servants took over some of the women’s household tasks and family responsibilities. Thus women played a prominent part in many nationalist struggles in Asia and Africa and were rewarded with high governmental positions in newly independent countries. The three current women prime ministers—of India, Sri Lanka, and the Central African Republic—have personal histories of political activity. In Latin America, women have entered such demanding occupations as law, medicine, and dentistry in larger numbers than in the United States.21

Today, unfortunately, the situation is changing. Fewer women are in parliaments or political parties than during the early days of independence; professional women in many countries are beginning to have difficulty finding good jobs. These setbacks mirror those experienced by women in the United States, where a higher percentage of women received doctoral degrees between 1910 and 1920 than at any time since, and where more women held professional and technical jobs in the 1930s than do now. Sev-

18Justin J. Green. “Philippine Women Toward a Social Structural Theory of Female Status,” paper prepared for the Southwest Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Denton, Texas, 1973
20Yael Katzir. “Israeli Women in Development: The Case of Yemenite Jews in a Moshav,” paper prepared for the AAAS Seminar on Women in Development, Mexico City, Mexico, 1975
eral explanations have been offered for such trends. First, as educational opportunities increase, more middle-class children attend college; and daughters of the middle class usually are more restricted by their families' sense of propriety than are the daughters of upper-class families. Second, the entry of large numbers of men into the ranks of job seekers—particularly middle-class men who feel women should stay home—increases employment competition and decreases women's chances. Third, the governments in many newly independent countries have become more and more dominated by the military; while professional women sometimes do obtain high-level jobs in the bureaucracy, virtually nowhere do they do so in the military.

Non-working women—whether educated or not—become more dependent on their husbands than those who have an income. While a dependent woman may have more status in the eyes of her friends because of her husband's job, many women resent the increased authoritarianism which tends to flow from dependency. Joseph Gugler writes about how such resentment has led to the radicalization of women in West Africa. At the same time, however, release from the drudgery of farm labor makes dependency and even seclusion acceptable to women in many parts of Asia and Africa. While Western women look upon seclusion, or purdah, as an extreme form of backwardness, many lower-class women in the old bureaucratic societies perceive it as an improvement of status—an imitation of the upper classes. This process of changing life styles to emulate the class above has long been observed between castes in the Hindu hierarchy, where it is termed "Sanskritization." A study of purdah in Bangladesh indicates it has increased since independence from Great Britain. In northern Nigeria, the attitude of Hausa women toward seclusion is influenced by religion and culture. Farming is carried on by Hausa women of the animist sect who cherish their freedom of movement and ridicule the secluded Hausa Moslem women, who, on the other hand, appear to prefer to be kept in seclusion on the grounds that it reduces their work load and raises their prestige. Nonetheless, it has been noted that seclusion has the effect of separating the sexes and increasing the hostility of women toward men; this hostility creates a kind of female solidarity that is not channeled into activism but is expressed, for example, in ribald singing. Among the animist Hausa, "women play an obvious economic role, one that is recognized by the men." The result is social solidarity rather than sex division.

Such increasing hostility between men and women may be responsible for the amazing rise in households headed by women. Around the world today, one out of three households is headed, de facto, by a woman. In the United States the figure is just under 20 per cent, but in parts of Latin America it is as high as 50 per cent; in Africa the end of legal polygamy has resulted in second wives being considered unmarried. The number of women-headed households is also growing in Asia, because the customary protection

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afforded divorced women and widows by family practices imbedded in traditional religions is breaking down. Migration patterns—a function of economic opportunity—also have led to an increase in women-headed households. In Africa the men migrate to mines, plantations, or cities. The 1969 Kenya census indicates that one third of rural households are headed by women; Lesotho estimates are even higher. In Latin America, in contrast, it is the women who migrate first, often living in urban squatter settlements and raising the children by themselves. Whatever the reason, planners persist in the stereotype of the family as headed by a man; this concept reinforces the idea that only men engage in economic activity and leads to unfair planning.

Modern laws and customs help create these women-headed households. Most countries in Africa have adopted laws making monogamy the only legal form of marriage. Second wives, who of course continue to exist, become "mistresses" and lose the protection that was accorded them under customary laws. While Westernized African women argue in favor of the necessity for monogamy, many market women indicate a preference for polygamy. A survey conducted in the Ivory Coast in the 1960s showed that 85 per cent of the women came out in favor of polygamy. According to Margarita Dobert, the women believe that "in a monogamous marriage power accrues to the man as head of the household whereas formerly both men and women had to defer to the head of the lineage." Furthermore, co-wives shared the burden of household work and cooking; one woman could go off to trade while another stayed at home to carry out household tasks.

Western law underscores women's major role as child rearing, treating women as dependents as far as property is concerned and generally awarding them custody of children in divorce. Thus modernization takes away women's economic roles while at the same time giving them the burden of paying for raising their children. Older religions such as Christianity and Hinduism avoided this problem by forbidding divorce. Islam and African animism allowed divorce but required men to assume the obligations of raising the children. By absolving men of the responsibility of caring for their children in case of divorce, recent legislation in Kenya has placed an oppressive burden on divorced Kenyan women.

Women-headed households are also increasing in the Soviet Union. There the women are integrated into the economy, albeit at lower-level jobs, but their husbands are not sharing in household and family tasks. Women are rejecting not only marriage but also child bearing. It was interesting to hear Romanian officials at the U.N. Population Conference in Bucharest in August 1974 observe that concern over the falling birthrates in their country actually might have the effect of urging men to help more with the housework!

There is no clear relationship between family type and women's ability to work. Women-headed households generally are relatively poorer. In most countries, the women lack education and are forced to earn money in marginal jobs within or outside the modern sector. In the United States, divorced women generally must adapt to a standard of living cut by nearly a

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halt; the majority tend to find jobs on the low end of the employment scale and receive inadequate child-support payments. At one time it was thought that the nuclear family would be the prototype of the modern world. Women in the United States now complain of the restrictions of the nuclear family, at least where the partners are not equal. Yet several observers of Asian women have argued that the nuclear family is the primary liberating force from the patriarchal dominance of the extended family. Latin American observers, on the other hand, have suggested that the kin network that typifies traditional extended families actually allows for more equality of women because of the shared obligations and duties within the family.

In China, the traditional extended-family pattern has been the target of much criticism by the government, undoubtedly because that form has been so intertwined with the elitist bureaucratic form of government. All levels of society now are required to share the drudgery of hard labor; college students and party functionaries in particular are required to work periodically on farms or on massive public works projects. Government publications suggest that the ideal of equality has been achieved, but typically the military and bureaucratic leaders are almost entirely men. Even the most influential Chinese woman today—Chiang Ching, wife of Mao Tse-tung—operates on the periphery. Recent visitors to China have been impressed by efforts to achieve female equality. Nonetheless, even the Chinese delegates to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women admit that the men in the outlying areas of the country have not yet understood that women are to be treated as equals.

Conclusion

In subsistence economies, the process of development has tended to restrict the economic independence of women as their traditional jobs have been challenged by new methods and technologies. Because Western stereotypes of appropriate roles and occupations for women tend to be exported with aid, modernization continually increases the gap between women’s and men’s ability to cope with the modern world. Elites in these countries are imbued with middle-class Western values relegating women to a subordinate place—values often transmitted by the industrial world’s bureaucratic systems, which frequently reinforce such stereotypes in their own societies.

In the developed, “modern” world, women continue to experience restricted economic opportunities while at the same time finding increased family obligations thrust upon them. The strange contrast of this reality with the Western ideal of “equality for all” increasingly has made women aware of this injustice. Instead of docilely accepting their fate, women are becoming increasingly hostile, leaving marriage behind, and taking on the dual functions of work and family without the added burden of husband. A redress is overdue. Planners must not only consider and support women’s economic

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activities but must also find ways of mitigating the drudgery of housework and the responsibility of child rearing. The roles assigned each sex must again be made more equal—with men as well as women accepting their dual functions of work and family.

For a time after World War II, there was great optimism about the ability of the world to proceed apace with economic development. Today there is a growing realization that development is a more elusive concept than had been previously thought. Even where countries are able to boast of a rising gross national product in the face of population growth, it is recognized that Western-style development approaches of the past have tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, both within countries and among countries. Not only women but the poor generally have been left out.

Not surprisingly, many economists are looking for alternative paths to development, and are showing an increasing interest in the experiences of such non-Western countries as the Soviet Union and China. In their impact on women, however, these non-Western models also are inadequate; in a sense they err twice, for while women's nurturing roles are deemphasized in favor of their economic roles, women continue to have access only to the less important economic and political roles. Clearly these models—whatever the impact of their policies on the women in their own countries—also cannot and should not be exported without major adaptation, or they too will undermine women's traditional roles. What is needed, therefore, is not an imported model, but rather an adaptation of development goals to each society—an adaptation that will ensure benefits for women as well as men.
IV. The Moslem World: Women Excluded from Development

Fatima Mernissi

The purpose of this paper is to suggest, through a look at the economy of one Arab Moslem country—Morocco—the general economic situation of Moslem women and how it is changing in conjunction with development and industrialization. It should be noted that in spite of different political systems and the apparent diversity of the Arab Moslem economies with respect to level of industrialization and urbanization, the situation of women is remarkably similar throughout the Moslem world. The first section of this paper will attempt to provide a sense of the barriers that exist to the integration of women into the economy of a Moslem country, and the second will comment on the process of integrating women into the economy as that process actually is unfolding today.

The Moslem Family: A "Ghetto" for Women

The integration of women into the economy has radical implications in a country in which law and custom have confined women to the "ghetto" of the family for fourteen centuries. This tradition is actually codified in the Moroccan Family Law, passed the day after independence in 1957.

According to those who wrote the Law, the historical and cultural content of the relationship between the sexes has been respected to the letter, in accordance with the principles of Moslem ideology. The exclusively male committee that drafted this document committed itself to the sacred task of following the spirit and the letter of traditional Moslem law. Two articles of the Family Law adequately illustrate the inequality of men and women within the family.

Article 35. The rights of the wife in relation to her husband are:
(1) Support ensured by law, such as food, clothing, medical care, housing;
(2) Equal treatment with other wives, in the case of polygamy;
(3) Authorization to visit her parents, and to receive visits from them, within the limits of social convention; and

Fatima Mernissi, author of several studies of women in modern society, is currently teaching at Rabat University.
(4) Full liberty to administer and dispose of her estate without any control by her husband, the latter having no power whatsoever over the estate of the wife.

Article 36. The rights of the husband in relation to his wife are:

(1) Fidelity;
(2) Obedience;
(3) The breast feeding of children issuing from the marriage, if possible;
(4) The responsibility of supervising the order and organization of the household; and
(5) Deference to the father, mother, and close relatives of the husband.

The absence of symmetry in the duties of the wife and husband clearly illustrates that these relations are not conceived as a reciprocal exchange of rights and duties between two equal beings. Furthermore, all of the so-called rights of the wife, with the exception of item 4, are nothing but the expression of a relation of dependence (item 1 implies that the woman is economically unproductive and incapable of fulfilling her own needs), or of a denial of reciprocal duties (the wife owes fidelity, yet must accept sharing the husband with other wives). As regards item 3 of Article 35—the need to seek authorization to leave the conjugal home—this is a flagrant violation of the woman's right to "freedom of movement" as a citizen, which is recognized in the country's constitution. The Moslem family, as it has been interpreted by the Moroccan Family Law, is both archaic and patriarchal. Women have been confined to it and thus have been kept from contacts and activities outside the home.

The exclusion of women from extrafamilial activities was not particularly important in the traditional society that was not concerned with progress, but it is an anachronism in a society that professes to wish to change and is actually investing both capital and effort in bringing about change and development. To confine women to the family structure is to keep them at a subsistence level at a time when entire sectors of the economy are moving toward a money base.

In a subsistence economy, the result of work is not intended for exchange but for consumption by the worker or his immediate companions; and the work is not, of course, remunerated. In a money economy, the results of labor are intended for exchange and the worker receives a wage in return. His work and his wage allow him to participate in the mainstream of economic activity. Someone who has nothing to exchange is excluded from this mainstream.

It should be noted here that the fact that a country is industrialized does not necessarily mean that its women are allowed to participate as productive workers in the economy. Mariarosa Della Costa has shown that women in the European capitalist economies have been excluded from the economic mainstream. One of the mechanisms fostering this exclusion is the fact that in capitalist societies, housework (while it clearly benefits men and families

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—since housewives are expected to prepare the meals, do the laundry, and raise the children) has not been included in the money economy. Instead of paying women for their contribution to the family, and thus to society, the capitalist system has maintained the institution of the traditional family, where women function in a subsistence economy and where their access to the marketplace is short-circuited. Women have considered their contribution mostly as a sentimental "sacred" obligation, an extension of their conjugal and filial love. The European experience seems to indicate that the archaic and patriarchal nature of the family has successfully resisted the effects of industrialization.

The Illegality of Sexual Discrimination Outside the Home

In the light of these circumstances, the main objective of Moslem women should be not so much to attempt to modernize the family structure as to seek access to non-family networks. Their "salvation" lies in acquiring freedom outside the home, where sexual inequality is neither legal nor institutionalized. The fact that the Moslem countries are entering into the process of industrialization and economic development on modern foundations provides a unique historical occasion for women to grow from beings defined as unproductive, second-class citizens into politically and economically responsible people in society. But this transformation is possible only if women enter the industrialization process not as marginal and secondary beings who can easily be dismissed depending on the current economic situation, but as essential elements in development.

Now, as the Moslem economies are beginning to industrialize, it is relevant to ask if this industrialization will allow society to free women from their traditional economic confinement and to integrate them in an economy based on sexual equality or if, on the contrary, this industrialization will instead try to adjust itself to the domestic status quo.

Legislation in most modern Moslem countries currently provides for economic and political equality of the sexes outside the home. For instance, Article 5 of the Constitution of Morocco affirms the equality of all Moroccan citizens before the law; and Article 8 specifically establishes that female citizens have the same rights of choice and eligibility as male citizens. The first article of the Dahir of February 24, 1958, which deals with access to civil service positions, stipulates that "with the exception of provisions contained in or resulting from a particular statute, no distinction is made between the two sexes, for the purposes of this statute." As a result of these measures, the number of female white-collar workers in the government has increased considerably in the two decades since independence.

The issue is to discover to what degree the coexistence of modern legislation favorable to sexual equality with an archaic law which governs the relation of the sexes within the family has affected the integration of women

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in the development process to date. To what extent has the development process broken traditional sexual barriers and brought women into the economic mainstream?

Generally speaking, Moslem women, compared to women in other developing countries, are characterized by the lowest rate of economic integration, particularly in non-agricultural activities. Whereas in Latin America up to 20 per cent of the female population is part of the work force, the average in the Middle Eastern countries is less than 5 per cent.

The Moroccan census of 1971 shows that the work force continues to be predominantly male; the female work force (as counted in government statistics) constitutes only 15 per cent of the total (see Table 1, p. 40). Moreover, between 1960 and 1971, the percentage of females in the total work force grew by only 4 per cent—from 11 per cent to 15 per cent. At that rate, it would take until the year 2025 for the female work force to reach 30 per cent of the total work force.

Furthermore, as reflected in their unemployment rate, women's ability to compete in the labor market (despite its basis in the country's law) is doubtful, since the economy seems to be able to withstand the fact that unemployment in the case of women multiplied tenfold between 1960 and 1971, rising from 2 per cent to 21 per cent of the total unemployed population. Over the same period, male unemployment actually declined.

**The Restriction of Employed Women to Pre-Industrial Roles**

The activities that are open to women are mostly in the pre-industrial sector, with agriculture employing more than one third. Moreover, when women do gain access to the so-called modern sectors, the types of work they perform are pre-industrial. They can go to work as domestic servants or in food-packing plants and textile factories. Weaving, sewing, and packing sardines and vegetables in boxes after washing and drying them traditionally have been designated feminine tasks and therefore are accepted by the "patriarchal" society. Worse still, the performance of these traditional tasks in the modern sector does not in any way require those responsible to train women to acquire new skills that eventually would allow them to claim a decent place in the economy of a country that is undergoing deep-rooted changes. Moreover, the fact that women—most of them illiterate and unskilled—are trapped in subordinate positions of only a primitively industrial nature generates the same atmosphere in the factory or office that exists in the home, where it is the men who give orders, make decisions, and have the important roles—while the women carry out tasks that any young child could do. The access of women to only the most rudimentary extrafamilial activities

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5One added disadvantage for women is the problem of language. Women are generally monolingual and not conversant in the second (either local or foreign) language used in the developed sectors of the country. This lack of linguistic skill entails great difficulties in dealing with modern government services such as child-care institutions, health clinics, etc., with which women have to deal. This lack of familiarity with modernized networks of communication is one of the points emphasized in the broader study of women in Moslem societies on which I am currently working.
hardly constitutes an upgrading of their situation in the family, especially considering that most women fall into the lowest wage-earning category even in those tasks which they do perform.

Given these circumstances, it is not surprising that the employed female population shows certain marital status and age characteristics. Of the total number of divorced women, 52.7 per cent are part of the work force, whereas only 7.4 per cent of married women are part of the work force (see Table 2, p. 42). As for age, the 15-24 years and 50-60 years age groups show the largest percentage of women in the work force (see Table 3, p. 43). This quite clearly indicates that many of the women in the labor market have no marital support and are either very young or quite old. Thus working outside the home is no breakthrough toward new horizons or better conditions and relations but, rather, the desperate resort of women who are poor and without other means of support. It would seem that the attitudes of a patriarchal society have persisted in spite of legislation supporting equal rights for women.

Conclusion

In summary, it can be said that neither national independence and the evolution of a modern state nor the emergence and growing prosperity of a middle class in the context of a Moslem developing economy can successfully challenge the patriarchal status quo in societies where sexual inequality has been considered legitimate for centuries. With regard to technology, it seems until now to be in direct conflict with sexual equality, particularly in those developing countries that have not moved toward socialism. The Moroccan experience confirms Ester Boserup’s finding that industrialization tends to intensify the different roles of the sexes in the developing economies, and that it has produced a distortion in the relation of the sexes at the economic level. She has shown that the change from a subsistence economy to a money economy has dealt a serious blow to the value of goods traditionally produced by women, such as handicrafts, and that it restricts women who do gain access to remunerative activities to non-skilled, subordinate, and underpaid jobs.6

Thus the industrialization process per se hardly can be considered a factor in the promotion of the principle of equality between the sexes. In the developing countries, which have a long history of sexual inequality, only a broad governmental policy encompassing legal, political, and economic measures—a policy that calls for the enforcement of sexual equality, not as a secondary element but as a priority in planning programs—can successfully free women from their traditional confinement to the home. Development means, above all, the optimal utilization of the human and natural resources of a country. Any economic development in the Moslem countries which considers the utilization of 50 per cent of its human resources as secondary is a quixotic form of development that can only bring about illusory achievements.

Table 1. Moroccan Work Force, by Sex and by Sector, 1960 and 1971

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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morocco, Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>5,809,172</td>
<td>5,817,060</td>
<td>11,626,232</td>
<td>7,585,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Force</td>
<td>2,908,612</td>
<td>345,767</td>
<td>3,254,379</td>
<td>3,375,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>2,611,217</td>
<td>338,647</td>
<td>2,949,864</td>
<td>3,099,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>297,395</td>
<td>7,120</td>
<td>304,515</td>
<td>276,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Force as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>44.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban Sector</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>1,692,215</td>
<td>1,719,456</td>
<td>3,411,671</td>
<td>2,620,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Force</td>
<td>825,335</td>
<td>152,913</td>
<td>978,248</td>
<td>1,106,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>652,180</td>
<td>147,458</td>
<td>799,638</td>
<td>947,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>173,155</td>
<td>5,455</td>
<td>178,610</td>
<td>159,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Force as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>4,116,957</td>
<td>4,097,604</td>
<td>8,214,561</td>
<td>4,965,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Force</td>
<td>2,083,277</td>
<td>192,854</td>
<td>2,276,131</td>
<td>2,269,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>1,959,037</td>
<td>191,189</td>
<td>2,150,226</td>
<td>2,152,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>124,240</td>
<td>1,665</td>
<td>125,905</td>
<td>117,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Force as</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Moroccan Work Force, by Sex, Marital Status, and Urban and Rural Sectors, 1971
(percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Force by Sex as % of Population by Sex¹</th>
<th>Work Force in Category as Percentage of Population in Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco, Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Sector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Sector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Percentages are taken from Table 1. The total male population of Morocco in 1971 was 7,585,905, and the total female population 7,567,901.

Table 3. Moroccan Female Urban Work Force, by Age, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Female Urban Population</th>
<th>Female Urban Work Force</th>
<th>Female Urban Work Force as Percentage of Total Urban Females in Age Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed (number)</td>
<td>Employed (percentage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed (number)</td>
<td>Unemployed (percentage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 2,736,392</td>
<td>240,581 100.0</td>
<td>56,656 100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 15 yrs. 1,191,153</td>
<td>30,432 12.7</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19 298,073</td>
<td>36,900 15.3</td>
<td>25,389 44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24 212,252</td>
<td>32,816 13.6</td>
<td>12,652 22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29 171,946</td>
<td>24,768 10.3</td>
<td>3,692 6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34 179,218</td>
<td>18,891 7.9</td>
<td>2,699 4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39 163,771</td>
<td>18,771 7.8</td>
<td>2,467 4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44 138,131</td>
<td>21,414 8.9</td>
<td>2,497 4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49 91,115</td>
<td>15,543 6.5</td>
<td>1,660 2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-54 84,392</td>
<td>19,223 8.0</td>
<td>2,709 4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59 41,544</td>
<td>10,876 4.5</td>
<td>1,306 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-64 61,074</td>
<td>5,686 2.4</td>
<td>830 1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over 103,723</td>
<td>5,261 2.2</td>
<td>755 1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Number of Work Force Members in Urban Moroccan Households Having at Least One Work Force Member, Grouped by Monthly Income of Household and by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monthly Income of Household (in Dirhams)</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Households</th>
<th>Work Force Members 10 Years of Age and Over</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(number)</td>
<td>(percentage)</td>
<td>(number)</td>
<td>(average/household)</td>
<td>(number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Income</td>
<td>97,988</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 200</td>
<td>368,598</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>321,138</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>95,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-399</td>
<td>187,002</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>201,375</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>32,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400-599</td>
<td>61,445</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>73,599</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>13,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-799</td>
<td>24,809</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>34,771</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800-999</td>
<td>8,649</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>12,315</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 999</td>
<td>15,423</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>23,025</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5,381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>763,914</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>666,223</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>157,746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Dirham = $0.18.

V. A Critical Analysis of Latin American Programs to Integrate Women in Development

Teresa Orrego de Figueroa

The twentieth century has been characterized by the redefinition of woman's role in society. This change, which has taken place in a manner and at a pace that are consistent with each cultural context, is one of the most important components of the processes of change that define contemporary society, inasmuch as its impact is directed at the basic social nucleus, the family. Today this redefinition is inescapable and cannot be passed off as a capricious or demagogic process.

The universal and objective transformation of the female role has been accelerated by a number of factors, of which the following are the most significant: a) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly, as a result of which equal opportunity for both sexes has acquired a special relevance; and b) the exponential growth of science and technology, which has enabled women to perform additional social functions different from those traditionally assigned to them in the home. This process has brought about conflicts in values, causing confrontations between men and women in groups within virtually all societies.

In spite of the conflicts, a certain degree of consensus has been reached in the past fifty years that has led to legislation aimed at promoting the gradual integration of women into the labor force and into the social and political spheres. In Latin America, however, this legislation has not been accompanied by provisions for actually facilitating this participation through the various types of incentives that might be used to give an impetus to the dynamics of the process.

In the following pages I shall analyze briefly a) the transitional phase that Latin American women are passing through—in employment, education, politics, and in labor, volunteer, and political organizations; and b) the institutional experience of the offices for women's affairs in the region. I shall mention prevalent trends as well as exceptions to them—aware that both can be useful only within the context of the special interests of each country.

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Teresa Orrego de Figueroa is a consultant on poverty problems especially related to women, family, and youth with the Pan American Health Organization, the Organization of American States, and the Economic Commission for Latin America.
The Transitional Phase

In Latin America and in the Caribbean region, there is a tendency toward a marked disparity between the equal legal rights that have been established and the actual role that women play in society. The dominant culture, which is of Latin and Catholic origin, as well as the influence of the indigenous population and the mestizos, has assigned the leading role in the power structures to the male, restricting women primarily to household work.

Structural and cultural factors have helped to consolidate—perhaps even to widen—this gap between the intent of the law and the practical application of its provisions. Prevalent socio-economic conditions have been more determining as factors in inequality of opportunity than even the state of women’s rights itself. The condition of poverty hinders the development of both sexes equally, but its impact is felt more strongly by women, the young, the elderly, and ethnic groups. It is not a coincidence that Latin American women from the rural areas, which still contain about one half the population of the region, show the highest illiteracy and school dropout rates. Similarly, it is low-income women living in the metropolitan areas who work the longest hours for the lowest wages and have the highest rate of job turnover. They are primarily employed as domestic help—a job category which in 1970 included over two fifths of the region’s working women. If all the other service and industrial categories are included, two thirds of the female workforce is concentrated in the worst jobs. The remaining third is composed of office workers, and only a very small minority is employed at the professional level. In Latin America, even when a professional woman manages to reach a position of high responsibility, she still will not be able to reach the top rank in her field.

Employment. Clearly, the integration of women into the work force in Latin America is just beginning. Statistics show that in 1970 less than one fifth of Latin America’s total working population was composed of women—the lowest proportion among the world’s major regions. In Brazil, for example, while 50.5 per cent of the male population was employed, the percentage for women barely reached 13.1 per cent. In that year, women in Africa and Southern Asia accounted for 30 per cent, in Europe 34 per cent, and in the Soviet Union 49 per cent of the working population. Partially comparable statistics show that in Latin countries such as Spain and Portugal the figures were 23 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively. It is not hard to see that political, economic, and cultural factors are at work influencing the level and degree of female participation in the production sector.

In addition, the criteria used to define “working population” exclude certain activities that are now carried out largely by women—activities such as self-employment, part-time employment, volunteer work, and housework. The degree to which they contribute to the country’s development has yet to be...
defined. Let us take, for example, the case of the indigenous woman farmer of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Mexico, whose trading activities—such as the sale of farm products and handicrafts in rural and urban markets—frequently provide the major source of family income. Such a market woman also brings back to her local area manufactured goods which she sells in her own community; thus she is an active agent of social change, yet is not included in the labor force statistics.

**Education.** In Latin America, the formal educational system does not in itself add to the obstacles already inherent in the dominant culture. In fifteen Latin American countries, the ten-year period from 1960 to 1970—called "the decade of women's invasion of secondary education"—was marked by an annual increase of 12 per cent in enrollment of women in intermediate-level schools. In 1970, females comprised 48 per cent of the total primary-school enrollment and exceeded male enrollment at the higher education level. At the higher level there is a concentration of women in those professions traditionally reserved for their sex (education, obstetrics, nursing, social work, and art), although there is a gradual increase in the percentage of women in fields such as law, dentistry, and economics, and in the relatively new fields of sociology, psychology, anthropology, and journalism.

In the vocational education sphere, the region's lack of middle-level technical careers open to women is well known. Instead, there is a profusion of vocational courses that offer few opportunities for advancement, such as hairdressing, fashion, and secretarial work.

The inflexibility of admissions procedures at every educational level has made it difficult for a woman to return to her studies once she has suspended them for reasons related to child bearing and child rearing.

**Politics.** Today women in Latin America have the right to participate in politics. During the period between 1929 and 1961, women were granted the right to vote in twenty-three republics throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, although there are substantial differences in the exercise of this right to vote—differences that result from the level of political education attained in each country rather than from the sex of the voters. For instance, while in 1969 thirteen countries of the region had at least one congresswoman, Venezuela had ten and Chile twelve congresswomen; that year the senates of Colombia and Chile included four and three women deputies, respectively. However, even in these politically educated countries, the number of women elected to public office is very small.

**Labor, Volunteer, and Political Organizations.** The organizational capabilities of Latin American women have been inversely proportional to their numerical strength and to the importance of their roles in society. In typically feminine areas of activity, such as those carried out by all housewives, women have shown no sign of cohesion—not even in consumer organizations, for example, through which they could exert an influence on prices, which have a daily impact on their lives.

It could be argued that these are not regular forms of organization, that common interests have been neither sufficiently strong nor sufficiently long-

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lasting to justify involvement in these organizations. But it so happens that this failure on the part of women to join together for such purposes also exists in the work force. Only a small number of labor associations exist in fields dominated by female labor, such as domestic and secretarial work, handicrafts, trade, and various other service-oriented types of work—many of which fall into the self-employment category.

In lines of work that are characterized by a mixed labor force, the representation of women in the existing labor organizations is far from proportional to their share of the labor force. To relieve the effects of this situation, women have joined together to form labor organizations (in some cases on a regional or national scale) which, while open only to women, include women in all types of work—professionals, clerical employees, businesswomen, manual workers, and others. Although these organizations have helped women to influence public opinion in matters related to the support of women's integration, they do not appear to have obtained a firm and steady influence over their countries' development plans.

It is all too evident that women have carried no weight in Latin American labor unions. Argentina, for example, is a country with strong labor unions and a long tradition of female labor in the manufacturing industries; but only recently, in November of 1973, did it establish a Women's Division of the General Federation of Workers (Confederacion General del Trabajo). For purposes of comparison, it is worth noting that even in the United States, where 4.5 million women made up 21.7 per cent of union membership in 1972, women had not achieved proportional representation on the labor union boards.5

Women's influence on other traditional pressure groups likewise has been tenuous. In the church and the armed forces, women have played such minor roles that no significant representation has been offered to them in these institutions.

In contrast, volunteer work, whether in community service or in civic and political activities, is a female occupation that does carry a certain degree of influence in Latin America. In each country, there are innumerable volunteer service organizations—differing in size and function—essentially composed of women in urban middle and upper income brackets. But such work has not been assigned any economic value (either as a "use-value" or as an "exchange-value"), having not been accounted for as a contributing factor in the development process. Thus its influence has been restricted to the local level. In a few countries of the region the cooperative movement has acquired some level of importance in rural and urban areas among those in the middle and lower income brackets. This form of organization, which has a mixed membership, appears to be an important motivating force for the female population, particularly, in the fields of consumption, health, and housing.

In contrast, the integration of women into political affairs has been significant throughout Latin America. Women participated in public opinion movements and in political parties even before they obtained the right to vote. With women's suffrage, their participation became a determining factor in a

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number of national elections. Nearly all political organizations include women's branches, which stand out for their dynamism in the political struggle and their contribution to the preparation of party platforms on social policies.

In most Latin American countries, the following three facts reveal some contradictions implicit in the situation: a) women have won acclaim during periods of transition and then consolidation of the various political regimes; b) they subsequently have not participated in the structures which they themselves helped establish; and c) scant attention has been paid to women's affairs by government agencies.

**Women’s Affairs Offices in Latin America**

In Latin American countries, governmental branches catering specifically to women—which we shall call women’s affairs offices——were first set up in 1936. Women’s suffrage was one of the factors which influenced the creation of these state institutions, since in thirteen of the sixteen countries studied, the right to vote came prior to the inception of programs for women.

Some women’s affairs offices are primarily attached to the ministries of labor and social welfare; others are directly dependent on the executive branch, taking the form of secretariats, bureaus, or ad hoc committees. The priority tasks assigned to them in the formulation of national planning have varied considerably from one country to another, and have even evolved at different stages within the same nation—often coinciding with changes in the predominant political orientation.

The primary functions of women’s affairs offices are set out below, in the order of importance attached to them by the offices themselves in their programs. Following a discussion of these functions, I will describe specific programs in Argentina, Mexico, and Cuba.

*Functions.* The primary function of the women’s affairs offices of Latin American nations has been to provide economic and legal protection to women in lower income brackets. Their efforts generally have been directed more at alleviating the consequences of poverty than at the consequences of being a woman. To facilitate these humanitarian programs, both women and children have been assigned to the same group; according to criteria of sex, age, and income, they represent the most underprivileged members of society. Legal action has concentrated mainly on providing assistance to individuals in cases of family disputes and of problems in obtaining social security benefits. In the majority of cases, far less attention has been paid to such legal matters as defending and extending acquired rights and promoting new initiatives that could benefit women.

*Education*—understood to include the dissemination of information on subjects related to family life as well as vocational and technical training and

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*References to women’s affairs offices are taken from data obtained up to 1971 for the following Latin American and Caribbean nations: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. Organization of American States, Inter-American Commission of Women, “Oficinas de la mujer en los paises americanos,” Doc. No. OEA/CV.H/V-CM/1-M, 1971.*

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university training—is identified by at least one half of the women's affairs offices in the region as one of their prime objectives. The subjects falling into the category of family-life information are those related to home economics, which include practical aspects of family budgeting, health care, family planning, and nutrition. Women's affairs offices either provide educational services directly or act as coordinating centers that refer interested parties to the specialized agencies.

The promotion and coordination of women's activities in the private and public sectors has been the third most important function. The orientation is toward reinforcing women's capability for organized expression on the national as well as the regional and international levels and toward providing information and technical assistance in matters related to women's affairs.

Research on women’s problems has been scarce. In the majority of countries in the region, little research has been conducted on the different aspects that make up the set of problems related to the situation of women. This topic is beginning to receive some attention, however, and the results of more precise analysis may lead to the inclusion of women’s problems in national planning and to the reform of inequality based on sex.

With few exceptions, the provision of special services (such as childcare centers, cafeterias, and boarding schools) that would enable women to participate in educational programs, to hold jobs, and to be involved in civic affairs and political activities has received no special attention at the national level. In some nations, other private and public agencies have taken responsibility for these initiatives, leaving the women's affairs offices on the sidelines.

Clearly both research and the provision of special services which should be among the most important functions of the women’s affairs offices—so far have been given too little priority.

Three National Programs. To illustrate some of the functions of women’s associations, I shall comment upon such programs in three Latin American countries: Argentina, which is predominantly urban; Mexico, which is mainly rural; and Cuba, which involves the mobilization of resources on a nationwide scale.

In Argentina, women’s participation in the work force has increased steadily since the turn of the century. The 1887 census of Buenos Aires indicated that women made up 39 per cent of the working population, concentrated in the lowest paying jobs. Statistics for 1947 showed that one third of all women performed some type of remunerative work outside of the home. The quality of this participation has since improved, judging by the increase in the number of women enrolled at the intermediate and higher educational levels and in vocational training, which in the 1960s was greater than the enrollment of men—a unique situation in South America.

In 1944, the Women's Bureau of Labor and Assistance was created within the Department of Labor and Social Welfare, and a campaign was begun to give women the vote—which was accomplished in 1947. The three founding pillars of Peronism were the Women's Peronist Party (founded in 1949), the Men's Peronist Party, and the Federation of Labor. This structure

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was retained until 1955, when political upheavals changed it. In 1955, two offices were created: the National Office of Women's Affairs to deal with labor questions and the National Commission of Women to act as a consultant; both were replaced in 1957 by the National Bureau for Social Security and Protection of Women. This organization's duties closely matched the list of functions described above, with considerable emphasis placed on research, organization, and coordination. There was a high degree of participation from women's professional organizations, clerical workers, and manual workers, which is unusual in Latin America. In 1964, the Bureau became the Department of Women's Affairs. Its funds—and hence its influence—were reduced, although there was no significant change in the description of its responsibilities.⁸

In Mexico, emphasis has been placed on obtaining the massive participation of rural women in community development programs—both as beneficiaries and as active participants. The programs of the Institute for Child Protection, for instance, combine the state's economic support with volunteer work by women in child-care centers, nursery schools, kindergartens, and centers for rehabilitation and health care. The Institute offers courses in such subjects as family planning, budgeting, production and consumption of foodstuffs, and health care, and it provides up-to-date information on educational and job opportunities, legal and civil rights, and social security. Under this program more than 100,000 women were trained up to 1974, including more than 10,000 midwives⁹ who were assigned to help in the task of reducing infant and maternal mortality in rural areas.

The massive integration of Cuba's women into the country's development program—a governmental decision and state-run program—is an experiment that is atypical of Latin American experience. In 1960, the Revolutionary Government created the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), bringing together about 100,000 women who had previously belonged to different women's organizations. By 1970, its membership had swelled to 1,300,000, which represented 54 per cent of all Cuban women over fourteen years of age. The explicitly stated objective of the FMC was "to prepare women from the educational, political and social point of view, so that they may take part in the revolution. Its primary functions are to see that women are integrated into the labor force and to improve their educational awareness." To reach this goal, 5,000 volunteers were recruited. These volunteers in turn prepared 20,000 other volunteers to carry out a literacy campaign among the nation's 707,000 rural inhabitants, of whom 56 per cent were women. The educational program included courses ranging from dressmak-

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ing to mechanics. By 1968, courses in health care and hygiene had been
given to more than 700,000 women.

In the program's preliminary stages, the campaign concentrated on the
urban centers, where women were more experienced and better prepared to
accomplish the organization's objectives, but gradually opportunities for
rural women to participate and take responsibility also increased. To create
the preconditions for women's integration into the development process, the
state has tried to alleviate their daily household duties, providing meals for
adults at their jobs and setting up child-care centers, boarding schools, and
cafeterias, so that children's needs are taken care of practically from the time
they are born to the time they reach adolescence. These child-care centers,
designed to care for children from the age of forty-five days up to school age,
were located in new housing projects and in places of work and study. By
1970, the centers were caring for 10 per cent of the children in that age group.

Another essential part of the FMC program is to supply information and basic
services to assist women in planning the number and spacing of their

The results obtained have been considerable. As of 1970, women made
up 50 per cent of enrollment at the university level, as well as a significant
number in technical institutes, and practically the entire female population
had access to primary education. In the period between 1964 and 1970, the
female working population doubled. Despite this progress, however, some of
the attitudes that prevent women from achieving full participation still exist.
The jobs women are assigned are predominantly in the service sector;
moreover, women's job opportunities still are concentrated in fields that
traditionally have been recognized as the special competence of women,
and—as is often the case elsewhere—they very seldom include executive
positions.\footnote{Geoffrey E. Fox, "Honor, Shame, and Women's Liberation in Cuba," in Pescatello, Female and Male in Latin America, op. cit., pp. 273-90.}

Obviously, cultural habits cannot be changed in one generation,
but the fostering of conditions that will enable women to change their role in
society has set in motion an irreversible process of progress toward
women's integration in Cuba's development.

Conclusions: The Future of Women's Institutions in Latin America

Women's integration into contemporary Latin American society is still far
from being a reality, and the women's affairs offices do not appear to have
acquired the dimensions necessary to confront this challenge. They have
been called upon to fulfill primarily humanitarian needs, and, except in a few
sporadic cases, have continued to play a marginal role in the structure of
government.

Yet the number of women who define their role in society not as a
dichotomy between work and home but as a continuity of activities compati-
ble with their physiological and social prerogatives is daily growing. Never-
theless, women are having great difficulties in defining their role in develop-
—a precondition that is indispensable to establishing a policy and setting up appropriate programs.

From the outset, efforts in this field have mistakenly tried to measure with a single yardstick the functions of the two sexes, which are complementary but not identical. This has aroused rivalry between the sexes that goes against the very nature of their vital functions, which are those of preserving mankind and improving the quality of life for the whole society. Possibly the magnitude of the gap that exists between women’s potential and the role that continues to be assigned to them may justify this conflict. There is no doubt that exceptionally qualified and motivated women began a true revolution by dramatically exposing discrimination on the basis of sex, but it is equally true that, to correct this unjust situation, a concerted effort by both men and women is necessary to promote measures that will win, extend, and effectively apply women’s rights throughout Latin America.

In the Latin America and the Caribbean of the 1970s, conditions conducive to creating the necessary prerequisites for improving women’s integration into their countries’ development programs are: a) the creation of social and economic incentives to hire women at all levels of the private and public sectors; b) the availability of part-time employment; c) the provision of child-care centers, school cafeterias, and boarding schools; d) the expansion of educational and job opportunities; e) the availability of information and facilities for family planning; and f) the encouragement of community efforts on remunerative and voluntary levels. All of this naturally must be done without omitting the promotion and improvement of laws and regulations that help to raise the status of women.

What institutional channels are most suitable for reaching these objectives? The advisability of “segregating” women’s groups instead of “integrating” them with full rights and authority into each sector of national life and into each pressure group that exists therein—with a representation that is proportional to their number and the importance of their roles—perhaps should be questioned. In any case, it is urgent and indispensable to encourage a search for the right solutions, which will require, at least at this stage, specialized centers empowered to achieve the proposed objectives.

Within the existing structure, it is possible to visualize the women’s affairs offices as high-level national centers for the coordination of initiatives from all the different sectors, primarily concerned with employment, education, housing, and health care, and working in concert with the urgent priorities established in each country’s development plan. It is more difficult, although not impossible, to visualize these offices as autonomous national agencies for women’s affairs with their own capabilities for carrying out these programs and with the authority to mobilize the support they need in the various sectors in order to achieve all of their goals. But between these two extremes, countless combinations can be found that will correspond to each country’s financial, institutional, and human resources. Three conditions, however, will be indispensable everywhere: a clear definition of women’s role in development, an outline of the priorities and the resources necessary to achieve them, and continuity in carrying out approved programs.
VI. Women in Cities: Problems and Perspectives

Hanna Papanek

Urban areas are the crucible of industrialization and modernization—those processes of widespread social change that now affect most of the world. Changes and problems observed in cities often are the first indication of broader transformations taking place in a society, but the relationships between cities and rural areas also are crucial elements in the process of change. An understanding of urban areas may make it possible to anticipate the effects of change elsewhere and to develop some means of coping with it.

The situation of women living in cities has been a gravely neglected area of social research and policy. This neglect is part of a much broader lack of understanding of the special situation of women. Researchers and social planners have focused almost exclusively on men; their assumption has been that by understanding the men, they would also be reaching the women and children. This approach is not only factually inaccurate—especially where many women are heads of families—but also overlooks the special needs and contributions of women. Social science now has the special responsibility of improving knowledge about women in order to affect social policies, particularly with respect to women in the mainly agricultural poorer nations undergoing rapid social and economic change.

This paper identifies some of the problem areas that are of particular importance to women in cities and emphasizes their interrelationships: 1) the social and economic status of women, 2) women's work, 3) the education and training of women, 4) women's geographic and social mobility, and 5) women's groups and associations. The paper is written from the point of view of a researcher interested in the development and use of knowledge of women's place in society in order to contribute to the solution of social problems, and in the hope of raising the position of women to a level more equal to that of men in their own societies. The paper focuses particularly on the area of women's work in an attempt to provide a general framework in which the data on particular countries can be considered. The factors of fertility and employment underlie most of the discussion and are mentioned in several different contexts.

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Women's Social and Economic Status:  
Class Differences and Derived Status

Differences between socio-economic classes are usually most pronounced in cities, since city populations contain both the very poor and the very rich, as well as a substantial portion of the middle class, which is associated with city-based occupations. These class differences are of course crucial to an understanding of both women and men in society, but they may affect women in special ways that are not yet well understood by social scientists and social planners. Any research or social policy that ignores these class differences will be of little use in understanding and solving particular problems. In addition to class differences, there are also other differences based on ethnic distinctions, length of city residence, types of occupation, types of migration to the city, and so on.

In many cities, the gaps between the different income groups are so enormous that entirely different experiences of city life shape the perceptions of people, and the different groups have very little contact with each other. This is particularly true for women, whose social participation is very different from that of men in many parts of the world. Women live much more of their lives in their own neighborhoods, even if they are employed outside their homes, their places of work tend to be quite close to their homes, while men travel much farther afield. In those societies in which women are restricted to the home and do not enter the labor force in significant numbers, these distinctions are even more crucial, for in these situations the social interactions of women are clearly limited to their immediate neighborhoods and their own relatives.

In part, these differences in social contact are based on the view that women's primary role is to care for children and the household, including cooking, cleaning, and care of clothing and other possessions. In fact, only the biological functions of child bearing and lactation are women's exclusive domain, but it is generally true that additional, socially determined functions related to child care and household maintenance have been added to women's roles. Although these socially determined roles could be filled equally well by men, there is no society in which men, rather than women, perform all of these functions. In most societies, moreover, men begin quite early in life to have broader social experiences outside the home than do women, although there are some obvious exceptions.

In addition to these differences in the life experiences of women and men in many societies, there are usually special barriers which women face in contributing to family income under changing urban circumstances. In most peasant societies, the family is the economic unit, and women and children are expected to contribute their full share of labor. Skills are often interchangeable between women and men. As industrialization increases in

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urban areas, there is a strong tendency to develop separate types of occupations for women and men. The family unit is no longer the earning unit that it was in rural areas, or that it was even in the early stages of industrialization in Western Europe or, more recently, in Japan. Both men and women, especially in low-income groups, then begin to face special barriers to employment. The causes include, among others, inadequate education, poor housing, lack of access to methods of limiting family size, and the lack of medical facilities and social services. Although these problems affect low-income men as well as women, they have a particularly limiting impact on the occupational access of women because of their child-care responsibilities. In general, there are also explicit reasons which develop to "justify" discrimination against women in many types of occupations and activities. Poor women thus face double barriers in many societies—one based on their class position, the other based on their being women. As a result, women's occupations command significantly lower wages, as will be discussed in the section on women's work.

A further constraint on women's participation in the labor force is the fact that in most societies their status remains tied to that of the men in their families. This "derived status" also reinforces the barriers of class differences, particularly in urban areas. Judith Blake stresses the central role in women's lives of the status, authority, and power wielded by the men to whom women are linked (i.e., fathers or husbands) and the absence of independent criteria for awarding or measuring status among women. She sees the current attempts to improve the status of women as closely tied to the development in presently industrialized countries of "a continuing attempt to prescribe one kind of position—a derived one—as being the primary status for all women." There is a current preoccupation in research and policy with something called "the status of women," which generally turns out to be impossibly difficult to define operationally. Researchers would be well advised to avoid using such a slippery concept as one of their variables and to substitute more useful variables based on measurable behavior or expressed values. This is particularly important for studies of urban women where status differences between families as well as broader class differences are such crucial distinguishing variables.

A problem closely related to that of class differences is that of distinctions between men and women in terms of their access to power, influence, and authority. Women in the upper-status groups may be able to exert considerable power because of their informal access to men in positions of authority. Women in low-status groups, on the other hand, have very little access to either power or authority and are uniformly less influential than the men in their status groups. It is also possible that in many societies there are differences among classes in terms of the individual decision-making power that women exert within their own families. 


Many of these factors are not yet clearly understood by social scientists—often because of a neglect of the women's perspective. It is not clear, for example, how the public status and influence of women, as seen in a society's value system, may affect their private status and influence within their own families. These questions become very important when social policies attempt to change specific values (attitudes toward fertility, for instance) without clearly understanding both women's public and private status. Women may be quite different from men in the extent to which, for example, public media of communication affect their values and behavior, and may be affected in important ways by other women outside the family in some societies. All of these points have obvious relevance to the situation of women in urban areas in terms of the accessibility of women to programs of planned social change.

Women's Work

Work is basic to the life of men, women, and children in both urban and rural areas in all societies, but there are considerable differences in the way in which work is divided among various groups or individuals. It is clear that the work of women is not accurately reflected in statistics concerning the labor force, because only a part of it is carried out in those sectors of the economy which these statistics are designed to measure. It is therefore very misleading to distinguish, as many people do, between "working women" and "non-working women." Instead, it becomes increasingly important to clarify the differences among the types of work done by women and the differences in their economic and social effects. Some of these categories are: women in paid employment, women who are self-employed and earn money; women who participate in family enterprises and do not earn individual wages; and women who care for their households and children, do not earn wages, but make other contributions to the money-earning capacities of their husbands and other male members of the household. A specific type of this last kind of work is becoming increasingly important in middle-class urban occupations, especially in the industrialized societies, where women have good access to education. This is the "two-person career" pattern, in which women are expected to perform certain kinds of support functions for their husbands (which generally increase the husbands' work performance) without receiving a direct money income. Many other patterns of husbands and wives sharing specific types of work also exist, of course, along with different patterns of remuneration. The variety of types is probably greater in urban

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5A good deal of research has been conducted in connection with communications and family-planning programs and concerning husband-wife communication in fertility control, but none really stresses the woman's perspective. See, for example, Everett Rogers, Communication Strategies for Family Planning (New York: The Free Press, 1973); and Thomas Poffenberger, Fertility and Family Life in an Indian Village, Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia No. 10 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1975).

areas than in agricultural environments. Clearly an understanding of the different kinds of women's work is important to any accurate assessment of the functioning of families in the urban economy.

**Wages.** A better understanding of women's contributions to the economy also might affect the process of economic planning in some nations and the determination of wages for women's work, to the extent that this can be influenced by legislation and government planners. There are obviously factors of economic self-interest involved which serve to maintain an inequitable wage system in many societies. Government policy planners usually are quite limited in the extent to which they can balance the factors of social justice for any one group against the economic self-interest of powerful groups in the society. In the case of women, powerful social stereotypes about women's place complicate this picture even further.

For example, the widespread assumption that women's earnings are simply supplementary to those of male household members is a very significant element in determining women's wages and the access of women to specific kinds of employment and promotion. According to this idea, women are willing to work for lower wages than men, because both their actual financial needs and their opportunity costs (based on alternative uses of their time) are lower than those of men. This clearly results in lower labor costs in occupations where the labor force is entirely female. It is unlikely that this economic reality will be easily challenged by the recognition that, in fact, a large proportion of women in the labor force of many countries are heads of households or are independently supporting children in households where men are also present. For these women, a policy that allocates wages according to the concept of a supplementary wage creates great hardship. Yet they have no alternative to accepting employment on the same terms that are offered to women from different types of family units. In most situations, the number of women willing to work for "supplementary" wages in response to economic pressures on their families is larger than the number of female heads of household, and wages for all women remain low. It is urgent that social policies based on adequate information and analysis be developed to check the harmful effects of such essentially discriminatory wage determinations on men and children as well as on women.

**Women's Occupations.** Specific "women's occupations" are another important aspect of women's economic position. In most societies, some occupations are regarded as being particularly "suitable" for women. Women are trained and encouraged to prefer them. Such special women's occupations develop in all types of societies—including both those which deliberately limit women's public activities through the practice of seclusion and those in which women's equal access to employment opportunities is part of the official ideology. Such occupations are often extensions of women's

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domestic roles (cooks, domestic servants); mothering and nurturing roles (teachers, especially for younger children, nurses, midwives, and doctors in some countries); or supportive roles (secretaries, assistants, typists). In almost all societies, women are absent from administrative and political occupations that entail large amounts of authority and power over others.

Some types of occupations are defined as women’s occupations in some societies and men’s occupations in others. This is particularly true of occupations that involve trade and the marketplace; in societies where women are secluded, they are absent from markets both as buyers and sellers, and commerce is a male domain. In other societies, trade is dominated by women—although generally not in the leading sectors of the economy.9

Although it can be seen as a limiting factor, it must be recognized that the development of women’s occupations opens up new avenues of social mobility and increased earnings for women in many societies. These occupations therefore are very important to women. However, because of the generally weaker bargaining power of women in the economies of many societies, and because of the prevalent concept that women work for supplementary wages only, the special women’s occupations are often merely methods of creating a separate section of the labor force that is available at lower wages than would be accepted by men. This is a particularly relevant problem at the present time because of the way in which some new industries are being introduced into the presently less industrialized countries, which have a labor surplus. Many of these new industries are being located in urban areas, and the occupations are being defined as more suitable for women than for men. It is possible that these definitions are based on physical differences between women and men, but more likely that some socially produced behavioral tendencies of women—such as greater compliance, for example—are used to “explain” the suitability of some occupations for women.10

Persons interested in the status of women need to pay a great deal of attention to the development of these special women’s occupations in the newly established industries to determine to what extent these occupational definitions are primarily methods for obtaining labor at low wages. This obviously affects the bargaining position of the male labor force because of the possible availability of a female labor force willing to work at lower wages. One way to obtain a fuller understanding of this process might be to locate those industries which have recently shifted from a predominantly male to a predominantly female labor force, at least in some specific occupations. This examination should make clear whether the shift is related to changes in the overall wage structure, to demographic changes, or to changes in social conditions. It is also important to study the extent to which traditional values

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10A staggering number of studies dealing with sex differences are summarized in Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Jacklin, The Psychology of Sex Differences (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974); see also their conclusions about leadership and vocational success, which do not support traditional assignments of certain jobs to women, pp. 370-71.
that are thought to be well established are likely to change as a result of economic pressures or various types of social changes and pressures. These factors are crucial to an understanding of the development of a "female proletariat" in some countries.

Rural-Urban Migration. Unemployment and underemployment among men is often considered to be a factor mitigating against the development of new employment opportunities for women. This argument is very pervasive in many newly industrializing countries and affects manpower planning in these nations in significant ways. Ester Boserup has sharply criticized this view, pointing out that the opening up of new employment opportunities in urban areas to rural migrants increases the burdens on the existing urban infrastructure, often in catastrophic ways. If women who already reside in urban areas were encouraged to enter the labor force on attractive terms, the incentives to rural migrants might be decreased. This step, however, would have to be coupled with an increase in investment in employment opportunities in rural areas—to provide incentives for remaining outside the cities. Unfortunately, in most agricultural societies, the income differences between rural and urban areas are so large that even occasional urban employment tends to yield a higher income than the intermittent rural employment found by landless laborers and their families. To limit migration to urban areas significantly, the investment in rural employment opportunities therefore would need to be very large. In spite of these difficulties it is important to raise Boserup's point in this connection: the opening up of new employment opportunities that arise in cities to women already residing in these cities would not require added investment in urban services—since these women already are users of existing services.

Self-Employment. An important source of earnings for many urban women in both low-income and middle-class groups is self-employment. The women turn to self-employment in response to the very low incomes of men as well as to inflationary pressures on urban earnings, which tend to react only slowly to overall changes in the cost of living. Wives of men on fixed incomes, for example, often develop additional earning opportunities by providing services to others in the middle or upper class who do not feel economic pressures to the same extent. These self-employment opportunities are often expansions of the women's domestic skills (cooking, sewing, cleaning, etc.).

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12Boserup, Woman's Role, op. cit.

13At the same time, attention must be called to the effects of technological change on the employment opportunities for rural women—which are likely to be somewhat different from the effects felt by men—but this range of problems lies outside the scope of this paper. These effects are briefly discussed by Margaret Mead in "Comment on the Role of Women in Agriculture," and by Irene Tinker in "The Adverse Impact of Development on Women," elsewhere in this volume.
beauty care) provided from a base in women's homes and therefore not requiring large overhead expenditures; they may also include secretarial work, teaching, and tutoring, again conducted in women's homes. In some societies, such work does not lead to a lowering of the family's status, possibly because of its historical precedents or because the woman's status is derived from her husband's (as discussed earlier in this chapter) rather than based on her own occupation.

It is important to note that the earning opportunities of middle-class women usually are dependent on the presence of cheap domestic labor in the household. While it is true in such situations that an additional workload is taken on by the self-employed housewife herself, an even heavier load is likely to fall upon the domestic servant, with no corresponding rise in wages. In other words, the increased product of the servant is transferred to the housewife in the form of markt earnings from the sale of products or services. The existence of this type of exploitation in many societies where there is an available supply of cheap domestic labor—often temporary migrants from rural areas—makes it important to differentiate between types of women's work, their class positions, and the type of remuneration received.

The availability of cheap domestic labor has many other consequences, such as a possible effect on fertility and the ease of entry into some occupations by women. With respect to this latter point, it has often been pointed out that women in the less industrialized countries may face fewer difficulties in entering the labor force than women in the highly industrialized nations, where the cost of domestic help is prohibitive and child-care facilities are not provided by the government or private employers.

Fertility. It is clear that the care of children is a major factor in the economic activities of women. In rural areas, women's participation in certain types of subsistence activities and not in others seems to be largely determined by the compatibility of simultaneous child care with the particular activity. In urban areas, similar considerations operate in the development of women's self-employment conducted in the home, at least in some situations. Women choose home-centered activities because they can earn while staying close to their children. It is possible that for these middle-class women, economic pressures are reduced by this work, and fertility may stay at somewhat higher levels than might be expected on the basis of other factors.

More generally speaking, research carried out in industrialized countries tends to show that women who are in the labor force have smaller families than women who are not, but this "relationship has not been established in the lesser developed countries, nor where extended family ties


15See, for example, Hanna Papanek, T. Omas Ithrom, and Yulfita Rahardjo, "Changes in the Status of Women and Their Significance in the Process of Social Change: Indonesian Case Studies," paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Asian History, International Association of Historians of Asia, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 1974 (available in Women's Collection, South Asia Reference Collection, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago).
are particularly strong." In these countries, the relationship between maternal employment and fertility seems to be much more complex. One possible reason may lie in the institutional structure of employment, since the distinctions between the home and the place of work are likely to be much more pronounced in the already industrialized countries than in those where industrial employment is just being introduced. It is also argued that "policies combining economic growth, more equitable distribution of the economic and social benefits of progress, and easy access to family-planning services can bring about a much greater reduction in fertility than can any one of these factors alone" on the basis of a broad survey of research data. This argument suggests that a direct relationship between maternal employment and lowered fertility is likely to be much harder to prove in countries where many other broad social changes are occurring simultaneously. With respect to women, the most important factors are likely to be changes in health and nutritional condition, education, and a general shift in life styles and the centrality of family life.

It is important to keep these points in mind when considering social policies to reduce fertility through increasing women's employment in new industries. In view of what has been said earlier about the potential exploitation of women in special occupations and at lower wages, it becomes important not to let the fertility-reduction argument play too important a role, especially since no direct connection has been shown. Since the most likely candidates for this type of employment are low-income women, it has to be remembered that their children are also most likely to suffer the greatest actual physical deprivation in the absence of the mother. There are no readily available substitutes for breast milk in countries where heat, disease, poor sanitation, and ignorance combine with the very high price of powdered milk to lead to a decline in infant health. Without a proper emphasis on fair wages, as well as adequate child-care facilities, the employment of women in newly developing countries cannot be seen simply in terms of its contribution to a policy for fertility reduction. Findings from studies in industrial countries do not include adequate data on the effects of maternal employment on the infant but do indicate that from a psychological point of view there is "no evidence for a theory of deprivation resulting from maternal employment" for school-age children. The same is likely to hold true for school-age children in the less industrialized countries. Policy makers should be clear about the possible infant mortality and fertility consequences of policies which intend to include factory employment for women as part of a fertility-reduction program.

The Education and Training of Women

Education is important as an end in itself and should be a basic right of all persons in all societies. It plays a particularly crucial role in urban areas,

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where social change is more rapid than elsewhere and where the traditional methods of obtaining skills may be neither adequate nor available. This of course applies to both men and women, but there are special aspects of women’s educational needs in urban areas that need to be examined.

Research on urban factory workers in several different developing societies has indicated the great importance that education has for men in urban areas, in terms of producing in them some of the attitudes which are associated with industrialization and “modernization.” This research—conducted in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—dealt with the impact of education, urban residence, and industrial employment on men only, but there is no reason to suppose that these factors do not have important effects on women as well.

The social significance of education becomes clear only in relation to broader patterns. For example, class differences in the availability of education illustrate the ways in which education can serve to limit social mobility. At the same time, some individuals and groups often experience considerable social mobility as a result of access to education. Urban women, for example, often find themselves in cities in search of educational opportunities for themselves, or, more frequently, for their children or their husbands. Women in many societies find themselves excluded from certain types of social mobility because of the specialized nature of their education and training, which is directed toward a restricted range of occupations and other life choices. In other societies, on the other hand, women have considerably freer access to educational opportunities but face difficulties in entering occupations.

The relationship between women’s “life-time careers” and their training is usually quite different from that of men in comparable circumstances. (The term “life-time career” is used here in its broadest sense to describe the pattern of life and work in which people engage, rather than the more restricted sense of “career” to describe an occupational progression.) The relationship between education and women’s life-time careers is complicated by the fact that, in all societies, marriage is considered to be a central part of women’s lives. Because of the responsibilities which women assume for child bearing and child rearing, marriage and family life usually play a much more salient role in the lives of women, in terms of the time and energy spent on home-centered responsibilities. Men usually discharge their family responsibilities by employment or self-employment in occupations which have at least some contact with the world outside the household. Women often do not.

Women’s education for life-time careers is also complicated by the fact that much of the training for important life tasks occurs outside formal institutions. Most of the training for family work still occurs within the family and among informal groupings of women rather than in schools. It is only in the most highly industrialized nations that any significant part of this training is taken over by schools, communications media, religious institutions, formal associations of young people, and the like. The importance of this training for family work in the case of urban women is that the rapid social changes occurring in urban environments, and the changes brought about through migration to urban areas, often deprive women of the opportunities

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of receiving such training from female kin and friends. This often makes neighborhood associations and other types of informal networks very important for urban women and increases the need for developing types of education which are appropriate for women at different stages of life and in different institutional settings.

However, this emphasis on special needs should not be taken to mean that separate education for women is necessary or desirable in all societies. It is impossible to make generalizations on such an important matter, since differences between societies and social classes must determine what is appropriate in a given time or place. Women in some societies—for example, where they have been secluded in the home—will need some separate training facilities for a time in order to make education available for them in the first place. In other societies, specific groups of women may need special facilities, such as local training facilities for urban women about to enter new occupations but still tied to their neighborhoods. In yet other instances, separate education for women must be seen as a retrograde step, or at least a means of preventing women from attaining full educational equality with men. Up to the highest available levels. Whatever the difficulties faced by the majority of women in any society, however, maximum educational facilities must always be made available to some women. Entirely separate educational facilities have a tendency to be inferior and to lead to separate, specialized occupational slots in which wages and authority are lower than they should be. It is obvious that the special educational needs of women are not met simply through the provision of yet another home economics institute which is unrelated to the actual living conditions of the majority of women in that area.

**Women's Geographic and Social Mobility**

The mobility of women—which is related to their employment, class position, education, and family position—is quite different from that of men, in both geographic and social respects. In many societies, most women do not have independent mobility at all. That is, they cannot move from place to place independently of their families. This affects their potential employment and education in many important ways. As a result, women's social mobility into a higher social class is achievable only through marriage, not through education and achievement.

In many societies—including those in which women have a very high level of participation in many occupations—women are much less mobile than their husbands in response to the demands of their occupations. In effect, women move in response to changes in their husbands' work locations much more often than the other way around. Since both income and authority are often related to occupational mobility, the lack of it seriously affects many women.

In those cases where women do have independent mobility, their social position is likely to be very special—that is, they may be considered quite deviant from the accepted norm for female behavior. For example, women who are traders and must travel in connection with their business often must

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*See Lapidus, “Occupational Segregation,” op. cit.*
make special arrangements in terms of their relationships with men and children. Occasionally, polygamous households permit some women members to travel on business in societies where this kind of arrangement is possible. In many instances, women who do achieve independent mobility are suspected of violating the society’s codes of sexual conduct. The particulars of women’s mobility are always determined by their specific social context, although there are, of course, always women who pioneer in these situations to expand the range of available options for themselves and others. While the limitations on women’s mobility are poignantly described in much of the world’s literature, so are the journeys of the intrepid pioneer women.

While in some societies women who do not marry have a greater degree of mobility than those who do, in others the unmarried women are carefully shielded from contact with men. The reasons for restricting the mobility of women in so many of the world’s societies are clearly connected with women’s special role in reproduction and the importance which most societies place on the control of descent. Women who are highly mobile frequently move beyond the systems of social control over women’s sexual and reproductive lives. Those who have moved away from the control of their own households—which serve to protect as well as restrict them—often are considered to be available targets for sexual exploitation. This is a serious problem in most of the world’s urban areas, in which the level of social protection available in more closely knit social settings is often absent. It becomes particularly urgent in those cities where large numbers of younger women migrate to urban areas in order to work as domestic servants or in low-skill service occupations. Such women are usually unmarried but plan to move back to their homes to marry. In the meantime they are often indispensable to the economic survival of their rural families. If new employment opportunities are to be created for women in urban areas, some degree of protection through hostels, social services, and other means must be provided for them, especially in societies with a history of highly aggressive sexual exploitation of “unprotected women.” Urban areas with a large preponderance of young males and an absence of facilities for family life and education are particularly dangerous for women workers, since family life does not play a central role in social organization in such cities.

Another consequence of the limited mobility of women is demonstrated by those societies in which high degrees of sex segregation are enforced through systems of seclusion, such as the purdah system of Moslem South Asia and similar systems in the Middle East. These systems of seclusion limit the contact between women and men outside their immediate kinship group and usually include strict parental control over the choice of marriage partners. There is some evidence that the seclusion of women is sometimes greater, or at least different in its physical form, in urban areas than in rural areas of origin. It is possible that this is related to the dangers that the new urban environment is perceived to present to women. In addition, some improvement in social and economic status may lead some urban families to seclude their women as a sign of social status, in much the same way that men in some societies view the non-participation of their wives in the labor force as a demonstration of their own status. This illustrates the wider practice of women serving as “demonstrators” of family status, which so often has damaging effects on women’s social and economic participation.
The limitations placed on women's mobility have several important direct consequences. Women often lack access to educational institutions, public events, voting rights, and other types of participation in their society. This limits their ability to contribute to the process of economic and social development and impinges directly on their own and their families' well-being. It is crucial to develop an accurate understanding of this aspect of women's lives. For example, societies that are highly sex-segregated, such as the Moslem areas of South Asia, probably suffer serious economic consequences from the absence of women in many productive activities. Detailed economic studies, including comparisons with areas that are similar in other respects but characterized by low sex segregation, are needed in order to document the loss to national production as well as to family welfare. To do this, adequate measures of women's productivity must be developed to calculate the losses which may result from social customs which exclude women in their homes, preventing them from growing and marketing vegetable crops, producing salable items at home or in factory industries outside their own households, learning and teaching others, and other active roles. These factors need to be considered quite independently of general welfare measures such as standards of health and nutrition, although these also are affected by women's limited mobility.

It also is clear that limitations on the mobility of women have consequences in another area closely related to development policy. Fertility is almost certainly affected by anything that focuses a woman's entire life upon the home and her domestic role. Programs of fertility reduction need to consider the matter of limited mobility as a direct variable in the design of successful family-planning programs. To some extent, this is already implicit in a number of programs and studies, but it needs to be seen as a separately measurable variable. Programs that focus on increasing women's mobility by involving them directly in family-planning clinics or as field workers, obviously also are dealing with this aspect of women's lives. Much more attention needs to be paid to it, however, since the mobility of women is also related to class differences, and there is the possibility that economic development may bring with it some restrictions on the mobility of women whose families are achieving a slightly higher economic status.

Finally, in some parts of the world, there is a large amount of seasonal migration between urban and rural areas. In many instances, only the men migrate; in others, women and children also follow. This frequent movement between city and countryside often makes families highly unstable, and men frequently are involved in supporting more than one family. Poverty exacerbates the problem, and the break-up of a family unit through divorce or desertion often is one way of "solving" extreme economic problems. In most instances, the consequences of family break-ups are more severe for women than for men. In some societies where the labor force participation for women is very restricted and where women have little access to education, those women whose families have broken up may, as a last resort, move into begging or prostitution.  

Women's Groups and Associations

Although they have been largely neglected by researchers and social planners, women's formal and informal associations may be one of the keys for future changes in the participation of women in the development process. The question of women's associations in urban areas has a particular bearing on most of the factors already discussed, such as class differences, mobility, and work.

The distinction between formal and informal associations is one key to understanding the role that these groups play in women's lives. In many instances, the term "women's association" brings to mind an organization of elite urban women that may be politically significant and is often highly visible to social planners in urban areas. These groups are one type of formal association. They undoubtedly play very important roles in many programs of education and social development, health and nutrition, general welfare, family planning, and vocational training. For many women, these groups are a major factor in improving their situation in life. Formal women's associations should certainly be better understood, better utilized, and more generously supported than they have been. But they are not the whole story.

In more traditional societies, women in urban and rural areas often work together in groups based on kinship or neighborhood ties. These women's groups often represent the basis for women's power and authority in the society, particularly when individual women have very low status in families dominated by the men. Women's informal groups are sometimes also based on shared leisure time, as are some of the most important social groupings of men. In rapidly changing urban societies, these women's groups and networks are often more fragile because of the greater mobility of families; but particularly for recent migrants, the role they play in that environment may be even more important than that of similar groups in the countryside. The informal associations among women also often support economic transactions outside the money economy, such as exchanges of goods and services or mutual help arrangements, which are indispensable to the survival of many families in urban areas. Such exchanges, which occur at several different class levels and vary accordingly, must be understood as part of women's contributions to the national and family economy.

Other types of associations are more formalized but fall short of being structured organizations. They hold a particular potential for mobilizing women's participation in the development process because of this intermediate position. They usually are tied to the neighborhood or locality, do not require the formal step of affiliation with a large group, which many women shun (or are prohibited from taking), and can be justified as being a normal part of women's lives. An example of this intermediate type of association is the joint savings group (called arisan in Indonesia), which combines both social and economic factors in attracting and linking members. In these small groups, women develop personal ties and obligations that motivate them to continue to pool their savings so that each member in turn can withdraw the entire amount. The principle of linked social and economic motivations and

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benefits could be used in other types of groups to bring about needed change. Social research has long established similar principles in widely differing contexts: commitment to a new course of action is more likely to be implemented by individuals when the commitment has been made publicly and has generated the support of the group, although specific conditions of commitment can alter the outcome.23

Formal women's associations face a number of problems, some of which are discussed more fully in Chapter V of this volume. In urban areas, women's associations are closely linked to men's associations, particularly in the cases of political groupings or religion-oriented organizations. The men's groups usually determine most of the policies of the linked women's groups, thus giving women members little experience in policy making. Other women's groups have a tendency to become too large, inefficient, and responsive only to pressures generated not by their own constituencies but by other associations or political organizations at, for example, the national level. Because women generally have fewer contacts than do men with large bureaucratic organizations, the point at which women's associations may become unwieldy for their members may be different from men's groups. Other difficulties may result from the fact that many women's associations were originally founded at times of national crisis, such as nationalist movements in periods preceding independence from colonial rule, and have not succeeded in reshaping their goals to meet current needs.

In spite of these obstacles, however, women's associations, both formal and informal, represent extremely important points of contact with a wider world. They need to be developed further to increase women's participation at all levels of social action. The particular relevance of these associations for urban women lies in the fact that women in cities are often quite isolated from each other, and, having moved outside the closely knit personal networks of their villages, they need the support of informal neighborhood associations in order to cope with problems of urban living. They also may need the more formal organizations to increase their level of participation in vital decisions which affect them and their families. As in the case of educational and occupational opportunities for women, the decision as to whether separate facilities for women are desirable must be made in the specific context of each society, rather than in terms of more general principles. These decisions must be made by the women themselves, to ensure that such groups serve to increase, rather than limit, the opportunities for women to attain their full potential.

Conclusions

The thrust of this paper may best be summed up in the phrase "women's full potential." Perhaps we need to rethink the meaning of this currently impor-

tant phrase and to discover why it has suddenly become a matter of concern to planners, legislators, and women themselves.

The emphasis on "full potential" has led to a high degree of interest in the accurate measurement of women's economic and social contributions, which leads to the question of why accurate measurement suddenly matters to so many of us—since measurement alone has little effect on the amount and kind of work which women are doing. What are to be the purposes of improved measurement, better analysis of data, deeper understanding of dynamics? One reason for our concern with these problems almost certainly is a widening concern with equity. Equal access to the benefits of economic growth has become increasingly important, both politically and ideologically, as the problems of poverty have become more menacing and as more people have come to conceive of equity as a real possibility.

Relationships to authority have been changing in many societies, at both the individual and the group levels, and have led to pressures for social and political restructuring. These changes are also reflected in the view of women as a neglected resource—as a group which needs to be made to reach its full potential. The forces which fuel this view, however, are only partly the concerns with equity and changed relations to authority. What may be far more important is that the concern with limited resources has begun to affect our thinking about social and economic problems. Concern with women's contributions may be a reflection of the desperation many groups and individuals feel in the face of the staggering problems of poverty—or, as it is more often phrased, of "underdevelopment." It becomes important to find additional forces that can be mobilized in the attempt to alleviate the problems of poverty and to cope with limited resources.

It is this concern with the twin forces of poverty and inequality that must lead to a realization that all people must be given equal weapons in the battle against both. The potential of women always has been very great. It is the enormity of today's problems which makes it intolerable that it is not fulfilled. But we need to remember that the concern with women's potential is based on both factors. This realization must shape our search both for knowledge and for means to achieve change.
VII. Women in Development: Urban Life and Labor

Nadia H. Youssef

Urban women are a significant force in developing countries, comprising 58 per cent of the total female population in South America, 40 per cent in Asia, and 17 per cent in Africa. In most of the cities in developing countries, the loss of womanpower in conspicuous leisure activities, unproductive household tasks, or various forms of disguised unemployment is self-evident. For instance, in most Islamic nations of the Middle East and North Africa, an average of only 5 per cent of all adult women are employed in non-agricultural labor; in Latin American cities, in contrast, a large percentage of women are employed, but close to 40 per cent of them work as domestic servants. This paper will outline the rationale for integrating women into development and will then go on to discuss the issues to be considered and strategies to be implemented to actualize the contributions women can make to their cities.

The Rationale for Integration

1. To be integrated into development efforts, women must acquire, by legal right, access to available means for self-improvement and the improvement of society. Among the means that should be available are: opportunity for wage employment or generation of income through self-employment or family employment; education, both formal and informal; participation in administrative and public life; and access to health and maternity care.

2. The real purpose of development is to make people better off. It is only when women are fully utilized that they will be able to develop their total human potential and make their maximum contribution to society.

3. Women's welfare should be seen as a necessary means to an end—national growth and development—as well as an end in itself. Activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of developing countries should be conceived of as improving their countries' status and assisting the total development effort. All economic, social, and demographic benefits should be considered to be derived from the integration of women into the development process at all levels.

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4. Emphasis on the positive contribution urban women could make to economic production rests on the notion that the creation of more paid jobs for women is the surest way to simultaneously raise their status, reduce their drudgery, and raise the national output.

5. Emphasis on the positive contribution urban women could make to national development via fertility control rests on: a) the negative relationship between high fertility and the improvement of living standards, and b) the symbiotic relationship between high fertility and women's low educational and job opportunities.

**The Participatory Role of Women**

1. There should be full awareness of the strains and contradictions between development strategies directed at the utilization of womanpower as an economic asset or a resource to be developed and exploited as effectively as possible, and women's rights to seek alternative options for self-improvement and growth. Hence there is a need to guarantee that the utilization of womanpower for national development goals will be planned within a framework which protects women's rights and needs by including women in the development process as both participants and beneficiaries.

2. Recognition should be given to the fact that in certain societies women play a developmental role unconsciously for immediate and personal goals and without direct interference or outside efforts to change and develop their enterprise. More systematic research is needed to assess what evidence there is "to feel that women indeed might have an active participatory role in development rather than simply performing as willing or unwilling beneficiaries."

3. Informed awareness that recognizes the individuality of women and the societal differences in the developing world should be fostered to replace the projection of the Western view of womanhood onto women of non-Western nations.

4. It should be recognized that freedom of choice in roles is possible for, at best, an elite and small minority of women from the upper socio-economic brackets. The vast majority of women (like men) seek employment outside the home to economically support or improve the level of living for themselves and their families.

5. Realistically, development strategies aimed at a greater female input into economic production can be implemented only if and when male employment levels are high. The experience of some socialist countries suggests that the integration of women into the economic sector is dependent upon the creation of a labor shortage sufficiently acute to enable the removal of sex discrimination in the occupational process.¹

6. Consideration must be given to the interdependence between any strategy aimed at integrating women into national development and the role

¹Emmy Bartz Simmons, "Cultural Assumptions and Women's Roles in Development," paper presented at the 14th World Conference of the Society for International Development, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, 1974, p. 3.

and position they occupy in the family. Given that women's key roles have been those of wife, mother, and homemaker, strategies designed to accelerate the participatory role of women in national development must recognize and deal explicitly with family linkages and work, and with an adjustment between women's family roles and the contribution they make to national goals.

Adverse Effects of Development/Modernization upon Women

1. The process of development can restrict the economic independence of women as their traditional jobs are challenged by new methods and technologies.3

2. Modernization may maximize the differentiation of sex roles and enhance the status of men while lowering that of women. The gap may increase with the introduction of technology and science if women are not integrated into the modern economy. Studies on urbanization processes indicate that male migrants move up from the informal labor market to legitimate jobs, while women tend to remain working in undefined sectors outside of the GNP.

3. The effects of rapid urbanization, particularly through urban migratory movements, have exposed migrant women to dangers of exploitation, prostitution, and urban slum life. The migratory process is characterized by a preponderance of women, particularly unsupported women with dependents. In Latin American countries, more women than men migrate because of lack of economic opportunities for women in rural areas. In Dahomey, 30 per cent of women living in towns are on their own. And in Ethiopia, women outnumber men in towns due to higher divorce rates.4

4. Modernization and development can increase the inequities of the system and widen the gap between men and women of the lower and middle classes. Men account for whatever mobility there is at the lower levels; women remain behind except when they move upward by marriage.

5. Modernization and development introduce protective legislation for workers. This raises the cost of employing female labor and may well work in a direction opposite from that intended—leading to sex discrimination in employment.

Urban Women's Positive Contribution to Economic Production

1. More effective utilization of potential womanpower in urban areas necessitates increasing women's work-participation rates and channeling female labor into genuinely productive tasks.

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2. Before any development policy can be formulated to maximize such objectives for each individual country, several conditions must be specified: the particular organization of the urban economy in terms of human labor investment; the structure of demand for workers in specific sectors where women are to be utilized; the levels of male unemployment in the urban context; cultural definitions regarding type of work deemed appropriate for women to pursue and systems of rewards and sanctions related to female employment; and facilities available for child-care services.

3. Each one of the above can act as either a facilitator or a deterrent to women's participatory roles. The organization of the economy which determines the structure of labor market demand can be an asset to female employment to the extent that the productive economy includes sectors in which women can be competitive with men.

4. The mere availability of occupational opportunities for women does not in and of itself guarantee that occupational slots will be filled by women in every society. The degree to which the structure of demand will operate in a direction favorable to women depends upon male unemployment levels, the cultural designation of sexual differentiation in the labor market, and the female response to labor market demand and opportunities.

If male unemployment levels are substantial, preferences in urban recruitment policy will be given to men. This is legitimized by the claim that males are the breadwinners; it chooses to ignore the acute problem of urban widows and single women with dependents. Sex discrimination in hiring practices, particularly in the event of male unemployment, will be difficult to eliminate unless conscious efforts are made to create labor shortages.

The cultural designation of sexual differentiation (sex segregation) in the labor market affects the types of jobs available to women, although it may produce both a high and a low female activity rate; in certain cases it even can result in female economic power and monopoly. In Ghana and Bolivia, women control the marketplace; in most West African countries, women advance their interests through their commercial enterprises; and in Northern India, most construction work is done by Rajput women. However, in Southeast Asia white men dominate trading sectors, and in Islamic societies sex segregation norms exclude women from the labor force even in activities such as domestic service and clerical work, which elsewhere traditionally have been associated with female labor. In Africa, Hindu and Arab women are scarcely seen in markets as sellers or buyers. In almost all developing nations, evidence shows that the least resistance to female employment currently is expressed at the professional level. Although sex segregation prevails in the occupational structure of the professional specializations (women are typically teachers, nurses, etc.), some breakthroughs have been achieved in the entry of well-educated women into male-dominated profes-

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sional fields. However, as rising percentages of the population attain higher education levels, increasing competition in the job market will mean that fewer and fewer women will be employed in the professions.

The female response to labor market demands and opportunities is often dependent upon a social cost-benefit calculation in terms of the advantages/rewards or, conversely, sanctions/losses derived from entry into the labor force. The following points should be considered:

(a) Women avoid certain occupational sectors because of the socially stigmatizing aspect which is operative, even when there is no official prohibition against employing females.
(b) Economic incentives are attached to labor force status not only in terms of remuneration but also in terms of the ability of women to control their earnings. This necessitates guarantees that wage laws, tax structure, and family inheritance and property laws do not leave women disadvantaged.
(c) Women's self-concept and self-image influence how they see themselves, their status, their life expectations, and their ambitions. If women still subscribe to current stereotypes, they may remain reluctant to claim their rights, move toward change, or even consider the importance of women's contributions to national goals.
(d) Prevailing patterns of marital stability and kinship acknowledgements of economic responsibilities for female relatives structure the type and extent of economic constraints under which women in any society function. In Caribbean and Latin American societies, weakness and instability in the marital system create the need for many women to be self-sufficient for a large part of their lives. Conversely, institutional prescriptions in Islamic societies that optimize the responsibility of kin units to make explicit economic provisions for all female relatives—regardless of their marital status—can eliminate from a woman's life the need to be economically self-sufficient. Such circumstances will depress considerably the supply of women to the labor force.

Urban Women's Contribution to National Development via Fertility Control

1. When women's participation in the process of development is seen as a means of increasing real per capita income over time, and when the struggle for development is a race between capital accumulation and population growth, high fertility becomes a major obstacle to the improvement of living standards.

2. Evidence indicates that lack of schooling and jobs for women results in high fertility; high fertility in turn limits education and job opportunities.

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This symbiotic relationship suggests that high fertility patterns may be both a result and cause of underdevelopment, setting into motion a vicious circle that is impossible to break when resources are limited.

3. There is also evidence that, under some conditions, the employment of women exercises a marked influence on family size and the practice of family planning. The strength of the correlation is strongest in the most economically advanced countries, where women's gainful employment widens their horizons and, by taking them out of the home, provides a world of expanding choices.10

4. A negative correlation between activity status and fertility is doubtful if and when women carry on their work at or very near their home and under working conditions (particularly domestic service, cottage industries, petty trade) in which they can combine their economic and motherhood roles.11

5. Both the location of urban employment (in or outside the home) and the specific occupational category (professional white-collar vs. manual labor and services) are more effective components in differentiating fertility behavior than the simple employed/non-employed categories (especially in the Latin American countries, India, Turkey, Puerto Rico, and Japan).

Marginal Employment and the Development Process

1. A priority in development strategy is that of channeling women into constructive employment and raising the productivity of female workers in all modern sectors. Yet because of rapid rates of urbanization, development planners have to contend with a large supply of women who are marginal with respect to constructive employment opportunities; many of them engage in "marginal" labor, which disguises considerable unemployment. These marginal activities are not counted in the gross national product or in labor statistics; therefore, neither the economic output nor return involved is taken into account. Most of these activities are non-remunerative, as they take the form of unpaid labor, family help, or aid in kind. Typically, the "undercount" in labor statistics is accounted for mainly by cottage-type industrial production, petty trade (bazaar or door-to-door sales), and service work (particularly domestic service). Thus national statistics tend to omit indispensable workers whose products are not sold for cash.

2. It is not expected that the wage sector in developing countries can provide sufficient wage employment for all women who want to participate in national development goals. Hence it is important to create income-

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generating activities outside the wage sector. In this light, serious consideration should be given to the extent to which "marginal" labor force activities should be encouraged in the early phases of industrial development, given that they provide both some income—however meager—to help women support themselves and their dependents, and diversion outside the home, which exposes women to urban life and a world of expanding choices.

3. Development planners can maximize women's involvement in traditional trade activities by encouraging women to engage in small-scale business enterprises, training them in management and marketing, and granting them access to credit and loan facilities.

4. "Part-time employment" as an additional dimension of "marginal" labor should be evaluated in terms of its positive and negative effects. On the positive side, it allows married women to combine family and economic roles; on the negative side, it pushes women into low-paid jobs, lessens commitment among women to their occupational roles, fails to provide the same social security benefits as full-time employment, and fails to yield the desired lower fertility level among the married.

Integration of Women into Development: Legislative Issues

1. National legislation bearing upon the position of women must be reviewed to ensure that it complies with development strategies designed to integrate women into national development. Specific policies to carry out existing laws must be encouraged in order to bridge the gap between legislative prescriptions and de facto conditions. Of primary consideration are legislative provisions for the elimination of sex discrimination at all levels of the educational and occupational process, and in remuneration.

2. The employment of women at all levels of national life in wage-paying employment, self-employment, or cooperative employment should be promoted. This should include encouraging women to develop small businesses (either individually or cooperatively) and assuring their access to credit facilities, technical advice, and market outlets.

3. Legislative steps should be implemented to include qualified women in policy-making decisions regarding female employment and in producing concrete programs aimed at eliminating sex discrimination. Along these lines, qualified women should be appointed to assist governmental and voluntary agencies to define the special needs and problems of working women, to find ways and means of meeting these needs, and to seek solutions to these problems.

4. The support component of overall welfare policies should be optimized in the legislative process, particularly with respect to the provision of adequate social security provisions for destitute and elderly women, and for female heads of households.

5. Legal guarantees should be established to ensure that wage laws, tax structures, family inheritance laws, and property laws do not leave women at a disadvantage.

6. Policy should be directed at dealing not only with obstacles to female recruitment but also with conditions of female employment and possibilities for their advancement. Part-time employment should guarantee to women the same social security and benefits as full-time employment, and
protective legislation for female workers should be evaluated so as to avoid raising the cost of employing female labor.

7. Educational curricula should be revised with the ultimate objective of accelerating and diversifying the educational and vocational training of women and girls in order to: a) prepare women for full participation in the productive life of their countries; b) eliminate sex labeling of occupational fields as exclusively appropriate for males or females; and c) ensure that the content of the curricula is relevant to national production needs and priorities and to the realistic employability of women.

8. Given the universality of marriage in all societies, special attention should be given to obstacles preventing married women from contributing to national development. Legislative steps should be taken to establish day-care centers and nurseries for working mothers.

9. Last but not least, governmental agencies and academic research centers should give their full support to research and work in the following areas:

(a) Research in which national decision makers in developing countries would learn directly from women about their perception of the quality of life, their motives for change, and their hopes for the future and prospects for fulfilling those hopes;

(b) Programs to consider how women who subscribe to current stereotypes can be reached with facts and ideas that reveal opportunities within their reach to change their status and life expectancies; and

(c) Research to consider how women who opt for change can sustain support among their peers for pursuing their ideas and innovations as well as for handling the situation when experiments fail.
One of the most important processes affecting the contemporary position of African women is urbanization. Today the populations of towns and cities south of the Sahara are expanding at an even faster rate than those of Western cities in the heyday of the Industrial Revolution. As a consequence, African women as well as men are being confronted by wholly new conditions of life and labor. The changes experienced are all the more radical because most of the increase in urban population is due to migration. While some of this migration merely involves the movement of people from smaller to larger towns, the main influx is from rural to urban areas. The result is that, although most "modern" towns contain an established core of inhabitants, a large proportion of the city population consists of newcomers to urban life. In addition, since these people come from many different parts of the country, they bring together a wide diversity of languages, social customs, and beliefs. A further sociologically important fact is that male migrants often outnumber female migrants, creating a sexual imbalance in the town's total adult population.

The reasons for male migration are predominantly economic. Men, mostly young men, leave the rural areas in search of better paid work than is available at home. Although a good deal of this movement is seasonal and short term, increasing numbers of men are remaining away for longer periods and more-or-less permanently settling in the cities. Even so, most cities contain a relatively large "floating population" of men whose stay is temporary and who have left their wives and their families behind in the rural areas. This means that the male migrants tend to remain socially linked to the countryside; it is there that they plan to retire when their working days are over.

For the women, on the other hand, migration is more of an end in itself. Until fairly recently, there was a tendency for rural communities to retain their

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1For purposes of convenience, a town will be regarded as "modern" when a relatively large proportion of its population depends upon wage employment rather than subsistence agriculture for a living.
female members as virtual hostages for the return of the men. Now, however, some women either accompany their husbands or join them later. Because there now generally are fewer young men at home, marriages are more difficult to arrange in the villages; in increasing numbers, unmarried girls and women are leaving their families for mining camps, recruiting centers, or housing developments in order to find husbands. There also are women who are divorced or have deserted their husbands who want an easier life than is a woman's lot in a farming community, or who have been lured by the town's reputation as an exciting place.2

But underlying or directly associated with these various motives is the fact that the women, too, perceive an opportunity for improving their status. Like the young men who started the exodus some time ago, young African women today are increasingly impatient with their traditionally ascribed position in life. There are, however, differences between their attitudes and those of the young men. Whereas the latter tend to rationalize their ambitions in terms of the benefits of "progress," the women construe their apparent social inferiority in more personal language. They speak of their desire for "freedom" and "emancipation," and many of them see the town as a place where this can be achieved.3

There is a widespread wish on the part of women for a different relationship with the opposite sex. It does not mean a rejection of marriage, because even those who speak most vehement about "independence" do not advocate remaining single. Rather, it is a generalized reaction to a number of anomalies, such as the men's frequent insistence on a double standard of sexual morality—although this issue is of much less concern to illiterate women than to those brought up in a Westernized environment with monogamous ideas. However, both educated and uneducated women increasingly share the desire for more control over their personal affairs, including control over their children's future. The "freedom" they want generally means less interference from relatives, including their husbands.

As African women themselves often put it, to gain freedom a woman must have "power"; and having "power" apparently means having economic resources.4 The question is whether residence in the African towns is a help or a hindrance to women's attainment of this power and, consequently, personal control over their environment. Social scientists and other observers differ as to whether women benefit from urban residence and contact with urban life. Those taking the view that urban women are better off contend that the city does provide women with opportunities to improve their status. They argue, in particular, that since the cities offer women as well as men the chance of earning money, they make women less subject to male control. The verdict of other writers is precisely the opposite. They claim that, whereas in the countryside women's contribution is essential to the production of food,

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women in towns lack this breadwinning raison d'etre; since their urban role is largely limited to providing domestic and sexual services, women are more, rather than less, dependent upon men in the city market economy. I will return to this question after examining certain economic and social facets of the position of women in Africa’s “modern” towns.

Economic Facets

In terms of wage employment, African women constitute a very small proportion of industrial workers as a whole. Only in a very few countries does the percentage rise above 10 per cent, and in many cases it does not exceed 4 per cent. Also, as the table below indicates, the women’s share of better paid and more responsible jobs is extremely small. These figures are particularly significant because they are drawn from an occupational census of Greater Accra, Ghana. By sub-Saharan standards, Ghana is a relatively industrialized country. Moreover, Accra itself, in addition to being the main commercial center and seat of government, contains about 25 per cent of Ghana’s urban population and some 35 per cent of persons who have attended institutions of higher education.

The striking fact about the figures provided in Table 1 is the extent to which women’s work is concentrated in the marketplace. The only significant exceptions are nursing and teaching: but in the traditional sphere of trade (“traditional” because centuries before colonization women were known to be active in markets), the Accra figures show that about 9 out of every 10 gainfully employed women are concerned with selling. This is also the case in Lagos, where women petty traders are approximately 15 times more numerous than dressmakers—the next most popular occupation. Women likewise dominate the markets in Senegal and Zaire; and in Malawi, Rhodesia, and Zambia there are more women than men among the sellers. In addition to market trading being a sociable occupation, it is possible that what women earn from market trading compares quite favorably with the remuneration of women in other jobs, including wage employment.

For better paid jobs in the city, however, educational qualifications are needed. Girls constitute less than one third of the enrolled school population at the primary level, while the proportion of girls to boys rarely rises to 20 per cent at the secondary level.

In Accra, for example, a survey was taken of 350 mothers working in ministries, government departments, and corporations. It was found that...
Table 1. Female and Male Employment in Selected Occupations in Accra, Ghana, 1960  
(numbers and percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation Category</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Female as Percentage of Total in Occupation Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directors, managers, and working proprietors</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directors and managers (wholesale and retail)</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative, executive, and managerial workers</td>
<td>4,080</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative, executive, and elected officials (government)</td>
<td>1,629</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional medical workers not elsewhere specified and medical technicians</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians, surgeons, and dentists</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesmen and shop assistants</td>
<td>2,289</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, and related workers</td>
<td>6,115</td>
<td>2,404</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographers and typists</td>
<td>1,364</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>1,735</td>
<td>1,065</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurses and midwives</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petty traders</td>
<td>5,999</td>
<td>40,764</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishmongers</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>7,964</td>
<td>98.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


while only 2 per cent held posts of high responsibility, 30 per cent worked in machine rooms, and 62 per cent were engaged in clerical and other minor related work (as typists, telephone operators, etc.). Seventy-six per cent claimed that they did not earn more than 50 cedi a month (approximately U.S. $50) and a further 16 per cent not more than 100 cedi a month. Even taking into account money received from other sources, one half of these women had no more than 30 cedi per month at their disposal after the expenses of a mid-day meal and transportation had been deducted. Over 93 per cent of the women studied spent on the average at least 9 or 10 hours a day away from home. This meant that 4 out of every 5 of these mothers had to make arrangements for their children’s care and safety while they were at work. Of the Accra working mothers, only 1 per cent had gone further than middle school, and 44 per cent had not gone beyond the primary level.

Remuneration apart, however, an important factor in this whole matter is traditional opposition to the idea of wives working. In Jinja, Uganda, for
example, it has been argued that since women are exempt from the poll tax, opportunities for earning money ought to be reserved for men.\textsuperscript{10} This was said even when employers were finding it difficult to fill all their vacancies. Fears were also expressed that women who went out to work would not bear children; this objection was particularly strong when the employment of wives involved being under the authority of men who were not their husbands. The men objected not only to their wives working for wages but also to any employer who was prepared to employ women. In the view of some men, a wife's ability to earn money not only constitutes a threat to a husband's authority and to his ability to control her but also may enable her to abscond.

The result of such attitudes is a vicious circle. Of a sample of 160 women workers in the largest textile factory in Zaire, only 1.5 per cent were married. A few of these women never had been married, but the remainder either were divorced or widowed, and as many as 48 per cent were living in short-term "concubinage."\textsuperscript{11} These 160 women had a total of 340 children, excluding other relatives, to maintain. It is not surprising, therefore, that 84 per cent cited "urgent economic necessity" as their reason for working.

There are other women, however, who apparently prefer destitution to jobs they regard as degrading. For example, 18 per cent of a group of women migrants in Kampala did not earn enough to enable them to live at what seemed to be the lowest possible subsistence standard.\textsuperscript{12} This was so despite the availability of jobs such as selling beer and spirits, trading in the market, selling from the home, working as professional dancers, and working in bars—occupations in which these women could have earned a considerable amount of money. However, they themselves ruled out such work as unsuitable. Food selling, for example, was represented as the work of old, "local" women who smoked and shouted obscenities; it was by no means regarded as a civilized thing to do. Yet some of the same women who spurned these jobs subsisted mainly by rendering sexual services. Earnings were supplemented in this way in 8 out of the 84 households studied, and in a further 7 households there was no other known source of income. Some of the women involved were considered prostitutes, but in other respects their behavior was regarded as proper; they were said to have "beautiful manners" and were commended for not drinking, for attending the mosque, and for taking good care of their children.

Attitudes such as these are not unknown in rural areas as well as in the city. Some rural communities do repatriate migrant women who trade their sexual services, but other up-country women periodically are allowed to move into towns for the express purpose of prostitution. Like male labor migrants, they send money home, and the proceeds they take back to the village enable them to make good and respectable marriages. Indeed, like the courtesans in town, such prostitutes often are admired as successful women. In the Francophone countries, these women are called \textit{femmes libres}, and the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{11}Schwarz, "Illusion d'une emancipation," op. cit.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{12}Elizabeth Mandeville, unpublished study of Kampala.}
\end{footnotes}
more accomplished among them—the vedettes—constitute an elite, setting modern or "urban" standards for the masses.¹³

In fact, some transactions which in Western countries would be regarded as clear instances of prostitution in this cultural context overlap with other kinds of relationships. Thus, for example, a woman may engage in sexual intercourse with a male friend when she needs his financial assistance. Such a transaction may take place without it making any difference to the friendship, and without either party regarding the transaction as being at all derogatory to the woman. This is partly because money itself has a different cultural significance. To the Western economist, money is a medium of exchange and a standard of value, but some literate as well as traditionally minded Africans use it in a variety of social as well as economic transactions. Bridewealth is the best known example of these. A donation of cash is also the appropriate way to show sympathy in a situation of bereavement; except in highly Westernized circles, a wreath of flowers, however expensive, will be neither welcome nor meaningful in such circumstances—except as a waste of good money.

Here, as in other sectors of modern urban life, there are few set standards or norms. Instead, a view widely taken is that life in the city is hard, and people—including women—are entitled to make the most of their opportunities; that the method is sexual is often regarded as incidental. Like the giving and taking of "back-handers" (bribes), these transactions are viewed as a part of the effort to survive. Especially for migrant women, adaptation to the town involves a degree of entrepreneurship. In certain circumstances, sex serves as a marketable commodity. At the same time, it is the basis of the mutually convenient arrangements between urban migrants of both sexes that are discussed in the following section.

Social Facets

The housing shortage provides an added impetus for migrant men and women to negotiate cooperative arrangements. In a world that is dominated almost entirely by men, the woman is initially at some disadvantage. On the other hand, where the numerical preponderance of males is a constant factor a woman on her own is, to that extent, strategically better placed than her male counterpart. She may need this extra bargaining power if she enters into a relationship which proves to be unsatisfactory.¹⁴

Consequently, although there is a common pattern of women and men setting up house together in order to cooperate economically as well as for sexual purposes, the actual arrangements may vary. For example, since she can make money by prostitution, the woman may prefer a less exclusive kind of arrangement, such as taking a room and sharing it with a more-or-less permanent lover who acts as her protector and pays the rent. Alternatively she may operate from the house of an older woman who, in return for the


accommodation and other services, is paid a share of the younger woman’s earnings. The former type of arrangement, in which the woman at least has the use of a room, provides her with more freedom to maneuver; she can choose between other occupations (petty trade, seamstress) and prostitution; or, indeed, she can augment her income by judiciously combining both.15

The term commonly and widely applied to casual unions of the above kind is “friendship.” As has been indicated, such a relationship is frequently a result of expediency. As such it may have no greater emotional significance than does the engagement of a housekeeper in Euro-American society. Many of the male partners concerned have wives at home; others are paying bridewealth for girls to whom they already are betrothed. On the other hand, sometimes a woman and man stay together for such a long time that their association becomes the simplest kind of marriage relationship—that of living together without having gone through a religious ceremony. Such “free marriages” are prevalent in Uganda, for example, as well as in other African countries, including the French-speaking ones. In Dakar, it was estimated that almost a third of the population in 1957 lived in consensual unions of this type. Nor were the women involved in such free marriages necessarily migrants or of low status; in Kampala, for instance, they included daughters of important chiefs, well-to-do peasants, and equally well-off independent traders.16

In free marriage, the woman may agree to have children—a consideration of importance to many of the men as well—and the willingness of the community to recognize this kind of sexual contract gives it a certain seal of respectability. This is gained, as a rule, when the man and the woman have lived together long enough for neighbors and kin to regard their cohabitation as permanent. The birth of children usually is essential to the acquisition of this kind of status.

Education and Marriage. The kind of marriage a woman enters may depend on the extent to which she has been educated. Of course, the same broadly applies to Euro-American society. The African situation is exceptional, however, since political and economic development, followed by independence, naturally have greatly expanded the number of important places that are now filled by African men in government, the senior civil service, businesses, and all modern sectors of the economy. Virtually a whole new class has arisen of elite and high-ranking individuals who perceive themselves to need the social support and prestige of Westernized wives. As their status is also reflected in the way their children are brought up, they want wives who not only know enough about modern tastes to furnish and decorate their homes in up-to-date styles, but who also understand modern practices of child care and are capable of checking their children’s homework. Thus an extra dimension has been added to the marriage market.

Nevertheless, African men in general still tend to think of educated women as troublesome, critical, demanding, insubordinate, and neglectful of

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15Ibid.

husband and children. In a study conducted in Kinshasa, nearly all the young male school teachers who were questioned considered that in the future women would have political as well as social responsibilities; they generally agreed with the modern image of women offered by a local feminist newspaper. Yet even the most determined proponent of feminine emancipation among them did not want his own wife to have responsibilities outside the home.  

In addition, many educated men, despite their own acceptance of idealized versions of monogamy, continue to behave in a "traditional" way once they have married. Although they require their wives to be faithful, they consider that they themselves are entitled to extramarital affairs, which are greatly facilitated by the presence in the towns of large numbers of femmes libres. If such unions persist, they in turn may form the basis of an extra family—so that monogamy becomes, in effect, disguised polygamy.

How does the educated wife cope with this situation? She may condone her husband's relations with other women and will sometimes take in the "outside" children. The continuous drain on the household budget is another matter, however, because there is the security of her own children as well as of herself to consider. It is here that the earlier-mentioned notion of "power" becomes relevant.

A wife may be able to influence the marital relationship through resources of her own. Such resources may consist of wealth or property inherited from her own family. More often, however, they take the form of the wife's use of her training by taking a job and the use to which she puts the money she earns. According to a study of power relationships among educated couples in Ghana, twice as many husbands of non-working wives than of working wives asserted they were dominant in the home. On the other hand, wives who were shouldering a large share of the financial responsibility with their husbands also shared more frequently in decision making. Joint financial provision was associated with joint decision making, and it was not merely a question of the wife's influence increasing with her experience. Although couples in which the wife's educational level most closely approximated that of her husband were most likely to share in decision making, neither the educational nor the status factor was in itself conclusive. The wives of doctors, for example, were relatively well educated, but most of them were housewives; in this group as a whole it was mostly the husband who made decisions. Teachers, on the other hand, were remarkable for their joint decision making and joint provision for household needs. Yet teachers have a somewhat lower status than doctors.

These findings are important because of the need, sociologically, to differentiate between egalitarianism as a meaningful relationship and egalitarianism as a mere symbol of elite social behavior. All that the latter means is that a husband may completely dominate his wife in private, but that he cannot with impunity treat her as an inferior in front of other people. If he

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18Christine Oppong, Marriage Among a Matrimonial Elite (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)
does, he will run the serious risk of being stigmatized as "bush" and of losing prestige.

In summary, there is a substantial difference between the roles of urban and rural wives. In a rural setting, the wife is a member of a large extended family and a contributor of food and children only. In the "modern" city the household is more of a primary unit on its own, and the wife is thus invested with greater responsibility. The care and rearing of her own children devolves largely upon her, and to the extent that she also controls the household's budget, she is in a pivotal position vis-à-vis the domestic group's other members. In other words, the operation of the nuclear family largely depends upon the wife's own efforts and skill, and her own status and welfare are bound up with its successful functioning.

The Dilemma of Urbanization

Urbanization thus poses a dilemma for African women. Living in town to some extent gives them readier access to opportunities for social and economic advancement, and there are signs as well of their acceptance as citizens on the same basis as men. That women as individuals are making an increasing contribution to the general life of African nations is also evident; there are increasing numbers of women doctors, lawyers, civil servants, etc. But the heart of the problem lies deeper. It is based on the fact that in its conjugal form, the family lacks a secure place in the framework of both society and state. It has gained a measure of autonomy, but it remains in a marginal situation partly because of the vicious circle in which the wife herself is frequently placed.

On the one hand, there are the new familial circumstances which offer the wife a higher status, provided she is able to play the role of modern homemaker. On the other hand, there are the traditional attitudes which tend to impede the successful performance of her modern role and so to jeopardize both the nuclear family's raison d'être and her own. African countries differ from the developed countries in that statutory or other public forms of social security and insurance are not available. If the urban African family gets into trouble financially, the cost of salvation may be the handing over of its affairs to the management of conservatively minded kinfolk.19

Is this not perhaps the dilemma which fundamentally explains the educated woman's desire for mere control over her own actions? A recent (unpublished) survey of a sample of some 165 unmarried university-educated African women shows that 66 per cent intended to work full-time after marriage and child bearing. While some 43 per cent of these women gave economic reasons for their decision, 26 per cent stated that they wanted to work after marriage either in order to feel "independent" or to "insure" against marital breakdown. These attitudes possibly reflect what already married educated women are now seeking—namely, a greater range of options. Since their legal position is, for practical purposes, ambiguous and uncertain, it is perhaps expedient as well as pragmatic for women to face both ways—that is, to seek out a conjugal relationship but to take practical steps at

the same time to offset insecurity and safeguard their own (and their children's) welfare.

In more general terms, the whole matter of women's position in society is bound up with the way in which national problems of economic development are dealt with. This is the case because there are as yet no occupational stepping-stones wide enough to accommodate more than the small educated minority. The latter find a place because they supply specialized services; but the basic difficulty is that the African economies are geared very largely to overseas requirements. The largest wholesale, import, export, and manufacturing units are foreign controlled and provide a focus around which the African-owned units revolve and into which they feed. Indeed, the degree of dependence on foreign finance for public-sector investment runs from 100 per cent in certain extremely underdeveloped and/or tiny states, such as Dahomey, to 25-35 per cent in certain mineral-boom economies. The employment of local labor is naturally regulated directly or indirectly by the ebb and flow of foreign investment.20

The crux of the problem is, therefore, that the "modern" African town came into being mainly to serve these exogenous needs. The local functions it performed only required male semiskilled and unskilled workers, and when this labor was needed as a permanent force, women were allowed in to provide domestic and sexual services. Consequently, unlike towns in England during the Industrial Revolution, these "new" African towns did not grow in size, because it was unnecessary to house whole families. In other words, although the rate of urban growth in Africa at the present time is even more rapid than in nineteenth century England, urbanization itself is proceeding at a much slower pace. Sociologically, urbanization means more than living in cities, it means participation in urban institutions. And this participation, so far as African women are concerned, needs a less traditional outlet than petty trade. Moreover, it has to be planned in ways that will enable the state to make more profitable use of women's potential and that will enable women, in their turn, to draw more fully on the state's own resources.

Therefore, although the most apparent disadvantage under which women labor is their educational inferiority, the primary task is not simply to increase the proportion of female secondary-school graduates. Rather, it is to divert the course of economic development from male-dominated industry to local markets for which women, as well as men, can manufacture the essential commodities. Such a radical change of economic policy could only be achieved at the highest governmental levels and might necessitate international aid and intervention as well. However, even male politicians perhaps could be persuaded that the benefits of bringing women into the industrial labor force are not wholly unisexual. For example, light industries could be developed and located near family housing. Clinics, hospitals, child-care centers, and primary schools also might deliberately be located in the same neighborhoods. This would permit a shift system of working, enabling the women employed to give more rather than less time to the care of their families.

IX. The Dilemma of Peasant Women: A View from a Village in Yucatan

Mary Elmendorf

Of the more than three billion people in the world, more than half still live in peasant communities. Of these, more than half are women. These numbers alone underscore the urgency of knowing more about the life, character, and roles of peasant women in order to better understand the effect that modernization and economic development will have on them. This paper will explore, first, the effect of modernization on the roles and status of peasant women, and second, their entrepreneurial behavior in the light of the cultural, social, and economic variables that determine their opportunities and motivations. It will begin with the changes that industrialization and modernization in Mexico have brought for Mexican women in general and then focus on the women in one particular village—Chan Kom—and the effects that the opening of a highway into the village had on them and on their families, particularly their adolescent daughters.

Women in Modern Mexico

Within Mexico, which is the largest Spanish-speaking country in the world, both in area and in population, there are many Mexicos—ranging from the modern, urban metropolitan area of Mexico City, which has a population of almost ten million people, to another ten million Mexicans living in isolated Indian communities and still speaking their native languages. In many ways the problems of Mexican women are concentrated at the two ends of this rural-urban (or traditional-Westernized) continuum, since their share of the nation's wealth is often a function of the socio-economic group to which they belong. The statistics show that economic development has not brought with it a more equal distribution of income or wealth. Two thirds of Mexico's national income goes to 1 per cent of its population and a third to the remaining 99 per cent of its people (including, of course, women and the indigenous population).

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The rapid industrialization that contributed to Mexico's economic development following World War II meant, for many peasant women, migration from the villages to urban areas to work in factories or as servants. The increased demand for domestic help was a result of the growth of an urban middle class and of the improvement of opportunities for women that took place in the 1950s. Part of the success of the upper-class women who took advantage of new opportunities depended on the help of young women from the villages who could be hired as live-in servants.

For some, domestic service has advantages. The young migrant, while receiving housing and a kind of autonomy, learns how to survive in the urban setting. It can also mean increased economic freedom. In Mexico and other parts of Latin America, some domestic servants are beginning to organize and thereby are gaining improved working conditions and a greater sense of pride. But for others, such as the monolingual or semiliterate women, domestic service can be exploitation of the worst sort, with prostitution, for many, being the only alternative.

Thousands of Indian women who have been driven by poverty from the rural areas to the cities have chosen to be street vendors rather than domestic servants. "The Marias," as they are called, earn only a marginal living, but they have more freedom than they would as domestics and can more easily keep their families together. These women in some ways are not unlike their ancestors in pre-Columbian societies, in which women were active in the market as retail vendors and, at times, as wholesale merchants. It was not unusual in those societies for women to run businesses or engage in other professional activities, and their work gave them high status. The Marias, however, find themselves isolated by language and cultural differences from the urban areas in which they work. Encouragement and support come from kinship networks within the squatter settlements and poor neighborhoods in which they live. Although the same is true for the mestizo rural migrants, unlike the Indian migrants, they do not face the same language and culture barriers. Efforts to retrain the street vendors for more skilled participation in consumer society (as dressmakers, domestics, etc.) have not met with much success. There are, however, some instances of cooperative action by women street vendors—in Nicaragua, for example—which have led to improved self-respect as well as increased income.

Rural women who work at unskilled jobs in factories have found that they are usually paid less than their male co-workers. Statistics gathered in

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the last forty years indicate that the percentage of women in the paid working force has more than quadrupled, from 4.6 per cent in 1930 to 19.1 per cent in 1969. The 1969 census tables also reveal, however, that 45 per cent of the women working that year fell into the lowest income group, as compared to 18.9 per cent of the men; moreover, 72.2 per cent of the women workers were listed in the two lowest income categories, as compared to 53.9 per cent of the men. There are labor laws in existence that require equal pay for equal work; if those laws were strictly enforced, and if the job definitions for women's work were not regularly downgraded, the status of the female industrial worker could improve.

These statistics show the situation of economically active urban women; in the case of rural women there is an enormous disparity between what the statistics show and the actual labor women perform in the agricultural sector. In 1972, only 10.8 per cent of the female labor force was listed as economically active in agriculture and related fields, even though in many rural areas of Mexico the unit of production is the family, with each member performing a necessary role. In those parts of Mexico still engaged in subsistence agriculture, the women serve a fundamental and indispensable role, because the division of labor gives them integral economic and social functions. But at the same time they are tied irrevocably to the family and to family enterprises, to numerous arduous and demanding tasks, and to years of pregnancy and child rearing. Asked if she works, the rural woman will often answer in the negative—even though she may do most of the planting or harvesting and take care of animals and gardens—partly because she usually receives no money, but also because she considers her labor as a family duty. "There is both a differential evaluation of men's and women's work and a different motivation. The man works to sustentar [support the family]; the woman to ayudar [help to do so]. . . . Women work because necessity obliges them to; men work because they are men."

It is because modernization and industrialization seem to have meant low-paying jobs for urban women and loss of status for rural women that many people are questioning whether they are the answer to the problems of increasing the rate of socio-economic development and raising the status of women. Some argue that, in fact, the situation of women is worsened by development. A close look at the women in the Mayan village of Chan Kom
and their reactions to a new road into the village provides some insights into this question.

**Women in Chan Kom**

Chan Kom lies inland from the Caribbean beach areas of the Yucatan Peninsula and outside the Merida-Ticul-Valladolid henequen triangle. The region has many archeological sites of interest to tourists. The basic livelihood is subsistence agriculture, using planting sticks and other slash-and-burn techniques as practiced by the inhabitants' pre-Columbian ancestors. The average yield of maize is still about 600-700 kilos per hectare on land that is communally owned (ejido). The income of the average family (including the estimated value of production for subsistence consumption) is between U.S. $230 and $380 per year. Per capita income is thus well below U.S. $100 per year. In Chan Kom, as in many villages of this area, there is a high rate of illiteracy among adults, particularly women, many of whom speak only Mayan. The poverty of these communities is attributable in part to their isolation, but it also can be traced to socio-historical factors, such as nearly three centuries of virtual enslavement during the period of Spanish colonial rule and the devastating heritage of the nineteenth century Wars of the Castes.

In the Mayan village today, women's work is sex-stereotyped, as illustrated by such ceremonies as the Hetzmek, a kind of baptismal rite. This ceremony is performed when girls are three months old—its symbolism linked to the three hearth stones that are the center of a woman's activities. (A similar rite for boys is performed when they are four months old—with four stones used to symbolize the four sides of the corn field in which they will work.) Within this world, however, the women are skilled technicians who have mastered their work and have a high level of self-respect, as well as the respect of their husbands and community. Indeed, women often have decision-making prerogatives. Although many of these decisions are in the private, non-formalized domains, they often relate specifically to change—ranging from decisions to introduce new agricultural techniques, seeds, or fertilizers to the decision of leaving the village to find work or to sell produce or handicrafts. Thus the life of the community is divided in such a way (men working in the fields, women working at home—cooking, taking care of the children, and making and selling handicrafts) that men and women depend on each other. In Chan Kom, as in some other parts of Mexico and the world, subsistence agriculture makes of marriage a union of two specialists; for this reason the women in such a traditional community enjoy far more equality with men than do their more "modern" sisters. The woman often has a feeling of autonomy and dignity and does not consider her work onerous or debasing, for her skills are acknowledged and her work is considered to be just as important as the man's. Men and women recognize such interde-

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pendence in traditional communities where their lives are still somewhat based on the ancient corn culture. Life is related to the corn god and the rain god, the two Mayan gods for whom ancient ceremonies are still held, although there are those who fear such customs will be lost now that change—in the form of a road—has come to the village.

A New Road

After years of effort on the part of the villagers, a hard-top road between Chan Kom and Valladolid was opened in November 1973. It had been hoped that this road would bring more people to buy the village's products and access to better medical care, clients for hotels and restaurants, perhaps even a factory. However, although residents of more remote communities still go there for small items—once their only purchases—they now take advantage of the new road to go on to Valladolid for additional purchases. Thus Chan Kom probably will not get the trade it had hoped for but will become only a way station along the route. Similarly, while the road has opened up access to archeological sites, tourists who come through Chan Kom on their way to the sites rarely stop in the village.

The road has, however, opened up other opportunities. At the time of its inauguration, the women of Chan Kom expressed interest in the establishment of cooperatives for their handicrafts, chiefly hammocks and embroidery. Many of these women are petty traders—‘penny capitalists.’ They have always sold or bartered their own produce—eggs, fruits, fowl—and their handicrafts. At the same time, some of them are well aware that handicrafts like theirs are fetching prices in the tourist shops of Chichen Itza and Merida far above what they receive from the middlemen, who normally pay them the traditional “twice the cost of the thread” for their hammocks, and proportionally the same for their embroidery. Thus the women may receive only $8-$10 for a hammock that will be sold in New York for $85. Even before the road was built, some of the women walked for three hours from the village into Chichen Itza to sell their own and their friends’ work to the tourists or tourist shops rather than sell to the middlemen who came to the village. These women believe that setting up a cooperative could help increase their total production and at the same time ensure more equitable prices for their crafts. Their hope is that a cooperative would enable them to increase their incomes and continue to use their artistic skills without having to leave the village.

12 When Manuel Avila studied the village of Tepoztlan, he found that the building of the road into that village had played an important role in its economic development because of commercial interchange and mobility. See his study, Tradition and Growth: A Study of Four Mexican Villages (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969). Oscar Lewis had noted earlier that Tepoztlan women were quickly becoming sellers of their wares and produce in the market. See his book, Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951). Today most of the stores in Tepoztlan and most of the stands in the market itself are run by women, yet the long-run effect of the road has been to weaken the local marketplace and to increase the importance of trade relations with Cuernavaca: only minor purchases are made in Tepoztlan, while major items are purchased in the city.

However, a cooperative would be a viable alternative for them only if they acquired the technical marketing knowledge necessary to compete with other products in both local and international markets.

This realization of what the road could mean for them is an example of these women's acceptance of change and their eagerness to work. They are not at all frightened by a new language or a new technique. They are eager to communicate and trade. They are even flexible in their approach to their handicrafts and are willing to change details of shapes, designs, sizes, and patterns in order to make their products more marketable. They are very aware of money and of what it can do to prevent the hunger they have known when there was no corn. They teach their daughters to earn money selling eggs and chickens and pass on to them their handicraft skills, just as mothers have been doing for generations. From early childhood they have 'learned the intricate patterns of coordination to master their work, and they are skilful technicians. They feel a sense of competence and satisfaction in the symbolic and social importance of their work and a gratification from the conviction that work is a virtue. In their own words, they feel that "to work is to live"; that one would become ill without work, just as one would wither away without food. Work is often talked about as creativity, as satisfaction.

The road has increased marketing opportunities for these women and brought some aspects of the modern world to Chan Kom—the villagers already have contributed labor and money to bring in electricity, and three television sets are being shared at ten centavos a viewing. It has also raised for the villagers the question of whether they should leave Chan Kom and go to the city, although many of the older men and women are apprehensive about doing so. For the women, even more than for the men, the prospect of going to the city is frightening, even though they are not really aware of the "gnettoizing" effect of the city. Others fear that the road will bring noise, pollution, crowds, and crime. If it does, some say they may have to leave the village and retreat deeper into the countryside.

The young people seem to have a different attitude, however. During the first year that the road was open, fifty of them—eighteen of them women—did decide to leave Chan Kom. Most of them went to work in Can Cum, a newly established, elegant Caribbean resort. Predictably, most of the women worked as kitchen helpers in hotels, earning about half what the men earned. The women who work at Can Cum are paid approximately 400 pesos a month ($32), which gives them an annual income of $384. Thus they are earning more than the average family of the area. The men earn 800-$400 pesos a month as unskilled laborers and have added benefits, such as work camps to live in, weekends off, and, in some cases, opportunities to learn how to operate machinery and to learn other skills that serve to relate them to the modern world. The women, however, do not have the same opportunities; they are still in the kitchen doing their sex-defined chores but experience neither the dignity nor the status they would have in the village.
Others have left Chan Kom but have remained within the framework of the extended family. They have moved into Mérida to live with relatives and to work at various jobs, usually in family businesses or as household help. They have less money income but more freedom and dignity than those who work at the resort; as one of the young women told the author: "The girls working in Chan Kom earn more money, but my sisters and cousins who live with my aunt in Mérida have a better life and they can save nearly everything they earn." These young women do have a chance to build a base for a future profession-as nurses, seamstresses, pastry cooks, or accountants. These opportunities, in turn, raise other questions for these women: whether they will marry Mayan men, whether they can combine marriage with work. The answers they arrive at will depend on many things, not least their ability to throw aside centuries of tradition. Even more will depend on their ability to become aware of opportunities—in either the rural or modern sectors.

**Effects of the Road**

Women like the Mayan women of Chan Kom must not lose their feelings of creativity and competence if they are to cope successfully with the changes brought by modernization and exposure to the outside world. Will they be able to hold on to their feelings of self-esteem and cultural identity or will they find themselves caught in a cultural limbo—"nepantla"—carrying out denigrating and low-paying jobs? Rapid changes have taken place in Chan Kom since the road was opened, even though it has not brought all that was hoped for. For some the road has meant the opportunity to leave the village and find new work; for others it has meant the opportunity to remain in the village while earning more for their products. Thus far the women of the village have maintained their self-esteem and cultural identity while at the same time accepting—and even initiating—change that they feel will be beneficial for them and their children.

In many ways the women of Chan Kom are more fortunate than their sisters in other rural areas; they have a rich cultural heritage which provides a sense of dignity, identity, and stability, and a marketable skill which provides a means of livelihood without having to leave the village. For others, unfortunately, the only alternative seems to be migration to the slums, where they have little choice other than to become domestics, low-paid factory workers, prostitutes, or street vendors.

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X. Toward Liberating Women: A Communications Perspective

Mallica Vajrathon

Masculine and feminine stereotyping exists in almost every culture. Men are supposed to be strong, logical, analytical, systematic, fearless, and assertive; whereas women are supposed to be the opposite—soft, emotional, uncertain, timid, shy, intuitive, and fearful.

From one generation to another, parents mold their sons’ and daughters’ personalities to fit such masculine/feminine patterns. Men grow up with the "masculine mystique" motivating all their behavior in society; the masculine mystique supports the feminine mystique, and these mystiques are mutually reinforcing. Human beings with "masculine" qualities dominate society. Rules and social structures are set up by men to suit their own purposes, which—even if this is seldom blatantly articulated—serve to keep them in permanent power and full control of the total human society.

Tradition has forced women to conform to codes that restrict their behavior and make them subservient to men—whether fathers, husbands, or brothers. These codes were enunciated long ago in religious texts and elaborated in plays, poems, and stories. In China, for example, Confucius and Mencius instructed women to adorn themselves, to please, to do housework willingly, and not to talk too much. In India, Hindu literature taught male supremacy and female submissiveness. Daughters were "precious jewels lent to parents until their husbands claimed them." In Latin America, the teachings of the Catholic Church relegated women to an inferior status and represented wives as belonging to their husbands. Buddhist literature portrays women as a cause of the craving, anxiety, and unhappiness of men. E.F. Schumacher has pointed out that, according to Buddhist thought about economic organization, work is supposed to give a man a chance to use and develop his faculties—to enable him to overcome his self-centeredness by joining with other people in common tasks, and to obtain the goods and services needed for a desirable existence; women, in contrast, are perceived to not need an "outside" job—indeed, large-scale employment of women in offices or factories would be considered a sign of serious economic failure. In Moslem culture, the Shari-ah Law still permits a man to marry more than one wife. It has been left to the man’s discretion to decide how many wives he needs; the man also has a

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1From the Hindu drama, "Shakuntala."
unilateral right to divorce his wife any time he wishes—without going through the legal proceedings required of a wife wishing to divorce her husband. The Koran indicates that men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God has endowed men in contrast to women.

Such oppressive "codes" created by male-dominated societies "kill without drawing blood" (as the Chinese saying goes); their destructive effects have prevented women from realizing their potential for centuries.

Clearly the social structures of most of today's societies are masculinistic. All "superior" activities are male activities. Whatever women do in the society is almost always looked upon as inferior. Male supremacy is drummed into women by all educational and socialization processes from the time they are born to the time they die. Boy children are given more sophisticated toys than girl children. Parents encourage boys to play with each other in organized (and "other-controlled," aggression-oriented) activities and girls to play with dolls and cooking utensils. Books and other communication media tend to picture fathers as "working" on something relatively important, while mothers cook and look after small children. When the media do portray working women, they usually show them in subordinate positions in offices or institutions, working as either secretaries or assistants to the "boss," who is assumed to be a man. In rural agricultural societies, women generally are shown working with their hands while men are working with new agricultural machinery, perpetuating the image that men are good at technical things and women are not.

Women who do get to a policy-making level almost invariably are shown by the media to be unusual and interesting exceptions. This is one of the reasons why many successful women believe that there is no sex discrimination in work, and that they have reached the top by working hard. They look down on women in general and identify with men, considering themselves superior to other women. They accept the present male-dominated social structure because they are successful in it. They do not feel it necessary to help other women to reach higher and to balance power between the two sexes; doing so would make them stand out less as "special beings" in society. Like the slave invited to dine at his master's table, they consider themselves to be better than the other slaves.

Behavior Patterns Must Change

What we are struggling against, then, is the acceptance—by both men and women—of a male-dominated structure that identifies certain roles as "masculine" and others as "feminine." Our goal should be more than equality between men and women in the present structure. It should be to remove all barriers that make one group of human beings dominate, manipulate, and exploit other human beings—in this case because of sex. We should strive for ending the dependency of one human being upon another or of one sex upon another, for the abolition of sex slavery (which marriage in its present form is to countless numbers of women), and for the ending of economic dependency of wives.

Organizing Change Through Development Communication

Changing the present social structure and balancing the social, political, and economic power between men and women require a revolutionary change in
basic attitudes of the majority of the people in any society. This change in attitudes will not come about without a systematically planned program of development support communication aiming to: a) break down male supremacy and promote acceptance by women and men, of women as independent persons with full control of their minds and bodies; and b) improve the quality of life for women, men, and children of both sexes. Communication support programs must be designed to teach women the specialized, technical, and administrative skills needed to participate in a modern economy.

The key to both these goals—changing societal attitudes toward women and strengthening development programs—is communication. Effective development programs require three-way communication between a) an individual person, b) members of her/his community, and c) development officials at the community, national, and international levels. The basic needs and problems of an individual person have to be communicated to a group of fellow community members, then community needs have to be recognized, and finally, ideas on the action to be taken to meet these needs have to be communicated to officials in charge of planning and programming development activities. Thus the communication path forms a circle: from person to community to officials, and then back from officials to community to individual persons.

If, on the contrary, the path of communication originates from the official, then development will occur in a paternalistic and elitist pattern and will end up as a one-way communication from the top down. Past experience shows that even where there has been some "feedback" from the popular level upward, the communication pattern still has remained basically one-way—from the officials who control the media and channels of communication to the individual. Development programs therefore must be supported by effective communication programs.

Limited access to the media of communication is also a barrier to changing attitudes toward women. Communication technologies have been developed with great speed. It is difficult for anyone trying to catch up with new developments to grasp their future implications for human development. No one is able to predict with certainty how new media, such as satellite communication, may affect our society. The question that any concerned individual should ask is: Who should control these powerful media? At present, sophisticated communication media are controlled by the ruling elites of most societies, and they are mainly in the hands of men. Women as a group have very little to do with the policy, strategy, and use of these media. All media—from folk plays to pictures, prints, radio, and television—are being used to perpetuate the powers that be, that is, the male-dominated social structure which is discriminating against women. The following sections attempt to outline communication strategies for changing these attitudes.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the media are very much responsible for the extreme reaction from many people around the world against the women's liberation movement. The media, controlled by men, have almost invariably presented the image of the women who demand change in a system that discriminates against women as excessive, unsympathetic deviants, man-haters—even "weirdos." This leads many people, both men and women, to have a completely wrong impression of the women's movement, which embraces all kinds of women from all walks of life, from young school girls to housewives to professional women, and small but increasing numbers of men who understand the movement's real character and objectives.
A communication strategy for improving the position and roles of women has two main objectives: 1) the behavioral objective of breaking down the myths and realities of male supremacy and bringing about the acceptance of women as independent persons, and 2) the development objective of improving the quality of life for everyone.

The Behavioral Objective of Communication Strategy

Effective communication plans and programs aimed at changing attitudes have to be designed and carried out at different levels—individual, community, national, and international—with the specific audiences in focus in each case.

At the individual level, a person seeking change should talk to those he/she comes into contact with, arguing and debating against sex prejudice and discrimination objectively; challenging sexist remarks, jokes, and comments made by members of the family, working colleagues, and teachers; educating children to respect other people's rights and opinions regardless of sex; and pointing out to children that there is no "male" or "female" work but different kinds of work that both men and women do—from house management to scientific exploration and national leadership. Among the kinds of things the individual can do to break down harmful traditional attitudes are the following:

1. Collect facts and figures illustrating the differences (and similarities) between the current status of men and women, in the country and in the world;
2. Read books and publications on the question of women's status and women's liberation and participation in development; recommend suitable ones for other individuals; and be on the alert for radio and television programs on the subject of women's roles and women's participation in society;
3. Learn and practice public speaking on women's questions and discourage thoughtless stereotypes and "put downs" about women;
4. Join the women's movement;
5. Teach young people to be on the alert against sexism; and
6. Teach husband and sons to cook and clean the house.

At the community level, groups can:

1. Set up a community task force on the status of women;
2. Establish contact with similar groups in other communities to share experience and to support one another when taking a stand with the community authority on equal rights issues and equal job opportunities and training;
3. Meet with community leaders to demand changes in the social structure to give equal representation to men and women, and more schooling for girls;
4. Organize group discussions on radio and/or a folk-play to expose a male-dominated social structure and its effects on women; and
5. Monitor the media for sexist, stereotyped advertising and program
content and organize protest to the use of such programs and advertising by the local papers or radio and television stations.

At the *national level*, attempts to seek changes should include:

1. Setting up a national task force to examine the role of women and the availability of services such as day-care for small children;
2. Organizing debates in legislative assemblies on the issue of equal rights for men and women;
3. Lobbying for legislation to ensure equal rights for women;
4. Writing articles in newspapers about women's contributions to all fields of development and arts;
5. Running for political office;
6. Supporting and working for qualified women candidates in elections; and
7. Urging large corporations to examine their hiring policies and working conditions for women.

In seeking change at the *international level*, groups can:

1. Learn what other countries are doing to improve women's status and development, and set up liaison with women in other countries;
2. Meet with journalists to arrange coverage of women leaders in order to create "role models" for other women and show that it is possible for women to work at international policy levels; and
3. Pressure governments to include women among their countries' representatives to international meetings and important international negotiations.

Many of the techniques outlined above already are being used by women who are aware of their status and who agree that change must come—although they may have some disagreements as to how to go about changing the situation. The more militant feminists want to see change in the situation now. They are impatient with people who only pay lip service to equality and are happy just bandaging sore spots of inequality. The aim, they say, is not just to ensure that women attain equal rights with men but to change the whole social structure to accommodate both men and women on an equal basis and to recognize that, although women by nature have an extra function of reproducing future generations, this should not be turned into a liability for them. They also emphasize that the upbringing of children has to be shared equally between men and women and that the glorification of motherhood has to stop. Western feminist groups, especially North Americans, are the forefront of the whole women's movement. They inspire many concerned women in other societies to fight injustice in their own countries. In developing countries, university women students' groups are the most active agents of change. They have expressed concern about the tendency of middle-class women to concentrate the struggle for equality only on family and property laws, which barely touch the surface of the problems of rural women, who need help more than any other women (or men) in developing countries. Third World student groups have begun to arrange meetings and seminars to discuss women's
issues and to take action to correct discriminatory laws and to change sex stereotyped textbooks.\(^3\)

**The Development Objective of Communication Strategy**

The outline above is a general strategy for changing attitudes toward women and their present and potential roles. But development support communication also is an important part of development programs aimed at improving the quality of life of all people. Training women to participate in development without getting them to see themselves first as full individuals would turn them into more efficient slaves to men and to male-dominated institutions and corporations. Therefore, motivating women to see themselves as equal partners to men, not their subordinates and dependents, should be programmed at the same time as organizing training courses for women in such areas as modern agricultural techniques, commerce, and industry.

What factors could enhance the quality of the lives of rural women in Asia, Africa, or Latin America? Clearly the following must be prominent among them:

1. Adequate balanced nutrition and satisfactory public health services;
2. Realistic education adapted to human creativeness, mental development, and economic needs;
3. Open access to communications media to increase knowledge of conditions in other countries and get good quality entertainment programs;
4. Better markets and a more stable price structure for agricultural products;
5. Pleasant working conditions and access to the decision-making process;
6. A healthy living environment;
7. Access to fertility services and information; and
8. Adequate pension schemes or social security for old age.

The following sections will discuss the use of development support communication in two of these areas: 1) health, nutrition, and family-planning services; and 2) education.

*Health, Nutrition, and Family Planning.* Health, nutrition, and fertility services, including family planning, should be provided by a country's govern-

\(^3\)In Asia, the student coalitions for improving the status of women are working closely with women workers and are helping them to fight for equality in treatment and equal payment with male workers, and to demand welfare services from employers and factory owners. However, a wide gap exists between the city workers and rural farmers, who are less aware of their rights and less organized. In several countries in Asia, the women university students are organizing a campaign to raise consciousness among the women farmers and to encourage them to participate in community affairs and development on an equal basis with men. This is the most difficult task of all, because rural women are scattered over the countryside and in remote areas, they are, in most cases, illiterate and superstitious, clinging tightly to traditional beliefs and ways of doing things. They also tend to accept the fact that their wretched lives are "the fate of being born women," and that there is nothing they can do about changing this condition. In this situation, communication programs have a vital role if the situation is to be changed quickly.
ment to all its people, not only to women. With respect to women specifically, however, communication support strategies in these areas should aim to:

1. Encourage women to join the medical and health professions—to become doctors, rural public health officers, paramedics, and family-planning workers;
2. Encourage government officials to plan the provision of health, nutrition, and family-planning services together, as a coordinated effort;
3. Educate women about the relationship between family planning and their health and family nutrition; and
4. Provide women with information about their biology, available methods of birth control, growing and consuming foods of high nutritious value, and pre- and post-natal care.

Communication planners and analysts should be involved from the beginning in the formulation of health, nutrition, and family-planning programs and the determination of behavioral objectives. Once behavioral objectives have been determined, communication specialists can prepare the communication support program. The primary “audiences” that will need to change their attitudes to ensure successful health, nutrition, and family-planning programs include government officials and development change agents, as well as the men and women who participate in and benefit from these services in both rural and urban areas.

Government officials—from the central ministry offices through provincial and district branches—usually know very little about the relationship between women’s health, nutrition, and family-planning practices. Few of them know about the causes and consequences of malnutrition. It is important that they familiarize themselves with the substantive concerns in these fields before they attempt to set up programs for the people in the cities and villages.

Development change agents—including rural health personnel, agricultural extension officers, teachers, and family-planning workers—often do not individually possess adequate knowledge about the linkages between women’s health, family planning, and nutrition. Moreover, many of them are not trained in communication and try to implement certain aspects of the program without researching the existing knowledge of the people and their beliefs and attitudes. They often begin to find out the attitudes of the people only when the program is already under way.

The people in rural and urban areas have to be reached differently, and it is important to keep in mind the variations in opinion and attitudes between age groups, occupations, and levels of education. Messages about family size, nutrition, and women’s health have to come together in a coordinated way and not in conflict with each other.

The sensitive planning of communications programs to support health, family planning, and nutrition must be based on answers to most of the following questions:

1. What are the health or nutrition problems in the project area?

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4 This paper focuses on women because at present they experience the double burden of being not only the child-bearing but also the main child-rearing sex of humankind.
(2) What are the religious beliefs and attitudes of the people in the area who are for or against family planning?
(3) What are the existing taboos in relation to foods appropriate for pregnant women?
(4) Who influences women on the subjects of food habits and family size?
(5) What are the communication channels in the area?
(6) How are the media being used for development messages?
(7) What bodies of ideas and information are most likely to make an impact on the people who influence the women and on the women themselves?
(8) Who are the local artists and communicators, and how can their talents be used to inform and motivate women about health, nutrition, and family planning?
(9) Who can design and produce communication materials for the area?
(10) What kind of budget is required for the production and use of the materials?
(11) Who will supervise the use and the distribution of the prepared materials and evaluate their effectiveness?

In the "development support communication" discipline, the above set of questions constitutes an examination of the communication environment.

The importance of such careful evaluation was shown by a recent study of social and economic influences on responses to family-planning programs among Northeast Thai villagers—a study conducted by the UNDP Development Support Communication Service in Bangkok. The Thailand study found that the main problem was not ignorance among villagers—especially the women—about family-planning practices but the prevalence of misinformation. The greatest difficulty encountered by communicators in this area was that of combating rumors without highlighting or reinforcing them. The careful coordination of communication inputs with other project inputs also was recognized as very important—to ascertain, for example, that the services promoted to a given audience are in fact available. Mistiming in this area can destroy a program's credibility.

Communication Support for a Liberating Education. The education that girls receive today does not prepare them for taking an active role in development. Communication programs should point this out to policy makers and motivate them to change education systems to provide women with an opportunity to redefine their role in society, plan for their future lives as active members of society, and learn self-management and responsible participation in public affairs. Communication plans should also be made to support intensive training of women in management techniques as well as in engineering and agricultural and industrial technology.

Because of their special influence on students and parents in the community, teachers are a key audience in a communication plan aiming to change the content of education. Teachers have to be motivated to become true agents of development and open the door of education daily to develop-

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ment activities. They have to be convinced that transmitting enormous amounts of information that is often out of date and relaying history that is mainly about the activities of the male elites are not the types of educational approaches that would meet today's needs of the majority of the people in the society, especially of those people in developing societies.

Communication plans should include the encouragement of girl students to choose subjects of study beyond the traditional "women's fields" of home economics, child care, handicrafts, and homecraft. Girls should be encouraged to enter the areas of scientific analysis and research, to find creative and original solutions to problems, and to familiarize themselves with practical development technology. Because girls have been kept behind in career-oriented types of education, society has to give them an opportunity to learn what development is and to be able to define alternatives, select criteria, set objectives, and formulate strategy for and means of achieving them.

Young girls have to be encouraged by parents and society to pursue careers once they have completed their study. Communication programs could address parents about the range of options and the types of jobs available for both boys and girls, and they could improve the quality of professional and skill training needed for such work. They could likewise play an important role by, for example, explaining that early and successive pregnancies both are harmful to their health and severely limit the time available to them to acquire knowledge and participate in public activities.

Conclusions

Women have begun to "find" themselves by getting together, exchanging experiences, and setting up a worldwide movement. The movement is by no means homogeneous, but its strength already has been recognized. How far and how fast the restructuring of society can be achieved to accommodate women and men as equal human beings will depend on how women and men in the movement plan their communication strategy and programs a) to change traditional attitudes that still discriminate against women at different levels in all societies, and b) to train women in the knowledge and skills they require to participate actively and fully in all aspects of political, social, and economic development.

Differences in the magnitude and the nature of the problem require variations of approach and action. For example, in societies such as those of Western Europe and North America, where the middle class constitutes the majority of the population, the strategy might well concentrate on correcting the laws in regard to marriage and property ownership and rules and regulations concerning job opportunities and promotion. But in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where the majority of the people, especially women, still live a hand-to-mouth existence, special attention will have to be paid to the realization of all human potential for improving the quality of life; the developing countries cannot afford the luxury of not using the brainpower and talents of both sexes in productive activities.

It is not enough just to concentrate on changing some of the specific forms of inequity and discrimination. The urgency of the situation requires the change of the total structure of society and redefinition of the role of the
individual in it, regardless of sex. Communication could help to increase the pace of change and to ease the "growing pains" that will come with these massive changes.
XI. A Case for Women as Co-Managers: The Family as a General Model of Human Social Organization

Ulla Olin

Introduction: An Overview of the Thesis

As a point of departure, this paper notes that the division of labor or specialization that constitutes the basic principle of economic and social development has its origin in sexual differentiation. Therefore it may be assumed that any attempt to base the demand for equality of the sexes on an alleged identity of behavior is erroneous and doomed to fail. Because of the dominant position of men, such an approach is particularly disadvantageous to women.

Since sexual specialization has evolved as part of the reproductive process, the case for an expanded role for women in modern society will depend on the ability to show that reproductive behavior is implicated in and can be identified as a basic component of cultural evolution. This is argued to be the case, with the family—the human reproductive unit—seen as the basic model of all social organization. The nation-state, the ultimate regulator of all public functions, is shown to conform with the model. Integral to the model is the hypothesis that all human behavior is motivated by the varying roles we play as family members.

It is further suggested that the physiology and attendant requisites of human reproduction have until very recently tended to tie women to the private home and make men the more-or-less exclusive actors on the public stage. However, by now this pattern of adaptation is the subject of increasing stress and strain. The reasons are many but can, it seems, in significant degree be described as stemming from an increasingly lopsided allocation of functions and human resources between the private family and society at large: the public family. The public family remains male-dominated, with a mainly object-oriented organizational pattern, at the same time that it is usurping the traditional roles (teaching, nurturing, socializing, etc.) of the private family, in which women have always played a prominent role. The

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private family is becoming increasingly female-dominated at the same time that women either are asked to do too much or are not given an opportunity to fully utilize their capabilities. The overburdening of women refers to those increasingly common instances where women remain fully responsible for the home even while they must earn an income outside the home but are not given any public management functions of decisive importance. The underutilization of women reflects those instances where women remain at home, with no possibility of earning an income, in spite of the fact that their role as mothers and homemakers no longer is a full-time commitment.

As a complement to the just-mentioned assessment of the impact of cultural evolution on women's role in society, the biological base and certain social manifestations of the behavioral differentials of men and women are discussed in some detail. The latter lend support to the family model.

As a general conclusion, it is suggested that the question of women's role in modern society goes beyond issues of equal rights. While these are important, they are not in and of themselves likely to solve the pressing problems of alienation and widespread frustration of men, women, and children in modern society. In part they may aggravate them by intensifying the social competition for status and the like. In a world where the rules have been made by men, women are, moreover, likely to continue to face an uphill struggle with slim chances of success. Instead, the core of the problem of women's role in public life, with far-reaching implications for social organization in general, is seen as one of management.

With the family as a model of social organization, it follows that women should play a far more prominent role in public management—and receive greater assistance from the men in private management. This in turn points to the need for social innovation, in which women should play an active role and to which they may be expected to have an important contribution to make—as women.

From the Biological to the Symbolic Family

Although we speak of some countries as developed, development is a continual process and therefore is of continuing concern to all of us. But development means many things. Until now, a necessary ingredient in development has been the ability of a society to support a larger number of people at higher levels of material well-being. For the future, a general stabilization of population growth may be postulated, but for the less-developed countries—that is, the majority—the need to support a rapidly increasing population will remain a reality for some time to come. This in turn will entail change in the direction of more specialized means and methods of production, allowing a more intensive utilization of societal resources, human and non-human. Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, fully recognized the fundamental importance of these matters. Through his well-known illustration of the advantages to everybody concerned of producing a large number of pins in a specialized factory rather than on an individual or household basis, he identified the division of labor as the cornerstone of his famous treatise on The Wealth of Nations.

However, the principle of specialization is as old as the human species. The prototype of all division of labor may, with confidence, be identified as
nature's sexual differentiation of reproductive tasks. Yet many voices are now suggesting that the abolition of the legal and customary discrimination against women, which in varying degrees is a fact of life in practically all societies, should lead to a new state of affairs where men and women in principle have identical responsibilities and privileges. The need for women to continue to bear society's children is grudgingly accepted---for the time being. The implicit and arbitrary interpretation of equality as sameness is not discussed.

In view of the fact that so far no society exists where men's and women's roles and behavior can be described as identical, or even as very similar, there would seem to be reason to question such a proposition on this ground alone. Furthermore, if we accept that the division of labor is generally beneficial and advantageous from the point of view of development and cultural evolution, on what basis do we propose an outright rejection of a division of labor that has its origin in genetically determined differences? If specialization is advantageous in its own right, there is reason to believe that any attempt to suppress the complementary sexual specialization imposed by nature will both fail and prove costly---to both men and women.

To gain perspective and possibly acquire some useful ideas of how to remedy the current and indisputable problem of arbitrary and harmful discrimination against women, it may be helpful to review some of the basic principles involved and to consider how and to what extent the original advantage of male/female differentiation has become lost or subverted in modern society. If men and women are different—a seemingly irrefutable fact—it cannot be beneficial, either tactically or substantively, for women to insist on necessarily having the very same rights and duties as men in a world where the rules have been made by men. With this approach, the women's movement is bound to lose, as it has in large measure done until now. The prospects for equality become much more promising if it can be argued that women have something to offer that is needed but missing in the present male-dominated management of our affairs. The issue at stake is, in other words, above all one of management and social organization rather than the relatively arbitrary assignment of technical tasks among men and women. This latter question is also important, but here we are dealing with means to an end; the handling of these matters depends on management decisions.

Reproduction as the Purpose of Life. In an examination of the origin of the problem of female and male roles in modern society, we are impelled to consider the pattern of human reproduction. It is worth noting, as an introduction to this subject, that the advantages of sexual versus non-sexual reproduction are apparent from the predominance of sexual reproduction among both animals and plants. Sexual reproduction is an integral and crucial aspect of the evolution of increasingly complex forms of life sustaining themselves from and contributing to an increasingly varied environment. Thus specialization provides a common denominator in natural and cultural evolution.

When I suggest that reproduction is the purpose of life, I realize that I may draw irate reactions from some readers. Comments may run along the

\[\text{See, for example, Theodore Dobzhansky,} \ Genetics and the Origin of Species (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 261.\]
line that this may perhaps have been so in a distant prehistoric past but that we now surely aim at more than just reproducing ourselves. Whether or not I am correct in anticipating this reaction, it takes us to the heart of the matter, namely what is meant by reproductive behavior. Often we only have in mind a rather narrow range of behavior, such as events closely related to the act of giving birth. My use of the term in this analysis is far more comprehensive—as it must be if the aim is to gain some understanding of genetically determined differences between men and women.

According to Darwinian theory, sexual differences that have emerged in the course of the evolution of the species concern survival only, nothing else. Since we survive by means of continual destruction and renewal, our goal in life must be to reproduce ourselves. Behavior that does not conform to this dictum will be selected out for lack of offspring. A moment’s reflection will clarify that reproduction in this sense comprises the full fabric of human life. A new generation must not only be brought to life, it must also be reared, sustained, and assisted to the point where it itself is capable of performing the same services for its children, and so on. Differently put, the principal task of each adult generation is to ensure its own replacement.

These matters are not difficult to grasp and accept when we are dealing with tribal societies, whose members are, or consider themselves to be, related to each other. New members are brought in for the purpose of contributing to the survival of individual families and the tribe, the enlarged family. Given the small size of these societies, no sharp distinction between the two is possible. Reproduction as the purpose of life is reflected in the general sameness of life. Men and women, boys and girls, play different roles, but each new generation basically reenacts these roles according to a predetermined pattern that is designed to transfer necessary information to still another generation. Apart from the routine of daily subsistence, the focus on reproduction is apparent in rituals and ceremonies marking events such as initiation, birth, death, feasts coupled with plays of strength, warfare, etc.; directly and indirectly, we are dealing with hopes and fears of survival of the individual family and of the collectivity of the tribe.

The question of social organization does not arise, since the family is the human reproductive unit and the members of the tribe are or view themselves as members of one or more interrelated families. Leadership is typically entrusted to a chief or father-figure who may be assisted by a council whose members view each other as brothers. Women do not usually play a prominent role in the tribe’s relations with other tribes, but this does not necessarily entail discrimination. As originally evolved, it reflects a functional division of labor that leaves it to women to care for small children and to gather, produce, and prepare most of the family’s food. Additionally, women may engage in trading surplus food or other products. Accordingly, economic management is in large measure a female task. Men, on the other hand, are in charge of the security of the community; they also tend to handle hunting and fishing away from home, as well as herding and the periodic clearing of ground for shifting or long-fallow cultivation. Each sex is responsible for its share of preparation and training of the young to enable them to assume their adult roles in society.

In trying to assess the relevance of these matters—that is, of reproduction as the purpose of life—for the large-scale impersonal states into which
the modern world is divided, we seem to be faced with a difficult choice. We may either attempt to show that the theory of evolution no longer applies to the human species, or we may look into the possibility that our lives, in spite of apparent deviations that have arisen in the course of cultural evolution, nevertheless remain geared for reproduction and nothing else. Given the circumstances, I happily opt for the second alternative.

The Symbolic Family as a Behavioral Cornerstone of Human Society. The preceding section attempted to illustrate that survival, which is of necessity closely linked to and integrated with reproductive behavior, may be seen as a general goal of life under tribal conditions. Cultural overlays notwithstanding, there is thus no apparent difficulty in reconciling the human pattern of survival with Darwinian principles of evolution. The difficulty of applying these principles to conditions of modern society derives from certain peculiarly human traits of behavior that at least at first sight do not seem to agree with the theory of evolution. Since sexual differentiation, our primary concern, is an evolutionary feature, a reconciliation is necessary before we can assess the significance of sexually determined behavior in the modern setting. Unless it can be shown that its original reproductive function may be assumed to remain valid in the management of large-scale modern society, the postulated case is weak or non-existent.

The vehicle of natural evolution is individual, competitive selection. Only those individuals who manage to contribute to the gene pool of the reproducing population "survive." The contribution need not, however, be direct. Protective behavior extended toward members of the animal's own reproductive unit or group, typically the young, does not contradict the principle of natural selection. The validity of this principle is illustrated by the familiar hostility or, at most, indifference among unrelated animals.2 Competitive behavior is particularly noticeable among male animals prior to the mating season, and it often determines the outcome of the mating effort.3

If we want to extend these evolutionary principles to problems of human social organization, we are faced with two related problems. We must, above all, attempt to find an explanation for the indisputable existence of large-scale functional societies whose members collaborate extensively and intensively, although they are for the most part not related to each other. Second, there may be sizable minorities of people in such societies who appear to have no interest in reproduction. For various reasons, such behavior may even be encouraged and in some instances considered worthy of special honors; the celibacy of priesthoods and of holy men and women in general are pertinent examples of this.

An answer to these questions logically must be sought in humanity's special pattern of adaptation. Comparatively speaking, human beings do not adapt to the environment as given. Instead, we spend an increasing amount


of time and energy on efforts to modify the environment so as to increase our chances of survival. As a result, we are living in a world where the man-made component of our environment is a crucial factor in human survival. Without it, there would not be any support for the vast majority of us.

The explanation for the human ability to so transform the environment of course lies in our large and unique central nervous system, which gives us the ability to plan and reason in abstract terms, and to store and communicate our ideas to fellow human beings, whether living or not yet born. Seemingly these things are well understood. In the modern world they find their most conspicuous reflection in the technological superstructure that is our constant concern—cities, highways and cars, power stations, irrigation works, airplanes, computers. Most countries need and want much more of this technology; some fear that their ability to maintain customary controls may be slipping. The common denominator is that we all depend on modern technology, and that its continued expansion and operation are becoming problems of global reach.

There is, however, a complementary and equally important component in our development and expansion that seems less fully understood. This concerns the ways and means we use to organize ourselves in order to utilize our technology. In spite of the fact that the political struggle everywhere mainly concerns these matters, it does not seem an exaggeration to suggest that our level of awareness and comprehension of what is involved remains relatively limited. We are intuitively aware of the nature of the struggle—a constant jockeying for positions, ex post facto recognition of major and minor changes, fluid and imprecise rules and procedures, etc.—but we neither claim nor aim at control in the same sense as we do in respect of technology. Notwithstanding the experiential wisdom and realism in this attitude (human beings do not behave like the inert parts of a machine), the problem may deserve further attention, not only because of its intrinsic interest but also because humanity's most threatening problems seem to lie in this area rather than in the realm of technology.

To begin with, specialization, the underlying principle of technological advance, does not automatically lead to development; by itself, it is socially disruptive. Its application and usefulness require increasingly exacting collaboration among larger and larger groups of people. This we have achieved, as is above all evident in humanity's organization into nation-states, within and between which we conduct the varied business of human existence. In view of the non-biological\(^4\) nature of the state, we have reason to ask now and by what means these bodies have come into being and are maintained. This takes us back to the intellectual basis of human adaptation.

The Bible states the human condition and potential in the well-known words: "Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." Other religions express these things differently. There is, however, a common denominator in the general recognition that ultimately our lives are regulated by conditions and forces over which we have no, or at best limited, control and that we must take these

\(^{4}\)The word "non-biological" is used to indicate that members of a state are for the most part not related to each other.
into account in our struggle for survival. Religion constitutes first and foremost our attempts to bring order and predictability into those aspects of our lives that lie beyond our immediate experience and control. In view of the basic similarity and affinity of the mental constructs we use to fill in the gaps in our knowledge, there is reason to ask whether a genetic, that is, predetermined component may not enter into this important aspect of human culture.

From the somewhat different point of view of cultural evolution or development, the same problem may be stated in the following terms: human dependence on logical reasoning, leading to long-term planning and investment, includes at its very core an all-embracing picture of the world we live in. Most important, such a picture must involve the future, and it must include a role for today's actors; if not, they lack motivation to participate in any work for the future. To a significant degree, these requirements may be said to be met by the general expectation that the world will continue to function as we know it, and that most of us may expect to remain in it for some time to come.

The human tendency is, however, to go beyond such limited expectations. As part of our reproductive efforts, we must plan and work for future generations. Moreover, being increasingly aware of our mortality, we have found it difficult or impossible to accept this insight and instead have developed vast bodies of mental schemes—religious beliefs and doctrines aimed at providing us with the possibility of eternal or millenarian afterlives of one kind or another. Since it is a prominent characteristic of these schemes to demand considerable contributions and services from living adherents for the support of the next generation and the religious and political establishments, it seems indisputable that religion has played a major role in human cultural evolution and development. This is fully acknowledged and has received a great deal of attention.5 In this paper, the focus is on the universal human desire for immortality and the idealized abstract schemes we have devised to successfully satisfy this craving in an indirect way.6

Seen in this light, from a transcendental horizon so to speak, the foundation of the nation-state seems relatively easy to comprehend. In the course of cultural evolution and human expansion, it eventually became apparent that a large-scale centrally controlled political body in principle offered superior protection to its members than did a small-scale tribal government. This realization first emerged in the course of violent struggles for survival in physically circumscribed environments that led to consolidation of the original tribal contestants.7 From here the step to viewing such a large association as a super-tribe may be presumed to be rather short. It is, in

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fact, merely an extension of the common custom of accepting or adopting strangers as members of one's family when this seems desirable. Kinship systems are in part an institutionalized form of this custom.

That the family or tribe constitutes the model of the nation-state is evident already in the name, which is derived from the Latin verb *nasci*, to be born. Members of a nation are, in other words, considered to be members of the same race or stock. That feelings of this sort remain a prime factor in "patriotic" behavior and nationalist movements seems clear without elaboration. The alleged weakening of such feelings seems largely unsubstantiated. It is most frequently voiced by young people who express lack of interest in and understanding of yesterday's wars. As such, the decline in patriotism would seem to reflect a tacit or explicit interest in increased international collaboration, an extension or elaboration of the nation-state system, for which we have the United Nations as a prototype of a universal human family. Further evidence of the family paradigm is found in the heads of state, who typically are father figures assisted by a mother figure. Originally the head tended to be a hereditary king (derived from "kin"), with a queen (derived from words meaning woman, wife) at his side.

From these brief remarks about human social organization and the family model it seems possible to state certain general and plausible hypotheses and principles:

1. Human survival depends on forming an image of the world we live in, including its future existence and the roles we will play in that future. The human longing for immortality and the institutional and conceptual frameworks we have established to satisfy this urge testify to the importance of our dependence on mental constructs of this kind.

2. Closely related to these phenomena is the nation-state, which may be seen as modeled on the biological family in its extended tribal form. To indicate its dependence on the human capacity for abstract thinking, symbolic representation, and storage and transfer of non-genetic information from one generation to another, a nation may logically be labeled a symbolic family. Alternatively, it may be called a public family. It may be added that the nation-state is by no means the only symbolic family on which we depend, though it is the most important social and political unit in the modern world. If the family hypothesis is valid, it must apply to the component parts of the nation-state as well. Consequently, churches, political parties, professional organizations, clubs, etc., may all be seen as patterned on the biological family or tribe, or one or more segments of it (one sex, one age group, etc.).

3. As members of a nation-state, we are family members whether we engage in biological reproduction or not. Moreover, as family members, we are obliged to support the public or symbolic families on which we depend for survival. The most tangible part of this support consists of the taxes and services we must render to keep society functioning. However, the more intangible forms of public service, such as leadership and voluntary sacrifice for the public good are no less important. In terms of self-interest, the reward for such actions may lie as much, or more, in the esteem and satisfaction derived from them as in material remuneration. As a logical complement to
the *symbolic family*, these activities may be described as *symbolic reproduction*.8

**Women's Role in the Private and Public Family:**  
*The Vicissitudes of Cultural Evolution*

Since women's role in the reproductive process is complementary to and dependent on that of men, and vice versa, it is impossible to discuss the role of one sex without also considering that of the other. This is inherent in the family model as outlined, as is also the futility of trying to change the basic drive underlying these roles. What can and does change is the tools and principles we use to realize the reproductive urge, that is, whether we sustain ourselves by hunting and gathering, by agriculture and husbandry, or by the highly specialized pursuits of industrial-urban society. Accompanying such changes are very important adaptations in human social organization, some of which have been discussed or alluded to above. However, since these adaptations depend on our genetically determined behavioral constraints, they are of necessity much more limited in nature and scope. These constraints are the raison d'etre of the family model, which will be used as a point of departure in an attempt to identify some key cultural characteristics that seem to account for today's problems concerning women's role in society. To give the fullest account possible of the changes in social organization that tend to accompany industrial-urban development, an avowed goal the world over, it becomes unavoidable to put heavy emphasis on trends in the highly developed countries. This is not meant to suggest that the past and present experience of these countries is the one and only pattern for developing countries to follow—only that no other approach seems feasible at this time. Moreover, judging from the experience in urban areas of developing countries, there is everywhere a considerable degree of similarity in this respect. Consequently, an alternative hypothesis would be purely speculative.

**Women's Confinement to the Home.** Even in today's highly industrialized and urbanized society, women's main functions are (or are typically seen as) those performed in the home. However, the pattern is changing, and insistent demands for further change are heard in developed and developing countries alike. Consequently, there is cause to consider the reasons both for the stability in women's position and for the current change and discontent.

The long-term stability reflects of course women's more direct and more immediate involvement in reproduction. In order to fulfill their roles as mothers, women have until very recently had to spend a very substantial part of their adult lives in or near the home. Here they have borne, nursed, and nurtured society's children. While many aspects of this role are well known

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8Most of these matters have been presented in greater detail in the author's earlier papers; this presentation is merely intended to provide the necessary background for a valid approach to the subject of women's role in modern society. See Olin, "The Family as a General Model," op. cit.; and Olin, "Controls in Animal and Human Populations," op. cit.
and fully recognized, others are not. The latter concern in particular women’s prominent role not only in food preparation but also in food collection and production. Recent research indicates that women’s role as food procurers and producers is major under primitive conditions, they may provide three quarters or more of the food consumed. This applies to hunting and gathering societies as well as to hoe agriculture societies. Here men’s activities focus on the security of the community, hunting and fishing away from the home, herding, and periodic clearing of the ground under shifting or long-fallow systems of cultivation. As the pattern of cultivation becomes more intensive, men’s activities shift toward agriculture, both because the new pattern requires more labor and because their traditional pursuits of hunting and warfare become increasingly circumscribed by expanding habitation and accompanying changes in administration. Such more advanced, more intensive stages of agriculture tend to be accompanied by much more stratified societies than the earlier, more extensive stages. The stratification often entails the emergence of an upper-class minority, with neither sex participating in manual work, and a lower class of landless laborers with both sexes working. With the introduction of irrigation and plough agriculture, women’s relative contribution to food production declines, but the women remain very active, continuing to handle such activities as vegetable gardening and the care of animals that are kept close to the home, and all or part of the processing of grains and cereals. In addition, they share in the sowing, transplanting, and harvesting work.

The Industrial Revolution brought important changes in this pattern. The majority of income-earning opportunities gradually shifted from rural to urban areas, and from the home setting to large-scale enterprises. The shift was accompanied by increasingly impersonal, exacting working relations that compounded the difficulties of combining the role of mother with work outside the home. Nevertheless, large numbers of women—and children—had to work outside the home. It is easy to understand that relieving women and children of the resultant (often extreme) hardships became a common ambition. Moreover, by making it possible for women to limit their roles to those of mothers and homemakers, men were emulating existing upper-class patterns of behavior. They were also assuring themselves a more comfortable existence during non-working hours. The explanation of the common ability to realize the ambition of keeping the women at home in urban areas lies above all in the tremendous increase in productive capacity and productivity that was the essence of the Industrial Revolution, and the massive upward social mobility that accompanied it. Another often neglected aspect of the limitation of women’s activities to those of mother and housekeeper is that it

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took place simultaneously with great changes in standards of clothing, hygiene, and general comfort in the home. In the absence of latter-day appliances and factory-processed food, housekeeping, even for a small family, was a demanding and time-consuming task.

Gradually, however, other parallel developments made women's housework less arduous. As a result of sharply reduced mortality and morbidity—and, in due course, fertility control—women's role as mothers came to occupy a relatively small part of their adult lives. Therefore women in highly industrial-urban societies typically find themselves only partly occupied by the kinds of tasks that have through the ages been the lot of women, and large numbers are now again working outside the home as well. Such work typically involves low- or middle-level tasks or subordinate positions.

How different are these circumstances from those of women in today's developing countries? Since the economies of the developing countries for the most part remain mainly agricultural, the problems cannot be the same as those of industrial-urban countries. Very briefly, the situation may be summarized as follows. The conditions experienced by women in these countries are not entirely different from those which faced women in today's developed countries at an earlier stage of development. Rapid change, however desirable its overall effect, demands a price in any society, from both sexes. Important distinctions do, however, emerge. Changes in production methods, and all that is entailed in such changes, are typically more rapid today than they used to be. Moreover, they often occur in societies less prepared for them in terms of their past history. Finally, the so-called demographic transition has begun and is proceeding, not only with much greater speed than it did in Western societies but also with a greater degree of change, that is, with traditional levels of fertility and mortality higher than they were in Europe. The result is a population explosion of far greater dimensions. Other important characteristics of women's position in developing countries derive from the way changes are induced and transmitted. Adopting a new but imported pattern of production is different from developing a new pattern entirely on the basis of indigenous experience. The process of change not only will be faster but it is bound to include facets that will not necessarily fit, in place or time. This latter aspect is particularly important in relation to women's role in development. Taking their cue from the role of women among the middle and upper classes of Western societies and among upper-class elites in many developing countries, officials of both colonial and newly independent governments, as well as development experts of all nationalities, have tended to think of development as a male function. Therefore, though women remain prominent in agriculture everywhere, and may even outnumber men, practically all agricultural training and education have been directed at men. Since this tends to happen without any relief of women's responsibility for food production, it is easy to see that development has not necessarily made life easier for the women in developing countries. Considering that their families have become larger and that husbands may go off to the cities in search of work, women's lot often actually has deteriorated as a direct result of development. Thus although women in developing and developed countries may have in common the general problem of discrimination, there clearly are major differences in the nature and origin of these problems.
Male Leadership of the Public Family. The continuity in men's behavior is largely the opposite of that of women. Men's activities, while generally closely attached to a home base, typically tend to take men away from the family for varying periods of time. Originally men went on hunting expeditions; subsequently, warfare also claimed a major share of their adult lives. By now, neither of these occupations demands a major share of most men's time. Instead they spend their time farming, in the office, in the factory—often doing the same kind of work as women. Nevertheless, in all of these productive activities, men have a strong tendency to seek out other men for consultation and company and, if possible, participation in the management of the affairs of the larger group. At the same time, regardless of how hard they work and how well they provide for their families, the attention they give to the day-to-day management of the home still tends to be relatively minor, often minimal.

To gain some perspective on these matters, it is useful to begin with men's and women's respective roles in the physiological process of reproduction. Here men's contribution is very limited, consisting of the act of copulation and insemination only. By contrast, women's contribution involves a commitment of years. To compensate for this imbalance, natural evolution has led to a strong inclination for men and women to form monogamous unions, in which the man plays the role of protector of the woman and their joint offspring. Without this arrangement, the chances for reproductive success have traditionally been almost non-existent.

In their role as protectors against animals and human enemies and as providers of game, men clearly depended for their survival on aggressiveness and physical strength—attributes which they generally possess in much larger amounts than women. Furthermore, the motivation for such behavior appears to be closely related to the competitive urge to reproduce. The more proficient a man was in these pursuits, the better his chances of gaining the favor of a fertile woman. Today it is commonly asserted that characteristics like these have lost their importance in modern society, since we make our living in increasingly indirect ways and often do not need to exert any physical strength at all, let alone engage in physical combat. The point is, however, that, regardless of the means we use to compete, we compete, men typically more so than women. The human ability to sublimate and translate a physiological urge into an intellectual pursuit in no way eliminates the urge. It also seems clear that marriage remains an important part of male success; single men generally constitute a socially highly disadvantaged group.

These observations in no sense eliminate the need to question the present division of labor between the sexes. Large numbers of men and

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111 It also is worth noting that the basic difference in male and female reproductive behavior, one being closely related to aggression, the other involving caution and submission, is typical for the entire animal kingdom. See, for example, Williams, Adaptation, op. cit., Chapter 6.

women, including a growing number of married women who have entered or are in the process of entering paid employment, do not identify strongly with the roles they must play in order to make a living, nor can the work many of us perform be described as having predominantly male or female characteristics. As a result, alienation is a common malaise in today's society. Further signs of malfunctioning are found in growing violence, crime, and other antisocial or inadequate types of behavior.

A common feature of the present division of labor between men and women is that men tend to hold the vast majority of top management positions and hence to determine the rules of the game. This does not mean that the blame for our societal problems rests with the men. The problem is far more complex than that. It may, however, be suggested that, given the irrelevance of sex in the performance of most of the technical tasks that fill much of our time, the continued male dominance in management may have outlived its original justification and may, in fact, be outright harmful. However important innate behavioral characteristics may have been, and in part remain, in bringing men to the pinnacles of power, a continuation of the past pattern without change appears both unjustified and ill-considered. As a plausible explanation of the present situation, two factors appear important. The first is that the ability to engage in successful warfare has for thousands of years been an absolute condition for survival or independence in an increasingly competitive human world. It is no accident that the first states came into being as a result of warfare and subjugation. Psychologically, warfare is a typically male pursuit; physically, it even now requires the will and ability to engage in combat and daring undertakings—modern weaponry notwithstanding. As an instrument of settling major international disputes it has, however, lost its usefulness in view of the suicidal nature of the weapons that are part of the modern arsenals. Even as threats, these arsenals appear to be of limited value. Therefore, competence in warfare no longer deserves the unquestioning loyalty and obedience it once commanded. The second factor that may help explain the preservation of an outmoded pattern is simply that it takes time for old traditions to yield to new circumstances.

The Relationship Between the Private and Public Family. A dimension that often is missing in the discussion of women's role in modern society is the relationship between the private family and society at large—what I like to call the public family. If we approach the problem from this angle, it becomes quite clear that the issue is not so much that women have, actually or figuratively, been left at home, but that a very large number of the former functions of the home have been transferred to society at large. Practically all formal education and vocational training have been transferred from the home to outside institutions. The extent to which the private family has lost out to the public family is indicated by the current emphasis on the importance of "pre-school" training of small children outside the home. For training

14For informative but biased, controversial, or incomplete presentations of these and related matters, see Amaury de Riencourt, Sex and Power in History (New York: David McKay, 1974); Gilder, Naked Nomads, op. cit.; Lionel Tiger, Men in Groups (New York: Random House, 1969); and Lionel Tiger and Robin Fox, The Imperial Animal (New York: Dell Publishing, 1974).
of older children, this trend toward specialized impersonal institutions hits men and boys just as hard as it does women and girls, although the manifestations are different. At times the home seems to be reduced to a place to which family members merely go to eat some of their meals and to sleep.

Another aspect of modern specialized society is the increasing separation of the place of work and the place of living. Large numbers of women and children live in residential suburbs, where they have no daily contact with working men and their environment. Men, for their part, must spend long hours commuting to and from work and have difficulties getting to know their own children. Thus the old saying that “behind every successful man there is a woman” is not nearly as relevant as it used to be when both spouses were familiar with the man’s associates and environment and could evaluate the problems and difficulties that inevitably arise. Moreover, whether they live in rural or urban areas, women also are often isolated and have lost the opportunity for consultation and collaboration with other women that they used to have. Thus even within the sphere of activities where their influence remains strong, women tend to be deprived of institutional and psychological support.

Seen in this light, it seems justified to conclude that the continued male domination of the public family represents a carry-over from an earlier stage of cultural evolution that is in need of adjustment and change. If the public family is going to successfully discharge the manifold duties with which it is now entrusted (and with which it seems most likely to remain entrusted), it seems logical to suggest that women will have to play a much larger role in its management. Although nothing specific can be said about the design of such joint management, it is worth emphasizing that women are not new to management. They are, and have always been, the key managers of the private family—its affairs. To anyone who suggests that this has little to do with public management, I would suggest some pause for thought. The rationale for the thesis that the family provides a general model of social and political organization is, among other things, that it contains the prototype of all political behavior: authoritarianism, submission, rebellion, democracy in varying but substantial degrees (small children must be given a hearing in order to survive), competition, strife, compromise and sharing, reconciliation, and collective action. The complexity of human affairs is more a matter of our behavior than of the social organization within which it occurs. Social organization is in principle simply a matter of interlocking hierarchies. As to behavior, there is hardly reason to suggest that women are less adept in its understanding than men. The opposite is often suggested and may, in fact, be a correct observation, as will be discussed below.

Evidence of Differential Male and Female Roles in Human Social Organization

The present pattern of management of the public family—the state and all the institutions that operate within its boundaries and under its control and protection—is heavily biased in favor of men. How can this pattern be changed? Any recommendations will have to be rather general, for change of this nature of necessity takes time, and its specific form is largely a matter of
trial and error. A review of existing studies that directly or indirectly substantiate and illustrate the biological basis of sexual differences in behavior does, however, make it possible to strengthen and clarify the case.

The Biological Basis of Male and Female Behavior. A concise and highly informative book on this subject, entitled Males and Females, has been written by Corinne Hutt, a well-known ethologist/psychologist. This study summarizes much of the available research and clarifies the principal issues. The author notes that of the 46 chromosomes present in every human cell—23 from each parent—only 2 are sex-linked. For females these are the XX chromosomes, for males the XY chromosomes. It is this one Y chromosome that, a few weeks after conception, causes the initiation of the differential development of boys and girls. It is further noted that the mammalian template is female; even more important is the fact that life—whether animal or vegetable—generally is male and female, not neutral. This is inherent in the pattern of sexual reproduction. Apart from primary and secondary sex characteristics in the human species (the reproductive organs and such features as the female breasts and the male beard, for example), there is clear evidence of genetically determined sex-related differentiation of the central nervous system. Sexually determined differences in human behavior are, in other words, regulated by the hormonal and nervous systems, usually working in close integration with each other.

From evidence of this sort one may deduce that while the external environment does, indeed, have much to do with our behavioral patterns, it does not "write" on a tabula rasa, as is so often suggested. Instead, social customs and formal and informal training tend to reinforce and respond to predetermined patterns and inclinations. In fact, sexual dimorphism is more pronounced in humans than in most other primates, as has been noted by C. J. Jolly, among others:

Humans are rather more dimorphic in body-mass than chimpanzees, and much more dimorphic than any other hominoid in the development of epigamic characters, especially on the breast and above the head and neck, which can only be paralleled, in primates, in some baboons. Equally, there seems little to suggest that human males are any less competitive and aggressive among themselves than those of other species, the difference rather lies in the fact that these attributes are expressed in culturally-determined channels, rather than by species-specific threat gestures of physical assault, so that expression of rage is postponed and channeled, not abolished at source.

These differences have been clearly demonstrated in a large number of behavioral studies of boys and girls, which permit certain general conclusions. As to average level of intelligence, measured by IQ tests, there is no indication of significant differences between the sexes. There is, however, a

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16Ibid., pp. 40, 74.
17See, for example, ibid., pp. 41, 50, 56, 62.
highly significant difference in the distributional pattern: females tend to cluster rather close to the average whereas males are spread out over a much larger range, indicating a more diverse pattern of abilities. Additionally, men and boys excel in tasks requiring spatial perception and thinking. They also are more exploratory—a factor that may be presumed to be related to the ability to perceive space. Women, on the other hand, tend to have greater verbal skills than men. They also display greater manual dexterity than men, who, on the other hand, are better than women in mechanical tasks that require skill in handling spatial concepts.

Hutt also takes up sexual differentials in social behavior. As is commonly assumed, careful tests have revealed that boys are, indeed, more aggressive and extending such behavior into related areas—more ambitious and persevering than girls. It may, however, be noted that male aggression for the most part is directed against members of the same sex, whereas female aggression is indiscriminate, as it would need to be if its primary function is to protect the young. Girls are generally more protective, solicitous, dependable, and nurturing than boys. Combining intellectual and behavioral propensities, it is fair to suggest that men are generally relatively more object-oriented and women more people-oriented in their various pursuits. Findings such as these of course are a matter of statistical differences and probabilities: there always will be considerable individual variation, including exceptions.

These matters are not without interest and relevance to women's participation in public management, where the problems more often than not revolve around people rather than objects. As part of a consideration of this subject, it seems worth noting that women easily find themselves in double jeopardy, trying to assume a more equal role with men. Not only are they faced with the problem of getting a foothold in a male-dominated establishment, but also resistance to their admittance may be reinforced by the subject matter of women's greatest concern and ability. In development work, a pertinent example is the common and persistent neglect of anthropological, demographic, and sociological aspects of social and economic change in favor of narrowly perceived economic aspects. The former are areas where women are relatively prominent, and the latter is a predominantly male area of study and work.

Social Manifestations of Male Female Differentials in Behavior. Among sociological studies, a few that focus on women's adjustment (compared to that of men) to a unisexual environment are of special interest because they indicate a definite distinction in male and female reactions to the same kinds of psychological and social stress. Two of these studies concern the adjustment, or lack of adjustment, made by young factory workers brought to work in cities from rural villages in pre-war China. Men and women were kept

19Hutt, Males and Females, op. cit., p. 89.
20Ibid., Chapter 7.
21Ibid., Chapter 8.
23See Kuo-Heng Shih, China Enters the Machine Age (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), and a study by Ju-K'ang Tien, “Female Labor in a Cotton Mill,” included in the same volume.
separate, both at work and in the dormitories in which they were housed. Although not formally imprisoned, the workers were highly isolated, with only minimal contact with the outside world. In the United States, an in-depth study was conducted in 1966 of the social organization of the inmates in a large federal prison for women; similar studies of male prison life exist and are referred to in that study for comparison.24

The startling finding of the studies of these two quite different settings is that women, deprived of a heterosexual environment as well as the social structure that normally goes with such an environment, apparently have a strong tendency to form full-fledged “families.” In both cases, the families they formed were composed of both “men” and women—although in the Chinese study the “father” was in at least one instance presumed to be away in the army (other male family members were present). The study of the American federal prison showed with great clarity that the symbolic family organization is quite effective in dispensing comfort and assistance to those in trouble and in imposing structure and order on the inmates’ interactions with each other. The core of male/female relationships was that of “husband” and “wife,” including sexual relations. A clear distinction was, however, made between the so-called “prison turnouts” and regular lesbians; the latter were not highly regarded.25 From the point of view of social integration and stability, it appears highly significant that the kinship ties formed in these situations could not be broken easily. “Husband” and “wife” partners might separate from each other, but “father” and “daughter” were not free to form a sexual alliance. Such behavior might occur, but only rarely, and “incest” met with disapproval.26 As elsewhere, the kinship system established and structured a much larger social group than the couple.

No similar tendencies seem ever to have been observed among exclusive groups of men, which, instead, are notable for their internal power struggle, dominant leaders, homosexual relations marked by exploitation, attempts at breakouts, etc. Moreover, exploitative, conflict-ridden, unstable relations seem to be a characteristic of male homosexual behavior in general.27 The Chinese male workers tended to deplore the lack of “uncle” or “brother” type of social and working relations, but they did nothing to alleviate their deprivation.28

The Giallombardi study of women in a U.S. federal prison repeatedly and consistently refers to American cultural values as the explanation of these quite striking differences in male and female behavior. In line with what has been said earlier in this paper, it seems far more plausible to suggest that the differences reflect innate propensities, reinforced and overlaid by environmental training and conditioning.

These studies also bring to mind Lionel Tiger’s thesis that male behavior is characterized by a mysterious quality which he labels male “bonding.” He argues that it is an evolutionary feature that stems from man’s

26Ibid., pp. 162, 172.
27Gilder, Naked Nomads, op. cit.
28Shih, China Enters, op. cit., pp. 118-19.
hunting past but which, as any innate characteristic, remains with us and, among other things, may be presumed to work forever against any substantial change in the current pattern of discrimination against women. Simply put, the explanation is that the bonding instinct invariably will cause men to gang up against women. While such an observation may not be entirely without foundation, as was just noted, it seems questionable to explain it with the alleged bonding instinct. A simpler and no less valid explanation would be to see male competitive cooperation (“bonding”) as a manifestation of men's need to assert and prove themselves vis-à-vis other men. Women may get in the way, but that is a different matter. It may be added that any biological bonding, that is, a functional social organization in the genetic sense, which seems to be the kind of concept Tiger has in mind, is extremely unlikely to be found anywhere except among genetically related individuals. Given the fickleness that is a noticeable trait in many male groups, aggressive assertion and ambition seem fully adequate as an explanation of the alleged “bonding.” It should also be noted that, discrimination notwithstanding, highly significant differences in women's role in society have existed in the past and continue to exist today. There is thus no fixed absolute pattern in these matters.

Women's Differential Role in the Public Family as a Reflection of Men's Differential Role in the Private Family. It has been noted already that the relative importance of the private family or kinship group is bound to decline and that of the public family to increase in the course of development. The explanation is simply that the private family cannot supply the large number of specialized services required by modern society. Since women retain strong bonds to the private family, they have encountered difficulties in asserting themselves and finding an appropriate role in this new situation.

This problem may be illuminated further by a comparison of women's participation in development in different cultural contexts. That such differences exist has been known and documented for a long time. The explanations, however, have not always been very penetrating. A major step forward was taken in Boserup's already classic study, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (1970), emanating from her masterly analysis, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth* (1965). A different and no less interesting comparison of women's economic role in Latin American and Middle Eastern countries by Nadia Youssef focuses on behavioral differentials associated with the system of social organization and control. Although the two groups of countries included have reached a similar level of industrial development, they display a markedly different pattern of female participation in the non-agricultural labor force. In Youssef's analysis, a large number of cultural and historical factors are convincingly brought to bear on the problem, but only a few of these can be touched upon here. Youssef shows very clearly that women's increasing participation in the modern labor market in response to economic development is mediated by and can vary decisively with the system of social

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30 Williams, *Adaptation*, op. cit., p. 221.
organization. In the two cultures studied, a basic difference refers to the institutional setting and consequent role of religion, which is a key provider of societal norms and values in the conduct of the affairs of all societies.

In Latin America, the Catholic Church is separate from the secular administration and has emerged as an effective competitor to male heads of families in the control of women’s behavior. The prescribed celibacy of the priesthood is of course a key factor in this situation. Apart from women’s opportunities to become nuns, the influence of the clergy has led to the provision of educational facilities for women and hence to their access to a relatively wide range of employment opportunities. Additionally, among the indigenous and mestizo population, the comparatively high rate of female labor force participation reflects the social disruption and disorganization wrought by the conquistadores; this has left women without the customary measure of male support for their children.³ It may be added that, in relation to non-Muslim countries, the proportion of economically active women in Latin American countries is not high.

In Middle Eastern Moslem societies, the picture is quite different. Islam makes no distinction between politics and religion. They are both part of one highly integrated system, in which all societal institutions are closely related to and guided by Islamic rules and norms of behavior. Thus any institutional change tends to have religious implications. Moreover, Islam has no organized clergy. Consequently, the male family head largely remains the one and only arbiter of women’s behavior. Since Islam is heavily male-oriented, changes in women’s traditional secluded existence have been very slow or non-existent.³ However, signs of change, in some instances radical, are now beginning to emerge. These may be expected to accumulate and accelerate—if for no other reason than men’s need and desire for assistance in the support of their families.

**Implications for the Management of the Public Family**

Before an attempt is made to assess the implications of sexual differentials in behavior for women’s role in modern society, it may be useful to briefly recapitulate some key points of the preceding discussion.

First, human survival is based on an increasingly indirect interaction with the environment, in which the basic intervening component is human ideas—the human ability to extend and intensity physical exploration and utilization of the environment with the assistance of abstract reasoning, planning, storage, and transmittal of information by means other than genetic evolution. In the sphere of social organization, this ability is above all reflected in the formation of what I have called symbolic or public families, of which the nation-state is the prime example. Its members, although for the most part not genetically related to each other, typically view each other as members of the same family/tribe, or federation of related tribes, and collaborate extensively, even if formally and impersonally, as members of an actual tribe would do. In times of conflict and consequent threat, different

³Ibid., pp. 86-94

³Ibid., pp. 96-100.
sectors of a nation may ally themselves against each other. In extreme cases this may lead to internal war, often characterized by the same intensity of feelings as actual family feuds, whether at the private or tribal level.

From this discussion it seems justified to conclude that family or reproductive behavior may be assumed to remain the focus of human endeavors, however remote from actual biological reproduction these may appear to be. Consequently, one may also suggest that the complementarity of male and female behavior in the reproductive process will retain its significance in the symbolic or public family. To appreciate the practical and concrete importance of these matters, it is pertinent to recall that, while the actual role of parent is the culmination of reproductive behavior, we will, as adults, always continue to play varying roles that are directly comparable to those we play as family members and which, hence, may be seen as an integral part of human reproductive behavior. Depending on the situation, we will find or put ourselves in subordinate/child positions; in leading positions comparable to those of parents, older siblings, or other older relatives, as equal partners and companions, where the relationship is similar to that among brothers, sisters, and cousins.

A prominent feature in the universal movement toward nation-states that is now virtually complete has been the tendency for men to become increasingly involved in activities that are performed away from home. Women, on the other hand, have largely remained tied to the home on account of their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers. As part of this same trend, culminating in industrial and urban development, the private family has gradually lost a large and increasing number of important functions to the public family. Most important among these probably are the education and training of children and youth. As a result, we have arrived at a state where the management of the public family remains male-dominated in spite of its increasing responsibility for functions that have traditionally been shared by men and women. Conversely, the private family often suffers from a gross lack of male influence, and mothers are left by themselves to handle, among other things, problems of guidance and counseling pertaining to situations of which they have little knowledge or experience.

Admittedly this is an oversimplification of trends and problems characterizing today's society. The situation is everywhere more complex than can be conveyed in a few sentences. Additionally, depending on historical background and level of development, men's and women's roles will vary a great deal from country to country. Nevertheless, there does not seem to be any gainsaying that the general trend is in the direction that has been suggested. It is true that in recent years the stresses and strains of these imbalances between women's and men's roles often have led to a substantial increase in women's participation in economic activities outside the home, at least in some areas. So far, however, this move has not been accompanied by any noticeable or conscious change in the concept of management of either the public or private family. Relatively more emphasis may be placed on the need for men to assist women with child care and household duties, while women entering the male arena are, as before, expected to fit themselves into the existing scheme of things and, if successful, play the role of male executives. Here the matter largely rests.
Without disputing the importance and relevance of some of these arrangements, I am suggesting that they fail to identify the core of the problem, which strikes me as being one of management rather than of the technical tasks that must be performed to keep society functioning. Equal rights for men and women are, indeed, important and justified in modern society, but they are not sufficient ends in themselves. Nor should the demand for equal rights be based on the common belief that the male and female behavioral potential is the same. Its justification is rather that a very large number of modern occupations on balance are neutral in terms of sexually determined behavior and that, even when they are not, we need to make room for the exceptions that will always be there to confirm the rule.

In a world dominated by technological thinking, the fluid and imprecise nature of observations like these is likely to meet with considerable contempt and to be discarded as impossible to incorporate in economic and social development plans, where the objective—seldom realized—is a high degree of predictability. A valid answer to such criticisms is, I believe, that development may be said to consist of two main components or tendencies: differentiation as a means of control of the environment (human and non-human), and the need for social integration on a larger scale. Since specialization in production methods that is an integral part of technological advance is socially disruptive, we have no means of utilizing the benefits of technology unless we also evolve new patterns of social organization. The comparative imprecision of the principles at work in this area does not necessarily render them invalid, arbitrary, unamenable to study, or incapable of planning and management. The point is that we are dealing with behavioral rather than with mechanical systems. Moreover, behavioral systems will remain with us, and they will continue to follow behavioral principles, regardless of whether or not we take them into account.

As a means of increasing our understanding of these problems, I have advanced arguments to the effect that the family in principle contains the full behavioral paradigm of human society. A major conclusion of such a model is that our concept of society at large, whether conscious or not, is a crucial and so far largely neglected factor in development. As we all know, social systems, like mechanical ones, can and do suffer from malfunctioning. Consequently, if it can be argued that there is a generally valid model for social organization, we have a tool for remedial action. Seen in this perspective, it will immediately be clear that the obscure and inferior role of women in modern public life is a sign of malfunctioning. Women everywhere play a very important role as managers of the universal microcosm of family life. As such, they often are very skilled in dealing with the very same kinds of problems that on a larger scale emerge in the public family. However, in the public family, their managerial role is generally minor. This state of affairs is an obvious, but incompletely understood, factor in the current move toward equality of the sexes. (There is also reason to believe that it may be an important factor in other areas of social malfunctioning.) Although it is both impossible and unrealistic to attempt to specify the kind of changes that may

be desirable for improving the present system of social organization—if for no other reason than that they will vary from society to society—a few suggestions may help to clarify the implications of the family model.

Take, for example, the common problem of excessive population growth, a problem that inevitably is of greater and more direct concern to women than to men. Seen in the framework of closely linked private and public families, which require both behavioral and organizational changes as part of the development process, deliberate population control need not be approached as a matter of suppressing the reproduction of the private family. Instead, the problem to be solved becomes that of establishing a new pattern of “reproduction” that requires a partial transfer of “parental” duties, in particular those of women, from the private to the public family. Without such a shift, the private family suffers the risk of not being able to obtain the public services—education, health care, roads, water, electricity, etc.—on which it clearly depends, and for which the public family lacks the necessary resources. If this simple, easily understandable, and valid explanation were provided, much of the controversy and sensitivity that tend to permeate any discussion of the population problem might disappear or, at any rate, diminish in importance. In general, a highly significant factor in the usefulness of the family model is that it easily lends itself to illustrating the continuity and stability in life on which we will always depend, regardless of technological changes in the way we support ourselves.

Going a step further in the population question, it is pertinent to note that married women’s participation in the non-agricultural labor force tends to be inversely related to family size. This fact alone may be taken as indicative support of the suggested handling of the population problem. However, such a conclusion emerges more definitely from Youssef’s above-mentioned comparative study of Latin American Catholic and Middle Eastern Moslem societies, in which the author demonstrates that the system of social organization—in particular the structure, interaction, and sexual division of labor within and between the private and public families—mediates these changes and can cause substantial differences in the pace and characteristics of the pattern of adjustment. Youssef’s study also illustrates the need to analyze these problems in sufficient detail and depth. If the private family is a poorly integrated unit, any analogous reasoning concerning private and public duties and behavior of course must take this fact into account.

Complexities notwithstanding, some conspicuous illustrations may be offered of the principles of behavior that I have tried to identify. One example is the People’s Republic of China, where an important part of the development effort, including family planning, focuses on the need to replace the traditional family or clan as the basic and very powerful social unit of Chinese society with a new network of public families that are integrated into a modern, impersonal nation-state. Another example is provided by my own recent study of the Thai family-planning program, which has met with a noticeable degree of success in spite of the agricultural and rural character of the Thai economy—conditions that have not typically proved conducive to population control. It seems that Thailand’s relatively long tradition of a vertically organized and well-integrated nation-state, with a high degree of

geographical and social mobility, is an important factor in this development.  

Another aspect of modern, high-technology society, is the mechanical approach used in the organization of teams, or minor armies, of work—not for the performance of specific, ad hoc tasks but on a continuing basis. As has often been remarked, the machine age has a tendency to reduce human beings to bits and pieces in a mechanically conceived system. Other social units that suffer from problems of excessive size and inhuman specialization are cities, schools, business organizations of whatever kind, and states themselves. It is inevitable that the level of communication in these systems is reduced to the lowest common denominator and that problems of alienation and frustration become widespread. On the basis of historical evidence as well as the biological base of human behavior referred to earlier, it appears fair to suggest that these features of object-oriented, large-scale social organization in part reflect the male domination of modern society. Women never have been prominent in these areas, and their behavioral inclinations, moreover, would seem to indicate that they may never emerge as direct challengers to men in this respect. However, using the family as a model, one may raise the possibility that women, if they are to share the responsibility of public management with men, might question and object to the monopoly exercised by the current pattern of management. Given the social costs of the present system of organization, which appears to include a widening gap between adult male and adult female mortality in highly developed countries, both men and women might, in fact, welcome the introduction of changes designed to recognize and reinstate the human dimension in public management. As the more active participants in the male-dominated social and economic hierarchies, men inevitably are more directly exposed to its excesses than women. Judging from a number of experiments and changes in business management, aimed at giving the individual worker, or small groups of workers, a measure of initiative and independence, such tendencies are already asserting themselves. Bringing the place of work and the place of living closer together again is another type of change that might deserve attention, as would redesigning the educational system to bridge the gap between education and work as well as that between the sexes and the generations. It may be added that social costs are, indeed, costs and that they must always be paid. Moreover, if denied proper and timely attention, the price tends to escalate and may lead to major social and political upheavals.

If the idea of significant modifications in the system of public management—for which the family model might be used as an endlessly variable but


38 For one such example, see Agis Salpukas, "Plant Is Experimenting with Changing Work on Line," _New York Times_, April 9, 1975.

39 See, for example, Olin, "Population Pressure," op. cit.
nevertheless meaningfully defined and constraining guideline—should gain acceptance, there would seem to be scope for much needed social innovation, in which women would have an opportunity to contribute their share as women. In an increasingly crowded and circumscribed world, the female capacity for management and mediation between conflicting interests would seem to be a potentially useful and valuable asset. It may be added that statements like these are in no way meant to deny or negate the differences among the world’s many types of private and public families. The point is that the family concept does contain important common denominators: the family shelters, protects, and nurtures all its members; it is also a place of constant competition and rivalry, with compromise and sharing as basic ingredients in the resolution of conflicts; it demands sacrifices, and it gives rewards. If we bear these universal ingredients in mind, we may be able to better adapt our systems of social organization to the needs of the times.

In terms of public family behavior, both developed and developing countries would seem to be in need of reminding themselves of its importance. In the former, individualism appears in many instances to have run wild and turned irresponsible. In the latter, a common problem is the fostering of national attitudes designed to supersede and modify more limited loyalties and interests. In both instances, the basic problem is the need to complement the socially disruptive effects of technological change with deliberate, careful, and persistent attention to problems of social organization and integration. The main obstacle encountered in pursuing such a course of action is seldom the difficulty of identifying the issues. Rather, the problem is that open recognition and increased awareness of the basically very simple principles involved might impose certain strictures on political maneuvering and introduce a measure of objective accountability into politics. The more immediate point of the present paper is that without the full participation of women in public management, the family model is of little or no relevance. Methodologically, the paper is an illustration of and a plea for a holistic approach to the study of human behavior.
XII. The Development Approach to Liberation: Suggestions for Planning

Erskine Childers

It is no accident that the movement for the liberation of women and their equality-based integration into world development has the classic features and problems of “the vicious circle” that we see in all facets of underdevelopment. A need is identified, and it seems to suggest a given remedial or growth input. But further and more systemic analysis of the need shows that it cannot be met without several other coordinated, mutually reinforcing inputs. The analysis may also indicate that the developmental effect cannot then be sustained and consolidated without yet another sequence of inputs. Thus, improved nutrition is not only a problem of food production, itself requiring many inputs and new facilities; it is also one of nutrition education for parents. But nutrition provided and even accepted may not be nutrition retained where there are gastro-enteritic disorders. And tackling these disorders almost always requires a new pure community water supply, which in turn requires still other inputs. In the same way, the ultimate full liberation of women may require, among many things, non-sexist child education. This will first require the mental and emotional liberation of curriculum designers, teachers, educational administrators, and parents, which in turn presupposes other actions.

Retrospects and Analogues

Many precious years and resources were dissipated in the overall development endeavor after World War II, while development programs and projects were designed without adequate understanding of these vicious circles—or “interdependent variables” in development. The structure of many governments was pre-developmental; there was a separate entity for each of the perceived governmental functions, which included the provision of law, order, data, and minimal, relatively passive services. The “injection” of purportedly dynamic, change-oriented developmental demands into these structures exposed them as fundamentally antithetical to an integrated development process.

In these separate departments, which had separate authority and were strongly influenced by models and training from industrialized countries, new development specializations were in turn built up in intellectual and adminis-

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trative isolation from each other. There was the now-familiar weakness of development planned "from the top down." This reinforced the new specialists in their structurally ordained separateness. Coordination was difficult even at the community level, as everything had to be approved at the top. "Coordinating committees" of heads of departments were seldom the answer, because they were made up of officials rather than specialists and community-level change agents. Planning based on consultation with the community—on seeing its needs holistically and providing services and technical assistance designed from such planning—has only very recently gathered support.

In retrospect, another major factor in the failure of many development programs can be seen in the long dominance of economic measurement and economics-derived designs over development concepts and formulations. Behavioral factors—the need for human feasibility studies alongside the economic and physical—have been terribly neglected, with repeatedly wasteful consequences in every region. For example, an economist may have asserted that food production in a given area could be greatly increased by new kinds of modern cultivation, which would require consolidation of small plots of land and formation of farmers' cooperatives. But the human and administrative costs of trying to persuade people to allow their ancient plots to be reorganized, to risk new cultivating methods, to learn and apply complex new techniques, and to make cooperatives work—and to convince them that all this must be done at the same time—may be enormous. The disruption of even the assured traditional level of food production may compound these costs to a level that puts the relative advantages of the entire original development design in question. Proper regard to behavioral factors at the early proposal stage of women-integrative programs may avoid many such later outcomes.

Another aspect of this problem is that specialist compartmentalization has resulted in a curiously widespread failure to "deal with first things first," or, in more conceptual terms, to use the "critical path" method to identify sequences of needed development steps. A glaring example of this is the question of grain storage and protection. A visitor to earth from a more intelligent species on another planet, learning of the food crisis and of urgent decisions to apply research breakthroughs in higher-yield seed varieties, surely would have asked: But don't you think it wise first to make maximum effort to eliminate losses of grain from traditional-seed harvests by controlling excessive dampness and pests? The tragic fact is that up to one fifth (some experts say even more) of the developing world's harvested grain is still being lost through rodents, other pests, dampness, and fungus.

This survey of past mistakes leads to the conclusion that the vicious circles of underdevelopment stand a far better chance of being transformed into positive cycles of growth under the following conditions:

1. If the people for whom a development program is intended are consulted at its very outset and involved at every further stage;
2. If problems are seen and studied holistically by sectoral agencies and specialists collaborating in joint analysis and using the "critical path" method; and
(3) If the real demands that development plans make of ordinary people, in attitude change and learning tasks, are carefully (and respectfully) considered and phased.

Dilemmas of Design

The above prescriptions do not make good planning easier. On the contrary, they involve much more work at the pre-implementation stages, open up many more dilemmas, pose more difficult decisions, and make the total planning process longer. But large accumulations of painful experience throughout the world indicate that these more arduous planning processes will usually result in far more viable projects. The historical development ledger is today all too filled on the net deficit side with costly cases of “more haste, less speed.”

The study of factors and needs in the integration of women into development has been subdivided for the purposes of the Seminar on Women in Development into five workshop subjects (see pp. 141-77), but the implications and interdependence of these subjects must be kept very clearly in view. It is axiomatic in communities with low income, low capital formation and savings, low credit capacity, and high net population growth that the “vicious circle” is tight and extremely sensitive. First, the “elasticity” of a low-income rural community to make extra provisions for any growth-oriented change in production patterns by itself is strictly limited at any one time. Second, and equally important, the number of new development activities in the community that are assisted from outside (e.g., by government) but that nonetheless require economic risk, cash outlay, or initial credit burdens also is severely limited.

In singling out only one major implication of this, it is worth underscoring—especially for women-oriented growth activities—the primacy of credit. Except perhaps in those societies where women really do manage the commercial transactions already, ensuring credit for a new economic activity will be quite crucial. The role of both male prejudice (“can we trust them?”) and male supremacy over property/possessions that may secure loans or credit will be powerful in most societies. And the price, one must even say the penalty, for failure of the proposed activity must be carefully assessed on a “risk-rating” basis.

There will be many dilemmas of input and first action, but a great deal of development-planning history suggests that the more dilemmas are perceived at design stage, the healthier the final choice is likely to be. We have dodged the dilemmas far too often. Some of these dilemmas will emerge from the limited “stretch” or “initiative” capacity within a community, illustrated above; and they will emerge from the tight interdependence of the Seminar workshop subjects. Moreover, dilemmas also may arise from less than trenchant observations made by outsiders wishing to help women in a given community. The following example illustrates the dangers of focusing on only one aspect of the problem:

Women in a certain area spend many hours per week moving domestic water supplies from distant sources to their homes. An outside team suggests that a village artesian well and storage tank, or other small-
technology substitute water source, could relieve them of both the physical burden and the time expenditure.

What growth activities among the women would this enable? Health and nutrition advisors may answer, “More time to attend to family health and nutrition and family-planning education activities.”

But, if fertility decisions in this particular village and culture are very heavily male-dominated, the net yield from this small-technology input may indeed be better family and child health, but no really significant change in pregnancy burdens, and thus no real change in traditional roles for women—unless there is simultaneously an intensified family-planning motivation-information campaign directed toward the men. On the contrary, the availability of more family-planning information to the women, leading them to try to argue with their husbands against incessant child bearing, could merely prompt the men to respond: “You now have more time and energy to raise more children better since the new well was drilled; and is that not your function?”

The intention, of course, is not to argue against getting the new water supply but to make a case for planning systematically, by “critical path” analysis, the sequence of changes that any given development input will make. This methodology of analysis in development planning almost invariably involves certain basic questions that can help good development design:

1. Where in the vicious circle of the present constraints upon women’s potential equal role in development do you start—leading to what next step?
2. Which innovations and inputs have to connect and move either simultaneously or in careful sequence?
3. Which others can be delayed, to follow after and build upon first release and growth?
4. How much—in sheer behavioral change and economic-financial input load—can a women-integrating program plan for and count upon, all at once?

Behavioral Factors. Of special importance in designing activities for the greater participation and benefit of women in development will be behavioral questions, which themselves involve vicious circles and require extremely precise analysis. For example, which development activities will be the easiest to undertake first—relative to existing prejudice and, very importantly, relative to female fear of male prejudice? Which development activities will raise women’s confidence, which surely is a prerequisite at the beginning? The answers to these questions may be different from the answer to the question of what will achieve high economic returns. Again, what if women’s priority “felt needs” in a community are wholly “traditional” and in no way “liberating”? It may be essential to respect these, help meet them, and build upon them in a directly linked second phase.

In most cultures, great care will have to be taken with both family structures and factors that influence them. Perhaps here we can learn from the years of disastrous, Western-influenced mistakes in family-planning programs that applied approaches based on nuclear family structures and influence sources to societies composed of extended families—programs that focused on the husband/wife couple as a top priority and often as the
only "target audience," to the neglect of many other powerful extended-family pressures on their fertility decisions.

Sociologists and social psychologists who are experienced in development and who have really studied the suppression of women (and the psycho-pathology of men therein) are going to be greatly needed in this new field. There are critically important behavioral questions about which we seem to know very little, even on a broad culture-by-culture (let alone area-by-area) basis. It will be important to try to identify the roles over which men are more emotionally volatile: political and economic male supremacy, or fatherhood? What are the likely "detonators" of this emotionality in each role? It is not difficult to anticipate the importance of questions like these in considering, for example, the introduction of new economic women-releasing activities into a village where there is already an active family-planning campaign.

Having urged the formation and very active use of professional social scientists in this field, I would, however, add a strong caution not to leave the study of male-supremacy factors to social scientists alone. Everyone working in this field must become sensitive to and continuously conscious of the social disease of male supremacism. The attitude, "I won't bother myself with the men, I'm getting on with helping women," will be merely curative at best, not preventative.

Questions of Focus. It will also be critically important to avoid concentrating on the possibility of immediate assistance to adult women to such an extent that the young human-resource stream is again neglected—as it so often has been—in development. One of the reasons for this neglect seems to have been the influence of the Western bias of quite wide age-grouping on the life spectrum, which assumes significantly long periods of time between "childhood," "youth," and "adulthood." Consequently, where a development need has been judged massive, the tendency has been to concentrate attention upon the adult segment, which is perceived as containing those who can respond immediately.

The attitude of the women's movement to this problem is already far healthier than that of, for example, the great family-planning drive of the 1960s in the developing countries of Asia. The women's movement contains an alert awareness that sexism begins in childhood and can ultimately only be overcome by starting now with children. If even 50 per cent of the energy and funds that were poured into family-planning campaigns aimed at the fertile adult couples of the 1960s had been invested at that time in reaching the then young, pre-fertile boys and girls, family-planning acceptance rates today might be much more encouraging.

It is urged that the development drive of the women's liberation movement keep this perspective continuously in view because of the especially intractable, truly cruel factors involving many young girls. Incessant child bearing, for example, often results in actual withdrawal from school (or total non-attendance) by a family's older daughters, who are expected to look after their mothers' successive babies. This practice has an effect that is even more retrogressive than one "lost generation." In many societies it means that these young girls, whose mothers are out working all day in the fields, are thrown back two generations by being placed under the direct daily influence of their grandparents. In my observation, it is this influence of grandparents...
that accounts for the often dramatic lack of "progress" among so many young rural women in so many societies; these women literally are thrown back two generations for the only "education" they ever really receive.

This would suggest that day-care centers should have a priority and design content not only to liberate adult mothers and to assure better nutrition for their infants and toddlers but also to liberate and give a chance to today's daughters, who will be mothers and adults in only a very few years (far fewer years than in the Western age-span model). This in turn suggests that every time development planners in this new field rightly identify day-care centers as priority inputs, they must also plan what should be done not only to a) try to rectify male supremacy in preferential male-child attendance at schools but also to b) establish in the shorter term what sort of developmental education, palpably out-of-school, the daughters of today and tomorrow are going to be given once the center is working. The center itself will not ensure that they get to school.

Separate or Integrated Projects? Within a wider perspective, another vital question arises: Is a separate "women in development project" needed, or should the indicated input be built into a larger (e.g., overall rural development, agriculture, or health) project? Integrated input design is vastly more difficult. And because of resistance through traditional attitudes and prejudice, there often may be a tendency to avoid the tiring effort of persuading those (usually men) who are planning major development programs to incorporate into them components that will enable greater participation of women. It may seem far easier to put together a separate development project for women—and planners may often urge such a course while giving (condescending) assurances that it can "then" be "coordinated with" larger schemes. It perhaps should be pointed out that nothing would make life easier for change-resistant men than such institutional "safety-valves" against the changes we are really discussing. Part of the reason for the growth of new sectors, ministries, and agencies is that it is so often the easy alternative to presenting already busy people with more mentally and organizationally taxing new development challenges. In this particular case, very profound emotionalism among men must be added to "busy-ness."

No doubt separate projects may be indicated in specific circumstances, but the dangers of such a course must be realized. Population programs are a good example. It is at last being realized that population is a component of development and that separate and merely parallel population projects often have irremediable weaknesses in that the goals of other development projects may compete with or even work against official population objectives (e.g., agricultural innovations that will actually reinforce farmers' perceived needs of large families, to help work the innovations in the fields). It will not be difficult to identify comparable dangers in the virtually new field we are now discussing.

These challenges in design and strategy skills are severe, but they will be far less overwhelming if planning is done at manageable design levels close to integrated communities of human beings, and if planning is based on thorough inventories of the human will, skill, and material resources available at the community level. Genuine consultation with the community and its wise people will help the community to analyze itself, and to identify its own priorities and its own behavioral feasibilities. Discussing every ostensibly
specialized input proposal on a genuinely coordinated basis with government and, where applicable, private-sector sources of supporting services also can help to complete the growth cycle.

This approach is urged whether planning is being done for separate projects or for overall, "macro-scale" development projects. Planning "from micro to macro" can pay very valuable dividends in both categories. But and precisely because in most countries deep-seated prejudice and tradition will be encountered in working to formulate programs and projects for the integration of women into development, the designing levels will have to be more human; will have to be closer to the community, and will have to depend more on local human will than has been true in the designing of most programs in the past. These will not be matters of choice; if the programs are to have a good chance of success, the extra planning energy will have to be expended. The development thrust of the movement for the liberation of women is likely to be, of sheer necessity, one of the most thoroughly community-based, locally sensitized, and behaviorally sound programs. If it is not, it cannot succeed.

Institutional and Staffing Factors

It is immensely important that everyone working in this area remember the historic faults of narrow and separated specializations already mentioned. Certainly for the first few crucial demonstration years, the number of men and women who will be willing and available to work on this new field in most countries will be small. Thus in addition to the dangers of poor design through specialist separatism, there will be the danger of a terrible waste of scarce human resources through uncoordinated, even competing efforts. It is urged that those who care make themselves specialists in the whole subject of integrating women into development, regarding their own particular expertise in development as one that must be meshed with all others.

But those tackling this pioneering, historically revolutionary new development thrust must not limit their demonstrable knowledge to the needs and potential of women; rather, they must become experts on women within total society. The arguments for programs and projects must be holistic and very ably advanced; proposals must be clear and well researched. Predictable questioning of "economic returns" must be met with truly valid answers in economists' terms and language—and then range wider. Worries of government administrators must be met with demonstrable knowledge of the administration of development, its structures, agencies, channels, and constraints.

High-quality reporting and evaluation also will be crucial. In few other fields will a "success" need more proving: in few others, too, will it be as difficult to communicate results, because, at least initially, the receptivity within government and related agencies will be low or scattered. A plan (as well as personnel and other resources) for monitoring, reporting, and evaluating a project should be carefully built into each work program and timetable. Audio-visual aids in reporting will have special value; officials who initially will not read a detailed technical printed report on a "women in development" program may become interested far more easily through audio-visuals. In this field, there will all too certainly be a high factor of
"Seeing is believing." The staffing to be developed must include communicators especially sensitized in this field and able to convey it authentically rather than condescendingly.

Another caution derives from the present tendency of "women in development" projects to be small, concentrated in one or two locales, and characterized by a high ratio of outside assistance. As a rule, such women's projects are not replicable on a wide scale—and therefore may consume much energy without having a "macro," nationally sustainable effect. For example, if small handicrafts projects producing a goods surplus to the immediate community were replicated across a whole country, could the total national product be sold? National development strategies for women must not be mere "photo enlargements" of a few successful small projects.

Most important, it is difficult to conceive of any significant, sustained effort to generate and design the kinds of programs and projects that are needed if the assumption is that no prior, or at least simultaneous, effort needs to be made to start to change the basic prejudices among at least the most directly involved men. They will not even be able to grasp some of the taken-for-granted starting concepts and premises of women and men embarking on such development. The dialogue all too often will be as if between one group of people for whom green is green, and another for whom all is red. (And if dialogue seems to be getting somewhere, without any basic effort to open men's minds, then beware the earlier mentioned "safety-valve" syndrome!)

Research programs on serious, strategic development inputs that aim to release women into growth and higher-status activities therefore surely will have to include basic orientation-communication for the men (and brainwashed women) who are in decision-making and community-level change-agent roles in development. It is also extremely important that any kind of conflict or mutual disdain be avoided between those working for women in development and those concentrating on other efforts within the women's movement. Every good development worker knows that society is a systemic, internally volatile entity, in which all parts and dynamic levers interact. The history of only the last few years in the international women's movement shows how extremely practical the feminist challenges to basic laws and social legislation in fact have been. Those who take up development work for women should perhaps take an inner pledge: "Let me never say that development work is "more practical" than feminist agitation."

Inner Circles and the Ultimate Outer Circle

It is, however, an obvious fundamental premise of this Seminar, and of all related United Nations and other initiatives in the integration of women into development, that this development work does not have to await the total mental/emotional/legal transformation of society from sexism. Beyond any doubt, as development planners in this field study its "vicious circles," they repeatedly will come upon needs that can only be met when laws are changed or when many minds are liberated. The need for some mind-opening already has been cited. But the premise and the art of good development design is that a great deal can be achieved in the field of development that both will be valuable in itself and will contribute to overall social and legal transformation.
To state this is really to pose a major question: What is "the ideology" of this development drive?

Surely what we are discussing—and what has been a goal from the adoption of the U.N. Charter and the history of U.N. resolutions through International Women's Year itself and beyond—is a major drive within development to realize the concept and insistent vision of women as whole human beings who are as free as men within each society, as endowed with opportunity in all fields as men, and at last enabled to command their own beings and bodies.

We must take continuous care that new development efforts are infused with these principles, this ideology—lest they become mere programming mechanics for further and more extensive exploitation of women within societies that remain male dominated. For they surely could, and many who do not wish transformation would merely welcome the extra labor resources. Many women who do not welcome the task of confronting male chauvinism, or who find it an exasperating diversion of energy, also might become the unwitting allies of men who will say: Of course we can use more women in development . . . .

It is against this background that one ultimate question surely should be asked, as a standard discipline in all the new development programming: Where, when, and how will this development activity have a socially transforming effect on unliberated men, on women, and on basic laws and social legislation?

Achieving this effect will be in every case a triumph of good development design, completing the transformation of the largest vicious circle into a positive cycle of human equality in world development.
Debate at an International Seminar
Proceedings of the Seminar on Women in Development  
(Mexico City, June 15-18, 1975)

Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen

The three-part theme chosen for International Women's Year was "equality, development, and peace." It was a major objective of the Seminar on Women in Development organized by AAAS—and cosponsored by UNDP, UNITAR, and CONACYT—to highlight and launch action on a little known aspect of one of these seemingly all-benevolent themes: the mounting evidence of development's far too frequent adverse impact on women.

The Seminar was an international event. Its 95 participants—academics, activists, planners, bureaucrats—were drawn from 55 countries. Apart from an opening and a closing plenary session, the three-day meeting's work and debate were conducted in five workshops, which concentrated on the following aspects of women's participation in development:

1. Food production and the introduction of small-scale technology into rural life;
2. Urban living, migration, and employment;
3. Education and communication;
4. Health, nutrition, and family planning; and
5. Women's formal and informal organizations.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE MAJOR CONCERNS OF THE SEMINAR

Before proceeding to summaries of discussion in these five workshops, which identify the more specific issues raised by each group and the strategies for action proposed by them, it may be useful to set out some of the general problems that were recognized by most participants to be common to women in different parts of the world, as well as overarching themes that appeared and reappeared in every group and gave the Seminar its cohesiveness.

Development's Negative Impact on Women. Despite the range of countries, political systems, and cultures represented—ranging from Nepal to Cuba to the United States—there was unanimity among the participants that in no country were women being equally integrated into the economies of their countries or into the decision-making apparatus. Consequently, it

1 The origins, goals, and sponsorship of the Seminar are also discussed in the Introduction to this volume; more detailed information on its organizational arrangements is provided in Annex A, p. 181.
was argued, development efforts have tended to favor men at the expense of women in a myriad ways.

Does development help or hinder women? The question can be answered in two somewhat contradictory ways. On the one hand, development may benefit the nation as a whole, as reflected, for example, in its rate of economic growth, yet have a negative impact on major subgroups of the population, especially women, which may be reflected in declining relative or even absolute levels of material and social well-being. As Devaki Jain (India) pointed out in a paper prepared for the Seminar, "styles of economic organization, patterns of training and education, patterns of upward social mobility (for instance 'Sanskritization' in India) tend to displace women from traditional occupations or roles as well as to exclude them from enjoying their share of development. The rights and powers accruing to them both from custom and independence of income are eroded." On the other hand, however, the mobilization of women on a large scale as economic assets or resources may conflict with women's own interests and desires and in many cases may add to the work load of already overburdened women.

It must be noted that the above contradictions are by no means inevitable; they are offered primarily as strong caveats to the view that processes of social and economic development necessarily result in an improved situation for women, or that development in the currently developing world will, in some magical sense, mean a repetition of the same historical processes experienced by the Western world during periods of rapid economic growth.

Were women necessarily better off in traditional societies? Ahmed Ashraf (Iran) observed that women's roles in pre-industrialized societies could be romanticized, and reminded the group that women in traditional societies were likely to be undernourished, overworked, and to bear many children yet see many of them die. On the other hand, Irene Tinker (United States) stressed that in West African pre-industrialized societies women had a positive role from which they derived power, but that the West is "exporting" a middle-class definition of women's work to these countries which undermines this traditional role. There was a clear consensus that the Western model of development is not a panacea for improving the conditions of women. A case in point is that of middle-class women in industrialized societies; while their condition has certainly improved, at least in terms of their material well-being, they may have lost power relative to the men in their societies. It was agreed that one of the goals of any development strategy must be to relieve women of their heavier burdens and provide support for the economic and social activities from which they have derived power in the past.

In a plenary of the Seminar, Ester Boserup (Denmark), a pioneer in the study of the impact of development on women, reminded participants that development does not automatically improve the lot of all the people, on the

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2This reference to a paper and others throughout the summaries of workshop proceedings indicate material cited or paraphrased from brief background papers prepared by Seminar participants for discussion in its specific workshops. Brief identifications of the Seminar's participants based on information which they themselves provided—are listed in Annex B, p. 193. It should be noted that most participants did not officially "represent" the organizations with which they are presently affiliated, but contributed their own personal viewpoints.
contrary, societal change affects various social groups differently and very frequently has a negative effect on those who depend for their survival on the use of traditional skills. While many writers have called attention to this general problem and have advocated assistance to particular groups in society, Boserup was the first to provide evidence that within all such disadvantaged groups, women tended to be the most neglected. Training programs have been proposed as a solution for such bypassed groups. Boserup emphasized the particular need of women to have access to programs of training in the skills necessary for participating in a money economy—since when a society reaches the stage where labor is paid, traditional women’s work is downgraded precisely because it is not carried out for wages. When untrained women seek work in the modern sector, they are employed only in the least skilled occupations. Throughout history, women’s inequality has tended to be related to the importance of their economic participation; certainly the lack of economic options reduces a woman’s mobility and life choices.

Institutional and Individual Sexism. In all five workshops, women were perceived to be growing increasingly dissatisfied with their lack of access to economic and political power. Luisbu N’Kanza (Zaire), fearing that International Women’s Year would turn out to be nothing more than just a glorified Mother’s Day, expressly called for action that would show that women were tired of feeling powerless and wanted to share in national and international decision making. Sexism, as practiced by individuals and institutions, was condemned. In each of the workshops, antagonism surfaced against views expressed by some male participants. One man was firmly corrected when he suggested that the idea that women had had strong roles in subsistence economies was a romantic notion. On the contrary, responded Bolanle Awe (Nigeria). It was known that women had been village chiefs in many parts of Africa!

There was also general agreement that institutions perpetuated male dominance, and that most leaders were unwilling to initiate measures that would help women. The education workshop, for example, noted that lack of adequate transportation to distant schools often effectively reduced girls’ enrollment in schools after a certain age, owing to their (and their families’) fear that they might be molested. The workshop on women’s associations stressed that the perpetuation of male dominance by institutions often also was responsible for unwillingness to accept women’s use of non-traditional organizational patterns and procedures. Sexism was also considered to be at the root of another major problem highlighted by the Seminar, governments ignore women’s contributions to the economy even in the informal sector, which is heavily dependent on women. Government statistics do not include women’s work in the calculation of the gross national product. Indeed, even the occasional time budgets (analyses of time spent on various kinds of work) drawn up by anthropologists frequently rely on answers given by the man in the house about the amount of work that his wife performs. As Else Skjønsberg (Norway) succinctly put it, “women’s production is often restricted to reproduction and given no cash value.”

More than one workshop also emphasized that women have double work loads, as they carry out demanding tasks in the household as well as
work on the farm, or marketing or hawking surplus food, or time-consuming small jobs in the tertiary sector of the economy. "Up earlier and to bed later" is, as Chokyun Rha (Korea) pointed out, the general rule for most women, in some areas, this is further aggravated by the custom of serial feeding (feeding family members at different times—men first), which is a full-time occupation in itself. Ghita El Khayal (Morocco) stressed the psychological strain that this type of dual function imposes on women. Hence, contrary to the middle-class stereotype that it is necessary to get women out of the home in order to have them participate in development, traditional women's roles already imply long working hours both in and out of the house. The problem is how to assist them—how not to make them more dependent but rather train them in new skills (accounting or crop selection) or bring them technologies that will make their lives easier. Allen Jedlicka (United States) mentioned that bringing technology to the home involved some danger, since it might encourage another kind of segregation: some technologies for women, others for men. More important, however, was that development should never undermine women's traditional roles. In this connection, Fatima Mernissi (Morocco) cited the weakening of women's traditional support networks: when the breakdown of extended families precedes the establishment of day-care centers or mother-help institutions, for instance, women are left to manage both job and family. On the other hand, women in modernizing societies, while expected to do so much, do not really have traditional status positions connected with specific roles; this fact probably facilitates their adaptation to modern ways of living, since their assumption of new roles does not require them to give up privileges (status) linked to previous roles. In support of this point, Yael Katzir (Israel) cited the example of Yemenite women migrants to Israel. With no loss of status at stake in trying out new roles, Yemenite women have been relatively freer than their menfolk to go to sell food in urban areas, where their contact with modern society has facilitated their adaptation to modern life in Israel.

These points all tended to underline the need to accept the changing roles of women. Isabel Carrasco de Gomez (Colombia) noted that one household in three in Latin America is headed by a woman who has been left on the land while her husband seeks a job in the city. Statistics increasingly show this to be true around the world, yet planners take no account of the fact. It was strongly argued that this neglect and ignorance should be remedied. Participants called for the inclusion of women at all decision-making levels and stressed that in order to have women participate in the political and economic life of their countries, governments had to free working mothers by providing part-time work and child-care centers. There was general consensus that planners should no longer be allowed to ignore or bypass women's aspirations but should consider women's potential contribution and include them in plans for development.

Approaches to Change. Discussion in all the workshops showed participants to be focusing not on whether change was needed—all delegates agreed that nowhere are women equitably rewarded for their work, and no one supported the status quo—but how change could be brought about. Underlying much of the discussion in the workshops was an attitudinal split between those who felt that women could attain equality only by radical
change of the institutions of government (a change amounting to revolution), and those who preferred the reform of existing institutions to achieve this end. This split typifies most open debates of international issues today, frequently impeding or even stopping discussion. This did not occur at the Seminar on Women in Development, largely because it was apparent to all that no form of government really treats women equally with men. Seminar participants from socialist, democratic, and feudal countries alike agreed that institutional sexism existed in their own countries. Thus there was no perfect model to recommend; the institutions of all political-economic systems had to become more responsive to women's contributions and needs.

A second theme which informed the discussion but did not really split the participants into opposing ranks was the division between the practitioners and the academics. The Seminar deliberately invited participants with experience in both of these types of endeavor to contribute to its discussions and share their views with one another, and where there were splits in opinion in the discussions, they generally were not along these lines. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that most of the academics clustered in the urban workshop, where somewhat theoretical discussions concerning labor, economics, and migration of the poor underclass dominated the debate.

A major underlying difference that did divide the participants in all the workshops was the issue of whether or not any distinct type of organizational structure is either more responsive to women or more amenable to direction by women. This, together with a strong suspicion that present institutions are male-oriented and therefore give preference to men, were perhaps the most widely shared concerns of the Seminar.

The recommendations of all five workshops called for new institutions that would be more responsive to women's needs. An ancillary debate focused on the questions of whether women's issues could be dramatized and resolved more effectively through separate women's groups or whether it was wiser for women to join with men to bring about change through existing organizations with mixed memberships—since men still tend to hold most power.

Can the existing institutions be changed, or are certain new types of institutions preferable? For example, are health-care services basically impersonal and distant and therefore difficult for women to deal with? Are local health centers, organized in a less bureaucratic way, somehow more attuned to women? Should women seeking political change organize along parliamentary lines? Should they include men in the membership of their organizations? Or are women better off in informal networks with new kinds of institutions? Is the education system, for example, so permeated by the processes and concepts derived from a masculine world that it can never treat women equally? (Perhaps this is why the education workshop focused almost entirely on non-formal education—on institutions less set in their ways and potentially more responsive to women.)

The agricultural workshop started from the assumption that the introduction of small technology was almost inevitably biased against women—who are already "penalized" by their lack of education. The governmental workers who introduce small technology or who operate farm extension programs tend to carry with them the masculine mystique, as do institutions.
designed to help farmers, such as cooperatives or credit banks. The workshop, operating on the assumption that only a new institution could be devoid of sexism, urgently called for the organization of an international, private, women's bank.

Participants in each of the five workshops also expressed differences as to the approaches they wished to follow in discussion. Some wanted to discuss specific projects and their impact on women, others felt it more important to establish general guidelines and analyze underlying causes of problems. For example, the education workshop spent little time on the formal education system, feeling that education has been touted as a panacea for all the ills facing women for too long. Today 40 per cent of the world's women are illiterate compared to 28 per cent of the men. Women drop out of school more than men, are dissuaded from excelling for cultural reasons, or are trained for jobs that are non-existent. In spite of grandiose schemes for reform, women's literacy rates are still lower than men's; more women than men drop out of school, and women still are not being adequately trained for good jobs. Thus the focus of the workshop was on practical projects, such as literacy programs and practical training programs, that clearly could lead to improved living or better jobs.

The food production workshop also concentrated on concrete proposals—such as the already-mentioned worldwide women's credit bank. The group evaluated projects on the basis of how they would affect the actual situation of women. Thus, Elizabeth C. Kelly (United Kingdom) pointed out that when mechanical corn grinders had been introduced in Cameroon, they had greatly alleviated the work burden of women, but that had they been introduced in Nigeria, they would have further restricted the activities of Moslem women for whom corn grinding was a means of community activity.

The urban workshop preferred to analyze the origins of the problems faced by women in the cities rather than to discuss specific proposals for alleviating those problems. The group explored the causes of migration, discrimination in the job market, and the sexual exploitation of migrant women, and discussed a series of social indicators to act as a measure of such problems.

In other workshops, both the gradual and radical approaches were represented. Thus participants in the health workshop felt the essential point was to underline the importance of research on the relationship between employment and fertility but also wanted emphatically to convince planners that the general health level of any country depends, to a much greater extent than believed in orthodox medical circles, on a vast increase in paramedics and "barefoot" doctors. The workshop on women's associations evidently also was ambivalent about whether the ultimate goal of women's organizations should be general or specific. Should women joining clubs mainly aim at acquiring the self-confidence and dynamic self-assertion that would enable them to compete with men in society, or should the thrust of group activities be educational—to teach women skills and train them for positions available in the economic sphere? Such differences of methodological approach were often evident during the Seminar's three days of debate, and are reflected in the many-faceted recommendations that accompany the five workshop reports, as can be seen from the summaries that follow.
WORKSHOP 1: FOOD PRODUCTION AND THE INTRODUCTION OF SMALL-SCALE TECHNOLOGY INTO RURAL LIFE

Women in rural areas in most parts of the world play an important part in the production and processing of food in addition to carrying the burden of household and family care. The essential tasks typically performed by these women include fetching and carrying water and wood; pounding and grinding corn to make flour; baking, cooking, and serving; nursing infants and caring for the sick and old; milking and feeding animals; sewing and washing; sowing, weeding, harvesting, and working in the fields; and curing and drying extra food for later use. Yet the productivity of these women is low because they generally have no alternative but to continue to use inefficient, traditional methods. By teaching only men how to use modern agricultural machinery, socio-economic development has led to an increasing differentiation between male and female tasks and male and female productivity. It was pointed out in discussion that not only does development tend to increase the differentiation between men and women, but it also tends to widen the gap between rich and poor, and that unless it is specifically aimed at the least advantaged group, it will tend to increase the power base of traditional male elites by giving them increased means of dominance and wealth. One result of past failures to focus development programs on the poorest people is that few efforts have been made thus far to integrate women into the modernizing development process, and that women usually have little access to the credit or education needed to maintain or improve their status.

Because of the urgency of recognizing women's contribution in agricultural productivity and food processing, women's roles in household tasks and crafts, their role in marketing, and their need for credit, as well as the importance of learning how technology in the modern sense can benefit women rather than add to the differentiation between male and female activities, this workshop concentrated on concrete recommendations and was characterized by the absence of ideological and academic abstractions. Its discussions focused on five main points.

Worldwide Failure to Evaluate the Contribution of Women to Productive Activity

In subsistence societies, women tend to do at least 50 per cent of the work related to food production and processing. Women rise earlier and retire later than everybody else; in short, they work 18 to 20 hours a day while the men work some 12 hours a day. An exception to the widespread inequality between women and men with respect to long working hours was noted by Allen Jedlicka (United States), who commented that among Quechua peasants

Participants in Workshop 1 were: Susan Almy, Gasbia El Hamamy, Mary Elmendorf, Yvonne Goma, Josephine Guissou, Natalie D. Hahn, Allen Jedlicka, Brenda McSweeny, Bertha Beatriz Martinez Garza, Ester Ocloo, Elizabeth O'Kelly, Nesta Patrick, Chokyun Rha, Virginia Saurwein, Gloria Scott, Else Skjonsberg, and Margaret Snyder.
in Bolivia, both sexes work 18 to 20 hours a day, and fathers help with caring for the children.

Can the productivity of women be improved? Yvonne Goma (Zambia), Josephine Guissou (Upper Volta), and Diana Osando (Kenya) all stressed that agricultural development can be promoted through agricultural extension advisors, and that the main thrust should be teaching women the use of modern seed technology, fertilizers, and insecticides. It is through this type of education that women's productivity in agriculture can be increased. Oondo noted that between 1970 and 1973, eleven special seminars were organized in Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda to teach improved use of available foods, the introduction of new techniques, and new concepts of health care. Other examples drawn from Cameroon and Iran showed that agricultural extension plans and agricultural advisors have been successful in proportion to the care they have taken to specifically involve women in activities and to the concreteness of their programs. Where training was aimed at women, definite increases in productivity had been noted. Martha Mushala Shubila-Schrader (Tanzania) pointed out that to encourage agricultural production, her country experimented with a new type of village. "The Ujamaa policy requires that every person over 18 years of age register individually as a member in an Ujamaa village; considering that 98 per cent of rural females are engaged in farming and that they are hard working and have an input far exceeding that of men, the new policy will give each an individual income of food and cash."

Else Skjønsberg (Norway) and Natalie D. Hahn (U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization) both commented that development often puts an extra burden on rural women. They become responsible for more of the agricultural work as men migrate to the cities or leave to work on plantations. Even if the men do not leave, the burden may grow as the use of modern machinery increases the acreage under cultivation. Thereby, also increasing the area that women have to weed. In addition, more land may be devoted to cash crops and less to food production for the family. Thus modernization also may bring about changes in nutritional patterns. Esther Ocloo (Ghana) argued that women therefore must be trained in nutrition and in the preservation of food. Chokyun Rha (Korea) also pointed out that women need to be included in the discussion of the new types of food that are available: "Oil-seed proteins such as soybean meal and cottonseed meal now can be made into high protein foods."

The problem of ensuring that women are integrated into rural development as technology is introduced was emphasized by Ana Lauretta Diaz (Guatemala), who in her paper underscored the point that measures aimed at the integration of women must not be isolated from general measures to improve rural productivity. Guissou also insisted that not only women but the family as a unit must be trained in the new techniques. Skjønsberg, on the other hand, suggested that women had to have special training courses because they were a priori at a disadvantage. Jedlicka further argued that ideally women should be taught to use all kinds of tools, both inside and outside the home, so that children would understand that the use of tools is not sex-specific. However, he also acknowledged the need for "gradualist" approaches to equalizing the access of both sexes to technology. He
particularly mentioned how the introduction of methane gas (based on the anaerobic digestion of agricultural wastes) for cooking in homes in rural Mexico had been a first step in teaching women new technologies. Jedlicka further commented that “although this approach runs the risk of perpetuating and creating female technologies, it may be a more realistic approach to change; that is, men may be more supportive than they would be of an across-the-board equality proposal.”

One recognized barrier to increased participation of women in technological advances is the fact that work outside the home conflicts with caring for children. It may be necessary to organize services within the villages to take care of children. Another solution is to involve the men. Several participants, including Nesta Patrick (Trinidad) and Mary Emendorf (United States), pointed out that governments in Trinidad and Peru, for instance, were encouraging men to go to day-care centers and classes to learn how to share housework. The centers also encourage men to avoid sex-stereotyping in the home—in terms of either the roles of mothers and fathers or the types of toys their children play with. Bertha Beatriz Martinez Garza (Mexico) felt that labor and housekeeping equality should be universally recommended, but Ester Ocloo thought that such a proposal would be laughed down in Ghana.

Elizabeth O’Kelly (United Kingdom) made the more general observation that technology must be introduced selectively, since the mere transfer of technology does not necessarily lighten burdens, increase productivity, or improve the product. It is a well-known fact that what machines do, people many times can do better. This and the need to provide more people with employment in developing countries were cited by O’Kelly as constraints on the introduction of modern technology. On the other hand, she also pointed to the advantages of the introduction of technology, especially one advantage which often fails to be recognized: There is an important distinction between a saving of manpower and a saving of labor. Even if many of the jobs gone by machines in Western countries are better done by humans in developing ones, technology can and should be used to lighten labor. O’Kelly, among many others, argued that the introduction of “small-scale,” “intermediate,” or simple technology in developing countries is the most feasible way to lighten labor, increase productivity without decreasing the value of the product, and, more importantly, avoid creating unemployment.

How the introduction of this type of technology can lighten women’s burdens was well illustrated in one of the filmstrips that was part of the workshop’s audio-visual support program: In Kenya, the introduction of tin roofs relieved women from the heavy burden of constantly going to the well for water, since water could be collected from the roof. Perhaps even more interesting was the cooperative method to which the women resorted to purchase the roofs. Every week they all put a certain amount of money into a common pot and each woman in turn received the entire pot. This example shows how traditional cooperation among women and the introduction of one simple technological advancement—the tin roof—can greatly improve women’s condition. (This form of traditional cooperation among women is widely used throughout the world for cash savings; once the idea of using credit accumulated in this traditional manner for development is accepted, the money can be spent for a great variety of developmental activities.)
Food Processing and Housework

The discussion of food processing and preservation and other work in the home focused on two points: 1) the need to recognize the economic usefulness of household work in general, and 2) the use of small-scale technology. The debate on work in the household, which is similar in rural and urban areas, is whether there should be a monetary value attached to it.

There was much discussion but no agreement as to whether remuneration of household work was necessarily a good idea. In her paper, Kusum Nair noted that in India, for instance, household work is not considered a productive activity. The 1971 India census defined a worker as a "person whose main activity is participating in any economically productive work by his physical and mental activity.... A man or a woman who is engaged primarily in household duties such as cooking for his or her own household should not be treated as a worker for the main activity." A current survey of rural work is under way in India and is an attempt to correct this undercounting of women's work. The narrow interpretation of this census definition tends to mean that women performing work for their families are not counted even for those productive activities which would be counted in labor statistics under other circumstances. For example, a woman is not considered to be engaged in a productive activity when she is carrying water home for her family, but the putting in of a water line is counted as a productive activity. A woman is not counted in labor statistics when feeding her own family, but is considered productively employed when preparing food for laborers. It was suggested in the workshop that this problem would be avoided if general gross national product could be measured in terms of energy expended in work (kgs).

On the second point—the use of small-scale technology—various types of institutions that can help women to learn to use modern techniques were listed by the participants. First among these—and mentioned by virtually everyone—was the system of community- or government-directed agricultural extension services. The second was the regional economic office, and the third was the international rural development organization. Thus three different levels were identified at which women could be advised on agricultural technology: first, the village level; second, the community and national level; and third, the international level. The fourth were volunteer organizations, which could start and nurture local women's groups, providing incentives to increase their knowledge of modern methods and encouraging literacy. (The role of women's self-help organizations was discussed in Workshop 5.)

On the subject of teaching women new skills in the home, Oclee insisted that food canning was a high priority, in that women who had been taught it would not only be improving their families' nutrition but also would be made more competent to operate in modern markets. Handicrafts were identified as another skill that could be taught and used within the confines of the home. (This last point became very controversial in Workshop 3 on education.)

The use of money by a couple moving from a subsistence to a money economy was another concern of the workshop. A recently adopted law in Mexico requires that 50 per cent of all income in a marriage be put to the use
of the household. This was not a concept that got much support from the participants, in that it is obviously unenforceable except in extreme cases. Yet a major argument in favor of providing women with income producing activities was the widespread complaint that men spend their earnings themselves and do not provide for their families.

Marketing and Other Activities Outside the Home

One of the traditional activities of women in all rural areas is the marketing of food and small handicrafts. Here again it was stressed that women must be taught better methods of food preservation. It was pointed out that in some cases the knowledge is available but is not transmitted for other reasons. One example cited was Thailand, where Chinese women know how to preserve fish in a more healthful manner than that traditionally used among the Thais, yet the barriers of communication between the ethnic groups kept Thai women from learning the Chinese method. (Other such problems of communication were discussed in Workshop 3.)

An additional point was made by Ester Ocloo, who emphasized the importance of teaching modern methods of accounting to women involved in marketing activities; lack of knowledge of these methods makes it very difficult for women to compete as sellers in the markets of the larger cities.

Access to Credit for Food Production, Processing, Technology, and Marketing

It was emphasized that neither advice on improving agriculture nor credit necessary for making improvements is available to women. Much of the discussion on cooperatives concentrated on the fact that they could be a means for women to gain access to credit. As José Romeo Mendoza (San Salvador) pointed out: "At the cooperative, the rural woman has the opportunity to find adequate and available means to deposit the few pennies she has saved from her household allowance; experience is showing that many of these women have through this system established the economic base that enables them to acquire the means necessary to develop their own abilities without being exploited." (The problem of male dominance in these cooperatives was discussed in Workshop 5 on organizations.)

One of the most original ideas and concrete recommendations to emerge from the Seminar on Women in Development as a whole was the workshop's proposal for an International Women's Bank for Development that would offer credit to women in marketing and agriculture. Details on how participants conceived of the role of the Bank will be found in the recommendations at the end of this summary. A project similar to the proposed International Women's Bank for Development is a Mexican banking project, the Agropoeuario Bank, which is being established to provide production loans to women. Bertha Martinez Garza described the project, which is aimed at helping new landowners or members of agrarian crafts cooperatives.

Several other specific ways of providing help to women were mentioned by the workshop's participants. Ester Ocloo cited Ghana's experience with a German-funded project to provide women who had left school with cleared land and agricultural advice for cooperative farming. Yvonne Gorna noted
that, for the last six years, women in Zambia have been trained in all agricultural subjects and hired equally with men, but that married women could not get loans. She also indicated that some failures had occurred, but that this was mainly due to the lack of follow-up advice and teaching by agricultural extension advisors. Margaret Snyder (Economic Commission for Africa) emphasized that credit should be made available for improved production and for buying small technology, such as pumps for irrigation, or fertilizers, or better seeds. Many participants also expressed the view that credit should be extended automatically when a farmer had attended an agricultural extension course, since this was the only means of ensuring that what had been learned in class would be applied in practice.

Integrating Women into Development Plans and the Planning Process

The discussion highlighted the importance of including women in the planning process as well as in evaluating the impact of plans. It was noted that the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), for example, has an integrated rural development scheme but sometimes has experienced difficulty in getting community or regional authorities to hire women. Natalie Hahn suggested that women experts could be included in planning on a short-term basis since it is so very difficult to get local planning bureaus to hire women on a permanent basis. Josephine Guissou also commented that in development plans it was important to give people access to education and training to help themselves in the long term, and not just to provide them with money or other relief assistance to manage special emergency situations (disasters, famines, droughts, etc.), because this approach increased dependency instead of decreasing it.

Recommendations

As a result of these debates, the workshop made the following recommendations, which show the concern expressed by all participants about the urgency of reaching practical solutions for the problems that had been discussed:

1. Governments should rethink and redefine the concept of "economic activity" to include the vast production carried out within the domestic sphere.

2. Governments should encourage the formation of rural women's organizations where these do not exist already; such organizations could serve as focal points for the adoption of existing small technology.

3. The interaction of these rural women's organizations with governmental and non-governmental financial organizations should be encouraged so as to provide long-term, interest-free, or low-interest loans and/or revolving funds for the purchase of such things as water pumps and piping, grinding mills, roofing materials, and hand carts, and to facilitate the development of improved food packaging and preservation as well as storage techniques.

4. Eventually, as rural development proceeds, men and women should be encouraged through rural community organizations and extension services to utilize more sophisticated technologies developed to suit the conditions and needs of their region.
5. Small-scale technology should be used to reduce the women's work burdens but not to take subsistence farming out of their hands entirely—since, as de facto controllers of the land and providers of the family food, they enjoy a considerably higher status in the community now than they would as housewives or factory hands alone.

WORKSHOP 2: URBAN LIVING, MIGRATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

Because the impact of economic and social development is felt most keenly in urban areas, the condition of women in towns and cities reflects many of the contradictions of the development process. Development can have a positive effect on the economic growth of a city but a negative effect on the material and social well-being of the women in that city. Moreover, mobilizing women for development on a large scale in many cases may add extra labor to already overburdened urban women.

Social Indicators to Measure the Status of Women

To gain a better understanding of the specific effects of socio-economic development on these women, a method for measuring and evaluating these effects is needed. The workshop therefore spent some time discussing a series of social indicators that could be useful in assessing the economic, political, cultural, and social integration of women into urban life (and the nation as a whole). Ahmed Ashraf (Iran) suggested an analysis of the labor participation of women by major industry, class of work, education, age, and marital status. Other sub-indicators could include accessibility of out-of-home employment; the image women have of their societal role; and socio-economic indicators, such as allocation of financial resources to the female labor force, location of women in the power structure, and female participation in cultural life.

But what types of measures would be most helpful to women? Nimra Tannous Es-Said (Jordan) commented that a recent survey of female high school graduates in Jordan showed that these women held highly traditional ideas about their own roles. They seemed to view their education not as training for productive careers but rather as a means to living the "good life" as married women without heavy responsibilities. It is clear that higher education does not necessarily produce more "advanced ideas" in women about their future roles. It was suggested that recent migrants to the city may be more amenable to change and more open to taking advantage of new opportunities than the more established middle-class women born and bred in the cities.

More generally, participants recommended using both quantitative and qualitative measures of a) women's access to and control over material...
resources (food, property, income) and non-material resources (knowledge and skills, prestige, and power), as well as b) women's participation in the process of resource allocation and distribution—both within the family and in society at large.

**Women's Economic Roles in Urban Areas**

The participation of women in the urban labor force is one dimension of the process of integrating women into national development. Rae Lesser Blumberg (United States) cited the results of a study of sixty-one pre-industrialized societies as providing evidence that women's control over economic resources was a prime determinant of their status in other spheres. There was some disagreement in the group, however, as to just how central women's economic roles may be in determining their status in other spheres.

It was decided to examine female employment not only in the formal sector of the urban economy but also in the informal sector, where the bulk of women's economic activity takes place, since urban women are active as unpaid workers in family businesses, as self-employed traders, as producers (in their own homes) of handicrafts or other goods for sale, as domestics working in exchange for room and board, and as unpaid housekeepers and child rearers in their own homes. Drawing on her studies of three social classes in Latin American urban situations, Larissa Lomnitz (Mexico) described another aspect of the non-monetary basis of the informal economy: "In all three groups informal networks for the exchange of goods and services and information existed and fulfilled economic functions important to the physical or social survival of the group." These economic activities usually are not reflected in national accounting systems and have been unrecognized and unrewarded. It was generally agreed that all workers, whether paid or unpaid, should be protected by social security legislation and by appropriate labor laws.

Several other case studies relating to the position of women in the economic production process were reported. Martha Mushala Shubilaschrader (Tanzania) commented that in her country, which is a socialist economy with a philosophy of equality, there nevertheless appears to be little thrust toward equality between women and men in practice, particularly insofar as the Moslem population is concerned. She noted that it is true, however, that the National Service Corps, the Tanzanian Peoples' Defense Forces, and the Police and Prisons' Administration recruit and train women as well as men. The policy of the government is to emphasize agricultural production, which of course de-emphasizes employment in the urban sector. In 1973, women constituted only 14 per cent of the total labor force in the urban sector and only a tiny proportion were engaged in market trade, which is different from the situation in other West African countries.

Shigeko Inoue (Japan) explained that in Japan wages are based on seniority and age as well as skills. Women who seek employment after their children are grown, or interrupt their employment for child bearing, have lower seniority. As a result, average salaries for women are about half those for men, although the starting wages of male and female university graduates are about equal.
In Jordan women represent about 19.1 per cent of the total labor force. Nimra Tannous Es-Said reported that a survey made in January 1972 showed that 74.4 per cent of working women were employed by the government; 11.2 per cent were industrial workers; 13 per cent were agricultural workers; and 7.1 per cent were self-employed. She added that "the recruitment of women by the police and army is increasingly acceptable, and the growth of demand for women workers is reflected in newspaper ads."

Ester Boserup (Denmark) pointed out that all three cases mentioned above are somewhat atypical, in that the countries cited have low levels of urban unemployment among males. More usual is a pattern of high male unemployment, which pushes women out of the labor force even where their participation was formerly high, as in India. Women are pushed out of white-collar positions by highly educated men, out of small-scale businesses by the importation of foreign-made goods, and out of other forms of labor by the substitution of more capital-intensive technological production.

What conclusions can be drawn from these studies? The consensus was that the demand for female labor is the most important determinant of its level. Where economies are expanding, governments and employers encourage women to work and provide services that enable them to do so. If the demand does not exist, education or other supply factors will have little influence. Thus it is clear that a direct attack on unemployment is needed. New employment opportunities must be created and expanded in both the formal and informal economic sectors. There was some disagreement over whether female-specific employment should be encouraged; it was recognized as a temporary strategy at best. Nilufer Yalçın (Turkey) pointed out that in Turkey male unemployment did not affect women's employment in occupations that were classified as "women's work," such as textiles, electronics, and clothing production, but that women were losing out in occupations where they had to compete with men. This was taking place both because of employer discrimination and because of self-selection on the part of women, who tend to view their right to a job as secondary to that of their husbands in particular, and of men in general.

Ester Boserup stressed that in all discussions of male unemployment, it is very important to consider families without a male head. Women who are heads of families should have the same priority of access to employment as male heads of families and greater priority than men without family obligations. She was supported in this by Isabel Picó de Hernández (Puerto Rico): "It is a fact that an unemployed woman faces greater economic difficulties than an unemployed man since unemployment benefits are calculated on the basis of past salary levels, and in general women's salaries are lower than men's."

The Effect of Rural-Urban Migration

The increasing number of people moving from rural to urban areas in many countries has caused massive problems as well as significant social change. In Turkey, for instance, the rate of rural-urban migration has increased 6 per cent a year since 1950. Unemployment among migrants is high because there is an oversupply of cheap labor. There is also a serious shortage of housing, schools, roads, and sanitation facilities. For many, therefore, migration to the
cities brings psychological anxiety and hopelessness. Yet the Turkish experience, according to Yalçin, has shown that women migrants adapted themselves to urban life better than male migrants. (In one survey, 90 per cent of the females interviewed said that they did not have any complaints and were happy to be in the urban areas despite the lack of facilities. Interestingly enough, women were very forceful in demanding the provision of adequate facilities from the government.) Yael Katzir (Israel) said that her research on Yemenite Jews in Israel who migrated to urban areas also had shown that the women had adopted new roles more easily than their menfolk. These views were in contrast to those expressed by Evelyne Sillerot (France) in a background paper prepared for the workshop.

Once they arrive in the city, women no longer practice their traditional crafts or skills (pottery, weaving, spinning, basket- or rug-making). They lose touch with the tricks of the trade... In their villages and tribes, they were part and parcel of the social aggregate, which, while perhaps restrictive, nevertheless gave them a status and role vis-a-vis other people... In the city, or even worse, in the shantytowns, they are separated from parents and kinfolk and lose all social and personal standing.

This point was also stressed by Guillermina A. Soria (Bolivia) "The migrant woman loses the important role she had in the rural economy and yet continues to be responsible (often solely, if abandoned by her husband) for the well-being of her children. She suddenly loses both the protection of her community and the whole value system to which she belonged previously."

The discussion then focused on the community networks and the extended-family organization systems that migrants establish in the city. Such networks fulfill social, cultural, and personal needs and are therefore very important. Planners seem to be unaware of them, however, and continue to plan housing on the basis of a nuclear family structure, while in reality clusters of four to five families often set up self-help and mutual-help arrangements together. Hence a deep concern was expressed that development and urban planners need to:

1. Preserve commural and kinship networks in housing and, in order to do so, include migrant women in the actual planning of housing policies;
2. Recognize the fact that arrival in the city forces changes in women's roles, often making it necessary for women to find work outside the home. Therefore planners should a) fight the stigma attached to working women, b) fight the stigma attached to the notion that children of working women become deviant, and c) promote the idea that society and men are also responsible for child care;
3. Ensure that the new townships provide adequate social and welfare services, the financing of which should not be the responsibility of these municipalities alone;
4. Avoid unbridled urbanization, which leads to city "giganticism"; and
5. Carry out and publish surveys of job opportunities.
Kenneth Little (United Kingdom) then pointed out that urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa involved only men until recently, when young girls and separated women began to move to towns, where they can find some degree of freedom and independence. Despite the poverty that these newcomers generally experience, they usually do not consider returning to their villages. Migration thus has created a situation that is characterized by the circulation of men and women searching for sexual partners. He argued that the kinds of temporary relationships formed tend to encourage female mobility and carry definite economic advantages as well as a feeling of freedom and independence, and that a distinction must be made between commercial prostitution and these other types of temporary relationships in Africa. Little made a special plea to the group to understand that these women did not consider themselves to be exploited; rather, they enjoyed and profited from such situations, in which they engaged of their own free will.

Some participants opposed this position very strongly. Eva Castro (Nicaragua) cited examples of sexual exploitation encountered in Latin American cities by single women, particularly rural and lower-class women, when they migrated to the cities but could not find jobs. Such exploitation in Latin American countries provides prostitutes for national as well as international networks. Other participants familiar with the Latin American situation shared this view. Es-Said, speaking of the experience in Jordan, emphasized the need to provide institutional arrangements, such as family counseling, to protect women from sexual exploitation.

Conscious of the problem of moral and ethical judgments involved in condemning prostitution, the participants made the following statement:

We recognize that there are degrees and different types of sexual exploitation; we also recognize that there is a free choice on the part of the woman involved, and that such special occupations do represent, at least temporarily, a significant source of employment for women and a significant source of social and geographical mobility. But we are concerned with those situations, which seem to be frequent, which involve a group of people or entrepreneurs who profit from the sexual trafficking of women and of men. There must be more recognition by public agencies of their responsibility to deal with the problem.

Political Participation

A number of obstacles to women's political participation were discussed; these ranged from problems common to many countries--such as illiteracy—to those found in only one country or culture. It was stated that in Puerto Rico, for instance, some husbands would not permit their wives to vote because it meant standing in the polling booth in close contact with men. Other issues also were raised, including the role of women in one-party states, where both men's and women's participation may be restricted. Wilma Saivedra (Chile) called attention to the particular problem of sex discrimination in legislation, particularly in the civil and penal codes which perpetuate the subjugated position of women despite the fact that the constitution gives women the right to vote. Finally, considerable cynicism was expressed about
the lip-service being paid by many governments and politicians to the ideals of International Women's Year. It was recognized that efforts to develop women's political participation must encourage community-level organizations, since these can play a particularly crucial role in making women aware of the benefits to be derived from political participation.

Recommendations

The improvement of the status of women in the family and in society is an end in itself as well as a necessary means to the ends of national growth and development. With all of these objectives in mind, the workshop made the following recommendations.

Women and Economic Production

1. The utilization of womanpower for national goals must be planned in a framework that protects women's rights and needs by including them in the development process as both participants and beneficiaries. Women should be involved at all stages of the planning process—formulation, implementation, and evaluation—in order to ascertain the impact of existing and proposed development plans with respect to women's economic participation.

2. The ultimate goal should be the equalization of political participation and opportunities for both sexes, including a) freedom of choice to participate in educational and vocational and on-the-job training programs, b) equal pay for work of equal quality and value; and c) equal opportunity for promotion and advancement.

3. In general, special efforts are needed to make sure that women's economic participation is not decreased by changes in technology or the mode of production, by the substitution of imported goods for locally produced products, or by male unemployment. The considerable proportion of women in many societies who are heads of households has gone unrecognized. These should be given the same employment priority as men who have similar family responsibilities.

4. The participation of women in work and trade union organizations must be recognized, encouraged, and expanded.

5. In recognition of the economic value of women's work in the informal sectors, and in recognition of the need for protection of all women workers, the workshop recommended that persons performing domestic services or other unpaid work in the informal sector be brought within the national labor and security laws, and that the monetary value of their contribution be added to the statistics of national accounting systems.

6. The workshop also stressed that the economic value of women's work in the home—housework and child care—should be fully recognized. Housewives should also receive all social insurance benefits, and the economic value of their work should be added to national accounting systems.

7. Facilities should be developed to remove obstacles preventing women from adequately combining their economic and family roles: a) day-care centers and nurseries for employed mothers should be subsidized by governments so that private employers do not bear the major cost and therefore use this cost to justify discrimination against employing women with children; b) measures guaranteeing maternity leave to employed moth-
ers (regardless of their marital status), in both the private and public sectors should be recognized as protecting the basic rights of children as well as mothers; c) part-time employment should be encouraged and fully protected by existing social security and labor legislation.

8. Pilot procedures should be implemented at various levels through education, the mass media, and organizational activities directed at recognizing, respecting, and encouraging the new image of women as full participants and beneficiaries in the development process and specifically recognizing women's contribution to economic production.

9. In countries with rapidly expanding economies and a growing demand for labor, it is recommended that governments create and enhance opportunities for the development of indigenous female labor and that they not substitute male foreign immigrants for the local female labor force. Less capital-intensive and more labor-intensive production should be encouraged.

10. The workshop recommended that increased understanding of the linkages between a) women's status, b) their economic activities outside the home, and c) fertility be used more directly in development planning.

Impact of Urbanization on Women and the Family

11. The workshop recommended that countries with rapid and unplanned migration to cities should develop policies to plan rural-urban migration through the decentralization of industries over the wider range of small towns and cities to prevent a heavy concentration of migrant families (or worse yet, an excessively high ratio of males to females) in the capital cities.

12. The workshop further recommended that special efforts be made to prevent the sexual exploitation of young female migrants coming into urban areas by: a) providing hostels and other living arrangements for new migrants; and b) providing counseling and advice to young female migrants to make them aware of housing services and occupational opportunities in the city.

Political Participation of Urban Women and Legal Rights

Among the legal rights which are still being denied to women in many countries, the workshop specifically called attention to: the right to determine domicile, the right to equal inheritance, the right to assume guardianship of children, the right to initiate divorce, the right of married women to be employed outside the home, and the right to exercise effectively their rights to vote and hold office. The workshop urged that these rights be established in constitutions and fully implemented in practice.

13. Governments, voluntary organizations, syndicates, and women's groups in every country should emphasize the relevance of political activities to women's concerns, pointing out that political rights do not exist only in the abstract, but include concrete decisions about specific concerns of central importance to women. Political participation at the community as well as at the national level should be strongly encouraged.

14. The workshop recommended that existing commissions on the status of women set up for International Women's Year, or other government agencies with similar concerns, be strengthened so that they can foster the effective integration of women into economic, social, and political life and
develop greater awareness among planners and politicians of the place of women in the economy and in society.

WORKSHOP 3: EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION

From the outset there seemed to be two groups within the workshop: those who wished to define the general goals of education, and those who sought to draw up concrete goals for educational planners. Commenting on the workshop later to the non-governmental Tribune held simultaneously with the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mallica Vajrathon (Thailand) noted that many of the group's participants were dynamic, forward-looking women from many developing countries and that the session had been very exciting: "We looked at education not in terms of what it is, but in terms of what it will be."

In the workshop discussion, education was defined in terms of four different goals. The first of these perceptions of education was basically philosophical: The goal of education is to teach people how to exercise independent thinking that will enable them to consider alternatives when making choices. Education, then, would give women a basis for choosing the way they want to live. The second was sociological: Education gives status —although it was recognized that status may not give actual power or access to decision making. The third defined education in terms of political and economic goals. Education helps women help themselves; it provides them with the knowledge they need in order to gain access to the political-economic system. They should learn how to manage a small business, for example—not only how to make handicrafts for sale. The fourth perception of education linked it directly to the goal of employment: Women should be taught to recognize their own economic power, which is potentially great because many of them are employed in vital sectors of the economy. It was noted that even when women do receive an education, it often is not geared to employment opportunities and gives them no sense of the bargaining power that arises from realizing that one is a significant element in the social-economic structure and as such can fight for better economic conditions.

The workshop almost totally ignored the formal education system in its discussions. Most of the participants noted that even as the number of schools in their countries was increasing, the illiteracy and school attainment gaps between men and women nonetheless were growing. Although the optimistic theory that somehow education is the ultimate panacea for the ills of society was never attacked directly, underlying all the workshop's discussion was the recognition that even if education were made universal, the institutional sexism in the formal education system still would be a barrier to

Participants in Workshop 3 were: Rosaluz Alegria, Susanna Antoine, Freya Olafson Bicknell, Ester Boserup, Isabel Carrasco de Gómez, Angela Christian, Maria da Glória Cardoso Ferraz, Caridad Inda, Rouaq Jahan, Chave Shahwar Junaid, Connie Madayag, Fatima Mernissi, Victoria Mojekwu, Luisbu N'Kanza, Alexander Ralli, May Rihani, Maria Elena Méndez de Sosa, Shawna Tropp, Mallica Vajrathon, and Laura Waterman Wittstock.
women's achievement of equality, unless attitudes were greatly changed. In the interim, it was clear that men benefited more than women from the formal education system, and that education itself, because of its high cost, was unlikely to reach a larger number of citizens in most of the developing countries for many years. Therefore, to reach the majority of women sooner, far more emphasis must be placed on education and training outside the formal structure.

This was particularly true of literacy programs. Neither the formal education system nor the special literacy programs have altered the fact that illiteracy is far higher among women than men—probably because present forms of education have not reached the majority of women. Abedba Wolde-rufael (Ethiopia) cited statistics showing that, "of the 49 per cent of Ethiopian women who live in rural areas where there are few if any schools, less than 1 per cent can read and write." Only 20 per cent of the women in Bangladesh are at all literate. On the other hand, 75 per cent of the women in Thailand have gone to primary school, which Khun Kanok Samsen-Vil (Thailand) thought was low, but which seemed to the rest of the participants to be very high relative to the situation elsewhere.

In a background paper prepared for the workshop, Mely Tan (Indonesia) had suggested that the situation called for the establishment of special programs to help reduce these rates of illiteracy. "The implication for adult and out-of-school education is clear: More effort should be made to find ways to reduce illiteracy and improve educational conditions among the majority of the people."

A major debate erupted over the question of what kinds of training programs were desirable. Because many existing programs which teach women handicrafts were seen as exploitative or irrelevant, many of the younger women would discard them entirely. "Why train women for a market already saturated and one that will never be a significant part of the GNP?" asked Shahwar Junaid (Pakistan). Both Asian and African participants condemned the "crocheting" syndrome associated with the voluntary women's organizations that run programs for their "unfortunate sisters." They maintained that such programs trained women for nearly useless work while providing income for the elite women's organizations. Those favoring training in handicrafts argued that it was essential to provide women in subsistence economies with some ways to earn money for themselves, and that handicrafts provided the easiest first step. Acknowledging that handicrafts training had its pitfalls, the group recommended that women also receive training in literacy and accounting so that they could market their own produce and perhaps transfer this marketing skill to other products.

What Are the Obstacles to Women's Education?

Cultural Attitudes. Angela Christian's (Ghana) remarks—made at the closing plenary session of the Seminar—provided a good description of the issues raised in this connection during the debate: "Religion, tradition, education, institutions, communication media, and the vested interests of the policy makers all serve the status quo if not continually reassessed, criticized, and reconsidered." The group explored some of the reasons why vast numbers of
girls never even start school; why more girls than boys drop out of school before finishing; and why more girls than boys drop out at early stages of their education. Because education is often a great expense for the family, if it can be provided for one child only, that child still is more likely to be the boy. In a paper prepared for the workshop, Nilüfer Yağcı (Turkey) stressed that a girl's role was still primarily seen to be marriage, for which education was not perceived as necessary. In another background paper Jamila Seraj had pointed out that the same was true of Afghanistan; despite equality of access to education, few girls outside Kabul ever did go to school. Victoria Mojekwu (Nigeria) noted that in Nigeria cultural constraints are very strong. "There is a shortage of female teachers, of classrooms, and of essential physical facilities for girls. Kano State has no female headmistress for the girls to look up to and identify with. . . . As a result of this the female dropout rate is very high." Still another deterrent to girls' education cited was the fact that often children are needed as extra hands to carry out domestic or agricultural chores, and if there is any choice, boys are allowed to continue in school more often than girls.

The fact that schooling beyond elementary school often requires students to travel long distances to and from school---together with the problem of non-existent or inadequate transportation---was pointed to as an often strong cause of high dropout rates among girls. One participant pointed out during a plenary session that in Jordan, as in many other Middle Eastern Moslem countries, girls stopped going to school at thirteen or fourteen because they were afraid of being molested on the way to school. "The chastity of the girl reflects very much on the honor of her family as a whole in the Arab condition, and we cannot joke about it . . . ."

In many countries, even the small minority of women who have received higher education and training find themselves conditioned to enter so-called feminine occupations which afford them less power than men with equivalent preparation. Junaid suggested that existing inflationary pressures might help change the situation. As more families, especially middle-class families, were coming to appreciate the extra incomes that wives could bring into the household, more women were seeking training that would enable them to obtain jobs. She noted, however, that inflation also means there are fewer funds for education; therefore, fewer girls will get educated. What this seemed to suggest was that women would have to work without education---meaning, of course, they would get worse jobs.

Traditional cultural patterns and religious ideas in some cases had proven to be a hindrance to change in the roles of women in both urban and rural situations. It was thought that radical change could only be brought about if those in power---village leaders, for example---were educated. At one stage it was even suggested, "Educate the men. They will get to their wives. You have to get through to the men. Nothing will happen otherwise." Participants also agreed that more studies are needed of religions and the attitudes toward women that they foster.

Lack of Relevance. Many participants considered the failure of current education systems to be due to the unrealistic content of education---to its irrelevance to the economic situation. Susanna Antoine (Grenada) emphasized the problem that education generally remained unrelated to the needs of adults. In Grenada, for instance, there are no formal vocational training institutions, not even an agricultural college, although agriculture is the major
economic activity of the country. Samsen-Vil also criticized education systems for not being in touch with reality. "No curriculum in public or private schools, formal or non-formal, seems relevant to the needs of the various classes living in different areas of Thailand, whether they are peasants or workers." Even in Thailand, where four years of education are required (which presumably explains the high percentage of women in elementary schools), education does not increase job opportunities or wages. Samsen-Vil stated that because formal education clearly is not enough, she has been helping to set up a non-formal system through the Girl Guides to provide literacy classes and other non-formal programs for villagers. She commented that "this experimental program has shown that a women's organization can effectively contribute to organizing women's education in rural areas."

Some interesting comments about the content of education were made by Luisbu N'Kanza (Zaire) and Chave Shahwar Junaid, who both indicated that in some ways traditional forms of education (such as tribal initiations) were more useful and relevant to women's future lives than the sketchy primary education they are getting now in elementary schools. In a paper prepared for the workshop, N'Kanza had commented: "Prior to colonization African men and women received an equal education. The basis of this instruction was functional and utilitarian with respect to the roles they were called upon to fill within a subsistence economy. . . . With development the level of instruction for women was radically changed. . . . There was 'modern' education for boys, but nothing was done for the girls." Rouaq Jahan (Bangladesh) also commented that perhaps women were indeed worse off with a little bit of education and no additional skills: "Modern education has not earned their traditional skills and have often meant that women have not learned their traditional skills and have failed to compensate by learning a new skill."

Language. Another point brought up repeatedly in the course of the discussion was: "Education is dysfunctional because it incites young people to leave the village"—especially when the language of education is not the language of the village. As Angela Christian pointed out, "language is not just a means of communication but an instrument of power." Both Fatima Mernissi (Morocco) and Luisbu N'Kanza supported the view that the use of a foreign tongue for education often created social barriers between the mass of citizens, especially women, and the educated elite. Mely Tan commented on the same point: "Indonesian is the language of the young, educated, and urban people. In the rural areas, and often also in the periphery of the urban areas, the regional or ethnic language prevails, especially among women. Even in the capital of Jakarta there are areas where no one can communicate with women except in their own ethnic language."

Teaching Methods. An additional problem was raised in the discussion of new forms of education. Would it be possible to use traditionally trained teachers to implement new programs? Would they not tend to sustain old stereotypes? As Victoria Mojekwu noted, teachers' attitudes were among the major impediments to women's educational progress. Describing the situation in predominantly Moslem Kano State, she stated: "We find that many girls. . . keep their Moslem shut in class. They do not ask the teachers any questions. Neither do the teachers ask them. In fact most village school teachers keep the girls at the back of the class away from the boys in order not to incur the displeasure of the mothers."
New Goals for Education

Much emphasis was given during the workshop to the need to break away from ancient stereotypes and motivate women to learn. May Rihani (Lebanon) underlined the importance of affecting patterns of behavior very early in the life of children. The selection and use of toys, and the example provided by parents in the performance of non-traditional roles in the home, were identified both during the workshop and during the open plenary as important tools for changing sex-role stereotyping.

Participants also discussed at length some new techniques that could help promote new types of education. Communication and the use of media were among those raised. Angela Christian mentioned the situation in Ghana, where communication is undertaken mainly by the government and, in the sphere of extension programs, by the Department of Social Welfare, which uses a number of methods related to specific needs: home visits, home training, group meetings, demonstrations and campaigns, various audio-visual aids, puppet shows, and concerts. Junaid spoke of how useful television could be in reaching women, but then very strongly criticized its misuse—when it is the instrument for perpetuating Western sex roles, for instance “Here our communication media have accepted the Western concept of advertising with sexual overtones. This is yet another example of the transfer of a retrogressive social concept into a developing country, which could just as happily have absorbed a more humane and progressive one if thought had been given to supplying it.” Samsen-Vit also stressed that commercialization of the media led to both undesirable programs and programs with little educational content.

Specific points from Vajrathon's background paper were also discussed, since they raised the possible dichotomy between formal education, which all agreed should be the same for boys and girls, and outreach programs especially designed to motivate and help women. Two participants described the success of outreach programs when the various instruction courses were planned and organized at the community level by community members themselves. Describing the “Arrastão” Movement for Human Development, Maria da Glória Cardoso Ferraz (Brazil) stated that “To really help education to teach persons to help themselves, the Movement is involved in instruction courses in subjects such as health and hygiene, education and literacy, and recreation and work—which should help individuals make use of community resources to which they are entitled.” Connie Madayag (Philippines) said that the Rural Reconstruction Movement in her country was inspired by the idea of making each community aware of its responsibilities for the planning and administration of education. This effort toward creating grass-roots leadership was viewed as important by many participants. Both movements relied on volunteers, whose role was perceived to be useful, provided that middle-class stereotypes did not hinder contact between women of different backgrounds.

A highly controversial question debated in the workshop was the content of these new educational programs. Some emphasized that science and technology should be taught at all levels to provide women with what they need to be integrated into development. Others considered that education should seek to give women what they want, which often is immediate
skills and homemaking techniques. A particularly controversial point turned out to be the training of women in crafts. Should training gradually progress from the traditional crafts—weaving, pottery, embroidery, etc.—to industrial and professional skills, or should women be encouraged immediately to aim at the mastery of new and modern skills? One observation offered was that traditional power holders might be less threatened and more amenable to change if management and other skills were added gradually to more traditional training.

Another controversial subject was the need for sex education, which is made impossible in some countries but is acceptable in others. Yvonne Goma (Zambia) made a plea for the wider acceptance of sex education so that girls might at least be aware of the education and employment consequences of pregnancy, since in many countries women are barred from secondary schools once they have had children.

**Recommendations**

The workshop thus dealt both with specific issues and with the broader issue of what education should be in the future. The workshop’s specific recommendations were that education:

1. Must be linked to employment policies geared to promoting economic independence for women;
2. Must train women to break into male-dominated decision-making occupations;
3. Should not educate women into unemployment;
4. Should emphasize questioning and learning to learn rather than the mere acquisition of data and skills. This approach may often be enhanced by coeducation at all levels.

More generally, the workshop recommended *first* the identification of potential resources in Third World countries—both natural and human—and second, the development of a strategy for the optimal utilization of these resources, which would necessitate using all adequately trained and educated individuals, including women.

**WORKSHOP 4: HEALTH, NUTRITION, AND FAMILY PLANNING**

Throughout its proceedings, the workshop emphasized the basic right of every woman and man to good health and the duty of every government to provide for it. In its final report, the workshop stated that:

*Participants in Workshop 4 were: Celestino Alvarez La Jonchere, Tonia Amat, Ruby Betancourt de Jiménez, Pumya Dhungana, Joan Draper, Ghita El Khayat, Adrienne Germain, Luz Jefferson, Margaret Loh, Dinesh Mohan, Gloria Mondragón, Nirmala Narula, Yolanda Cerquinho da Silva Prado, Virginia Russ, Cecile de Sweemer, Phebean Whest-Allegre, and Abedba Wolderufael.*
Therefore, health planning and its concomitant, resource allocation, must give priority to food production, distribution, and utilization and to the provision of preventive services and basic hygienic conditions. . . . Development can only come when the holistic approach to health, nutrition, and family planning is adopted. Nutrition, health, and family planning services help development by combating maternal and infant mortality; malnutrition, especially in the weaning age and the reproductive period; fetal and pre-natal wastage; and debilitating mortality in mothers and children.

The workshop also declared that a woman's right to be healthy included her right to control her own fertility, which, together with standards of general health and nutrition, could only be discussed in the wider context of her family, since the health of a woman affected that of her family.

**Education and the Right to Health**

In a background paper prepared for the workshop, Cecile de Sweemer (Belgium) had emphasized the link between health and the education of women and their families. Improvements in hygiene and nutrition, which she considered a precondition for the real development of society, will depend most significantly on the general level of knowledge and skill of all women. There was overall agreement on this point in the workshop, which emphasized that in cases of scarce resources, special priority should be given to the provision of maternal and child health services to urban and rural populations.

Several participants pointed out ways in which the media and women's organizations could be used to reach and educate women. Margaret Loh (Singapore) suggested that television and radio could present spot announcements and interviews; that information panels could be set up in buses; and that posters and other publicity materials could be given away as part of the campaign to educate women. Pumya Dhungana (Nepal) reported that in her country women's organizations have played an important role in spreading modern ideas about health into rural areas and thus have contributed to an improvement of general sanitary conditions.

Among the subjects that could be dealt with in those general health campaigns are certain food taboos and traditional child-care practices that are unhygienic or harmful. For instance, traditional practices restricting pregnant women's diets to certain types of food were thought harmful to both maternal and fetal health. Celestino Alvarez La Jonchere (Cuba) mentioned that the Cuban government had helped to change some of these age-old attitudes. Several African participants commented on other practices that adversely affected children. Phoebean Whest-Allegre (Senegal) described the debilitating effects of a long breast-feeding period (which may mean that the infant does not receive sufficient nutrition because of its mother's own deficient diet) followed by an abrupt weaning that suddenly leaves the infant to survive on what is generally a small share of the adult's low-protein diet. Tonia Amat (Ivory Coast) also linked high infant mortality to the traditional method of cutting the umbilical cord and binding it with herbal mud or dung applications, a practice which often leads to tetanus or other infections.
There was some discussion of other, less fully documented, harmful practices to which female babies and young girls are subjected. Participants from widely different cultural backgrounds (Cuba, Brazil, and Senegal) felt that practices such as female circumcision often had disastrous consequences for the health of women and should be actively discouraged. The view was expressed that these practices still are widely prevalent in areas of Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Participants agreed that the appalling effects of such customs should be stressed in order to create awareness of their dangers and thereby bring pressure to bear against their continued practice.

Another aspect of education that was raised during the discussion was the need to reach men in order to educate women. Both Alvarez and Ghita El Khayat (Morocco) stressed that the “machismo” syndrome could be reduced if men were taught to share work in the home. “Men must share the domestic responsibility of women so that women can be free to participate in overall development” was one of the first comments Alvarez made at the opening session of the workshop. He was joined in this conviction by El Khayat, who added that since men make the decisions on fertility they are the ones who must be educated. Gloria Mondragón (Honduras) also stressed that in her country general information and advice to newlyweds often is aimed at the man, “since he in our culture is the one who still exercises authority.” Ruby Betancourt de Jiménez (Mexico) noted that the most difficult problem was often not the Catholic Church: “In Mexico we suffer from the problem of ‘machismo,’ hence the problem is that of the education of men.” This consensus shows that the underlying concern of most of the Latin American programs for “responsible paternity” is to make men aware of their role in the education of their children. The basic idea in most Latin American programs is that men should be educated to have a desire for fewer children, at longer intervals, and be aware of their responsibilities for the health of their children and their wives.

Family Planning and General Health Care

Participants agreed that family-planning services are becoming increasingly important as traditional beliefs and customs—which had some limiting effect on fertility—are being eroded. Whest-Allegre and Dinesh Mohan (India) pointed out that in Asia and Africa, for instance, wherever the customs of polygamous marriages and easy divorce continue to be practiced, it is the male’s family that is responsible for the children. In the case of divorce, the children remain with the man: the woman returns to her family. It is therefore in the man’s interest to control the number and spacing of the children his wives bear. With modernization, these constraints are breaking down and men are adopting the Western view that women should be responsible for the children. Fatima Mernissi (Morocco) mentioned that this breakdown is also occurring in Islamic countries, albeit more slowly—due to the continuing influence of strong religious and family networks.

There seemed to be general agreement that higher health standards would lead to lower fertility rates, which in turn would help raise productivity by freeing women for economic activity. The link between fertility, infant mortality, and economic status was emphasized, and the workshop produced the accompanying diagram illustrating the interrelationship of these factors.
which was characterized as a vicious circle: "infant and early childhood mortality is of major concern to women, and its decrease will break the vicious circle of high mortality and fertility." Mohan emphatically stated that "for women to have equality in freedom, health, and occupation it is imperative that they have fewer children. Health, nutrition, mortality, fertility, and economic development are inexorably linked." The discussion then focused on how family-planning services are organized and who delivers them.

The Vicious Circle of Fertility, Infant Mortality, and Economic Status

Organization. The close link between family planning and general maternal and infant health was generally recognized, as was clear from participants’ comments. Pumya Dhungana argued that the success of family planning cannot be evaluated by the number of acceptors; there are other benefits, such as better health and more effective development efforts. Virginia Russ (Romania) commented that the Romanian government's national population program focuses on the care of mother and children. Gloria Monragon stressed that the basis of society is the family and that health services therefore have to be directed to the family. In a paper prepared for the workshop, Mounira Chelli (Tunisia) emphasized that a family planning program should aim not only at limiting births but also at furthering women's liberation, protecting the health of mother and child, and combating malnutrition. Yet in many places family planning is separate from health planning because health is a government activity but family planning is not. This is the case in Tunisia, for example, where special clinics have been established for family-planning services because they are perceived as basically preventive—that is, aimed at women in good health, and therefore different from the usual curative activities of other medical facilities. Such clinics have been staffed with personnel specially trained to provide family-planning informa-
Among the points discussed was the use of financial or other incentives in this field. Margaret Loh described the Singapore government's nine-year-old family-planning program, which combines information drives, special courses, and confidential telephone information services with such negative incentives as progressively higher delivery charges for mothers of more than two children, no maternity leave for mothers of two or more, and diminishing tax relief and housing help for mothers of more than two. Whest-Allegre, while reporting that the government of Senegal has no official population policy, said that the demand for contraceptive services is growing fast, and family-planning clinics are being patronized by women seeking help. Since medical personnel usually cannot go to potential patients, the women's transportation to clinics is paid for. Mounira Chelli had pointed out in her paper that in Tunisia the government is actively supporting family planning by de-criminalizing the sale of contraceptive devices, liberalizing abortion, and limiting support payments to families with four or more children.

There was a general feeling that deaths due to clandestine abortions were deplorable, and that women should have the right to have safe and legal abortions. Participants emphasized that in Latin American countries, where there is no hope of legalizing abortion soon, nurses and midwives should be trained to teach women about their bodies. This led to some discussion of the desirability of improving sex education and encouraging the use of contraceptives, since abortion should be seen only as a back-up to contraceptives. Even this would prove difficult in some countries, since sex education and/or contraceptives are not always acceptable. El Khayat suggested that where religion does not allow this type of teaching, other means should be found, such as promoting menstrual regulation tablets as substitutes for contraceptives and teaching anatomy and hygiene, instead of sex education, in school.

Personnel. A second major issue in the family-planning discussion related to the type of personnel that should be used in such programs. The general feeling was that because limited numbers of doctors are available, it is important to develop the use of paramedics. Mohan gave some details concerning the Primary Health Centers that are to be set up during India's current Five-Year Plan to bring health-care services to rural areas: "Two hundred and fifty thousand practitioners of traditional medicine will be encouraged to be a part of the whole scheme, and a large number of paramedics and nurses will be trained to staff the Primary Health Centers and their sub-centers." He went on to say, however, that there were many problems in the implementation of this plan: "It has been reported that there is a social and cultural gap between the patient and the health worker. The local health worker and midwife often are seen as inaccessible by rural people; it probably will be better to train rural women in specific areas of health-care delivery rather than force urban women to go to the villages."

There was much debate on the use of paramedics. On the one hand, there was a fear that they might overstep their bounds and therefore must be carefully supervised. Alvarez argued vigorously that paramedics should function only within a proper medical infrastructure. Abedba Welderufael (Ethiopia) stated that medical auxiliaries can be used to provide at least minimum basic medical advice, and suggested that there should be a way of...
disciplining those who go beyond the bounds of their training. Others expressed the view that paramedics can perform a very useful function in isolated rural areas by staffing remote centers (which can be visited by a doctor periodically) and by training and instructing local people. Luz Jefferson (Peru) noted that these workers also could collect information for medical surveys from areas not immediately accessible. Yolanda da Silva Prado (Brazil) expressed concern that the jobs of paramedics and midwives would be thought of as women's occupations and that women would be pushed into those areas rather than encouraged to become doctors. She also stressed the importance of holding periodic exams to enable auxiliaries to keep up their skills.

Mobile teams were felt by some participants to be reasonably successful in reaching people. In Tunisia, such teams were established to serve the rural mother- and child-care centers and family-planning offices. Each team consists of a physician, a midwife, and one assistant. In Singapore, mobile clinic services are provided by a doctor and nursing personnel who go to the premises of any organization on request to conduct a family-planning session. During the workshop's discussion, the point was repeatedly made that trained auxiliary medical staff could at least bring some medical knowledge into isolated areas and organize help for seriously ill people.

Throughout much of the discussion, a difference of approach was apparent within the workshop between the medical doctors who were interested in the institution of medical and general health delivery service, and the majority of the participants, who were primarily involved in small projects specifically focusing on health, nutrition, and family planning. Many of the women participants considered large organizations to be inevitably permeated by institutional sexism and bound up in bureaucratic red tape and hence not sufficiently responsive to women's needs. They therefore preferred to focus discussion on small projects which they considered more likely to take people's needs and feelings into account. This suspicion of governmental and medical institutions recurred in several workshop recommendations, which called upon these institutions to change their manner of operation and reorder their research priorities to focus more on illnesses directly affecting women.

Recommendations

More specifically, the workshop made the following points in its recommendations:

1. Family planning and sex education must be integrated in health services and education at all levels.
2. Legalized abortion should be a back-up of contraceptive methods. Under proper medical advice, the woman should have the right to obtain a safe abortion. This should ensure that women are no longer subjected to the trauma and risk of clandestine abortions.
3. To ensure proper nutrition and protection of infants and toddlers, it is necessary that proper education on breast-feeding and weaning practices be carried out at all levels and through all available channels.
WORKSHOP 5: WOMEN'S FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Two basic guidelines were established by the workshop: 1) organizations are an essential means of integrating women into development equally with men, and 2) priorities for the integration of women must be established within each national context. The latter point was important because it meant that the group chose to concentrate not on "organizations" in an abstract sense but rather on how, at various stages, women could decide what type of organization could most usefully serve them. In the course of the three-day debate, the group discussed different organizational functions and structures, and different types of organizations as defined by their goals.

Function and Structure

Much of the discussion was devoted to the question of how organizations presently function. One of the first points made was that any organization, whatever its goals or its structural forms, should bear in mind the need for continuity and understanding between new and traditional ways of doing things. There was great concern that existing and new organizations not be split along traditional and modern lines—that it was important for all organizations to include members from both types of groups. It was also suggested that wherever possible, organizations should include members of different social, economic, and age groups, in order to create links where none have previously existed.

Another major area of discussion was whether women's organizations should be separate from men's, or whether men and women should work together in the same organizations. In a background paper prepared for the workshop, Luisbu N'Kanza (Zaire) had posed the question: "Are women's organizations a phase in the process of promoting or liberating women aimed at total integration within the national or international society, or are they meant to be permanent camps in a continuous battle having the same stature as political parties and trade unions?" There seemed to be a preference among most members of the workshop for separate organizations, at least at the beginning of the integration process—although it was agreed that ideally women should be included in all organizations and should participate in their power structures. Latin American participants stressed the importance of working with men. Both Zorhaida Bernal, who represented the Women's Committee of the Mexican Railway Workers Trade Union, and Christine Orozco, who is a member of Bioquimica Social, a private Mexican professional organization of chemists, argued strongly in favor of joint organizations. It was pointed out that the prevailing political systems in Latin America are not responsive to pressure groups generally and certainly would not be

Participants in Workshop 5 were: Parvin Amini, Zorhaida Bernal, Ela Bhatt, Edith Coliver, Ana Lauretta Dia', Mary Elizabeth Hoinkes, Yael Katzir, José Romeo Maeda, Lucille Mair, Ulla Olin, Diana Opondo, Cristina Orozco Romo, Teresa Orrego de Figueroa, Khun Kanok Samseun-Vil, Jamila Seraj, Alexander Szalai, Sawako Takagi, Jeannette Wedel, and Marina Yusoff.
responsive to the views of groups made up of women only. At the other end of the scale, the usefulness of separate organizations was highlighted by Ela Bhatt (India), former head of SEWA, the Self-Employed Women’s Association in India, and by Sawako Takagi (Japan), who organized Japan’s Women’s Movement as a “women only, no official leadership, no institutional support” organization.

A further point raised pertained to organizational structures. Should they be formal or informal? On the whole, participants felt that it was important to preserve flexibility in this matter, since informal structures seemed more suited to women’s organizations; yet it was also felt to be necessary for women to learn about formal structures in order to acquire the skills necessary to compete with males in joint organizations.

The group also concluded and reported to the Seminar’s closing plenary session that “a very critical analysis should be made of existing hierarchy and leadership patterns to the end of adapting them to serve the needs of women and society more effectively.” (In the course of discussion of the workshop’s report in that plenary session, Nimra Tannous Es-Said (Jordan) emphasized this point and added that “there should be a continuous training of leaders so that they can absorb the emerging generation, which will be the nation’s next leaders.”)

The problems of financial and human resources needed to run an organization were also discussed. Women traditionally have less access to money, and it was therefore felt that funds are a particular problem. It was noted, however, that some private foundations and governments were cognizant of this and had provided grants to enable organizations to get started. For instance, Edith Coliver (Asia Foundation) outlined the case of the Sarawak Federation of Women’s Institutes, which was given a grant by the Asia Foundation to cover the salary of an organizer and to provide transport and other accommodations. At the end of three years, a local woman was able to take over as administrative secretary, with a salary paid by the government. There was general agreement that this type of assistance was most welcome and that, therefore, governments should be encouraged to be as sympathetic as possible to the needs of such organizations. Mary Elizabeth Hoinkes (International Labour Organisation) spoke of the ILO’s programs to support special training classes for women in rural areas to enable them to participate fully in all cooperative activities. Angela Christian’s paper described the Women’s Training Institutes for young girls which are set up by Ghana’s Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. It was stressed that in the long run organizations will have to depend on their ability to generate their own resources, and the group noted that innovative approaches were needed. This did not necessarily mean that new sources of funds had to be found, but rather that a reallocation of existing resources might be required. In this connection the problem of lack of skills was raised. Margaret Snyder (U.N. Economic Commission for Africa) pointed out that “often women lack any knowledge of the legal procedures involved in forming societies, or are not sufficiently trained in business or administrative skills, or become bogged down by interpersonal or interorganizational rivalries.” She also warned that some organizations with small memberships and a focus on narrow issues can keep women from the mainstream of thinking about development.
Maria Elena Méndez de Sosa (Venezuela) brought up the question of how a group becomes accepted by the people for whom it works. She mentioned the case of women's clubs in poor areas of Caracas, which are sometimes suspected by the people they are trying to help or acting on behalf of political parties or other interests.

Christian's paper raised the point that many women do not have time to contribute to the success of a group or club. "Women's organizations can be effective, supportive institutions for bringing about social change, but the rural woman is so overburdened by household chores, the care of her family, and heavy farm work that it is really laudable when she finds time to devote to voluntary work."

Finally, the participants gave high priority to the question of communications within organizations themselves as well as between organizations at the national and international levels. The group felt that "the effectiveness of any organization will depend critically upon the communications between its members and between the organization and society." Within the organization there should be continuous dialogue between the leadership and general membership. The importance of adequate flows of information was stressed as the single most important factor in making communications with those outside the organization effective at all levels. The collection of statistics, data, and research on women's conditions in special areas was seen as a basic function of any organization.

Some participants urged the establishment of other kinds of larger organizations to support women's groups (such as a National Commission on the Status of Women and a Minister for Women for each country) as well as the creation of a center for information within the United Nations system. It was in this context that the Iranian proposal for an international institute for women's studies aroused much interest among the participants. In summarizing her government's proposal, Parvin Amini (Iran) suggested that such a center "could assimilate and disseminate information regarding all aspects of women's position. It could publish and circulate all available data, review and publish national plans and progress reports. It could assist governments and non-governmental organizations by giving them technical assistance."

Types of Organizations and Their Goals

Discussion focused on different types of organizations and their particular goals: to motivate women, to educate and train them, to ensure society's recognition of women's roles and contribution to the economic and cultural life of the country. Among the types of organizations discussed were cooperatives, self-help organizations, and charity or service organizations.

There was general agreement that the aim of cooperatives or other movements, such as the Girl Guides, was to train and educate young girls or women. Diana Oondo (Kenya), describing the International Cooperative Association, whose basic objective is integrated rural development, explained that it also had a broader framework. "Cooperatives provide a useful forum through which the various social workers and experts can reach the rural population and educate them in subjects contributing to better living (ventilation, latrines, child care, nutrition, budgeting, etc.)." And Ana Lauretta Díaz (Guatemala) pointed out that "cooperatives and other self-help organi-
izations should consider themselves not as static institutions restricted to proselytizing the dogma of cooperation but as dynamic and flexible instruments for promoting social and economic development of men as well as women and of the community and country as a whole.

The activities of self-help organizations in rural areas are extremely diverse; Snyder pointed out that they include functions as varied as "mutual aid for planting and harvesting, self-help projects to build schools and roads, and the common purchase of labor saving technologies such as grinding mills." In urban situations, too, such organizations could be a way of bringing women together, ending their isolation, and helping them to manage personal as well as social problems. Maria Elena Méndez de Sosa reported that the Peoples' Women's Club of Caracas, for instance, organized educational programs, including the dissemination of leaflets and brochures on subjects suggested by the women themselves—such as "machismo," family health, and sex education of children.

As to charitable organizations, there was a feeling that such middle-class efforts to help poor women were not likely to succeed because the "do-gooders" always tended to be patronizing. However, some participants pointed out that if volunteer service organizations could use trained people, their efforts would be more productive and would satisfy a very real need. Maria da Glória Cardos Ferraz (Brazil) talked of the "Arrastão" Movement for Human Development, which collaborates with the government in encouraging and training a volunteer force. It maintains a permanent training center, which through elementary, special, or supportive courses, prepares volunteers to operate in the educational field.

Some attention was also given to women's organizations as centers for consciousness raising. N'Kanze, for example, observed in her paper prepared for the workshop that women's organizations in modern societies might become "an instrument for social communication which would reproduce the original experience of women as women—a place for the demystification of the female stereotype created by others to enslave or exploit women who have been excluded from participating in intellectual activities." It was felt that in this type of organization the mixing and meeting of women wage workers and women homemakers of different ages and socio-economic groups would prove a very valuable learning experience for all.

National organizations, such as political parties and trade unions, which were viewed as an important means of integrating women into politics, were the focus of much discussion in the workshop. As the group's rapporteur put it, "We came up with the simple proposition that without politics, without the exercise of political weight, there is nothing." Participants considered the danger that women either might be relegated to second-class positions or be used in political processes for very short-term objectives. Nevertheless, there seemed to be agreement that a fuller understanding of political processes was fundamental, and that only when women had acquired such understanding were they likely to be less exploited.

In the course of the Seminar's final plenary discussion on the workshop's report Rae Lesser Blumberg (United States) suggested that one objective of women's pressure groups should be the recognition that in many countries the rate of women's participation in economic activities has been declining. She urged women's programs to try to preserve and widen the
economic opportunities of women, since so many bear the main burden of the economic support of their families. Marina Yusoff (Malaysia) argued that women's organizations could provide a forum for women to demand fairer legislation to unify Moslem and non-Moslem women's rights both in and out of court. Lucille Mair (Jamaica) summarized the hopes as well as the demands that participants expected women's organizations to fulfill when she noted that "when men and women are educated about the contribution which women make to the maintenance of the political machine, this will provide a solid base for women's fuller participation as decision makers. Government organizations for the integration of women can be more effectively promoted, established, and sustained when the initiative comes from those with a political base."

THE INITIAL IMPACT AND LONG-TERM AIMS OF THE SEMINAR

Many of the ideas that were raised and developed in the five workshops were carried over immediately to the two events which the Seminar was intended to supplement and assist: the U.N.-sponsored World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico City from June 19 to July 2, 1975, and the "Tribune" convened by non-governmental organizations to take place simultaneously with that Conference. Summarized versions of the reports and recommendations of the workshops were distributed both at the Conference and at the Tribune. In addition, some thirty of the Seminar's participants were invited to contribute as panelists to sessions organized by the Tribune on subjects such as Third World crafts, agriculture and rural development, and women at work. Ten of the Seminar's participants joined their countries' official delegations to the Conference as experts in particular fields affecting the condition of women; in this capacity, they made able use of Seminar materials to bolster the argument that women should no longer be left out of planners' thoughts and schemas, and that development must be keyed to women's actual roles if it is to avoid undermining their position and increasing their dependency.

Several of the recommendations drawn up by the Seminar's five workshops were incorporated in the World Plan of Action adopted by the U.N.-sponsored World Conference (included in this volume as Annex C) and the official resolutions3 of that Conference. Notable among these were provisions a) urging national legislative and other measures to guarantee that the needs and views of women are taken into account in the planning of urban and housing development (a recommendation related to "Habitat," the U.N.-sponsored world conference on human settlements); b) calling for the inclusion of women representatives on national delegations to U.N. and other international forums and conferences; and c) recommending action to improve the access of women to credit services now available almost exclusively to men. Other recommendations formulated by the Seminar's work-

shops—such as the proposals for a roster of women consultants and for a women's world bank—have been taken up by women's action groups.

The problem ahead is the translation of already formulated recommendations into governmental actions. An important first step in this direction was taken by the World Conference itself in calling upon national governments as well as the U.N. system and private organizations to incorporate in their planning, implementation, and evaluation processes specific provisions for assessing the impact of their programs on women. More recently, the U.N. General Assembly not only endorsed the substance of this Conference recommendation but passed a series of strongly worded resolutions for the effective and speedy integration of women in development, particularly rural development. To persuade governments to act, the period 1976-1985 also has been proclaimed the "United Nations Decade for Women," and progress on the implementation of the Plan of Action of the Mexico World Conference is to be assessed formally at a world conference to be convened in 1980.

A further important step taken by the World Conference was its call for the establishment of an International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, with the specific purpose of encouraging the collection of relevant data on women's social and economic roles so that development plans might be more accurately constructed to answer the needs of each community. The U.N. General Assembly has since decided in principle to establish such an International Institute, which should help tie together the activities of both existing and proposed research centers at the regional level. The Institute is to be financed through voluntary contributions. The government of Iran has offered to set up an Asian regional research center for the U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), and planning is also under way for another such center in Latin America. The model for all these centers is the highly successful African Training and Research Center for Women of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

As the serious study of the integration of women in development has become legitimized, women and men in many disciplines have become interested in facets of the subject. Even as this book is issued, a large Conference on Women and Development—to which some seventy scholars from outside the United States have been invited—is taking place at Wellesley College in Massachusetts. Cosponsors of this major, privately funded conference are three U.S. non-governmental academic membership organizations—the African Studies Association, the Association for Asian Studies, and the Latin American Studies Association—and the host Center for Research on Women in Higher Education and the Professions at Wellesley College. A non-governmental International Institute for Research on Women also has

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7See ibid., p. 208.
been set up under the auspices of the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women in Washington, D.C. Created as a direct result of the Seminar on Women in Development, this center will continue to collect and disseminate studies relating to women in world development and encourage heightened academic attention to problems in this field through the network of similar non-governmental centers being established around the world. The international approach exemplified by these and similar efforts spurred in many countries by the events of International Women's Year should do much to help fill in the weak data base that still exists in this field and ensure international cooperation in this long-ignored major area of the field of human development.
Annexes
Annex A
A Note on the Organization of the Seminar on Women in Development

Originally proposed by the AAAS in November 1974, the Seminar on Women in Development was cosponsored by three organizations whose assistance was invaluable in the many tasks of planning and administering an international conference: the U.N. Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) contributed its special expertise in organizing and running multilingual meetings; the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP) contributed its storehouse of knowledge on development and planners; and the Mexican National Council of Science and Technology facilitated relationships between the AAAS and the Mexican government.

The Seminar was organized by a planning committee which met in New York City. Members of the committee were Gordon Hawkins and Anne Winslow of UNITAR; Ulla Olin, Virginia Saurwein, and Joan Draper of UNDP; Mallica Vajrathon of the U.N. Fund for Population Activities; and Irene Tinker and Michelle Bo Bramsen of AAAS. To encourage the interchange of ideas, the committee decided to break down the Seminar into small workshops in which the same participants would meet together throughout the Seminar. Those with experience in U.N. meetings were emphatic that simultaneous translation be provided in every workshop. The original budget had not anticipated a need for so many interpreters; through the good offices of Ulla Olin, additional funding was obtained from UNDP specifically for this purpose. The committee also compiled a list of potential participants, drawing on suggestions from development agencies, universities, women's organizations, foundations, and professional associations; the final selection of participants was made by the AAAS.

Each participant was asked to write a paper—either a case study on a particular aspect of development in his or her country or a brief background paper on a general topic covering various problems raised by development planning and related fields. In addition, several experts were invited to contribute longer background papers. Both the case studies and the background papers were translated into the three languages of the Seminar (English, French, and Spanish) and distributed to all participants. The background papers were also made available to delegates to the U.N.-sponsored World Conference of the International Women's Year and to the non-governmental Tribune, which convened in Mexico City immediately after the Seminar. Provisional Seminar workshop leaders and rapporteurs were chosen by the planning committee and invited to a pre-conference briefing to discuss the background papers and view the audio-visual materials in order to suggest how each workshop might make use of them. The workshop participants themselves selected additional rapporteurs and permanent dis-
discussion leaders for their respective workshops. The discussion leaders and rapporteurs of each workshop formed a team to produce the workshop's report.

The audio-visual material used in the workshops was prepared by a team of four. Bettina Corke, Jacob Pfohl, James Seaton, and Chris Srinivasan. A special grant from the UNDP Division of Information funded preparation of two films and five slide-tapes. One of these films, "Outside the Gross National Product," underscored the lack of statistical information that leads planners to overlook women's contribution to the economy; the second film focused on the introduction of small-scale technology and showed the tendency to direct such technology only to men. Four of the slide-tapes illustrated rural programs designed to improve the work and living situations of women in four countries. The first showed a spice cooperative, a cotton cooperative, and handicraft training in Ethiopia; the second documented the failure of a program in the Philippines because women's heavy work loads were overlooked and because women were expected to be free to come to training at a time convenient only to the trainers; the third showed the "mabati" (tin roof) movement in Kenya, suggesting through one example how old forms of cooperation can be utilized in introducing new techniques; and the fourth demonstrated how a community development foundation in Honduras was able to improve the making and selling of cheese corn biscuits. A fifth slide-tape presentation, "Why People Move and What Happens," described migration from rural areas to Bogotá in Colombia. These films and slide-tapes were successfully used to set the stage for discussion in the workshops as well as at other showings open to all participants at times when workshops were not in session.

The AAAC staff issued the invitations; reserved the hotel and meeting space; mailed air tickets to participants who had accepted; arranged for English, French, and Spanish interpretation at the Seminar; saw to the translation, duplication, and distribution of papers and case studies submitted by the participants; and handled financial matters. While all of these arrangements resulted in numerous problems, there were light touches too. The participant from Zambia kept signing her name as Goma Unza, or was it Unza Goma? Somehow she did receive the air ticket mailed to her; when she arrived in Mexico City, she clarified that her name was Goma, and that UNZA stood for the University of Zambia.

The Seminar was held at Centre de Convenciones in Mexico City—a conference center providing an intimate atmosphere for the informal interchange of ideas during breaks between meeting sessions. The variety of meeting space available made it possible to hold plenary sessions at the beginning and the end of the Seminar, and for the bulk of the work to be done in rooms suitable for small workshop groups consisting of no more than twenty-five people each. The fact that all of the participants were housed in the nearby hotel, El Romano Diana, meant that the discussion sessions also continued through dinner and late into the evening. Through these exchanges and contacts, networks of communications were established between women and men of different regions, and this in itself can be viewed as one of the useful outcomes of the Seminar.
Annex B
Participants in the Seminar on Women in Development

Wajhuddin Ahmed (M.A., University of the Punjab Lahore) is Consultant to the Executive Director of the U.N. Fund for Population Activities. Trained as a social psychologist, he was associated as a senior administrator for 25 years with rural development activities in Pakistan. His publications include studies on women's role in rural development and population.

Rosaluz Alegria (M.A., sciences, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) is General Coordinator of the Centre for the Study of Advanced Means and Methods of Education in Mexico. She has lectured at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Mexico and has been a consultant for the Mexican Petroleum Company.

Susan Almy (Ph.D., anthropology, Stanford University, California) has done applied and theoretical research in small-scale agricultural commercial and social development in Kenya. Since 1974 she has worked as a Program Associate at the Rockefeller Foundation, mainly on Latin American agricultural, rural development, and university-community outreach programs.

Celestino Alvarez La Jonchere is a doctor of gynecology at the Ministry of Public Health in Havana, Cuba, and is involved in projects to integrate rural women into the public health services of Cuba.

Tonla Amat (Doctor of medicine, Barcelona; Diploma, economics and social science, Paris) has worked on health, education, and nutrition projects in Cameroon and Afghanistan. Currently she heads the Ivory Coast's program for promoting health education and social hygiene.

Parvin Amini is a member of the Planning and Budget Organization of Iran and was instrumental in getting that organization interested in the problems faced by women in developing societies.

Susanna Antoine is an "all-age primary school" teacher in Grenada and is interested in the problems of slow learners. In addition to teaching home economics, she does voluntary social work with adult groups. At present she is an active member of the Grenada Union of Teachers and of the Business and Professional Women's Club of Grenada.

Ahmed Ashraf (Ph.D., sociology, New School for Social Research, New York) is a visiting professor of sociology at Tehran University and is currently serving as the Director of the Social Planning Division of the Planning and Budget Organization of Iran.

Bolanle Awe (Ph.D., Oxford) is the co-editor of a book on the city of Ibadan and editor of African Notes (Institute of African Studies, Ibadan). She is Senior Research Fellow at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Zoraida Bernal is president of the Women's Committee of the Mexican Railway Workers Trade Union. She has been active in promoting the recruitment of women to decision-making posts.

Ruby Betancourt de Jiménez (Graduate, economics, University of Mexico) is the coordinator for all research in the field of economic projection and forecast at the Mexican National Council for Population.

*non-attending participant
Ela Bhatt (B.A., L.L.B.) organized in India 10,000 urban women who work as head-loaders, hand-cart pullers, garment workers, etc., into a trade union organization, the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA). She was formerly General Secretary of SEWA.

Freya Olafson Bicknell (M.P.H., health education) is currently director of education, information, and communication for the Pathfinder Fund. She is co-author of Confidentiality: A Guide for Neighborhood Health Centers and Sickle Cell Anemia—The Neglected Disease, both published by the Health Center Seminar Program of the University of California, Berkeley.

Rae Lesser Blumberg (Ph.D., sociology, Northwestern University) is a professor at the University of California, San Diego. She held a Ford Foundation Faculty Fellowship on the Role of Women in Society in 1973-74. Her publications include articles in the American Journal of Sociology and American Sociological Review. Her book Stratification: Socioeconomic and Sexual Inequality is to be published soon.

Michèle Bo Bramsen (Ph.D., political science, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris) was Project Coordinator for the AAAS Seminar on Women in Development. A former lecturer at the University of Copenhagen, her research focuses on educational planning and the politics of education.

Ester Boserup, a pioneer in the study of women in socio-economic development, is perhaps best known for her book, Woman's Role in Economic Development. She has worked for many years as a researcher and consultant with the United Nations as well as other international organizations.

Isabel Carrasco de Gómez (B.S., business administration) has worked since 1952 on specialized activities for the development of women in Colombia, such as the promotion of women through educational programs, the organization of hospital volunteer groups, and the formation of female multiplier groups for family life education.

Eva Elia de Castro, an agricultural technician in nutritional education, is a coordinator for the CARITAS program in applied nutrition in Nicaragua. Since 1964 she has worked in programs dealing with women's promotion through housewives' clubs, juvenile clubs, and maternal-care institutions.

Majnurah Chelli* (M.A., developmental sociology) is writing a dissertation on the psychosociology of family planning. She has worked as a teacher of philosophy and as a journalist for Jeune Afrique. She has been working in the Family Planning and Population Office of Tunisia for three years.

Erskine Childers* is Director of the Division of Information of the U.N. Development Programme and is responsible for informational and educational activities concerning development. From 1966 to 1974, he served as Director of the Asian Regional Development Support Communication Service which helped Asian governments to plan, create, or operate their own national, provincial, or project-level communication services for development.

Angela Christian, currently President of Alliance Française d'Accra, served in the Ghana diplomatic service in London, Paris, and Washington from 1959 to 1972. She was a consultant for the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa's Women's Program in 1973. In December 1973, she was awarded the FAO Ceres Medal.

Edith Coliver is Director of Institutional Relations for the Asia Foundation in San Francisco. She coordinates the Asia Foundation's assistance programs with international, regional, and national professional and civic/voluntary organizations. She has been particularly interested in the role of women and communications in the development process and has helped in the identification and establishment of training programs in these fields.

Pumya Dhungana is involved in rural family planning programs in Nepal.

Ana Laureta Diaz (M.S.C., home economics, Michigan State University) is with the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization where she is currently promoting programs concerned with involvement of women and families in rural organizations, cooperatives, and other mutual aid activities aimed at the improvement of economic and social conditions of rural people in Latin America.
Ruth Dixon (Ph.D., sociology, University of California, Berkeley) is currently an assistant professor of sociology at the University of California, Davis, and is doing research on the relationship between the status of rural women and fertility. She is the author of *Status of Women and Family Planning*, published by the United Nations.

Joan Draper (B.A., population studies, Mills College, California) coordinated U.N. Development Programme activities and publications for the International Women’s Year Conference. She is the author of *The Population Activist’s Handbook* and articles in various U.N. publications.

Gasbia El Hamamsy (Diploma, Girls’ College of Giza, Egypt) has been a Fellowship Assistant at the U.N. Development Programme Office in Cairo since 1967. Prior to that she was Vice-President of the Maternity Hospital Association in Alexandria and a member of the Hospital Day Association in Cairo.

Ghita El Khayat (Doctor of medicine, Rabat; diploma, preventive medicine, Bordeaux) is a fellow of the Hospital Psychiatrique El Hank, Casablanca. Her interests at present are women at work in developing countries, the psychological aspects of family planning for the multiparous woman, and the phenomenon of cultural alienation in the Arab world.

Mary Elmendorf (Ph.D., anthropology, Union Graduate School) has been a consultant to the Ford Foundation and is currently a consultant to the World Bank. Her interests are the roles of women as agents for peaceful social change, with special concern for changes faced by peasant women confronted by modernization.

Nimra Tannous Es-Said (M.A., social sciences, Institute of Social Sciences, The Hague) is Assistant Executive Secretary of the Supreme Ministerial Committee for the Relief of Displaced Persons in Jordan and is active in voluntary organizations in Jordan. She has written several studies on women in Jordan for international conferences.

Maria da Glória Cardoso Ferraz is presently Administrative Director of Arrastão—Movimento de Promoção Humana, São Paulo, Brazil. The organization was formed by women in 1967 to serve as a vehicle for pooling resources to raise the professional level of women, especially those living a socially marginal existence.

Adrienne Germain (M.A., sociology, University of California, Berkeley) is currently Program Officer of the Population Office of the Ford Foundation and has been consultant to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women and the Population Tribunal. She is the author of several articles on women and fertility behavior.

Yvonne Goma (I.M.L.T., London) has been a lecturer in business and agricultural business management at the University of Zambia. Currently she is Managing Director and sole proprietor of Lopilopi Farm. She is also the Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Tiyese Boutique and Manufacturing Company.

Josephine Guissou (Degree, sociology, Paris) has been a Research Fellow at La Société Africaine d’Etude et de Développement in Ouagadougou since 1973 and specializes in rural and social development.

Natalie D. Hahn (Ph.D. candidate, Harvard University), a home economist and journalist, is an officer of the Agricultural Education and Extension Service of the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization. She is assisting with the development of programs related to the role of women in agricultural production and rural development.

Gordon Hawkins (M.A., educational theory, University of Toronto) is Director of Training, U.N. Institute for Training and Research. He set up and directed the Center for Foreign Policy Studies, Dalhousie University, Canada. Prior to that he was Executive Director of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

Isabel Picó de Hernández (Ph.D., political science, Harvard University) has worked as a teaching fellow at Harvard for two years and is currently heading a project on racial, national, and sexual discrimination in private firms in Puerto Rico. She is the author of books and articles on student politics in Puerto Rico, women’s rights, and women at work.

Mary Elizabeth Holnkes (J.D., George Washington University Law School, Washington, D.C.) is Assistant Director of the Washington office of the International Labour Organisation.
Caridad Inda (Ph.D., international relations, American University, Washington, D.C.) is a Communication Associate with the Overseas Education Fund in Washington, D.C. She is editor and translator of *The Role of the Church in Present Day Latin America* and translator of *A Theology of Liberation*.

Shigeko Inoue is a lecturer at the Shukutoku University, Japan.

Rounaq Jahan (Ph.D., political science, Harvard University) is the chairperson of the political science department at Dacca University and is currently a visiting professor of political science at the University of Chicago. She is the author of *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration* and co-author of *Divided Nations in a Divided World*.

Devaki Jain* is an economist. Her current fields of interest are the impact of modernization on women's status in India and the understanding of the needs of poor rural women. She wrote the first of a series of publications of the Indian Council of Social Science Research focusing on the situation of women in the unorganized sector.

Allen Jedlicka (Ph.D., industrial engineering, Northwestern University, Illinois) has specialized in technology transfer at the village level in Latin America and has worked extensively in Mexico, Colombia, and Bolivia with both Latin American and international agencies. Currently he teaches in the School of Business at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls. He has published a number of articles on the transfer of technology in underdeveloped areas.

Luz Jefferson (Doctor of medicine, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima) is a professor of obstetrics and gynecology in the School of Medicine of Cayetano Heredia University, Lima. She is a member of the Peruvian National Council of Women and the Peruvian Association of Women Medical Doctors. She was in charge of Peru's first responsible parenthood clinic and has been working in demography and health.

Chave Shahwar Junaid (Master of Fine Arts and Design, University of the Punjab, Lahore), a communications expert and member of the all-Pakistan writer's guild, is an independent columnist for the *Pakistan Times*. She has worked for the U.N. Children's Fund and on communication seminars.

Yael Katzir (Ph.D., socio-cultural anthropology, University of California, Berkeley) is currently teaching at a university in Israel and doing research in anthropology. Her interests include socio-economic and psychological factors in adaptation to change, family organization, resettlement problems, and Mediterranean societies.


Margaret Loh (Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery, Diploma of Public Health) is Executive Secretary, Singapore Family Planning and Population Board. Her papers include: "Adult Education and Family Planning," "A Massive National Effort in Communication Participation for the Promotion of Family Planning," and "Towards Replacement Level," all published by the Singapore Family Planning and Population Board.

Larissa Lomnitz (Ph.D., Universidad Iberoaesticana) is professor of anthropology and head of the Study Group on University Problems at the National University of Mexico. She has done research on urban migrants and social organization of academic communities, and is the author of a book on economic survival in a Mexican shantytown.

Brenda McSweeney (M.A., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy) is Assistant Resident Representative of the U.N. Development Programme in Upper Volta, and is primarily responsible for human resources development programs. She is an advisor to the Volta Women's Federation.

Connie Madayag is Deputy Program Director of the Philippine Reconstruction Movement's Nonformal Education Institute. She is involved in the preparation and management of training programs for out-of-school youths and adults.
José Romso Maeda has been working with the Fundación Promotora de Cooperativas in San Salvador since 1955 to develop the cooperative movement in Latin America.

Lucille Mair (Ph.D., history) is Minister and Deputy Permanent Representative of the Permanent Mission of Jamaica to the United Nations. She is the author of *The Rebel Woman in the British Caribbean*.

Bertha Beatriz Martinez Garza (Ph.D., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) is working in the Secretariat for Agricultural Reform in Mexico. She has written articles on the legal aspects of agrarian reform.

Margaret Mead (Ph.D., Columbia University), a cultural anthropologist, is famous for her studies of personality and culture, child development and applications of psychoanalytic theory, cybernetics in studies of several oceanic cultures, native languages, etc. Among her most influential books of women's studies are *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* and *Male and Female*. She is Emeritus Curator of the American Museum of Natural History, and Chairman of the Board of Directors and retiring President of AAAS.

Fatima Mernissi (Ph.D., sociology, Brandeis University, Massachusetts) is currently teaching at Rabat University. Her major research areas are family changes in a developing economy, particularly sex roles, and authority mechanisms and patterns and their evolution with economic infrastructure in Moslem developing societies. She is the author of *Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Moslem Society* as well as several papers and articles on women in the Arab world.

Dinesh Mohan (M.S., mechanical engineering, University of Delaware; M.S., bioengineering, University of Michigan) is interested in the study of the interrelationships between bio-engineering and social behavioral patterns.

Victoria Mojekwu is a nurse, midwife, educator, and planner. She is currently responsible for the planning, research, and administration of Nigeria’s nursing and midwifery services and education.

Gloria Mondragón, a primary education teacher and educator in public health in Honduras, has worked with kindergarten children and in the public health ministry’s program for child and mother care. She is on the Board of the Honduran Association for Family Planning and is currently interested in education programs for family planning.

Kusum Nair is a visiting professor at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii. She specializes in rural development and Asian studies and is the author of *Blossoms in the Dust*.

Nirmala Narula (M.A., administration) is Program Operations Director of Asia and the Far East with the Pathfinder Fund.

Fadia Nasr (B.S., political science, Cairo University, Egypt; diploma, Institute of Diplomatic and Consular Studies, Egypt) is a Research Associate at the U.N. Institute for Training and Research. She has written several articles for the UNITAR News.

Lusbu N’Kanza (M.A., sociology, Harvard University) is a former Minister of Social Affairs and Community Development and Minister of State in Zaire in charge of labor, social development, housing, and coordination of social affairs. In 1970 she was elected a member of parliament.

Ester Ocloo owns and is Managing Director of a food-processing factory in Ghana. The founder and current president of the Ghana Manufacturers Association, she was appointed by the government to serve on the National Commission on Women. In 1969 she was honored for meritorious service to her country.

Elizabeth O’Kelly is working with the Institute for Intermediate Technology in London. She was in charge of the Rural Development Program in Cameroon and was an advisor on women’s welfare in Sarawak, where she founded the Women’s Institute Movement. As Acting Director she organized the World Council of Churches’ refugee program in South Vietnam. She is the author of *Aid and Self-Help*. She was made a Member of the British Empire in 1955 and was awarded the Order of Sarawak in 1965.
Ulla Olin (Ph.D., University of Gothenburg) has done research on the interrelationships between economic and social change and population trends in the Population Division of the United Nations and in the Research and Planning Division of the Economic and Social Commission of Asia and the Pacific in Bangkok. She is currently Principal Officer of the Programme Policy Division of the U.N. Development Programme.

Diana Opondo is currently with the International Cooperator Alliance Regional Office for East and Central Africa in Moshi, Tanzania, where she promotes women's participation in national development programs through involvement in cooperatives. Prior to that she worked with the Commission for Cooperatives in Kenya.

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Annex C
World Plan of Action
of the World Conference
of the International Women's Year
(Mexico City, June 19-July 2, 1975)

INTRODUCTION

1. In subscribing to the Charter, the peoples of the United Nations undertook specific commitments: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...., to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

2. The greatest and most significant achievement during recent decades has been the liberation of a large number of peoples and nations from alien colonial domination, which has permitted them to become members of the community of free peoples. Technological progress has also been achieved in all spheres of economic activity during the past three decades, thus offering substantial possibilities for improving the well-being of all peoples. However, the last vestiges of alien and colonial domination, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, apartheid and neo-colonialism in all its forms are still among the greatest obstacles to the full emancipation and progress of developing countries and of all the peoples concerned. The benefits of technological progress are not shared equitably by all members of the international community. The developing countries, which account for 70 per cent of the population of the world, receive only 30 per cent of world income. It has proved impossible to achieve uniform and balanced development of the international community under the present economic order, and, for this reason, it is urgent to implement a new international economic order in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3201 (S-VI of 1 May 1974).

3. Conventions, declarations, formal recommendations and other instruments have been adopted since the Charter came into force [see Appendix, pp. 223-24], with a view to reinforcing, elaborating and implementing these fundamental principles and objectives. Some of them seek to safeguard and promote the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all persons without discrimination of any kind. Others deal with the promotion of economic and social progress and development and the need to eliminate all forms of alien domination, dependence, neo-colonialism, and include international strategies, programmes and plans of action. Some have the more specific purpose of eliminating discrimination on the ground of sex and promoting the equal

rights of men and women. These documents reflect the ever increasing awareness in the international community of the uneven development of peoples, and of the tragedy of all forms of discrimination, be it on the ground of race, sex or any other ground, and the evident will to promote progress and development in conditions of peace, equity and justice.

4. In these various instruments the international community has proclaimed that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women as well as men in all fields. It has declared that all human beings without distinction have the right to enjoy the fruits of social and economic progress and should, on their part, contribute to it. It has condemned sex discrimination as fundamentally unjust, an offence against human dignity and an infringement of human rights. It has included the full integration of women in the total development effort as a stated objective of the International Development Strategy for the decade of the 1970s [U.N. General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) of October 24, 1970].

5. Despite these solemn pronouncements and notwithstanding the work accomplished in particular by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women and the specialized agencies concerned, progress in translating these principles into practical reality is proving slow and uneven. The difficulties encountered in the preparation and implementation of these many instruments are attributable to the complexities created by the considerable differences between countries, regions etc.

6. History has attested to the active role which women played, together with men, in accelerating the material and spiritual progress of peoples and in the process of the progressive renewal of society; in our times, women's role will increasingly emerge as a powerful revolutionary social force.

7. There are significant differences in the status of women in different countries and regions of the world which are rooted in the political, economic and social structure, the cultural framework and the level of development of each country, and in the social category of women within a given country. However, basic similarities unite women to fight differences wherever they exist in the legal, economic, social, political and cultural status of women and men.

8. As a result of the uneven development that prevails in the international economic relations, three quarters of humanity is faced with urgent and pressing social and economic problems. The women among them are even more affected by such problems and the new measures taken to improve their situation as well as their role in the process of development must be an integral part of the global project for the establishment of a new economic order.

9. In many countries women form a large part of the agricultural work force. Because of this and because of their important role in agricultural production and in the preparation, processing and marketing of food, they constitute a substantial economic resource. Nevertheless, if the rural worker's lack of technical equipment, education and training is taken into account, it will be seen that in many countries the status of women in this sector is doubly disadvantaged.
10. While industrialization provides jobs for women and constitutes one of the main means for the integration of women in the process of development, women workers are disadvantaged in many respects because of the fact that the technological structure of production in general has been oriented towards man and his requirements. Therefore special attention must be paid to the situation of the woman worker in industry and in services. Women workers feel painfully the effects of the present economic crisis, the growth of unemployment, inflation, mass poverty, lack of resources for education and medical care, unexpected and unwanted side-effects of urbanization and other migration, etc.

11. Scientific and technological developments have had both positive and negative repercussions on the situation of women in many countries. Political, economic and social factors are important in overcoming any adverse effects of such developments.

12. During the last decades women's movements and millions of women together with other progressive forces acting in many countries have focused public opinion at the national and international levels on all these problems.

13. However, that public opinion often overlooks the many women of regions under alien domination, particularly those subjected to apartheid who experience daily the terror of repression and who struggle tirelessly for the recovery of the most elementary rights of the human person.

14. The reality of the problems which women still meet in their daily life in many countries of the world in their efforts to participate in the economic and social activities, in the decision-making process and the political administration of their countries, and the loss represented by the under-utilization of the potentialities of approximately 50 per cent of the world's adult population, have prompted the United Nations to proclaim 1975 as International Women's Year, and to call for intensified action to ensure the full integration of women in the total development effort, and to involve women widely in international co-operation and the strengthening of world peace on the basis of equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities of women and men. The objective of International Women's Year is to define a society in which women participate in a real and full sense in economic, social and political life and to devise strategies whereby such societies could develop.

15. This Plan of Action is intended to strengthen the implementation of the instruments and programmes which have been adopted concerning the status of women, and to broaden and place them in a more timely context. Its purpose is mainly to stimulate national and international action to solve the problems of under-development and of the socio-economic structure which places women in an inferior position, in order to achieve the goals of International Women's Year.

16. The achievement of equality between men and women implies that they should have equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities to enable them to develop their talents and capabilities for their own personal fulfillment and the benefit of society. To that end, a reassessment of the functions and roles traditionally allotted to each sex within the family and the community at large is essential. The necessity of a change in the traditional role of men as well as of women must be recognized. In order to allow for women's equal (fuller)
participation in all societal activities, socially organized services should be established and maintained to lighten household chores and, especially, services for children should be provided. All efforts should be made to change social attitudes—based mainly on education—in order to bring about the acceptance of shared responsibilities for home and children by both men and women.

17. In order to promote equality between women and men, Governments should ensure for both women and men equality before the law, the provision of facilities for equality of educational opportunities and training, equality in conditions of employment, including remuneration, and adequate social security. Governments should recognize and undertaken measures to implement men's and women's right to employment on equal conditions, regardless of marital status and their access to the whole range of economic activities. The State has also the responsibility to create conditions that promote the implementation of legal norms providing for equality of men and women and in particular the opportunity for all individuals to receive free general and primary education, and eventually compulsory general secondary education, equality in conditions of employment, and maternity protection.

18. Governments should strive to ameliorate the hard working conditions and unreasonably heavy work load, especially those that fall upon large groups of women in many countries and particularly among underprivileged social groups. Governments should ensure improved access to health services, better nutrition and other social services that are essential to the improvement of the condition of women and their full participation in development on an equal basis with men.

19. Individuals and couples have the right freely and responsibly to determine the number and spacing of their children and to have the information and the means to do so. The exercise of this right is basic to the attainment of any real equality between the sexes and without its achievement women are disadvantaged in their attempt to benefit from other reforms.

20. Child-care centres and other child-minding facilities are means to supplement the training and care that the children get at home. At the same time they are of vital importance in promoting equality between men and women. Governments have, therefore, a responsibility to see to it that such centres and facilities are available in the first place for those children whose parents or parent are employed in self-employment and particularly in agriculture for rural women, in training or in education or wish to take up employment, training or education.

21. The primary objective of development being to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and of society and to bestow benefits on all, development should be seen not only as a desirable goal in itself but also as the most important means of furthering equality of the sexes and the maintenance of peace.

22. The integration of women in development will necessitate widening their activities to embrace all aspects of social, economic, political and cultural life. They must be provided with the necessary technical training to make their contribution more effective in terms of production, and to ensure their greater participation in decision-making and in the planning and implementation of all programmes and projects. Full integration also implies that women receive
their fair share of the benefits of development, thereby helping to ensure a more equitable distribution of income among all sectors of the population.

23. The promotion and protection of human rights for all is one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the achievement of which is the goal of all people. An essential element for securing the protection of human rights and full equality between men and women throughout the world is sustained international co-operation based on peace, justice and equity for all and the elimination of all sources of conflict. True international co-operation must be based in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, on fully equal rights, the observance of national independence and sovereignty including sovereignty over natural resources and the right of their exploitation, non-interference in internal affairs, the right of peoples to defend their territorial integrity, and the inadmissibility of acquisition or attempts to acquire territory by force, mutual advantage, the avoidance of the use or threat of force, and the promotion and maintenance of a new just world economic order, which is the basic purpose of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. International co-operation and peace require national liberation and political and economic independence, and the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, fascism and other similar ideologies, foreign occupation and apartheid, racism and discrimination in all its forms as well as recognition of the dignity of the individual and appreciation of the human person and his or her self-determination. To this end, the Plan calls for the full participation of women in all efforts to promote and maintain peace. True peace cannot be achieved unless women share with men the responsibility for establishing a new international economic order.

24. It is the aim of the Plan to ensure that the original and multidimensional contribution—both actual and potential—of women is not overlooked in existing concepts for development action programmes and an improved world economic equilibrium. Recommendations for national and international action are proposed with the aim of accelerating the necessary changes in all areas, and particularly in those where women have been especially disadvantaged.

25. Since the integral development of the personality of the woman as a human being is directly connected with her participation in the development process as mother, worker and citizen, policies should be developed to promote the co-ordination of these different roles of the woman so as to give the most favourable conditions for the harmonious development of her personality—an aim which is equally relevant to the development of man.

I. NATIONAL ACTION

26. This Plan provides guidelines for national action over the 10-year period from 1975 to 1985 as part of a sustained, long-term effort to achieve the objectives of the International Women's Year. The recommendations are not exhaustive, and should be considered in addition to the other existing

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1 During the World Conference of the International Women’s Year some representatives stated that reference to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States should not be interpreted as indicating a change in the positions of delegations on the Charter as stated at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.
international instruments and resolutions of the United Nations bodies which deal with the condition of women and the quality of life. They constitute rather the main areas for priority action within the decade.

27. The recommendations for national action in this Plan are addressed primarily to Governments, and to all public and private institutions, women's and youth organizations, employers, trade unions, mass communications media, non-governmental organizations, political parties and other groups.

28. Since there are wide divergencies in the situation of women in various societies, cultures and regions, reflected in differing needs and problems, each country should decide upon its own national strategy, and identify its own targets and priorities within the present World Plan. Given the changing conditions of society today, an operative mechanism for assessment should be established and targets should be linked to those set out, in particular, in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [U.N. General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) of October 24, 1970], and in the World Population Plan of Action.

29. Changes in social and economic structures should be promoted which would make possible the full equality of women and their free access to all types of development, without discrimination of any kind, and to all types of education and employment.

30. There should be a clear commitment at all levels of government to take appropriate action to implement these targets and priorities. Commitment on the part of Governments to the ideals of equality and integration of women in society cannot be fully effective outside the larger context of commitment to transform fundamental relationships within a society in order to ensure a system that excludes the possibility of exploitation.

31. In elaborating national strategies and development plans in which women should participate, measures should be adopted to ensure that the set targets and priorities should take fully into account women's interests and needs, and make adequate provision to improve their situation and increase their contribution to the development process. There should be equitable representation of women at all levels of policy- and decision-making. Appropriate national machinery and procedures should be established if they do not already exist.

32. National plans and strategies for the implementation of this Plan should be sensitive to the needs and problems of different categories of women and of women of different age groups. However, Governments should pay special attention to improving the situation of women in areas where they have been most disadvantaged and especially of women in rural and urban areas.

33. While integrated programmes for the benefit of all members of society should be the basis for action in implementing this Plan, special measures on behalf of women whose status is the result of particularly discriminatory attitudes will be necessary.

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34. The establishment of interdisciplinary and multisectoral machinery within government, such as national commissions, women's bureaux and other bodies, with adequate staff and budget, can be an effective transitional measure for accelerating the achievement of equal opportunity for women and their full integration in national life. The membership of such bodies should include both women and men, representative of all groups of society responsible for making and implementing policy decisions in the public sector. Government ministries and departments (especially those responsible for education, health, labour, justice, communications and information, culture, industry, trade, agriculture, rural development, social welfare, finance and planning), as well as appropriate private and public agencies, should be represented on them.

35. Such bodies should investigate the situation of women in all fields and at all levels and make recommendations for needed legislation, policies and programmes establishing priorities. Follow-up programmes should be maintained to monitor and evaluate the progress achieved within the country to assess the implementation of the present Plan in national plans.

36. These national bodies should also co-operate in the co-ordination of similar regional and international activities, as well as those undertaken by non-governmental organizations, and self-help programmes devised by women themselves.

37. Constitutional and legislative guarantees of the principle of non-discrimination on the ground of sex and of equal rights and responsibilities of women and men are essential. Therefore, general acceptance of the principles embodied in such legislation and a change of attitude with regard to them should be encouraged. It is also essential to ensure that the adoption and enforcement of such legislation can in itself be a significant means of influencing and changing public and private attitudes and values.

38. Governments should review their legislation affecting the status of women in the light of human rights principles and internationally accepted standards. Wherever necessary, legislation should be enacted or updated to bring national laws into conformity with the relevant international instruments. Adequate provision should also be made for the enforcement of such legislation, especially in each of the areas dealt with in chapter II of the Plan. Where they have not already done so, Governments should take steps to ratify the relevant international conventions and fully implement their provisions. It should be noted that there are States whose national legislation guarantees women certain rights which go beyond those embodied in the relevant international instruments.

39. Appropriate bodies should be specifically entrusted with the responsibility of modernizing, changing or repealing outdated national laws and regulations, keeping them under constant review, and ensuring that their provisions are applied without discrimination. These bodies could include, for example, law commissions, human rights commissions, civil liberties unions, appeals boards, legal advisory boards and the office of ombudsman. Such bodies should have full governmental support to enable them to carry out their functions effectively. Non-governmental organizations could also play an important role in ensuring that relevant legislation is adequate, up to date and applied without discrimination.
40. Appropriate measures should be taken to inform and advise women of their rights and to provide them with every other type of assistance. Accordingly, the awareness of the mass communication media should be heightened so that they may offer their broad co-operation through public education programmes. Non-governmental organizations can and should be encouraged to play similar roles with regard to women. In this context, special attention should be paid to the women of rural areas, whose problem is most acute.

41. Efforts to widen opportunities for women to participate in development and to eliminate discrimination against them will require a variety of measures and action by society at large through its governmental machinery and other institutions.

42. While some of the measures suggested could be carried out at minimum cost, implementation of this Plan will require a redefinition of certain priorities and a change in the pattern of government expenditure. In order to ensure adequate allocation of funds, Governments should explore all available sources of support which are acceptable to Governments and in accordance with Governments' goals.

43. Special measures should also be envisaged to assist Governments whose resources are limited in carrying out specific projects or programmes. The Fund for International Women's Year established under Economic and Social Council resolution 1851 (LVI) of 16 May 1974, in addition to multilateral and bilateral assistance, which is vital for the purpose, should be extended provisionally pending further consideration as to its ultimate disposition in order to assist Governments whose resources are limited in carrying out specific programmes or projects. Women in countries holding special financial responsibilities entrusted by the United Nations and its specialized agencies with a view to assisting developing countries are called upon to make their contribution to the implementation of the goals set in connexion with the governmental assistance earmarked for improving the status of women, especially of those in the under-developed States.

44. It is recognized that some of the objectives of this Plan have already been achieved in some countries, while in other they may only be accomplished progressively. Moreover, some measures by their very nature will take longer to implement than others. Governments are therefore urged to establish short-, medium- and long-term targets and objectives to implement the Plan.

45. On the basis of this World Plan of Action, the United Nations Secretariat should elaborate a two-year plan of its own, containing several most important objectives, directed towards the implementation of the World Plan of Action under the current control of the Commission on the Status of Women and the over-all control of the General Assembly.

46. The achievement of the following should be envisaged as a minimum by the end of the first five-year period (1975-1980):

(a) Marked increase in literacy and civic education of women, especially in rural areas;

(b) The extension of co-educational technical and vocational training in basic skills to women and men in the industrial and agricultural sectors;

(c) Equal access at every level of education, compulsory primary school education and the measures necessary to prevent school drop-outs;
(d) Increased employment opportunities for women, reduction of unemployment and increased efforts to eliminate discrimination in the terms and conditions of employment;

(e) The establishment and increase of the infrastructural services required in both rural and urban areas;

(f) The enactment of legislation on voting and eligibility for election on equal terms with men, equal opportunity and conditions of employment including remuneration, and on equality in legal capacity and the exercise thereof;

(g) Encouragement of a greater participation of women in policy-making positions at the local, national and international levels:

(h) Increased provision for comprehensive measures for health education and services, sanitation, nutrition, family education, family planning and other welfare services;

(i) Provision for parity in the exercise of civil, social and political rights such as those pertaining to marriage, citizenship and commerce;

(j) Recognition of the economic value of women's work in the home in domestic food production and marketing and voluntary activities not remunerated;

(k) The direction of formal, non-formal and life-long education towards the re-evaluation of the man and woman, in order to ensure their full realization as an individual in the family and in society;

(l) The promotion of women's organizations as an interim measure within workers' organizations and educational, economic and professional institutions;

(m) The development of modern rural technology, cottage industry, pre-school day centres, time-and-energy-saving devices so as to help reduce the heavy work load of women, particularly those living in rural sectors and for the urban poor and thus facilitate the full participation of women in community, national and international affairs;

(n) The establishment of interdisciplinary and multisectoral machinery within the government for accelerating the achievement of equal opportunities for women and their full integration into national life.

47. These minimum objectives should be developed in more specific terms in regional plans of action.

48. The active involvement of non-governmental women's organizations in the achievement of the goals of the 10-year World Plan of Action at every level especially by the effective utilization of volunteer experts and in the setting and running of institutions and projects for the welfare of women and in the dissemination of information for their advancement.

II. SPECIFIC AREAS FOR NATIONAL ACTION

49. The specific areas included in this chapter of the Plan have been selected because they are considered to be key areas for national action. They should not be viewed in isolation, however, as they are all closely interrelated and the guidelines proposed should be implemented within the framework of integrated strategies and programmes.
A. International Co-Operation and the Strengthening of International Peace

50. An essential condition for the maintenance and strengthening of international co-operation and peace is the promotion and protection of human rights for all in conditions of equity among and within nations. In order to involve more women in the promotion of international co-operation, the development of friendly relations among nations, the strengthening of international peace and disarmament, and the combating of colonialism, neocolonialism, foreign domination and alien subjugation, apartheid and racial discrimination, the peace efforts of women as individuals and in groups, and in national and international organizations should be recognized and encouraged.

51. Women of all countries of the world should proclaim their solidarity in support of the elimination of gross violations of human rights condemned by the United Nations and contrary to its principles involving acts against the moral and physical integrity of individuals or groups of individuals for political or ideological reasons.

52. The efforts of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations having as their aim the strengthening of international security and peace and the development of friendly relations among nations and the promotion of active co-operation among States should be supported, and women should be given every encouragement to participate actively in the endeavours of those organizations.

53. The United Nations should proclaim a special day to be devoted to international peace and celebrated every year, nationally and internationally. Meetings and seminars should be organized for this purpose by interested individuals and groups, with wide coverage in the press and other communications media. Women should lend their full support to these objectives and explore, as co-equals with men, ways to overcome existing obstacles to international co-operation, the development of friendly relations among nations, and the strengthening of international peace. However, it must be emphasized that peace is a matter for constant vigilance and not only for a one-day observance.

54. The free flow of information and ideas among countries should be facilitated, with due regard for national sovereignty and the principles of international law, the exchange of visits between women of different countries to study common problems should be promoted. Educational, cultural, scientific and other exchange programmes should be expanded and new forms developed in order to facilitate mutual understanding among peoples, particularly the young, and develop friendly relations and active co-operation among States. For these purposes the mass communications media should be utilized fully.

55. Women and men should be encouraged to instill in their children the values of mutual respect and understanding for all nations and all peoples, racial equality, sexual equality, the right of every nation to self-determination and the desire to maintain international co-operation, peace and security in the world.
56. Women should have equal opportunity with men to represent their countries in all international forums where the above questions are discussed, and in particular at meetings of the organizations of the United Nations system, including the Security Council and all conferences on disarmament and international peace, and other regional bodies.

B. Political Participation

57. Despite the fact that, numerically, women constitute half the population of the world, in the vast majority of countries only a small percentage of them are in positions of leadership in the various branches of government. Consequently, women are not involved in the decision-making and their views and needs are often overlooked in planning for development. As the majority of women do not participate in the formulation of development plans and programmes, they are frequently unaware of their implications and less inclined to support their implementation and the changes the programmes seek to bring about. Many women also lack the education, training, civic awareness and self-confidence to participate effectively in political life.

58. A major objective of this Plan is to ensure that women shall have, in law and in fact, equal rights and opportunities with men to vote and to participate in public and political life at the national, local and community levels, and that they shall be made aware of their responsibilities as citizens and of the problems affecting society and affecting them directly as women.

59. Participation in political life implies participation as voters, lobbyists, elected representatives, trade-unionists and public officials in the various branches of government, including the judiciary.

60. Where legislation does not exist guaranteeing women the right to vote, to be eligible for election and to hold all public offices and exercise public functions on equal terms with men, every effort should be made to enact it by 1978.

61. Where special qualifications for holding public office are required, they should apply to both sexes equally and should relate only to the expertise necessary for performing the specific functions of the office.

62. Governments should establish goals, strategies and time-tables for increasing within the decade 1975-1985 the number of women in elective and appointive public offices and public functions at all levels.

63. Special efforts to achieve these objectives could include:

(a) The reaffirmation of, and wide publicity for, the official policy concerning the equal political participation of women;
(b) The issuance of special governmental instructions for achieving an equitable representation of women in public office, and the compilation of periodic reports on the number of women in the public service, and levels of responsibility in the areas of their work;
(c) The organization of studies to establish the levels of economic, social and political competence of the female compared to the male population for recruitment, nomination and promotion;
(d) The undertaking of special activities for the recruitment, nomination and promotion of women, especially to fill important positions, until equitable representation of the sexes is achieved.

64. Special efforts and campaigns should be initiated to enlighten the female electorate on political issues and on the need for their active participation in public affairs, including political parties and other political organizations such as pressure groups.

65. Educational and informational activities should also be undertaken to enlighten the public at large on the indispensable role of women in the political processes, and on the need to promote their greater political participation and leadership.

66. Special drives should be undertaken to encourage the increased participation of women and girls in rural, community and youth development programmes, and in political activities, and to facilitate their access to training for leadership in such programmes.

C. Education and Training

67. Access to education and training is not only a basic human right recognized in many international instruments, it is also a key factor for social progress and in reducing the gaps between socio-economic groups and between the sexes. In many countries girls and women are at a marked disadvantage. This not only constitutes a serious initial handicap for them as individuals and for their future position in society; it also seriously impedes the effectiveness of their contribution to development programmes and the development process itself.

68. Illiteracy and lack of education and training in basic skills are some of the causes of the vicious circle of underdevelopment, low productivity and poor conditions of health and welfare. In a great many countries illiteracy is much more widespread among women than among men, and the rates are generally higher in rural than in urban areas.

69. In most countries female enrolment at all levels of education is considerably below that of men. Girls tend to drop out of school earlier than boys. Boys are given precedence over girls when parents have to make a choice if education is not free. There is often discrimination in the nature and content of the education provided and in the options offered. Girls' choices of areas of study are dominated by conventional attitudes, concepts and notions concerning the respective roles of men and women in society.

70. As long as women remain illiterate and are subject to discrimination in education and training, the motivation for change so badly needed to improve the quality of life for all will fail, for in most societies it is the mother who is responsible for the training of her children during the formative years of their lives.

71. Governments should provide equal opportunities for both sexes at all levels of education and training within the context of lifelong education, and on a formal and non-formal basis, according to national needs.

72. The measures taken should conform to the existing international standards and, in particular, to the Convention and Recommendation against

73. Educational, training and employment strategies should be co-ordinated and based on population projections. The content and structure of education should be such as to ensure its relevance to the present and future needs of the communities concerned, taking into account their own culture and the advances made through technical and scientific developments. It should also seek to prepare the individual adequately for an active civic and family life and for responsible parenthood.

74. Target dates should be established for the eradication of illiteracy, and high priority given to programmes for women and girls between the ages of 16 and 25 years.

75. The acquisition of literacy should be promoted as an integral part of other kinds of learning activities of direct interest and value to the daily lives of the people. Parallel with the efforts of Governments, all social institutions, such as co-operatives, voluntary organizations and enterprises should be fully utilized to overcome illiteracy.

76. Voluntary task forces, especially of young persons, could be established to teach literacy, numbers, nutrition and methods of food preservation during vacations or periods of national service. Such task forces should include both women and men with expertise in the skills needed. The volunteers could also train local personnel to become trainers, thus expanding the available task forces.

77. Integrated or special training programmes should be developed for girls and women in rural areas to enable them to participate fully and productively in economic and social development and to take advantage of technological advances and thereby reduce the drudgery of their daily lives. Such programmes should include training in modern methods of agriculture and use of equipment, co-operatives, entrepreneurship, commerce, marketing, animal husbandry and fisheries, and in health, nutrition, family planning and education.

78. Free and compulsory primary education for girls and boys without discrimination should be provided and effectively enforced as quickly as possible. Every effort should also be made to provide textbooks, school lunches transport and other essentials, wherever possible free of charge.

79. In order to assist in overcoming high drop-out rates among school-age girls and to enable women to participate in literacy and basic skills, programmes, inexpensive child-care and other arrangements should be organized to coincide with school or training hours to free women and girls from confining domestic work.

80. Special programmes for continuing education on a part-time basis should be arranged to ensure retention of what has been learned at school and to assist women in their family, vocational and professional activities.

81. Programmes, curricula and standards of education and training should be the same for males and females. Courses for both sexes, in addition to general subjects, should include industrial and agricultural technology,
politics, economics, current problems of society, responsible parenthood, family life, nutrition and health.

82. Textbooks and other teaching materials should be re-evaluated and, where necessary, rewritten to ensure that they reflect an image of women in positive and participatory roles in society. Teaching methods should be revised, wherever necessary, to make sure that they are adapted to national needs and to promote changes in discriminatory attitudes.

83. Research activities should be promoted to identify discriminatory practices in education and training and to ensure educational equality. New teaching techniques should be encouraged, especially audio-visual techniques.

84. Co-education and mixed training groups should be actively encouraged and should provide special guidance to both sexes in orienting them towards new occupations and changing roles.

85. Widely diversified existing and new vocational programmes of all types should be equally accessible to both sexes, enabling girls and boys to have a wide choice of employment opportunities, including those which require higher skills, and to match national needs with job opportunities. Both sexes should have equal opportunities to receive scholarships and study grants. Special measures should be developed to assist women who wish to return to work after a comparatively long absence, owing in particular to family responsibilities. Multipurpose training centres could be established in rural and urban areas to provide education and training in various techniques and disciplines and to encourage a self-reliant approach to life.

86. Girls and boys alike should be encouraged through vocational and career guidance programmes to choose a career according to their real aptitudes and abilities rather than on the basis of deeply ingrained sex stereotypes. They should also be made aware of the education and training required to take full advantage of the employment opportunities available.

87. Informational and formal and non-formal educational programmes should be launched to make the general public, parents, teachers, counsellors and others aware of the need to provide girls with a solid initial education and adequate training for occupational life and ample opportunities for further education and training. Maximum use should be made of the mass communications media, both as a tool for education and as a means for effecting changes in community attitudes.

D. Employment and Related Economic Roles

88. This Plan seeks to achieve equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and their integration in the labour force in accordance with the accepted international standards recognizing the right to work, to equal pay for equal work, to equal conditions of work and to advancement.

89. Available data show that women constitute more than a third of the world's economically active population and approximately 46 per cent of women of working age (15 to 64 years) are in the labour force. Of these, an estimated 65 per cent are to be found in the developing countries and 35 per cent in the more developed regions. These data, together with the many
economic activities of women that are not now included in the official statistics (see chap. III, below) demonstrate that women's contribution to the national economy and development is substantial and has not been fully recognized. Further, the occupations in which most women workers are concentrated are not the same as those in which most men are employed. The vast majority of women are concentrated in a limited number of occupations at lower levels of skill, responsibility and remuneration. Women frequently experience discrimination in pay, promotion, working conditions and hiring practices. Cultural constraints and family responsibilities further restrict their employment opportunities. Where job opportunities are severely limited and widespread unemployment exists, women's chances of obtaining wage-earning employment are in practice further reduced, even where policies of non-discrimination have been laid down.

90. Governments should formulate policies and action programmes expressly directed towards equality of opportunity and treatment for women workers and the guarantee of their right to equal pay for equal work. Such policies and programmes should be in conformity with the standards elaborated by the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation. They should include legislation stipulating the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of sex or marital status, guidelines for implementing the principles, appeals procedures, and effective targets and machinery for implementation.

91. Special efforts should be made to foster positive attitudes towards the employment of women, irrespective of marital status, among employers and workers and among women and men in society at large, and to eliminate obstacles based on sex-typed divisions of labour.

92. In attempting to achieve gainful employment for women and to deal with problems of unemployment and underemployment, special efforts should be made to create a variety of economic roles and to encourage and support self-employment and self-help activities, especially in rural areas. Existing self-help activities should be encouraged and strengthened through the participation of women.

93. Governments should seek new sources of self-help activities, such as training programmes in community development and entrepreneurial skills, which should be open on an equal basis to both sexes.

94. In order to extend women's range of economic roles, co-operatives and small-scale industries could be developed and encouraged with the necessary help and support of government. Where co-operatives already exist, women should be encouraged to take an active part in them. New co-operatives and, where appropriate, women's co-operatives should be organized, especially in areas where women play a major role, such as food production, marketing, housing, nutrition and health. Co-operatives may also be the most appropriate and feasible arrangement for child-care and could also provide employment opportunities.

95. Essential to the effective implementation of such programmes is the provision of adequate training in co-operatives and entrepreneurial skills, access to credit and necessary seed capital for improved tools, assistance with marketing, the provision of adequate rural social services and amenities, decentralized development of towns in rural areas and basic infrastructural
arrangements, such as child-care arrangements, transportation and conveniently situated water supplies.

96. Special efforts should be made to increase the participation of rural women in the formulation of national plans for integrated rural development. Policies and programmes for rural development should take into account the creation of employment opportunities along with other essential related components, such as projects for diversification, import substitution and expansion of rural activities for farming, forestry, fisheries, animal husbandry and agro-industries.

97. Specific target dates should be established for achieving a substantial increase in the number of qualified women employed in skilled and technical work.

98. Special efforts should also be made to increase the number of women in management and policy-making in commerce, industry and trade.

99. Access to skills and the provision of institutional and on-the-job training should be open to women in the same way and on the same conditions as to men so as to make them equally eligible for promotion.

100. Governments, employers and trade unions should ensure to all women workers the right to maternity protection, including maternity leave with a guarantee of returning to their former employment, and to nursing breaks, in keeping with the principles laid down in the International Labour Organisation Convention concerning maternity protection (revised) and Recommendation, 1952. Provisions relating to maternity protection should not be regarded as unequal treatment of the sexes.

101. Special attention should be given to the need for multilateral approaches to facilitate the combination of family and work responsibilities. These could include: a general reduction and/or staggering of working hours; flexible working hours; part-time work for women and men; child-care facilities and child-care leave systems to assist parents to take care of their children; communal kitchens; and various kinds of facilities to help them discharge household tasks more easily. Governments and trade unions should ensure that the economic and social rights of part-time workers are fully protected.

102. Protective legislation applying to women only should be reviewed in the light of scientific and technological knowledge, and should be revised, repealed or extended to all workers as necessary.

103. Minimum wages, which play an important role in the improvement of working conditions of women, should be enforced and made applicable to cottage industries and domestic work.

104. Special measures should also be taken to eliminate the exploitation of female labour, in particular that of young girls wherever it exists.

105. Discriminatory treatment of women in national social security schemes should be eliminated to the maximum extent. Women workers should be covered equally with men by all aspects of such schemes.
106. Governments should encourage and stimulate concerted efforts, in particular on the part of employers' and workers' organizations, to bring about a marked improvement in the position of women in employment and should co-operate with all voluntary organizations concerned with the status of women workers in economic life and in society as a whole.

107. Trade unions should adopt policies to increase the participation of women in their work at every level, including the higher echelons. They should have special programmes to promote equality of opportunity for jobs and training for women workers and leadership training for women. They should play a leading role in developing new and constructive approaches to problems faced by workers, paying special attention to the problems of women workers.

E. Health and Nutrition

108. While everyone has an undeniable right to health, conditions in many countries, and especially in rural areas, have often precluded the actual enjoyment by women of this right equally with men. The situation becomes more accentuated in societies with considerable shortages of health personnel and facilities and constitutes a high cost to the family, society and development by impairing the productivity of women. Women also need special care during pregnancy, delivery and lactation.

109. Adequate nutrition is of fundamental importance for the full physical and mental development of the individual, and women have a vital role to play in this area in the production, preparation, processing and consumption of food. When food is scarce women often experience a greater degree of malnutrition than men, either because they deprive themselves for the sake of their families or because society places a lesser value on women.

110. Improved access to health, nutrition and other social services is essential to the full participation of women in development activities, to the strengthening of family life, and to a general improvement in the quality of life. To be fully effective, these services should be integrated into over-all development programmes with priority being given to rural areas.

111. Governments should ensure adequate investments in public health programmes, especially in rural areas.

112. Comprehensive simple community health services could be developed in which the community identifies its own health needs, takes part in decisions on delivery of health care in different socio-economic contexts, and develops primary health care services that are easily accessible to every member of the community. Women themselves, especially in rural areas, should be encouraged, through adequate training programmes, to provide such health care services to their communities. Provision should be made to ensure that women shall have the same access to that care as men. Travelling clinics and medical teams should make periodic visits to all communities.

113. Within the context of general health services, Governments should pay particular attention to women's special health needs by provision of: prenatal and post-natal and delivery services; gynaecological and family plan-
ning services during the reproductive years; comprehensive and continuous health services directed to all infants, pre-school children and school children, without prejudice on grounds of sex; specific care for pre-adolescent and adolescent girls and for the post-reproductive years and old age; and research into the special health problems of women. Basic health services should be reinforced by the use of qualified medical and paramedical personnel.

114. Programmes should be formulated for the reduction of infant, child and maternal mortality by means of improved nutrition, sanitation, maternal and child health care and maternal education.

115. Education programmes should be developed to overcome prejudices, taboos and superstitions that prevent women from using existing health facilities. Special efforts should be made to inform the urban poor and rural women about existing medical facilities.

116. Within the context of a massive programme of health education and services, courses in health education, maternal and child care could be organized in rural and urban neighbourhoods, and women should be actively encouraged to participate. These classes should be advertised by the communication media and by all existing social networks. They should include information about what medical facilities are available, and how to reach them. Physicians should periodically conduct physical examinations of the participants in as many of these classes as possible.

117. In view of the importance of women not only as users but as providers of health care, steps should be taken to incorporate them as fully informed and active participants in the health-planning and decision-making process at all levels and in all phases. Efforts should be made to encourage women to participate actively in community efforts to provide primary health care and improve coverage. Women should also be trained as paramedics and encouraged to organize health co-operatives and self-help programmes. Recruitment and training should be undertaken at the village level to prepare villagers as health workers to provide basic health services for their community.

118. Women should have the same right of access as men to any training establishment or course for any health profession and to continue to the highest levels. Practices which exclude women from certain health professions on traditional, religious or cultural grounds should be abolished.

119. Improved, easily accessible, safe water supplies (including wells, dams, catchments, piping etc.), sewage disposal and other sanitation measures should be provided both to improve health conditions of families and to reduce the burden of carrying water which falls mainly on women and children.

120. In national food and nutrition policies Governments should give priority to the consumption by the most vulnerable groups in the population (adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women, and young children) of certain types of food produce, such as milk and milk products, and especially nutritious foods. The practice of breast feeding and good feeding practices for the weaning period should be encouraged. Supplementary food programmes for mothers and children at imminent risk of malnutrition should be
introduced. Nutritional deficiencies should be prevented through fortification of staples or other widely consumed foods or by direct distribution of the deficient nutrients.

121. Techniques and equipment for food processing, preservation and conservation at the local village level should be improved and made available to rural women. Co-operatives for the production, quality improvement and distribution of food should be organized to give impetus to this effort and, where appropriate, campaigns to educate the consumer should be organized.

122. Opportunities should be created for women to contribute more efficiently to the production of proper types of food through vegetable gardens in rural and urban areas and through the provision of better tools, seeds and fertilizer. Girls and boys should also be encouraged to grow food in school gardens and to supplement daily school meal programmes.

123. Campaigns on nutrition education should be launched through the communications media to explore the most effective techniques for introducing previously unacceptable nutritious foods into the daily diets of people. These campaigns should also inform women how to use the family income most economically towards the purchase of more nutritious foods and to eliminate wastage of food. The exchange of experience on effective nutrition programmes through seminars, informal visits and publications should be arranged.

F. The Family in Modern Society

124. The institution of the family, which is changing in its economic, social and cultural functions, should ensure the dignity, equality and security of each of its members, and provide conditions conducive to the balanced development of the child as an individual and as a social being.

125. In the total development process the role of women, along with men, needs to be considered in terms of their contribution to the family as well as to society and the national economy. Higher status for this role in the home—as a parent, spouse and homemaker—can only enhance the personal dignity of a man and a woman. Household activities that are necessary for family life have generally been perceived as having a low economic and social prestige. All societies should, however, place a higher value on these activities if they wish the family group to be maintained and to fulfill its basic functions of the production and education of children.

126. The family is also an important agent of social, political and cultural change. If women are to enjoy equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities, and contribute on equal terms with men to the development process, the functions and roles traditionally allotted to each sex within the family will require continual re-examination and reassessment in the light of changing conditions.

127. The rights of women in all the various forms of the family, including the nuclear family, the extended family, consensual union and the single-parent family, should be protected by appropriate legislation and policy.

128. Legislation relating to marriage should be in conformity with international standards. In particular it should ensure that women and men shall
have the same right to free choice of a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent. A minimum age for marriage should be fixed by law and be such as to provide a sufficient period of education for girls and boys, but particularly girls, to enable them to complete their education and develop their potentialities prior to marriage. Official registration of marriages should be made compulsory.

129. All institutions and practices which infringe these rights should be abolished, in particular, child marriage and the inheritance of widows.

130. Legislative and other measures should be taken to ensure that men and women shall enjoy full legal capacity and the exercise thereof relating to their personal and property rights, including the right to acquire, administer, enjoy, dispose of and inherit property (including property acquired during marriage). Limitations, where such exist, should apply to both partners alike. During marriage the principle of equal rights and responsibilities would mean that both partners should perform an active role in the home, taking into account the importance of combining home and work responsibilities, and share jointly decision-making on matters affecting the family and children. At the dissolution of marriage, this principle would imply that procedures and grounds of dissolution of marriage should be liberalized and apply equally to both spouses; assets acquired during marriage should be shared on an equitable basis; appropriate provisions should be made for the social security and pension coverage of the work contributed by the homemaker; and decisions relating to the custody of children should be taken in consideration of their best interests.

131. In order to assist in the solution of conflicts arising among members of the family, adequate family counseling services should be set up wherever possible and the establishment of family courts staffed with personnel, including women, trained in law as well as in various other relevant disciplines should be considered.

132. Programmes of education for personal relationships, marriage and family life, health, including psycho-sexual development, should be integrated into school curricula at appropriate levels and into programmes for out-of-school education, to prepare young people of both sexes for responsible marriage and parenthood. These programmes should be based on the ideals of mutual respect and shared rights and responsibilities in the family and in society. Child-rearing practices within each society should be examined with a view to eliminating customs that encourage and perpetuate ideas about superiority or inferiority on the basis of sex.

133. In recognition of the growing number of single-parent families, additional assistance and benefits, wherever possible, should be provided for them. The unmarried mother should be granted full-fledged status as a parent, and children born out of wedlock should have the same rights and obligations as children born in wedlock. Special nursing homes and hostels should be established for married and unmarried mothers, before and after delivery.

134. Social security programmes should, to the maximum extent, include children and family allowances in order to strengthen the economic stability of family members. Cross-cultural studies might be undertaken of the influence upon the condition of women in the family and in society of family
and children's allowances and benefits, motherhood awards and similar measures.

G. Population

135. Social, economic and demographic factors are closely interrelated, and change in one or more invariably involves changes in others. The status of women is both a determinant and a consequence of these various factors. It is inextricably linked with both the development process and the various components of demographic change: fertility, mortality and migration (international and internal and the latter's concomitant, urbanization).

136. The status of women and, in particular, their educational level, whether or not they are gainfully employed, the nature of their employment, and their position within the family are all factors that have been found to influence family size. Conversely, the right of women to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information and means to enable them to exercise that right has a decisive impact on their ability to take advantage of educational and employment opportunities and to participate fully in community life as responsible citizens.

137. The exercise of this right and the full participation of women in all aspects of national life are closely interrelated with such crucial demographic variables as age at marriage, age at birth of first child, the length of interval between births, age at termination of child-bearing, and total number of children born.

138. The hazards of child-bearing, characterized by too many pregnancies, pregnancies at too early or too late an age and at too close intervals, inadequate pre-natal, delivery and postnatal care and resort to illegally induced abortions, result in high rates of maternal mortality and maternity-related morbidity. Where levels of infant and early childhood mortality as well as of foetal mortality are high, their reduction—a desirable end in itself—may also be a prerequisite of the limitation of the number of pregnancies that the average woman will experience, and of the society's adoption of a smaller ideal family size where this is a desired goal. Fewer pregnancies may be more easily achieved when there is a reasonable expectation that children born will survive to adulthood.

139. In some parts of the world, urbanization involves mainly a migration of young men; in other parts, young women constitute the major component in the rural-to-urban migratory stream. Such situations partly reflect differences in women's opportunities to work in either urban or rural occupations, and these are related to cultural variations in the acceptance of women in diverse roles. While differences in women's social status are among the causes of diverse sex selections in the migration to cities and towns, the consequences of such selective migration are to be found in resulting sex imbalances, in both the urban and the rural population. These population imbalances can be detrimental to individual and family welfare and to the stability of either urban or rural residence. Just over half of the total female population of the world currently resides in rural areas of developing countries. In the light of the particular demographic, economic and social problems of rural communities in these regions, special development efforts are required.
140. This Plan endorses the recommendations of the World Population Plan of Action, especially those relating to the status of women.

141. In the elaboration and execution of population policies and programmes, within the framework of over-all development, Governments are urged to pay particular attention to measures designed to improve the situation of women, especially with regard to their educational and employment opportunities, conditions of work, and the establishment and enforcement of an appropriately high minimum age at marriage.

142. While States have a sovereign right to determine their own population policies, individuals and couples should have access, through an institutionalized system, to the information and means that will enable them to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to overcome sterility. All legal, social or financial obstacles to the dissemination of family planning knowledge, means and services should be removed. Every effort should be made to improve knowledge and identification of the causes of involuntary sterility, subfecundity and congenital birth defects and to secure their reduction.

143. Family planning programmes should direct communication and recruitment efforts towards women and men equally, since successful fertility regulation requires their mutual understanding and co-operation. This policy would enable women to exercise equally with men their right to decide how many children they will bear and the timing of the births. Attainment of these goals requires the development of means of contraception and birth control that will be both efficient and compatible with cultural values prevailing in different societies. Family planning programmes should be integrated and co-ordinated with health, nutrition and other services designed to raise the quality of family life.

144. Governments should make concerted efforts systematically to ameliorate conditions of mortality and morbidity as part of the development process, and pay particular attention to the reduction of those risks that especially affect the health of women.

145. Policies and programmes to improve the status of women and to enable them to contribute fully to social and economic development must take into account migration and the ways in which it affects the family and working lives of women.

146. Both the causes and the consequences of varied modes of urbanization should be examined carefully, so as to yield the information needed to devise appropriate social policies, especially those designed to meet the varying needs of women.

147. Rural development programmes, including the creation of suitable industrial and employment opportunities, should be initiated or expanded to reduce the migration to urban areas and its attendant problems. Decentralization of education and health facilities to rural areas should also be promoted, as an aid to lowering rural rates of illiteracy, mortality and fertility, which have traditionally been higher than those in urban communities. These measures would bring rural women into greater contact with the mainstream of national life and release opportunities for their contribution to the progress and prosperity of their country.
H. Housing and Related Facilities

148. The majority of women still spend more of their time in and around the house than do men; thus, the improvement of the house, its related facilities and its neighbourhood will bring about a direct improvement in their daily lives. In addition to the considerations of health and comfort, well-designed and suitably furnished houses and related facilities, as well as neighbourhoods, offer comparative relief from monotony and drudgery, making easier the pursuit of other interests and activities, and bringing women's lives closer to the demands of human dignity.

149. Legislative and other measures should be taken to guarantee that the views and needs of women are taken into account in the planning and design of urban and housing development as well as human settlements.

150. The design of the house should take into account the needs of the entire family, especially the women and children. Use of the following should be encouraged: (a) building materials that require minimal or no maintenance; (b) equipment and appliances that do not present safety hazards; (c) labour-saving interior finishes and surfaces conducive to comfort and hygiene; (d) furniture that is movable, storable and easily replaceable; and (e) where feasible and appropriate, an area for women to undertake activities such as reading, sewing and weaving (in some societies this may be a communal space to increase social cohesion).

151. In the projection of the house into a neighbourhood, designs should provide for services and utilities and neighbourhood facilities that respond, inter alia, to the expressed needs of women, and reduce labour as well as travel for vital needs such as water, food, fuel and other necessities.

152. In the design of a network of neighbourhoods, consideration should be given to accessibility of neighbourhood centres for the women and children.

153. Training and orientation courses should be organized in the use of new facilities made available to women, as well as in various aspects of home ownership and maintenance.

I. Other Social Questions

154. Social services play a crucial role in anticipating social problems deriving from rapid modernization and industrialization and in reducing the need for remedial measures at a later stage. Women are usually affected by these social problems to a greater extent than men, especially in the initial stages of the development process.

155. Governments should therefore encourage the development of social services as a useful tool in mobilizing human and technical resources for the benefit of all marginal and social groups, bearing in mind the contribution that non-governmental organizations can offer.

156. Special efforts should be made to provide for the needs of migrant women whether from rural areas or from abroad, and for women workers and their families who live in urban slums and squatter settlements. Training, job counselling, child-care facilities, financial aid and, where necessary, language training and other forms of assistance should be provided.
157. Special attention should also be given to the needs of elderly women, who frequently receive less protection and assistance than men. They predominate numerically in the age group of 50 years and over, and many are indigent and in need of special care.

158. In the area of the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders, special attention should be paid to female criminality, which is increasing in many parts of the world, and to the rehabilitation of female offenders, including juvenile delinquents and recidivists. Research in this field should include study of the relationship between female criminality and other social problems brought about by rapid social change.

159. Specific legislative and other measures should be taken to combat prostitution and the illicit traffic in women, especially young girls. Special programmes, including pilot projects, should be developed in cooperation with international bodies and non-governmental organizations to prevent such practices and rehabilitate the victims.

160. Governments which have not already done so should ratify or accede to the United Nations Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others [General Assembly resolution 317 (IV) of December 2, 1949].

III. RESEARCH, DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

161. This Plan gives high priority to national, regional and international research activities, and to data collection and analysis on all aspects of the situation of women, since adequate data and information are essential in formulating policies and evaluating progress and in effecting attitudinal and basic social and economic change.

162. A major difficulty in assessing the economic contribution of women at the present time is lack of or incomplete data and indicators to measure their situation as it affects the process of development and is in turn affected by it.

163. Many women are automatically excluded from the economically active population in national statistics because they are homemakers only and homemaking is nowhere considered to be an economic activity. Another large group of women are erroneously classified as homemakers only because it is assumed that women have no economic activity and their status is therefore not carefully investigated. This occurs particularly in relation to women who, in addition to their homemaking activities, are also self-employed handicraft and other home industry workers or unpaid family workers in subsistence agriculture. Further, statistics on unemployment often present an inaccurate picture of the situation because they omit women who are not recognized as part of the economically active population (e.g., women classified as homemakers or housewives). They may, however, in fact be in need of and available for employment.

164. Among other data biased by preconceptions are those on heads of households or families, when it is assumed that a woman can be the head only in the absence of a man. Many households actually headed by women are therefore erroneously classified as having male heads.
165. Differences in these and other national statistical practices also make cross-country comparisons of data very difficult. In the non-market sector, for example, the distinction between economic and non-economic activities is seldom clear and the criteria used are often arbitrary and vary from country to country.

166. A scientific and reliable data base should be established and suitable economic and social indicators urgently developed which are sensitive to the particular situation and needs of women as an integral part of national and international programmes of statistics.

167. All census and survey data relating to characteristics of individuals (e.g., urban/rural residence, age, marital status, including consensual unions, literacy, education, income, level of skills and participation in both modern and traditional economic activities) and to household and family composition should be reported and analysed by sex.

168. In the collection of such data special efforts should be made to measure:
   (a) The participation of women in local and national planning and policy-making in all sectors of national life;
   (b) The extent of women's activities in food production (cash crop and subsistence agriculture), in water and fuel supply, in marketing, and in transportation;
   (c) The economic and social contribution of housework and other domestic chores, handicrafts and other home-based economic activities;
   (d) The effect on the national economy of women's activities as consumers of goods and services;
   (e) The relative time spent on economic and household activities and on leisure by girls and women compared to boys and men.
   (f) The quality of life (e.g., job satisfaction, income situation, family characteristics and use of leisure time).

169. The United Nations system should extend the scope of its standards for data collection, tabulation and analysis to take the above recommendations into account. National statistical offices should adhere to the standards established by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

170. The United Nations should prepare an inventory of social and economic indicators relevant to the analysis of the status of women as soon as possible and not later than 1980, in co-operation with the interested specialized agencies, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, the regional commissions and other relevant bodies.

171. This Plan gives high priority also to cross-cultural studies, especially of the causes of discriminatory customs, practices, attitudes and beliefs, which impede women's contribution to the development process, and of the mechanisms of change.

172. Research oriented towards specific country and regional problems should be made by competent women and men acquainted with specific national and regional conditions.

173. The wide exchange of information and research findings should be promoted and maximum use made of existing national and regional research institutes and universities, including the United Nations University.
United Nations Institute for Training and Research, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development and the United Nations Social Defence Institute. A network of such institutes and universities should be built up to facilitate the regular exchange of information and knowledge in co-operation with the United Nations.

IV. MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA

174. A major obstacle in improving the status of women lies in public attitudes and values regarding women’s roles in society. The mass communication media have great potential as a vehicle for social change and could exercise a significant influence in helping to remove prejudices and stereotypes, accelerating the acceptance of women’s new and expanding roles in society, and promoting their integration into the development process as equal partners.

175. At the present time, the media tend to reinforce traditional attitudes, often portraying an image of women that is degrading and humiliating, and fail to reflect the changing roles of the sexes. They may also have harmful effects in imposing alien cultures upon different societies.

176. Mass communication media should be understood as encompassing not only radio, television, cinema, press (newspapers, periodicals, comic strips and cartoons), advertising, and public meetings and similar forums but also traditional types of entertainment such as drama, story telling, songs and puppet shows, which are essential for reaching the rural areas of many countries.

177. Governmental and non-governmental organizations should encourage and support national, regional and international research to determine the image of women and men portrayed by the media; and the negative and positive influences exercised by them in their various roles as conveyors of information, entertainers, educators and advertisers.

178. Governmental and non-governmental organizations should also take steps to ensure that information shall be provided on the current situation of women in various countries, with particular emphasis on the changing roles of both sexes.

179. Those in control of the media should seek to raise public consciousness with respect to these changing roles, and the serious concern that both women and men have about important issues that affect their families, communities and society at large. They should be urged to project a more dynamic image of women (as well as of men) and to take into account the diversity of women’s roles and their actual and potential contribution to society.

180. They should depict the roles and achievements of women from all walks of life throughout history, including women in the rural areas and women of minority groups. They should also seek to develop in women confidence in themselves and in other women, and a sense of their own value and importance as human beings.
181. Women should be appointed in greater numbers in media management decision-making and other capacities, as editors, columnists, reporters, producer and the like, and should encourage the critical review, within the media, of the image of women projected.

V. INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL ACTION

A. Global Action

182. The United Nations should proclaim the decade 1975-1985 as the United Nations Decade for Women and Development in order to ensure that national and international action shall be sustained throughout the period.

183. The decade and this Plan of Action call for a clear commitment on the part of the international community to accord importance and priority to measures to improve the situation of women, both as a means of achieving the goals of social progress and development and as an end in itself. The plan envisages that all organizations of the United Nations system should take separate and joint action to implement its recommendations, including the relevant United Nations organs and bodies, especially the regional commissions, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research, and the specialized agencies. Their activities should be properly co-ordinated through the existing machinery, especially the Economic and Social Council and the Administrative Committee on Coordination. Each organization should evaluate what it has done to improve the status of women and enhance their contribution to development and identify the measures needed to implement this Plan.

184. International and regional intergovernmental organizations outside the United Nations system are also urged to develop programmes to implement this Plan and achieve the objectives of International Women's Year during the proposed decade.

185. International non-governmental organizations and their national affiliates should also act jointly and separately, within their particular spheres of interest, to give effect to the recommendations of the Plan within the 10-year period.

186. The Plan endorses programmes and strategies setting forth similar or related objectives; in particular, the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, the Programme of Concerted International Action for the Advancement of Women, the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the World Population Plan of Action, the recommendations of the World Food Conference, and the regional plans of action for the integration of women in development, adopted in 1974 for the regions of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and the Economic Commission for Africa.
187. Women should be fully involved in policy-making at the international level as well as the national level. Governments should make sure that they are equitably represented among the principal delegates to all international bodies, conference and committees, including those dealing with political and legal questions, economic and social development, disarmament, planning, administration and finance, science and technology, the environment and population. The secretariats of the international organizations should set an example by eliminating any provisions or practices in their employment policies that may be discriminatory against women. They should also take all necessary measures to ensure that an equitable balance between men and women staff members shall be achieved before the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade, and establish goals, strategies and time-tables to achieve this end. The equitable balance should apply to all substantive areas, and to field posts where operational programmes are initiated and carried out.

188. International organizations should review the implications of the Plan in the context of their own existing and new programmes, and should make appropriate recommendations to their governing bodies on any revisions of their financial and administrative arrangements that may be required to implement the Plan.

189. International action should support existing programmes and expand their scope in the following main areas: (a) research, data collection and analysis (see chap. III above); (b) technical co-operation, training and advisory services, including co-ordination with national and regional activities of organizations within the United Nations system; (c) elaboration and ongoing review of international standards; (d) dissemination and exchange of information and liaison with non-governmental organizations and other groups; (e) review and appraisal, including monitoring of progress made in achieving the aims and objectives of the Plan; and (f) executive and management functions including over-all co-ordination with all the organizations of the United Nations system, and with the national and regional machinery referred to in the Plan.

1. Operational activities for technical co-operation

190. The United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations specialized agencies, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, the regional commissions, intergovernmental organizations, bilateral assistance agencies and foundations, and international and regional development banks and other international financial institutions, all carry out their work through projects that are highly specific in terms of the objectives to be reached, the resources to be employed, and the target areas and populations for which they are intended. Given the scope and diversity of the world-wide system of assistance agencies, action can be initiated in a large number of areas without delay once the needs are understood and diffused throughout the United Nations system.

191. A deliberate and large-scale effort should therefore be made to ensure that high priority and attention shall be given by Governments and the international community to programmes, projects and activities that give
women the skills, training and opportunities necessary to improve their situation and enable them to participate fully and effectively in the total development effort.

192. Field surveys should be undertaken in each region to assist Governments and the international community by establishing the necessary data base to develop projects that will implement the objectives of the Plan.

193. All existing plans and projects should be scrutinized with a view to extending their sphere of activities to include women. New and innovative projects should also be developed to include women.

194. The following areas are of special importance:

(a) Integrated rural development. Special attention should be given to women’s role as producers, processors and vendors of food, stressing the need for training women and girls. Training is especially needed in modern methods of farming, marketing, purchasing and sales techniques; basic accounting and organizational methods; fundamentals of hygiene and nutrition; training in crafts and co-operatives;

(b) Health, reproduction and growth and development, including family health and child health, family planning, nutrition and health education;

(c) Education and training at all levels and in all sectors related to the creation of employment opportunities so that women can play an economic role;

(d) Youth projects, which should be examined to make sure that they include adequate emphasis on the participation of young women;

(e) Public administration, with the aim of preparing women to participate in development planning and policy-making, especially in middle- and higher-level posts.

195. The resident representatives of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) should play a key role in helping Governments to formulate requests for such assistance within the framework of country programming. Advisory services provided by the specialized agencies in the form of special consultants or task forces could also render assistance in the formulation of project requests. Periodic reviews should be initiated to suggest crucial areas where special support might be needed. Projects should be constantly reviewed and evaluated to determine their impact and success in improving the position of women.

196. Women should participate fully in planning and implementing UNDP country programmes and regional, interregional and global projects under the auspices of the United Nations and other international agencies. Governments should bear in mind the importance of including, in national planning organizations and other bodies responsible for public policy-making and management, persons with special competence in the subject of women’s integration in development.

2. Formulation and implementation of international standards

197. The preparation of international conventions, declarations and formal recommendations, and the development of reporting systems and other procedures for their implementation are important elements of international programmes and should be continued.
198. High priority should be given to the preparation and adoption of the convention on the elimination of discrimination against women, with effective procedures for its implementation.

199. Studies should be undertaken by the appropriate organizations of the effectiveness of the implementation of existing instruments and periodic reviews made to determine their adequacy in the light of changing conditions in the modern world, and of experience gained since their adoption.

200. The need for the development of new standards in new fields of concern to women should be kept constantly under review in relation to the implementation of the present Plan. Appropriate research and studies should be undertaken to determine the need for such new standards.

3. Exchange of information and experience

201. The exchange of information and experience at the international level is an effective means of stimulating progress and encouraging the adoption of measures to eliminate discrimination against women and encourage their wider participation in all sectors of national life. Countries with different political, economic and social systems and cultures and at differing stages of development have benefited from the common knowledge of problems, difficulties and achievements and from solutions worked out jointly.

202. Effective international machinery should be established or existing bodies, such as the Commission on the Status of Women, utilized to afford women in all regions of the world the opportunity to support one another in mutual understanding of their national and local problems and fight for the elimination of all forms of discrimination and oppression.

203. Meetings and seminars, including those organized under the United Nations technical co-operation programme, which have proved to be most effective in providing a regional and international exchange of information and experience, should be continued.

204. Educational and informational programmes supported by the international community should be developed and extended to make all sectors of the population aware of the international norms established, the goals and objectives of this Plan of Action, and the findings of research and data envisaged under the relevant chapter of the Plan.

205. Material documenting the situation of women in specific countries of the world should also be prepared and widely distributed. It should be issued in the form of a yearbook or almanac containing facts which should be maintained and kept up to date. Material should also be prepared and widely publicized on methods and techniques that have proved useful in promoting the status of women and integrating them into the process of development.

206. International organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, should strengthen their efforts to distribute information on women and related matters. This could be done through periodic publications on the situation of women, their changing roles and their integration into the development effort through the planning and implementation of policies, as well as through the utilization of communication media and aids, and the wide distribution of newsletters, pamphlets, visual charts and similar material on women.
B. Regional Action

207. The regional commissions for Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Latin America and Western Asia should stimulate interest in the Plan and provide national Governments and non-governmental organizations with the technical and informational support they require to develop and implement effective strategies to further the objectives of the Plan in the regions. Where they have not already done so, the regional commissions should establish appropriate machinery for the purpose. This might include a regional standing committee of experts from countries of the region to advise the commission on its activities directed towards the integration of women in development in relation to those of Governments and other agencies in the region. The committee's functions could include the following:

(a) To initiate country studies and assist national institutions to identify the types of information needed for a proper understanding of the situation of women and the factors facilitating or limiting their advancement;
(b) To assist with the design and implementation of surveys for the collection of data and other information;
(c) To give leadership in the methods of reporting on the situation of women and in the development of indicators for assessing the progress made towards the goals of this Plan in conjunction with regional statistical bodies and international efforts to this end;
(d) To provide a clearing-house for the exchange of information which would facilitate co-ordination and mutual support between programmes for the advancement of women at various levels, and for the sharing of relevant experience among the countries of the region.

208. States members of the regional commissions, in requesting technical and financial assistance, should endeavour to raise the priority accorded to projects to enhance opportunities for women and increase recognition of the importance of these projects for overall development in consultation with regional offices of the United Nations Development Programme.

209. The regional commissions should provide assistance to governmental and non-governmental organizations to identify needed action, develop policies, strategies and programmes for strengthening women's role in national development, and formulate requests for technical and financial assistance for such programmes. They should encourage training institutions in the region to expand their curricula to encompass topics related to the integration of women in development, and assist in the development of training programmes, particularly those whose initial aim is to increase women's potential for leadership and develop the cadres for formulating the programmes and implementing the activities indicated by this Plan.

210. The regional commissions should also promote technical co-operation between the countries of the region, utilizing the existing talent available. Trained women could, for example, offer short-term assistance to women in countries other than their own on a voluntary basis, or as part of a special task force. Special advisers should be attached to the regional field offices in order to strengthen the regional field structure and carry out more effectively the functions and aims described above. They could also seek to stimulate increased contributions of funds for financing programmes for the advancement of women from existing sources of multilateral and bilateral assistance, and to secure new sources of funds, including the establishment of revolving funds at the national and local levels.
211. In the implementation of the Plan, special efforts should be made by the commissions and other United Nations bodies having regional offices to coordinate their programmes with those of existing United Nations and other regional centres whose fields of competence relate to the aims of the Plan, such as centres for research and training in development planning, literacy, social welfare, social defence, employment, health and nutrition and community development.

212. Regional development banks such as the African Development Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, as well as subregional banks, such as the Central American Bank for Economic Integration and the East African Development Bank, and bilateral funding agencies should be urged to accord high priority in their development assistance to projects that include the integration of women into the development effort and the achievement of equality. Such assistance would stimulate national support for innovative national and local programmes, including self-help activities.

VI. REVIEW AND APPRAISAL

213. A comprehensive and thorough review and appraisal of progress made in meeting the goals of this Plan should be undertaken at regular intervals by the United Nations system. Such an exercise should be part of the procedures for the review and appraisal of progress made under the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, and closely co-ordinated with any new international development strategy that may be formulated.

214. The General Assembly has already made provision in its resolution 3276 (XXIX) of 10 December 1974 to consider relevant recommendations of the World Conference of the International Women's Year at its seventh special session and at its sixtieth session in 1975. The Plan should also be considered at the sixtieth session of the Economic and Social Council in the spring of 1976. The Secretary-General should be invited to make appropriate arrangements for the first biennial review of progress in 1978, in co-operation with Governments and taking into account the existing structure and resources of the United Nations system. The Economic and Social Council should review the findings of such a systematic evaluation with the object of making, whenever necessary, appropriate modifications in the goals and recommendations of the Plan.

215. The monitoring of trends and policies relating to women and relevant to this Plan of Action should be undertaken continuously as a specialized activity of the United Nations. They should be reviewed biennially by the appropriate bodies of the United Nations system, beginning in 1978. Because of the shortness of the intervals, such monitoring would necessarily be selective and focus mainly on new and emerging trends and policies.

216. The Plan of Action should also be considered by the regional commissions, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the relevant specialized agencies and other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations at their meetings following the World Conference. The discussions and decisions of these bodies concerning the Plan
should be submitted to the Economic and Social Council and its relevant functional commissions and advisory bodies (the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission for Social Development, the Population Commission, the Statistical Commission, the Committee for Development Planning, and the Committee on Review and Appraisal) at their sessions in 1976 and 1977. An item on action on the implementation of the Plan should be included in the agenda of the sessions of all these bodies at intervals of no longer than two years.

217. At the regional level, the regional commissions should assume responsibility for monitoring progress towards the greater and more effective participation of women in all aspects of development efforts. Such monitoring should be carried out within the framework of the review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The commissions should include information on the integration of women in development in their reports to the Economic and Social Council on the social and economic situation in the regions. They should also discuss at appropriate intervals (such as every two years) the progress made towards achieving the aims of this Plan or Action. They should encourage Governments to provide equal opportunities for women to be represented on their delegations to the sessions of the commissions and to other relevant meetings.

218. At the national level, the Governments are encouraged to undertake their own regular review and appraisal of progress made to achieve the goals and objectives of the Plan and to report on its implementation to the Economic and Social Council in conjunction, where necessary, with other existing reporting systems (e.g., those of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, the World Population Plan of Action, the Recommendations of the World Food Conference, and the implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and of the Programme of Concerted International Action for the Advancement of Women).

219. Governments should, in the context of their own development plans, evaluate the implications of this Plan and make any necessary financial and administrative arrangements for its implementation.

APPENDIX

Relevant International Instruments

A. United Nations instruments

1. General instruments
Charter of the United Nations
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966)
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol (1966)
Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949)
Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and
Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery (1956)
International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimina­
tion (1965)
Declaration on Social Progress and Development (1969)
International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Develop­
ment Decade (1970)
Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic
Order (1974)
Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (1974)

2. Instruments relating specifically to the status of women
Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952)
Convention on the Nationality of Married Women (1957)
Convention and Recommendation on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for
Marriage and Registration of Marriages (1962 and 1965)
Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (1967)
Programme of Concerted International Action for the Advancement of Women
(1970)

B. Specialized agency instruments

1. International Labour Organisation
Convention concerning the employment of women on underground work in
mines of all kinds, No. 45, 1935
Convention concerning night work of women employed in industry (revised),
No. 89, 1948
Convention concerning equal remuneration for men and women workers for
work of equal value, No. 100, 1951; and Recommendation No. 90, 1951
Convention concerning minimum standards of social security, No. 102, 1952
Convention concerning maternity protection (revised), No. 103, 1952; and
Recommendation No. 95, 1952
Convention concerning discrimination in respect of employment and occu­
pation, No. 111, 1958; and Recommendation No. 111, 1958
Convention concerning employment policy, No. 122, 1964; and Recommenda­
tion No. 122, 1964
Recommendation concerning vocational training, No. 117, 1962
Recommendation concerning the employment of women with family responsi­
bilities, No. 123, 1965

2. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960)
Protocol instituting a Conciliation and Good Offices Commission to be
responsible for seeking a settlement of any disputes which may arise
between States Parties to the Convention against Discrimination in
Education (1962)
The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), founded in 1848, is the largest general scientific organization in the United States, with some 115,000 individual members who are interested in the advancement of science, in improving the effectiveness of science in promoting human welfare, and in increasing the public understanding and appreciation of science. It also is the world's largest federation of scientific organizations, with about 300 affiliated scientific and engineering societies and academies covering the entire spectrum of science and technology.

To promote its objectives, the Association, among other things, publishes Science, a weekly journal containing in-depth treatment of progress in research as well as the continuously changing relationships of science and technology to government, education, and public policy; organizes an annual national meeting consisting of many symposia and lectures that present recent developments in and applications of science; produces audiotapes on issues of international scientific concern; and implements programs in the areas of public policy, science education, international affairs, and opportunities in science for women, minorities, and the handicapped. Margaret Mead is Chairman of the AAAS Board of Directors; William D. McElroy is President.

Office of International Science

The AAAS Office of International Science was established late in 1973 to maintain and facilitate a network of communications between AAAS members and scientists abroad on scientific research and achievements related to human progress and the advancement of human welfare. It coordinates various activities and prepares reports on problems of international concern, such as population, women in development, and habitat. In addition, it provides AAAS liaison to Interciencia, a federation of associations for the advancement of science in the Americas and publisher of a trilingual journal, Interciencia, which emphasizes the role of science and technology in development.

Irene Tinker has directed the Office of International Science since its establishment in 1973. For many years a professor of political science specializing in problems of comparative government, she has focused her recent work on questions of development administration, population, education...
tion, and the adverse impact of development on women. In 1972-1974, she was President of the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women.

Michèle Bo Bramsen, Project Coordinator for the AAAS Seminar on Women in Development, is a political scientist and has previously taught political philosophy at the University of Copenhagen. Her dissertation for the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris, was an intellectual biography of the French historian and philosopher, Elie Halévy. Her current research work focuses on educational planning and the politics of education.
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SELECTED ODC PUBLICATIONS

Books

The U.S. and World Development: Agenda for Action, 1976, by Roger D. Hansen and the staff of the Overseas Development Council (221 pp., $4.25), March 1976. Published for the ODC by Praeger Publishers, Inc. The ODC's fourth annual assessment of U.S. and international policy approaches to the problems of global economic and social development. Individual chapters included are: "1976—A Year of Opportunity" (overview essay); "The 'Crisis of Interdependence': Where Do We Go from Here?"; "The World Food Situation and the U.S. Role"; and "Toward a Global Approach to the Energy Problem." Statistical Annexes provide over eighty pages of up-to-date data on economic and social disparities and international economic transactions.


Focusing on Global Poverty and Development: A Resource Book for Educators, by Jayne C. Millar, March 1974 (630 pp., $12.00). The resource book provides usable, comprehensive materials to help secondary school teachers and public educators integrate studies of global development and interde-
pendence into existing programs of study. Includes background essays, teaching suggestions, and over 300 pages of reading selections, case studies, maps, and charts for classroom use.


### Development Papers


*World Interdependence: Verbal Smokescreen or New Ethic?*, by Denis Goulet, No. 21, March 1976 (36 pp., $1.00).

### Communiques


*Self-Reliance and International Reform*, Summary of views of developing-country participants in a dialogue sponsored by the ODC and the Kettering Foundation, No. 24, May 1974 (8 pp., $.10).


*Panama in Perspective*, Helen C. Low, No. 29, March 1976 (14 pp., $.10).

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