



WORLD CONFERENCE of the UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN:

Equality, Development and Peace

Copenhagen, Denmark

14-30 July 1980

REVIEW AND EVALUATION OF PROGRESS MADE AND OBSTACLES
ENCOUNTERED AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL IN ATTAINING THE
OBJECTIVES OF THE WORLD PLAN OF ACTION

Item 8 (a) of the provisional agenda

80-14909

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CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
SUMMARY		2
I. WOMEN IN NATIONAL LIFE: SOME MAJOR TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1975	1 - 38	3
Women's organizations	28 - 38	9
II. FACTORS AND CONDITIONS AFFECTING NATIONAL ACTION . . .	39 - 51	13
A. Structural considerations	40 - 46	13
B. Development resources	47 - 51	15
III. NATIONAL PLANNING AND WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS	52 - 138	17
A. National planning	54 - 102	17
B. Activities of women's organizations	103 - 126	32
C. Some principles for planning	127 - 138	38

SUMMARY

The present report is part of an over-all review and appraisal of progress achieved and obstacles encountered at the national level (1975-1979) in implementing the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year. It was prepared in pursuance of Economic and Social Council resolution 2060 (LXII), taking into account the recommendations and the views expressed at the twenty-eighth session of the Commission on the Status of Women. It is divided into three chapters. The first gives a brief outline of the position of women in different areas of national life since 1975, basically focusing on areas requiring the most urgent attention. The second deals with the major underlying constraints impeding the implementation of the World Plan of Action. The third chapter analyses how Governments and autonomous women's organizations have sought to institute measures to change the position of women through national planning and autonomous action, respectively, suggesting broad guidelines on how planning may be made more effective. The report is partly based on the replies of Governments, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations, to a questionnaire prepared and circulated by the Branch for the Advancement of Women in the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, and partly on contemporary research and published literature.

I. WOMEN IN NATIONAL LIFE: SOME MAJOR
TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1975

1. The World Conference of the International Women's Year, held five years ago at Mexico City, agreed unanimously on a broad and detailed World Plan of Action delineating areas of women's concerns and establishing minimum national, regional and international objectives to be attained within a 10-year period - the United Nations Decade for Women - and proposing ways in which the objectives might be pursued. The mid-point of the Decade, 1980, is a critical vantage point from which to monitor the implementation of the World Plan of Action and to reformulate it in light of the experience and developments of the past five years.
2. How does one describe the condition of women in 1980 with respect to the objectives of the Decade? The reports of the Secretary-General on the progress made and obstacles encountered at the national level in implementing the World Plan of Action in the areas of employment, health, education, national machinery and legislation, and political participation (A/CONF.94/8; A/CONF.94/9; A/CONF.94/10; A/CONF.94/11, and A/CONF.94/13, respectively), make detailed examination of changes since 1975. In all, the picture which emerges, though indicating progress in some fields in some countries, gives little cause for complacency. On the contrary, it spells in broad relief the tremendous challenges ahead.
3. One of the most positive developments since 1975 is the increased attention and interest which the condition and role of women in economic, social and political life has generated in research and analysis. Consequent upon this development, many things that could only be alluded to vaguely and in general terms, in Mexico, can now be better and more precisely measured and described in light of the research and increased data. Ironically, this development has made it possible to describe and explain in a more scientific manner just how serious the subordination of women is in most countries of the world. In general, although some progress has been made in some countries, stagnation and deterioration describe women's condition in national life in most countries since 1975.
4. The configuration of the world economic, political and social situation against which the debates in Mexico in 1975 were conducted has changed dramatically in some respects. These changes affect women as part of society. Recent research goes further in indicating that these developments may indeed have special impact on women. Even with the increased attention and interest generated by the World Plan of Action, these developments seriously limit the ability of Governments to institute measures to improve the position of women. Moreover, the developments shape different attitudes and conditions necessitating, in some instances, different strategic and tactical interventions from those considered adequate or appropriate in 1975. What are some of the major developments?
5. The economies of countries with market-oriented economies are faced with unprecedented economic crises characterized by a recessionary inflation ("stagflation"). Low growth rates, stagnation and deterioration describe the

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general economic condition of most developing countries whose hopes of restructuring the unequal international economy have been frustrated by lack of agreement between them and the developed countries to institute measures to implement the New International Economic Order. All economic indicators show that the developing countries are worse off today than they were in 1975 in the international economy. More generally, technological development, based on the assumption of cheap and unlimited energy resources, has been increasingly undermined and threatened, in the short run, by higher energy costs attendant upon the hitherto exploited energy-producing countries exercising control over their oil reserves and, in the long run, by wastage by industrialized countries and resulting depletion of the traditional energy resources.

6. In employment, there has been a world-wide increase in women's participation in the paid labour force. Whereas this trend would seem to be a sign of progress, there are important considerations which must be given weight in evaluating the statistical increase.

7. First, it is to be noted that the level of the increase in women's participation is generally lower than that of men, in all regions. Secondly, the levels of the labour force into which women have moved are among the lowest paid and sex-differentiated occupations. Thus, although most countries have promulgated equal pay legislation, women continue to get lower wages. This is due partly to the interrupted work careers and lack of seniority women often have because of recent entry into the labour force and the fact that they are forced to combine paid work with domestic work at home. Sex segregation in employment limits their participation and contributes indirectly to women's lower wages. Although progress has been made, especially in the centrally planned economy countries, increased participation of women in the labour force has not, to any significant extent, broadened women's employment opportunities. They are concentrated still in a much more narrow range of occupations which are predominantly "female". Figures indicate that the tertiary sector - a sector with traditionally lower wages - has absorbed most of the increase in the female labour force in the 1960s and 1970s. Thirdly, research shows greater differential sex impact caused by economic transformations attendant upon modernization and technological change. In most countries, industrialization is characterized more and more by high capital intensity, thus restricting an increase of labour for both women and men. Evidence indicates that the few jobs available in the capital-intensive industries go to men. There are industries which have remained labour-intensive for a number of reasons, including their ability to maintain relatively low labour costs. This is the case, for instance, in the electronics and textiles industries. Traditionally, labour-intensive industries have employed the less qualified segments of the labour force willing to work for very low wages and less likely to unionize. These are the very features generally characteristic of women in the paid labour force, and a significant percentage of the increase in female labour participation has been absorbed by labour-intensive industries. With the relatively more effective unionization in the developed countries, many transnational corporations, taking advantage of the development policies of some developing countries, have increasingly relocated and established their labour-intensive industries in those countries. The exploitative features of the type of employment described above, therefore, have particular significance for the developing countries.

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8. In discussing technological change, one of the most important global technological transformations likely to dominate economic debate in future is the impact of new technologies on employment. Specifically, the increasing automation made possible by micro-electronics and microprocessors is likely to replace live human labour in areas where its potential is great: the labour-intensive industries and the tertiary sector. To the extent that these are the areas where paid female labour is concentrated, the burden of adjustments to technological transformation on the segregated labour market is likely to be borne by women.
9. Finally, on the question of employment, one problem which symbolizes the attitudinal and ideological chasm separating official economic planning in most countries and the demands of measures necessary for the advancement of women remains basically untackled in 1980. This is the treatment and definition of economic activity in economic analysis and planning. Generally, economic analysis has tended to view work in terms of market activities - activities producing monetary remuneration. Much of women's work is, however, either composed of unremunerated subsistence activities and/or domestic work. The bulk of women's work thus remains outside the market and has therefore been largely ignored or treated inconsistently by most official economic surveys and planning.
10. Politically, although important victories have been scored in the struggles for national liberation and popular resistance to oppressive political régimes, many peoples of the world still live under oppressive systems and conditions. Apartheid and the refugee problem symbolize aspects of the continuing problem. Internationally, the hopes characterizing international relations in 1975 in efforts to relax tensions between the "super Powers" are coming under extremely heavy pressure and tests in 1980, with increased tensions and confrontations between East and West. Elsewhere, new developments in the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America have altered the world geopolitical situation, making it much more complex. A more hopeful development is the continuing North-South dialogue, a process in which the rich and poor countries exchange views about the international economic and political order. This dialogue may help break the stalemate in the New International Economic Order debates. The disparity between the rich and poor countries, however, still remains one of the basic contradictions of the international situation, posing grave dangers for confrontation and presenting one of the most complex challenges to international relations and diplomacy in our era.
11. In discussing the place of women in national political participation in 1980, it is encouraging to note that, with very few exceptions, most countries' constitutions guarantee the equality of the two sexes in all spheres of national life, including the political arena. Juridical equality, however, rarely translates into social, economic or political equity in reality. Women's participation in the national political sphere is extremely low in most countries. Their representation in total parliamentary membership is generally negligible, and only a few countries have women in central policy-making organs of their political systems, such as the Cabinet. Among the factors constraining women's political participation are socio-cultural attitudes which discourage their participation in public life, lack of education and the burden of workloads which

leave most women little time to participate in politics. Even in developed countries in which women can expect little discrimination at the polls, party structures and rules seriously handicap their opportunities.

12. Socially, a majority of the world's population continue to subsist in conditions of absolute poverty, confronted with ignorance and disease. Education statistics indicate that the ratio of girls to boys enrolled in primary-level education has increased between 1975 and 1978 in most developing countries. The rate of enrolment of boys is however much higher. Beyond the primary level, female school enrolment declines sharply because of a high drop-out rate among girls due, among other things, to girls' domestic responsibilities and subsistence work, which compete for time with school attendance, and to girls' early marriages and pregnancies, which interrupt their studies. Beyond these specific constraints, there are general cultural and attitudinal factors which lead to the perception of female education as irrelevant to women's future role in society. Further, the sex division of labour and structure of employment reinforces the perception that men and women are not equal in the labour market.

13. The texts used in schools in most countries portray women in their housekeeping and motherhood roles. Although several countries have embarked on programmes to correct this image, sex-stereotyping remains a pervasive feature of most educational texts. Similarly, curricula in most countries are based on role-stereotyping. Thus, programmes introducing practical and technical training into the curricula generally reflect the traditional division of labour: courses in home economics and child-care are for girls, and commercial and marketable skills are for boys. Similarly, although female enrolment has increased in all countries at the university level, women remain concentrated in the humanities and are not adequately represented in technical sciences. Further, secondary schools in most countries do not generally prepare or orient girls towards technical fields.

14. The illiteracy rate of women remains one of the clearest evidences of the glaring inequality between men and women. Two out of three of the world's illiterates are women. Evidence suggests that due to infrastructural and philosophical constraints, a majority of women, both in urban and rural areas, cannot be reached by adult education and literacy campaigns because the burden of their work does not allow them time to attend courses. The content of the courses is in most cases not geared to the concrete needs and requirements of the target groups. It would thus seem that the potential of education as a point of intervention in improving the condition of women has not been fully realized, because education itself has remained a major ideological vehicle for reinforcing the attitudinal constraints to women's advancement, while not preparing them to confront the demands of their daily existence.

15. What is the status of women's health in 1980? The situation has not improved much since 1975. True, women's life expectancy has improved and maternal and child mortality have declined. These improvements are, however, overshadowed by the low-grade and chronic ill-health still faced by many women and the general disparities and imbalances between the health status of women and men. Data on maternal morbidity indicate the persistence of chronic anaemia and malnutrition. Infectious diseases such as hepatitis, urinary tract infections and pulmonary

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tuberculosis continue to be serious problems for women in developing countries. Similarly, socio-economic changes resulting in rapid population growth, explosive rural/urban migration and unemployment have aggravated public health problems through the proliferation of slums, overcrowding, prostitution, alcoholism and drug abuse. In the developed countries, there is wide discrepancy between the health of different classes and groups of women. The adverse effect of new products and changes in life styles attendant upon technological changes have also posed new health problems in those countries.

16. The delivery of health services in most countries creates special problems for women. Despite the fact that a majority of the world's population lives in rural areas, 80 per cent of the world's doctors practise in major urban areas. In the developing countries, less than 15 per cent of the population live within walking distance of a health facility. But even where available, the health services do not always meet the specific health needs of women, nor do the predominantly male health professionals and workers exhibit sensitivity to those needs. The improvement of women's health, per se, is not reflected as a priority in most Governments' policies or budgetary allocations.

17. In examining the content of health services, a further general consideration is pertinent. The global disease pattern is characterized by the fact that diseases in the developed countries are predominantly degenerative while the diseases in the developing countries are predominately infectious and epidemic. This pattern suggests that different approaches should be used in meeting the medical and health needs in the developed and the developing countries. Such is not the case.

18. With the exception of the developing countries with centrally planned economies - notably China - the control of medical science and technology, the delivery of health services and the philosophies, methods and curricula in the education and training of health personnel is strongly influenced by the models from developed countries. Most developing countries have imported their health philosophies and technology from the developed countries with little or no modification to suit their specific needs. The dependence on developed countries is manifested not only in the importation of drugs, pharmacological products and manufactured infant foods and formulae but also in the policies pursued in specific health concerns, such as fertility regulation. The emphasis on curative over preventative and public health aspects of medicine reflects this general dependence on Western models. Such emphasis has resulted in expensive health delivery systems based on Western medical technology, which has pushed the price and relevance of health services beyond the means of large population groups. The medicalization of health both in the developed and the developing countries has resulted in the major part of national health budgets being spent on sophisticated, high-technology treatment of illness, thereby ignoring public health concerns and catering only to a small class of rich urban élites. Women - being among the most marginalized segments of the population - are particularly affected by these trends.

19. The foregoing outline encapsulates the situation of women in 1980, focusing on the problems still facing women. As is apparent from the review and appraisal reports, however, some progress has been made. In global terms and in view of

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what is yet to be accomplished, the basis of the progress has not, however, been institutionalized. It is marginal, sporadic and uneven. There are three interrelated developments which present new possibilities for the future.

20. First, in light of the glaring evidence of women's subordination, many Governments are increasingly taking women's problems more seriously. Moreover, growing frustration with traditional prescriptions to national and international problems has led many Governments and the international community to re-evaluate many of those traditional approaches and seek alternative ones. Proposals sure to have been of little interest several years ago are today being given serious attention. In this period of re-evaluation, the challenge facing women is to have an articulate input in national planning and in the international policy-making debates such as the New International Economic Order and a new International Development Strategy.

21. Among the evidence of Governments' seriousness in pursuing the objectives of the Decade is the fact that most countries have instituted a wide range of institutional and administrative mechanisms to integrate women into national life. This represents a significant institutional advance since 1975. Be that as it may, however, with the exception of a few countries, most national machinery is located in non-strategic sectors of Government with respect to access to the planning and funding ministries, the sectors generally charged with charting and controlling the direction of development. The mandates of most national machinery reflect their sectoral circumscription, shutting them off from any direct participation in surplus-generating and investment decisions.

22. The funding and mandate constraints are buttressed by cultural and attitudinal prejudices which view the role of women in national life as limited to domestic concerns. The relationship between national machinery and autonomous women's organizations also raises problems in that the possibility exists that Governments may depend exclusively on the bureaucratic structure of national machinery in formulating and implementing policy and thus pre-empt or fail to take into consideration the less formalized initiatives of women.

23. As far as legislation goes, most Governments have constitutional and legislative provisions guaranteeing equal rights to women. Among other concerns, such laws cover the issues of nationality, property rights, legal capacity, rights of movement, marriage and divorce. Most countries have sanctions and remedies to deal with violations of the guarantees.

24. There is, however, a divergence between juridical equality and substantive socio-economic and political equality. Several factors account for this divergence. Among these is the lack of awareness of legal rights and the ways in which to invoke them. Another factor is the problem associated with enforcement of the laws. In this regard, a further factor to be noted is the impact of law-reform programmes which have unified most legal systems by subordinating the customary legal systems to statutory law in some countries. Customary legal systems are generally closer and more organic to rural populations. Their subordination to statutory law has made the legal system more distant and complex, thereby making it less accessible to disadvantaged groups and more difficult for

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them to invoke it and obtain redress. The constraints notwithstanding, the indication is that these are genuine attempts by Governments to institutionalize mechanisms to help achieve the goals of the Decade.

25. The second development is that, on the basis of a new and growing body of research, a strong possibility exists in 1980 for establishing links between women's advancement and the solutions of the major problems confronting our epoch, such as poverty, inflation, unemployment, oppression and the unequal international system.

26. The final and in most respects the most significant development since 1975 is the crystallization of a women's movement. The momentum generated by this movement has resulted in two trends of special interest. First, women of the world are being drawn together in solidarity around issues affecting their lives through a burgeoning international communication network. The present conference epitomizes this trend. More specifically, international women's publications, journals, newsletters and articles circulate to an increasingly conscious population of women and men, involving them in the daily activities and struggles to transform women's economic, political and social position. This trend has been institutionalized by the establishment of women's resource centres. These centres gather and disseminate information on the world's women and provide an institutional space where women communicate their experiences, struggles, victories and visions of a more just society and establish networks for action. One important resource centre is the Women's International Tribune Center, established in 1975 and located in New York. The Center publishes a newsletter, organizes conferences and seminars, and maintains a documentation service with information, names and addresses from most developed and developing countries. Similar centres at a regional level include the Asian Pacific Centre for Women and Development and the African Training and Research Centre on Women. At the national level, resource centres have been established by women's organizations in a number of developed and developing countries.

27. The second trend generated by increased consciousness and awareness created by the women's movement is located at the national level. Women are increasingly better organized and mobilized around issues affecting their lives. Not only are they able to articulate their demands better, but they are also more vigilant and better poised to influence and pressure Governments to address the major problems facing them through women's organizations. This trend, more than any other development, gives cause for optimism. It warrants closer analysis.

Women's organizations

28. The activities of women's organizations are discussed in greater detail in chapter III of the present report. Here, a broad overview of the essential characteristics of these organizations is outlined and some considerations of their relationship to Government are posed.

29. Government has the primary responsibility for instituting measures necessary to achieve many of the goals of the Decade by virtue of its legal superintendence

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over the political, social and economic apparatus of State and over the control of resources. The extent to which governmental intervention can liberate women is, however, limited - as will be examined in chapter II - by structural factors including the availability and utilization of resources. The specific character of the limitations imposed on governmental action varies according to the socio-economic, historical and political specificities of each country. But even where the Government has wide latitude in influencing the limitations through national planning, among other measures, the manner in which it does so is circumscribed by political and ideological considerations which determine conceptions of the role of women in national life. All the foregoing considerations, that is, limitations imposed by structures, resources and politics, indicate that there are lacunae left by even the most committed and well planned governmental action. These gaps are wider where planning is poor or the Government's commitment to the goals of the Decade inadequate.

30. Autonomous non-governmental institutions and organizations play a crucial role in bridging the gaps by providing services and an institutional mechanism which governmental action does not provide. Thus, to respond to the scarcity of resources managed by Government, autonomous institutions and organizations may mobilize an independent resource base through self-help initiatives, while to combat structural and political limitations, they may espouse different ideologies on alternative arrangements of society and attempt to influence governmental action to reflect those ideologies.

31. There is a wide range of non-governmental institutions and organizations. They include political parties, religious groups, trade unions, co-operatives, self-help groups, voluntary associations, professional associations and women's organizations. It is with women's organizations that we are here concerned.

32. Women's organizations represent the major institutional mechanism by which women themselves can take initiatives. This important role for women's organizations is acknowledged in the World Plan of Action, paragraphs 46 (1) and 48, which call for the promotion of such organizations and their involvement in efforts to achieve the goals of the Decade. 1/

33. Women's organizations propound and practise different theories and ideologies of organization and operation. The strategies adopted by a given organization reflect the organization's priorities in identifying points of intervention in ameliorating the conditions of women's daily existence and in removing the root causes of their oppression and subordination.

34. It is possible to distinguish two broad categories of women's organizations according to their ideology - that is, their diagnosis of women's condition and the prescription for its solution. First, there are those organizations which perceive the basis causes of women's oppression and subordination as primarily

1/ Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June-2 July 1975 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.

due to lack of equality with men within the existing socio-economic and political system and arrangements. The strategies of women's organizations with this ideological position focus on measures to make the existing system more responsive to women's demands and needs, within the political and ideological assumptions of that system. The strategies include lobbying and pressuring existing social, economic and political institutions to accommodate particular demands or needs. Thus, for instance, a considerable amount of the effort of these organizations is aimed at amending existing legislation or promulgating new legislation of special interest to women, in such areas as marriage, property, abortion and employment, among others. These organizations also educate the public as to existing inequities through the media and other campaigns in an attempt to make women more socially acceptable in non-traditional roles. Similarly, they attempt to sensitize government officials to the demands and needs of women. The campaigns mounted by Maendeleo ya Wanawake (Women's Progress) in Kenya to include clauses protecting women's property rights in the country's new Marriage and Succession Acts or by Tunisian women to ensure the protection of their rights in the Personal Code in Tunisia illustrate some of the strategies adopted by women's organizations to ensure equality within existing arrangements in their countries.

35. The second category of women's organizations comprises those which diagnose the root causes of women's oppression and subordination as inherent in the existing socio-economic and political structures and arrangements of their society. Acknowledging that inequality between women and men is a problem, these organizations see its resolution as an integral part of a broader and fundamental transformation of the existing socio-economic and political structures and values of society. They thus demand equity but within a qualitatively different socio-economic and political order. These organizations may be similar in some respect to those in the first category. They may thus fight for women's equality within the existing structures, perceiving such equality as tactically important and democratically justified. But they go further, by focusing their long-term efforts on transformative strategies to change the existing system. These strategies include the establishment of new or alternative social, economic and political institutions. The relationship between such organizations and the existing institutions will depend on the Government's ideological orientation. Thus, in instances where the Government is politically committed to a process of socio-economic transformation, as is the case in the socialist countries, the effort of women's organizations to establish new institutions meshes with the Government's efforts, becoming an integral part of the national effort. In instances where the Government is not committed to a programme of fundamental political or socio-economic transformation, women's organizations committed to a strategy of establishing alternative institutions generally do so independent of, parallel to and sometimes in opposition to existing institutions. Thus, most feminist organizations in most of the developed market economies have established extensive networks, credit facilities, and child-care and medical programmes, and operate these services as independent alternatives to the prevailing formal systems.

36. The relationship between Government and women's organizations depends on the ideologies and politics of the two entities. The strategies of the organizations are most effective where there is ideological identity between the

organizations and the Government. In such situations symbiotic and reinforcing linkages are made between the organizations and government institutions. There is a continuum of possible relationships ranging from conceptual consonance to fundamental differences between women's organizations and Government, depending on the Government's ideologies and policies. The clearest example of a situation where the political objectives of the organization mesh with those of the Government is the situation already alluded to as obtaining in socialist countries. The emancipation of women is seen in socialist ideology as an integral part of socialist transformation. Women's organizations in those countries, therefore, have the possibility of having very close relations with their Governments. Similarly, most revolutionary national liberation movements acknowledge that the liberation and transformation of their societies cannot be achieved without the full and equal participation of women. Women have accordingly played important roles in the recent struggles for national liberation in Angola, China, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Viet Nam and Zimbabwe. Apart from engaging in active combat, women also served as political cadres in the liberated zones of those countries during the struggle. They have continued to play an important role in reconstruction efforts after liberation, and indications are that political commitment exists in those countries to institutionalize and build on these gains in liberating women, as part of the broader transformation.

37. At the other end of the spectrum of possible relationships between Government and women's organizations is the situation where the Government is ideologically and politically opposed to any fundamental change of the existing socio-economic and political system. In such a situation, depending on the political climate and the relative political strength of the organization vis-à-vis Government, women's organizations face greater challenges in their attempts to be effective.

38. Therefore, there exists a wide arena within the continuum outlined above for social, economic and political activism by women's organizations to influence Governments and the process of change.

II. FACTORS AND CONDITIONS AFFECTING NATIONAL ACTION

39. There are many conditions and factors which operate to enhance or impede national measures to achieve the goals of the Decade and determine the approach and orientation of Governments to women's problems. As diverse as these conditions and factors are, they may be broadly grouped into two categories, to clarify analysis. First, there are those which are linked to the socio-economic structure and political systems of the national and international orders. Secondly, there are those which relate to organization of Government and its allocation and distribution of available resources. To overcome the constraints generated by the first category of concerns, structural transformation of the socio-economic and political system is generally necessary, while organizational changes are usually sufficient to respond to obstacles passed by the second category of concerns. What constitutes a structural or organizational problem is not an issue to be settled a priori but a practical issue differing from country to country. There are, however, certain general considerations which can be laid out. In this chapter, some of the fundamental international and national structural conditions and factors impinging upon and influencing the content of national measures to achieve the goals of the Decade for Women are examined. The third chapter examines how Governments have attempted to intervene to change those conditions and control the factors through national planning.

A. Structural considerations

40. The present international economic order is characterized by an unequal division of labour between developed and developing countries, skewed in favour of the former. The subordinate place the developing countries occupy in the international order circumscribes and limits their independent action and influences the content of national measures they adopt to improve the position of women.

41. The integration of most developing countries into the present international economic order has led to the subordination of the use of their natural and human resources to the needs and priorities of the developed countries, rather than to the utilization of those resources in accordance with the requirements and full potentialities of the developing countries themselves. As a result, there has been an excessive emphasis on export policies in both agricultural and industrial sectors instead of on the promotion of domestic market expansion and food production, leading to economic self-reliance. This has been followed by chronic rural decapitalization and deprivation, increasing rural/urban migration, and widespread unemployment and underemployment. Each one of these aspects has exercised a particular negative impact upon the role and socio-economic status of women.

42. The corollary to economic domination of the developing countries is the impact of Western models and concepts on decision- and policy-making in most developing countries. Thus, in a world in which technology is owned and controlled by developed countries and a few transnational corporations, the technological response to the socio-economic and culturally specific requirements of developing countries is inappropriate. The specific configuration of concerns, such as capital-intensive industrialization, medicalization of health, the training and education of

personnel, and institution-building in developing countries, may therefore be attributed, at least in part, to their dependence on technology and concepts developed in response to a different historical experience.

43. The unequal relationship between nations is paralled in most national orders where the differentia of class, race and region demarcate the skewed nature of the division of labour and the distribution of benefits, credit, services and decision-making. Women along with men are affected by all the aspects of these unequal relationships. In addition, however, women are exposed to specific forms of discrimination and subordination as a direct result of their sex.

44. The basis of the sex-specific discrimination and subordination is related to the unequal division of labour associated with the reproductive functions of women. Apart from taking responsibility for all work connected with child-rearing, women have also become responsible for productive work connected with reproductive functions - subsistence agriculture, gathering of fuel, fetching of water and so on. Several considerations flow from this state of affairs. First, only women perform these productive functions related to reproduction; men do not share in them. Secondly, organizational measures and technical devices have not intervened to relieve the work burden of these functions. Thirdly, these functions are neither generally recognized as work nor paid for. The crucial linkage to be made in light of the foregoing considerations is the fact that the unequal division of labour at home is one of underlying factors behind the unequal position of women in the paid labour market. The amount of work women perform at home is thus bound to influence the amount and quality of work in the paid labour market.

45. The unequal status of women in national life is therefore rooted both in the injustices of the national political and socio-economic systems and in unequal division of labour internationally, which marginalizes a majority of men and women, and in sex-based discrimination, which singles out women and denies them participation in social, economic and political life equal to that of men. The sectoral reports indicate that the dual aspects of women's subordination (socio-economic and gender-linked) have implications for the formulation and implementation of policies. Parelleling the ideological superstructure legitimating unequal relationships between nations, national ideological superstructures have historically developed and are embedded in cultural, religious and philosophical prejudices justifying the subordination of women in national life. In this respect, one of the most resistant obstacles cited by Governments in their efforts to improve the position of women are attitudinal constraints, prejudices and stereotyping.

46. The Commission on the Status of Women, at its twenty-eighth session, identified at least 13 "basic underlying constraints" that have impeded the implementation of the World Plan of Action. ^{2/} Among these constraints are the following:

^{2/} Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 5 (E/1980/15), chap. I, sect. D, para. 1.

- (a) The non-involvement of men in the endeavour to change the position of women in society;
- (b) Attitudinal prejudices concerning the role of women in society harboured by both men and women;
- (c) Lack of political will in many countries to change the conditions of women;
- (d) Inadequate recognition of the economic value of women's work in monetary and non-monetary sectors;
- (e) Ignoring the particular needs of women in planning;
- (f) Too few women in decision-making positions;
- (g) Insufficient infrastructure to support women's participation in national life;
- (h) Lack of financial resources;
- (i) Weak communication between women in greatest need and policy makers;
- (j) Lack of awareness among most women of opportunities available for their development.

B. Development resources

47. Alongside the international and national structural conditions and factors influencing national action are considerations relating to resources. All countries face the problem of how best to allocate and distribute limited resources. ^{3/} Whereas it is relatively easy to appreciate limitations placed on national action by quantitative considerations, it is more problematic - though more important - to understand limitations placed by qualitative considerations, that is, matters regarding the utilization of available development resources.

48. The majority of women live in rural areas of the developing countries. Land is one of the most important resources for these women, both with respect to its inherent attribute as a prerequisite for food production and its traditional relationship to other factors of production, such as income and credit in market oriented economies. Land reform programmes form the cornerstone of most rural development strategies. Although these programmes have improved the general

^{3/} The problem is more acute for developing countries, where the development needs are numerous. In such situations, the goals competing for very scarce resources are nearly always very basic, and choosing among them may involve, for instance, the building of the only health clinic or the only water pump in a particular area.

conditions in rural areas, they have generally had an adverse impact on women's access to and control of land. Most of the land reform programmes perceive women as homemakers and child bearers, either within a nuclear family structure headed by a man as the sole provider or an extended family system conceived of as a network offering support to its members. Arising from these perceptions, the reforms have generally replaced communal tenurial patterns with individualized title held by men. Contrary to these conceptions, estimates indicate that because of migration, marital dissolution, absence of spouses, polygamy or male marginality, between 25 and 33 per cent of all households in the world are headed by women who are economically responsible for themselves and their children. Rural development policies have generally ignored women's needs.

49. Women's access to and control of other development resources have been similarly restricted. Notable in this regard is access to and choice and control of technology. Women's work in most developing countries - fetching water, milling grain, gathering firewood, farm work, and so on - is characterized by extreme drudgery. The time and energy used in these tasks could be channelled into other more productive activities if technology were provided for their performance. Technological intervention and innovation in most countries have largely focused on the sectors of the economy traditionally dominated by male labour. In developing countries, the introduction of technology has also resulted in the displacement of women by men from tasks they have traditionally performed because, on the whole, technological training has been limited to men. In the developed countries where home technology has largely reduced the drudgery of female domestic work, it has not generally maximized the contribution of women to development beyond mere consumption. Technology has not advanced women by changing the traditional division of labour which relegates them to work within the household. At best it has reinforced the traditional division of labour at a higher level, by making women managers of household technology.

50. Women's access to the infrastructural or support institutions and services created in the process of modernization has likewise been limited. Thus co-operatives, training centres and credit facilities generally exclude them, as do the extension services accompanying most land and rural development programmes. "Access has often been identified solely with availability. Experience and research, however, show that there are physical, social and organizational constraints which prevent people, particularly women, from availing themselves of even existing services." ^{4/} Among these physical, social and organizational constraints, two stand out as important in the sectoral reports. The first is lack of sufficient free time. The effectiveness of most measures instituted to advance women in national life is severely limited by the fact that most women are too burdened by their work to avail themselves of the services. Thus non-formal educational programmes in literacy, family welfare, nutrition and child care, like vocational training programmes, generally make the error of assuming that women have sufficient free time to participate. The second constraint arises from wrong

^{4/} "Women's access to rural services", Assignment Children, vol. 38 (April/June 1977), p. 27.

identification of target groups. Although women are a widely differentiated social group with differing needs, many programme and project designs treat them as homogeneous. Failure to focus programmes and projects on specific groups of women not only results in wastage through resources being directed to groups that least need them and away from the most disadvantaged groups, but it also results in the formulation of inappropriate and therefore ineffective interventions.

51. In concluding the examination of constraints imposed by the availability and utilization of development resources, it is important to mention the link between the scarcity of national resources and international assistance. In an effort to bridge the gap between their developmental needs and the scarcity of national resources, most countries - notably developing countries - rely on bilateral and multilateral assistance. Such assistance, though easing to some degree quantitative pressures, often imposes its own qualitative control on the utilization of the resources thus obtained. It may exercise that control by specifying markets in which the proceeds of the assistance may be used, establishing criteria on management, personnel or marketing policies to be followed in one or more aspects of a project cycle, and orientating expertise seconded to assist. Such control exercises leverage in national planning, thus influencing national options and action. To the extent that the western countries are the source of most bilateral assistance and control the flow of multilateral assistance through the weighted management of international economic institutions, the leverage reflects the ideological preferences of the developed countries, which does not necessarily converge with the development objectives of the developing countries.

III. NATIONAL PLANNING AND WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

52. Factors and conditions outlined in the foregoing survey as impinging upon national action are not decided by fate or mystery but are, as already indicated, attributable to certain structural and organizational features in the national and international socio-economic and political orders. A principal way of exercising governmental control over many of these factors and conditions, channelling and harnessing them for national objectives, is national planning.

53. Women's organizations have also taken independent and autonomous initiatives in an attempt to exercise control over some of the factors and conditions. The present chapter begins with an examination of governmental action through national planning and concludes with a survey of the activities of women's organizations.

A. National planning

54. National planning may be viewed as an intervention by the Government to influence social, economic, cultural and political change in a desired direction through the allocation and distribution of resources. The formulation and implementation of national plans and policies involves an explicit categorization of the population along the lines of class, economic sector, region and so on, both as beneficiaries and participants in the process of economic development. This

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determines which groups' claim to development goods are to be satisfied from limited resources and which groups will participate in the development process.

55. The factors which influence the planning process include both technical and political considerations. The former include the availability of data. Thus it is conceivable that a planner may give one group's claim priority because of ease of access to data but completely alter priorities, given different data or different classification of the same data. The political considerations in planning and policy-making arise from the fact that the writ of Government, and its authority to plan, rest on a political process. The Government is therefore not a neutral factor in planning but is identifiable by the ideological and political content and bias of its policies and programmes. It exercises superintendence over the State apparatus in a manner consistent with its ideological and political orientation. In ranking claims to be satisfied from scarce development resources, a Government always considers a group's relationship to its own incumbency. In general, the more a group's support is perceived to be decisive to the stability of the political and ideological order, the greater the likelihood that its claims will be considered seriously.

56. The relationship of any group or coalition of groups to the Government in the planning process is also governed by the specific political climate in each country. The range of possibilities can be reduced to two situations:

(a) The situation in which both the group and Government have common perceptions of the desired direction of change. In such situations, no fundamental contradictions exist in the planning process between the group and the Government, and their roles and activities complement each other.

(b) The situation in which the group has a perception of the desired direction of change different from that of the Government. There are contradictions in the planning process in such situations which the group will try to resolve by pressuring the Government to accommodate all or some of its programmes in planning.

57. Although there has been a growing consensus that women's concerns and capacities should be taken into account in development, not all planners and policy makers appreciate the links between women's socio-economic roles and their own attempts to tackle the problems of economic development, inequality and poverty. Research has repeatedly pointed out that, notwithstanding the widespread and consequent improvements brought about in the course of modern socio-economic growth, the gains derived have not only been unevenly distributed among countries and between social groups but have also been unequally shared by men and women.

58. Challenging the premise that economic growth and development are sufficient conditions for advancing women's social position, contemporary research has exposed the adverse effects of modernization on women's economic roles and has examined, in this context, for example, the discriminatory aspects of female labour utilization in industry and the impact of modernization of agriculture and crafts on female employment, as well as the functions of unpaid female labour in the

process of economic growth. 5/ These adverse impacts of development on women have led one commentator to characterize women as "victims of development". 6/

59. Most of the strategies and policy interventions traditionally adopted by planners focus on women as passive consumers of development. Thus, in instances where a Government has acknowledged that women are subordinate in society, policies designed to advance their position have singled them out as a dependent welfare group, in much the same way as the handicapped or the aged are singled out. Welfare programmes receive only a small proportion of development funds and skilled human resources, and in situations of economic difficulty they are the first to be cut back. Welfare-oriented programmes for women are, therefore, exposed to a double jeopardy: not only are the funds assigned to them miniscule but the approach often leads to the exclusion of women from broader development programmes.

60. Alternative conceptualizations of women which incorporate them both as active participants and beneficiaries in the process of development are called for. The alternative approach to national planning and policy formulation would perceive women as a resource and a constituency upon which development planning would draw. Such an approach is justified on grounds of social justice and also represents a better economic policy, in that it harnesses the scarce development resources in society in a more rational and efficient manner. 7/

61. In the paragraphs below, an examination is made of how different Governments have attempted to incorporate women into national planning and policy formulation. These attempts are appraised on the basis of the extent to which they conceive of women as an integral part of development strategies.

1. Review and appraisal

62. Eighty-eight Governments responded to the questions on national policies and planning in the questionnaire circulated by the Branch for the Advancement of Women

5/ See, for example, "Effective mobilization of women in development: report of the Secretary-General" (A/33/238).

6/ Ester Boserup, Women in Economic Development (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1975).

7/ Research has also established a correlation between the participation of women and the effectiveness of development projects. Thus, several case studies have been conducted which show that the over-all performances of specific development projects have been adversely affected by inattention of planners to women's roles. See, for example, Robert Chambers and Jon Morris, (eds., Mwea: An Irrigated Rice Settlement in Kenya (München, Weltforum Verla, 1973) and Ingrid Palmer, "The Nemow case", Case Studies of the Impact of Large Scale Development Projects on Women, Working Paper No. 7 (New York, Population Council, September 1979).

in the Centre for Social and Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations Secretariat. 8/ The responses varied from country to country, ranging from complete and elaborate to scant. Whereas a large number of reporting countries responded directly to the specific questions in the questionnaire, others provided general reports and documents from which information relevant to national planning has been extracted. To the extent that the sectoral reports reflect Governments' approaches to planning in employment, education, health, national machinery and legislation and political participation, the information provided by Governments on these sectors is also pertinent to a review and appraisal of national planning.

63. An evaluation of national planning with respect to women should appraise the extent to which the planning cycle, from formulation of policies to monitoring the operation of actual projects and programmes, address the dual aspects of women's subordination in national life alluded to in chapter II - that is, the socio-economic and the gender-linked aspects of subordination. This involves an appraisal of:

(a) The extent to which national plans and policies are designed to transform socio-economic and political structures of society so that the division of labour and the distribution of benefits, credit services and decision-making is just and serves the majority of the population, both men and women;

(b) The extent to which national plans, policies, machinery and legislation and the mass communication media function to prevent specific forms of sex discrimination in political, economic and social life and to combat attitudinal prejudices against women and affirmatively promote equity.

64. Information received from Governments in response to the questionnaire is too varied - both in terms of quality and quantity and in terms of the interpretation of specific questions - to form the basis of a determinative appraisal. It is, however, possible to review some general trends and patterns and to arrive at some general conclusions on the basis of the available information on how different socio-economic and political systems have approached planning with respect to women. The analysis falls under five headings - namely, the targets and strategies for the advancement of women, the improvement of the data base, measures to eradicate prejudices and discrimination, the participation of women in the planning process, and the infrastructure and social support services.

8/ Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Republic of Korea, Romania, San Marino, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zaire.

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2. Targets and strategies for the advancement of women

65. Although the planning process differs from country to country, there are at least three distinctive approaches adopted by Governments, generally reflecting the differences in their socio-economic and political systems. First, there are those countries which draw up comprehensive periodic national development plans covering all the broad sectors of the economy. With the exception of Lebanon, which reported that it did not formulate national development plans, the rest of the reporting developing countries fall into this category. Secondly, there are those countries which do not have any single planning document such as a national development plan but have several formal policy documents and declarations. Although Canada, Finland, Israel and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland were the only developed countries specifically to assert in their reports that they do not formulate national development plans, most developed market economies do not have such plans. The manner in which policies are formally integrated into the planning process in those countries is through the annual budget and or medium-term plans - as was, for instance, indicated by Finland. The third form of planning is central planning as practised in the socialist countries. Central planning is done through a unitary organ within the state apparatus which plans and formulates all the major policies affecting the functioning of the economy in accordance with clearly defined political objectives.

66. All the three categories of reporting Governments had formulated policies and plans for the advancement of women, explicitly or implicitly integrating the objectives of the World Plan of Action into their different planning processes. With the exception of Iraq, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Sierra Leone, Swaziland and Thailand, which reported that separate sections of their development plans were devoted to the advancement of women, countries with national development plans had no separate sections specifically devoted to women. Although a number of such countries indicated that they intended to include specific references to women in their plans in the next planning period, the reason most developing countries had not made special reference to women in their plans was probably the one indicated by Malaysia: the fact that in most developing countries, plans address themselves to minimum basic needs rather than to special needs. Be that as it may, all countries with national development plans, with or without sections in their plans dealing with women, had adopted strategies for the advancement of women.

67. The countries with no national development plans reported several methods they had adopted to formulate policies affecting women. One approach was the adoption of national plans of action, either independent of or patterned on the World Plan of Action (Australia, Finland, Japan and the United States of America). 9/ Another reported method of policy declaration was that of the United Kingdom: the promulgation in 1974 of a White Paper on Equality for Women which

9/ A national plan of action is not necessarily a substitute for other means of policy formulation. Thus, Barbados, India, Indonesia, Jamaica and Japan all have national development plans but have also adopted national plans of action for women.

acknowledged that government intervention was necessary if full equality between the sexes were to be achieved. The centrally planned economies reported a fundamentally different approach to the formulation of policies affecting women. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for example, viewed the advancement of women as inextricably linked to the attainment of its over-all national objective of socialist development. This approach was typical of the other reporting socialist countries. Thus, Mongolia declared that the "development of socialist democracy is impossible without the widespread participation of women". The German Democratic Republic reported that it viewed discrimination of women as a "vestige of capitalist past" and incompatible with its socialist goals. It declared that "a progressive movement cannot be victorious without the participation of women". Consequently, it sought to involve women in the solution of political, economic, social, intellectual and cultural problems. Yugoslavia declared that "the solution of the present-day problems of the social position of women is an integral part of the socio-economic development" of the country. Finally, China reported that the attainment of equal rights by women in all spheres of life had been part and parcel of the Chinese Revolution since 1949.

68. From the foregoing outline, it is clear that difference in the planning process notwithstanding, all the reporting Governments had, based on their different socio-economic and political systems, adopted policies and plans for the advancement of women. The analysis must, however, proceed to review the substantive targets and strategies adopted under the formal policy undertakings by Governments. The specific strategies adopted by Governments to implement their declared policies on the advancement of women generally sought to widen women's participation in national life. Although the information provided by Governments on their strategies tended to be too general to allow for any detailed analysis, it is possible to extract four patterns in the adoption of strategies by the reporting countries. These were:

- (a) The institution of programmes for the general population but with special ameliorative impact on the status of women;
- (b) The promulgation of equal-opportunity legislation;
- (c) The adoption of compensatory and affirmative programmes;
- (d) The advancement of women as part of a broader transformation of social, economic and political structures and relations of production of society.

Although the four patterns are not mutually exclusive, the last pattern describes the practice exclusively practised in the socialist countries, while the first three are normally adopted by the market economy countries. A brief review of the four patterns follows.

69. The first - and the dominant - pattern in the reporting developing countries was the institution of general programmes such as rural development programmes which, though not targeting women as a special group, were envisaged either as especially benefiting them because of women's numerical preponderance in the rural areas of many developing countries or because of the existing division of

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labour. Although nearly all reporting developing Governments cited the existence of such programmes in their countries, none gave any concrete examples or detailed descriptions. A typical report, from Kenya, cited that country's "Alleviation of poverty" programme, aimed at rural development, and included in its 1979-1983 development plan, as a measure which would meet many of the objectives of the Decade.

70. The second way in which the reporting countries had sought to integrate women in development was through ensuring equal access of women to all aspects of national life through legislation outlawing sex-based discrimination. Every responding country cited examples of regulations and laws prohibiting discrimination in employment, education, political participation and provision of social services. In many instances the legal validity of such regulations and laws was derived from the principles of equity enshrined in the fundamental laws of the countries.

71. The third discernible strategy for the advancement of women adopted by some reporting countries was the compensatory and affirmative programmes designed to accelerate women's participation in national life by correcting historic imbalances in certain specific areas. Adopting this approach in the employment of women, Jamaica had, for example, instituted a policy of hiring on a 60:40 female-to-male ratio for unskilled jobs, to offset the 2:1 female unemployment ratio in that category of employment. Similarly, in the area of political participation, Egypt had established a quota reservation of parliamentary seats for women, while the United States reported that employers who received funding under a federal contract were required to take specific affirmative action to increase the number of women in occupations in which they were under-represented. Finally, Ireland reported that its Industrial Training Authority reserved a certain number of first-year off-the-job places in training for girls.

72. The fourth and last pattern of strategies adopted is the practice in the socialist countries. Based on the political premise that the status of women is directly related to the economic, social and political structure of society, the socialist countries view the historic subordination of women as a result not only of sex discrimination but class relations. The strategies adopted for the advancement of women are therefore an integral part of the process aimed at qualitatively transforming the class relations from feudal and capitalist relations to socialist relations. The achievement of economic, political and social equality of women in society is therefore seen as inseparable from the achievement of socialism. 10/

73. Although most reporting socialist countries did not give specific examples of strategies adopted in their countries, the general practice was to require each ministry to issue guidelines in its special domain for the improvement of women and give an annual account of their activities to the Government. Hungary's report is typical in this respect when it explains that: "Laws and regulations have made the question of women to be a part of the Government's programme thereby raising it to the level of Government's politics and integrating it in the everyday life

10/ Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Women in Socialist Society (Moscow, 1977), p. 7.

of the country. All Ministries have to deal permanently with the problems of women."

74. The foregoing review indicates that every country has policies designed to integrate women into development. The gap between policy and implementation is, however, generally very wide in social programmes. This is usually due to factors such as the durability of the cultural and ideological superstructures which have been constructed over the years to legitimize and to justify the exploitation of women through stereotyped thinking patterns and the division of labour by sex. Thus, several reporting countries viewed cultural and traditional prejudices against women as a major obstacle in the effective implementation of their policies for the advancement of women (Bangladesh, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guinea, India, Israel, Lebanon, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, United Republic of Cameroon and Venezuela). In other instances, the gap between policy and implementation is simply due to lack of follow-up or lack of the requisite institutions.

75. Whereas it is likely that the policies have benefited women in specific instances, the question must be posed as to whether they represent sustained and institutionalized intervention in the planning process. Is it possible that even successful implementation of the strategies reviewed above may not make any fundamental difference to the position of women in society?

76. It is not possible to make a detailed appraisal of the strategies adopted by the reporting countries to integrate women into national life because the information provided did not generally give any indication of the efficacy of the strategies. It is, however, pertinent to make some general observations. The strategies adopted by reporting non-socialist countries - be they affirmative action programmes, general socio-economic programmes or equal access legislation - are based on a premise that existing socio-economic and political structures can operate in a qualitatively different way to achieve full equality for women in society. The focus of the strategies is therefore increasing the participation of women in existing structures. Although there has been a significant increase in the number of women participating in national life, which may be correctly attributed to the successful implementation of the strategies, a large majority of women still live on the periphery of the mainstream of development. The implementation of compensatory and affirmative action programmes or the institution of general development programmes is limited by the capacity of the existing structures to absorb more people (men and women) and to finance development programmes. The promulgation of equal access legislation - while assuring juridical equality - rarely ensures equality of condition and capacity to exploit access thus opened up. Therefore, despite the existence of laws prohibiting sex-based discrimination and ensuring equal access in nearly all reporting countries, the reports indicate that sex discrimination persists and that, owing to attitudinal, historical and structural factors, women's participation in national life - though increasing - is far below that of men.

77. In the socialist countries where strategies for the advancement of women are an integral part of the strategies to alter the existing socio-economic and political structures, it is significant to note that the participation of women

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in all aspects of national life has become a very distinctive feature of the economy. Thus, women constitute 42-51 per cent of factory and office workers in those countries. 11/ However, much remains to be done in terms of sharing women's burden of work at home - a problem the socialist countries have in common with others.

3. Improvement of the data base on women

78. Paragraph 161 of the World Plan of Action gives high priority to data collection and analyses of 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". 12/ Data have two major functions in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policy: first, as input, one of the raw materials from which policy is fashioned; and, secondly, as output, an indicator of performance and the success or failure in the implementation of policy. Both functions involve a perception of factors considered relevant in policy formulation and a determination of the desirable direction for society to take.

79. The technical problem of the availability of data can affect planning in two important respects. First, a planner, having isolated factors which are relevant in policy formulation or evaluation, may be faced with a situation in which the requisite data are not available. Secondly, the coverage, character and quality of the data available to a planner may influence the approach taken to the situation.

80. The basis for evaluating a country's data base on women should be the degree to which the data present a planner with the pertinent coverage, classification and breakdown to formulate, implement and monitor specific policies. Although countries may require different data for planning and evaluating progress in accordance with their nationally specific economic, social and political objectives, planners have suggested that data broken down by sex and age, where applicable, under the following headings, are essential for integrating women in development: 13/

(a) Demography: This would include population, mortality, life expectancies, birth rates, marital status and number of children, household members, households headed by women, migration patterns, and religion.

(b) Health and nutrition: This would include nutrition levels, number of hospital patients and presentations, hospitalization cases for deficiency diseases, incidence of anaemia and intestinal problems, maternal mortality rate, use of contraception and access to safe water supply.

11/ Ibid., p. 8.

12/ Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year ..., chap. II, sect. A.

13/ This information was supplied by a training course on development planning for women, organized by the Asian and Pacific Centre for Women's Development and Asian and Pacific Development Institute, held at Bangkok in 1978.

(c) Judicial and criminal: The essential data would include criminal conviction rates, by type of crime, crimes against women, child abuse and corrective institution population.

(d) Child care: This would include the number of child-care centres and number of children under seven years of age in households headed by a single person or in which both parents are working outside the household.

(e) Personal income and expenditure: This includes per capita income and expenditure and consumption within households, and some budget allocation data.

(f) Money, banking and finance: This includes membership in savings or credit institutions, new loans and advances by banks.

(g) Education: Included would be the number and percentage of illiterates, enrolment in educational and vocational institutions at all levels, average attendance at different levels, drop-out rates at different levels.

(h) Political participation: This might include the number of electors, voters, candidates to all levels of political office; membership in the highest political organ; officers in political parties; membership and officers in trade unions.

(i) Administrative structure: This should include representation in the planning machinery, and the number and type of women's organizations.

(j) Economic activity: This would include economically active and inactive population, distribution by employment and occupational status, hours worked, educational level by occupation, unemployed population by kind of unemployment, level and field of education.

Much of these data are already available in raw form from census and sample surveys.

81. All the Governments reporting on improvement of the data base stated their dissatisfaction with the state of data on women in their countries, and most also noted the importance of wider coverage. Although data broken down by sex were generally available on subjects such as population and death rates, most countries reported that other data on women were either unanalysed or unavailable. There were, however, various studies under way to improve the coverage, collection and quality of data on women, in a number of countries (Australia, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Finland, Ghana, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Kenya, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon and United States of America). Papua New Guinea had developed a set of indicators for women to assist in the formulation of national policies. Most developed countries indicated that such data were already collected from different official and semi-official sources but remained in unanalysed form. Under such circumstances, they saw their problem as

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the systemization and centralization of already available data. In an effort to solve the problem, the United States Bureau of the Census sponsored a conference on issues in federal statistical needs relating to women.

82. As indicated in the introduction to the present chapter, women constitute a significant factor in production in all countries. Despite their contribution to the economy, however, their work - largely in subsistence economic activities in developing countries and housework in developed countries - is generally unremunerated and unregistered in the national economic statistics of many countries. Most reporting Governments acknowledged in principle that the deficiency created by the non-registration of women's unremunerated work in the national economic statistics was a serious anomaly, but few had found methods of attributing economic value to such work.

83. Economic valuation of women's unremunerated work per se does not indicate that the status of women has improved. There are indeed instances where such valuation may work to maintain the traditional sex division of labour and cut off incentives for women to seek employment in the monetized economic activities - the traditionally male domains. However, on the assumption that Governments are genuinely committed to achieving equal status for women, the move towards economic valuation of traditionally unremunerated activities reflects a new approach to the role of women in the economy. Such a move should be followed by measures to motivate men to take part in these activities on an equal footing.

84. Several countries reported innovative approaches in the debate on women's unremunerated work. India reported that it was studying recommendations to give economic value to women's domestic work for purposes of determining ownership of matrimonial property. A proposal had been made in the United States of America that married couples' income be divided according to an agreed-upon formula so that the non-working spouse could earn equal social security credits based on the joint income. A system was operational in Finland under which women's work in agriculture and other enterprises as an assisting family member was included in statistics of economic activity if the number of working hours was at least one half of normal working hours in the field. The criteria concerning labour force statistics are similar in other countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, where the number of hours worked must be at least one third of normal working hours. One of the benefits derived from this approach is that qualifying persons are entitled to social security on the basis of this employment. ^{14/} Cuba reported that it had evolved a method of attributing economic value to women's unremunerated work, while Canada reported that a university research study which had developed a method for such valuation had not been implemented.

^{14/} However, it has been observed in several developing countries that social security can act as pressure on married women to leave paid employment and attend to domestic work.

85. The major constraint cited by most reporting Governments in the improvement of the data base was institutional. Government departments charged with the responsibility of gathering and improving data on women lack adequate staff, expertise and funding. ^{15/} Most Member States had only one officer responsible for data collection, compilation and reporting. Cuba, however, reported that it had embarked on a programme to train personnel in this area and to computerize its data collection on women by 1985; other existing projects of this nature were reported. Most developing countries expressed the opinion that international assistance in this area would help considerably.

86. The utilization of available data in planning varies widely. It is possible that countries with all or most of the data listed above as necessary for effective planning may implement policies in disregard of the data or in ignorance of its existence. Governments must therefore be politically committed to the goal of integrating women in national life, and planners and policy makers must be trained to appreciate women as a dynamic factor in development if the relevant data are to be of any use. Data must also be centralized, available and publicized. Several countries have made significant progress not only in improving their data base on women but in breaking away from traditional perceptions of the role of women in the economy. For many countries, however, much more remains to be done in this vital area.

87. The obstacles most commonly cited by reporting countries regarding the improvement of their data were lack of funds (Botswana, Iceland, Sierra Leone, United Republic of Cameroon) and lack of technical expertise (Turkey). Brazil cited the lack of "conceptual standardization" as a constraint, while Sri Lanka cited lack of a data-collecting institution in the Government. Nearly all countries reported that international assistance - either in the form of specialists, training, advisory services or the exchange of information - would help their efforts to improve their data.

4. Measures to eradicate prejudices and discrimination

88. As mentioned above in the analysis of targets and strategies adopted by Governments for the advancement of women, one of the most serious and persistent constraints to the effective implementation of policies is the attitudinal factors which structure the social and cultural prejudices and the discrimination against women. With the exception of Sierra Leone, which reported that there were "no prejudices and discrimination among the sexes and therefore no need for measures to be taken to eradicate them", reporting countries acknowledged the existence of prejudice and discrimination and the need for action to combat them.

89. A wide variety of measures were reported by Governments as part of their campaigns against social and cultural attitudes working against women's integration

^{15/} See "Review and evaluation of progress achieved in the implementation of the World Plan of Action: national machinery and legislation" (A/CONF.94/11), para. 20.

into national life. The following summary seeks to highlight major trends in the campaigns and is not meant to be exhaustive, either in terms of the countries cited or the efforts described.

90. The use of the mass communication media was the most generalized form the campaigns took. The reports did not generally give any details on the actual way in which the media were used to combat prejudice and discrimination, although there was a general indication that emphasis was laid on educating society on issues related to women and in projecting a positive image of women in an attempt to destroy historical stereotypes (Botswana, Egypt, Ireland, Israel, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Nepal, Philippines, Togo, Turkey, and Yugoslavia). Citing a specific example of its campaign, Botswana reported that there had been a mobilization against participation in the Miss World Beauty Contest.

91. On a broader level, the formal educational system had also been relied upon to combat attitudinal barriers (Malaysia, Netherlands, and Yugoslavia). Malaysia cited as an example its programme to correct the stereotyping in its schools' teaching materials. Legislation was also cited in a number of reports as a measure which had been undertaken to eradicate prejudice and discrimination (Bahrain, Belgium, Iraq, and Senegal).

92. The major institutions organizing the campaigns to eradicate prejudice and discrimination were generally reported to be women's organizations (Botswana, Brazil, Mauritius, and Tunisia) and the national machinery established by Governments to integrate women into development (Canada, Denmark, Finland, New Zealand, Norway, Sri Lanka, and Sweden). Egypt, Mali, and the United Republic of Cameroon reported that their Governments' appointments of women to positions of responsibility in national life were particularly effective in enhancing a positive image of women in society.

5. The participation of women in the planning process

93. The analysis of most social and institutional phenomena is complex and involves an intricate aggregation of different data. Direct quantification is not always a measure of change in such circumstances. 16/

94. The evaluation of progress in an area such as political participation also underlines the complexities of social and political analysis on the basis of

16/ For instance, in evaluating the impact of an irrigation scheme on development, one could focus on the increase in crop yields as a measure of success. A more meaningful but complex evaluation would include the consideration of the scheme's impact on the health of the participants or on decision-making within households. Such an evaluation might reveal the fact that the incidence of water-borne diseases had increased disproportionately among women or that the limiting of land-holding rights to men, for instance, had had an adverse impact on both the subsistence production of traditional foods and the income of rural women.

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quantitative data. For example, what does one read into the fact that the number of women legislators increased by 5 per cent? Are factors such as the power and role of the legislature in the State apparatus of a given State or of the legislative process in the State relevant in interpreting the indicator? Such questions have to be answered if conclusive evaluations of such indicators are to be made.

95. The conventional method of evaluating such issues as representation or participation is to equate them with the flow of benefits to a given constituency or their impact on decisions. An appraisal of the participation of women in the planning process must go beyond this equation and analyse whether benefits actually flow to women and whether favourable decisions are, in fact, made on women's issues. It is this kind of questioning of the conventional method of evaluation which led to the formation of a working group in Finland to examine "to what extent statistics illustrate equality of the sexes".

96. The analytical difficulties in evaluating participation are compounded in the present instance by the nature of the information provided by Governments in response to the questions in this area. Of the countries reporting on the participation of women in the planning process, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, India, Ireland, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Mauritania, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey provided quantitative data. Several of these countries supplied absolute numbers instead of the requested percentages, thereby making it impossible to get a sense of relative proportionality or participation. Other countries gave figures for only one year instead of the requested comparative two years, 1975 and 1978, thereby rendering it impossible to evaluate progress from the base year. Of the countries providing quantitative data, only Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Canada, Germany, Federal Republic of, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Japan, Kenya, Peru, Singapore, Switzerland and the United Kingdom gave an indication of the trends in the participation of women in the planning process in their countries. The reporting countries indicated a general increase in the number of women participating in the planning process since 1975. In the appraisal below, several general considerations are suggested as pertinent to the evaluation of a quantitative increase of women in the planning process.

97. The qualitative significance of the increase in the participation of women in the planning process indicated by the reporting Member States presents two major problems in an appraisal. The first problem has to do with the location of power within the State apparatus, and the second has to do with the social differentiation of women as a group.

98. As explained above in the review of targets, strategies and programmes for achieving the objectives of the Decade, the planning process differs from country to country according to the socio-economic and political system. In a centrally planned economy where there is a unitary and clearly identifiable national organ of policy formulation, it is relatively easy to conclude that an increase in the number of women in the planning organ represents a significant advancement of the role of women in planning. In this regard, the report of Cuba that women

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constitute 55 per cent of its Junta Central de Planificacion, for example, is significant. In countries with no such unitary organ of policy formulation, the evaluation of the impact of an increase in the number of women in the government bureaucracy is more difficult to make.

99. The first step in assessing the significance of an increase in the number of women in the planning process should be an analysis of the formal importance of the posts occupied by women within the specific State and bureaucracy with respect to planning and policy formulation. A woman may occupy a position that is formally designated as a policy-making post but which may have relatively insignificant impact on policy because in practice, policy may be made through more informal processes. The observation in the report of the United States of America is pertinent in this regard. It states, "The structure, process, and composition of most institutions and planning groups are male-oriented (i.e., they are geared to work in a manner which is conducive to male-sex role socialization). Men's socialization does not encourage them to share decision-making responsibilities with women. Therefore, even when a few women reach high-level positions they are often excluded from the planning process, especially at the informal level where much of the work takes place, because they are often the only one at that level". In such circumstances, policy formulation can become a complex interplay of informal networks and political patronage, and formal mandates only serve to place seals of legitimacy on decisions already reached.

100. The problem of locating where power lies within the bureaucratic and political system is overshadowed by the problem of the quality of representation. In this regard, the quantitative increase in the number of women, as opposed to men, involved in the planning process cannot be minimized. Participation of women per se, is important, from the point of view not only of justice but also of the quality of planning. There are many instances in which men's perception differs from women's perception. For instance, in identifying the villages' most critical need in a study of three villages in India, women mentioned a primary health centre for children, while the men identified the need for feeder roads linking the village to the main road. 17/ Women in given positions may, therefore, through sex identity, intimacy and sensitivity and through their different experience, make the planning process more accessible to women and thereby sensitize and enrich it.

101. Apart from the obstacle already cited and reported by the United States of America, there were several other general constraints cited by Governments to increasing the participation of women in planning. First, it was reported by several countries that the recruitment networks generally tended to be male-dominated and draw on male colleagues and former school mates, thus generally discriminating against women. Secondly, a number of countries cited stereotyping in the education and training of women, which focuses them largely in the humanities, as a constraint to their participation in planning, a field dominated by engineering, financial analysis, economics, and other technical sciences

17/ Institute for Social Studies, Analysis of Labour Supply Behaviour and Female Work Participation in Selected Rural Households (New Delhi).

(Finland, Japan, Nepal, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, and Swaziland). The socialist countries are an important exception in that the number of women with technical scientific training is significant. Women policy-makers consequently tend to fill posts in the social and welfare sectors of national planning rather than the critical area of production and surplus generation. Social and cultural attitudes that frown upon women in public life were also cited as obstacles (Egypt, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Malaysia, Netherlands, Singapore, and the United Republic of Cameroon).

102. The quantitative significance of participation notwithstanding, the quality of participation forms a more fundamental measurement of the impact of women in the planning process. Women are not a homogeneous group. They represent a range of classes and social backgrounds and, therefore, commitments. Within a given economic, political and social structure, the process by which women and men are selected to serve in key policy-formulating posts is likely to ensure the continuity and stability of the system. The input in the planning process may, therefore, serve only narrow élitist, class or sectarian interests and be out of touch with the majority of women.

B. Activities of women's organizations

103. The extent to which governmental intervention can improve the position of women (already analysed in chapter I and the first part of the present chapter) is limited by structural factors, including the availability of resources, and is circumscribed by political and ideological considerations. Furthermore, there are many facets of women's daily existence and requirements which only women can address for themselves and where governmental action - controlled by men in most countries - would be inappropriate. Autonomous women's organizations exist in almost all countries, operating to bridge some of the limitations and providing alternative approaches to women's needs and problems.

104. The precise nature of women's organizations varies according to the concrete socio-economic, political, cultural and historical factors in different countries. These concrete considerations determine their specific objectives, structures and membership and condition the relationship between them and the Government. Women's organizations are therefore extremely country-specific. Even within one country, the different types of women's organizations are so varied that national evaluation is a complex undertaking. These difficulties are compounded here by the fact that Governments did not generally provide adequate information on women's organizations in response to the questionnaire.

105. The above problems notwithstanding, it is possible to outline some universal considerations with respect to women's organizations. Such an outline is prepared by reviewing and appraising the impact on the condition of women of the operation of different types of women's organizations in different countries, using the

limited information available from Governments, published academic literature and case studies of specific women's organizations. 18/

18/ The published material consulted included:

- (a) Transfer of Knowledge and Skills Among Peer Groups: A Manual on Methodology (Bangkok, ESCAP/FAO Inter-Country Project for the Promotion and Training of Rural Women in Income-raising Group Activities, 1979);
- (b) "Women's International Resource Exchange Service: roles and contradictions of Chilean women in the Resistance and in exile", a paper presented by Gladys Diaz at the plenary session of the International Conference on Exile and Solidarity in Latin America during the 1970s, Caracas, Venezuela, October 1979;
- (c) Vatchareeya Thosanguan, "The position of women and their contribution to the food processing industry in Thailand", a paper presented at the Workshop on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries and Women at Tehran, Iran, 24-26 April 1978;
- (d) "The role of African trade union women", a paper presented at the English-speaking Pan-African Conference, Nairobi, Kenya, 17-27 July 1977; Gandhi Peace Foundation, Report of the Workshop for Organizers of Income Generating Projects for Women (New Delhi, 1977);
- (e) Department of Rural Development, Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation, Government of India, "Development of village-level organizations: report of the Working Group on Development of Village-Level Organization of Rural Women, New Delhi, June 1978";
- (f) Asian and Pacific Development Institute, in collaboration with Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, Training Seminar on Development Planning for Women, "Case studies on planning for women", (DPW/A/8);
- (g) Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, "Report of the Expert Group Meeting on the Identification of the Basic Needs of Women of Asia and the Pacific and on the Formulation of a Programme of Work, Tehran, 4-10 December 1977";
- (h) Devaki Jain and others, Summary of the Programming for Rural Women's Employment: Some Illustrations (New Delhi, Indian Co-operative Union, 1977);
- (i) Zimbabwe African National Union, "Women's liberation in the Zimbabwean struggle", a document prepared by the ZANU Women's Seminar, Maputo, May 1979;
- (j) Documents da 2ª Conferencia da Organizacao da Mulher Mocambicana, Maputo, 10a 17 de Novembro de 1976;
- (k) Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, "Report of the International Workshop on Feminist Ideology and Structures in the First Half of the Decade for Women; Bangkok, 24-30 June, 1979";

106. Women have taken initiatives independent of governmental action to organize around many issues affecting their lives, the lives of their children and families, and society as a whole. Thus, they have organized around economic concerns geared to make women more self-sufficient members of society and to improve their welfare and living conditions by vesting in them special skills, resources and educational opportunities. Although income-generation is the major focal point of these organizations, they also promote leadership training, individual self-confidence, decision-making and participation in public and political affairs. A second focal point for women has been social and moral issues, at both the national and international level. For instance, disruptive social, economic and political practices and policies, including alcoholism, domestic violence and international confrontations and wars, have historically given rise to both formal and spontaneous organizations and protests among women. A third focal point for women's organizations has been the broader movements for social transformation - specifically, the national liberation and revolutionary struggles and reconstruction movements, in which women have organized themselves as combatants and cadres. Some concrete cases of the ways in which women have organized around the three concerns - economic issues, social and moral issues and social transformation - are given below.

(continued)

- (l) International Labour Office, Structure and Functions of Rural Workers' Organization (Geneva, 1978);
 - (m) Stephanie Urdang, Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1979);
 - (n) Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds., Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1976);
 - (o) Quest: A Feminist Quarterly, vols. I-V (1974-1979);
 - (p) Patricia Caplan, Women United, Women Divided (London, Tavistock Women's Studies, 1978);
 - (q) Sheila Rowbowtham, Women, Resistance and Revolution (Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1972);
 - (r) Juliet Mitchell, Women's Estate (New York, Vintage Books, 1973);
 - (s) Arlene E. Bergman, Women of Vietnam (San Francisco, People's Press, 1975);
 - (t) Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Women in Socialist Society (Moscow, 1979);
- Jain Divaki, Women's Quest for Power (New Delhi, Vikes Publications, 1979).

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1. Women's organizations based on economic activity

107. Working women in several countries have organized into their own unions or into autonomous coalitions of unionized women. Although working women have a long and well documented history of trade union activity, both as members and wives, in all regions of the world, they have rarely been adequately represented within the established union hierarchies. Even where women are members of established unions, their activities have been seen as support and auxiliary roles to those of men. Such autonomous women's unions exist in Denmark, India and the United States. In addition to offering support services similar to traditional unions, they accord priority to women's needs as women.

108. The majority of working women in Denmark (52 per cent) are affiliated with the General Union of Women Workers (KAF), founded in 1901. The Union organizes unskilled women in an association for their mutual interest. Its goals include giving women workers full equality in society and supporting them in any legal conflicts or negotiations with employers.

109. In the United States, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) organized to identify the common problems of union and non-union women and to develop action programmes and solutions within the trade associations. Their strategies include pressuring for affirmative action at the workplace and promoting women's participation in politics, trade unions, and public life in general. They advise and support individual women within their unions and organize women's committees in union locals. Hence, within the framework of the established labour movement, the Coalition independently promotes the basic demands and needs of women.

110. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) is a women's organization registered as a trade union in Gujarat, India. Its self-employed members include street vendors of goods and services, hawkers and casual wage earners working in rural and urban areas. This union has reached large numbers of illiterate poor women in the informal sector by functioning as a protective association and by providing them with the means to be self-reliant. It also offers functional literacy classes and assistance in finding employment. The union women operate bank and credit facilities and allocate social security through their own special trust fund. The additional support women receive in matters relating to their occupation, their relationship with authority and even their problems with family members increases their individual self-confidence and group strength.

111. Another type of organization based on economic activity is the women's credit association, which provides access to infrastructure and support. Although the exact form varies from culture to culture, a set amount is regularly contributed by each member to a fund from which each may draw in turn or in time of need. The fund provides women with investment capital for household or agricultural equipment and a means for their members to make business and social contacts.

112. In Accra, Ghana, the Ga women use a susu, or rotating credit system, to save their resources. Members of the system meet once a week to pay a fixed amount into a fund given to a different one each week. Each amount buys a "share", and a woman

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with one share will receive the fund once during each rotation. These associations provide an important mechanism for market traders to develop their commerce and to supplement their household incomes.

113. In the Republic of Korea, women's groups traditionally operate a rotary management system whereby each member saves cash or rice and assesses the total at regular monthly meetings. The Sacinaul Movement for Development has built upon these traditional groups, utilizing them as a development resource. The capital raised is often used for village improvements or agricultural projects.

114. In several North American cities, women's credit unions consolidate funds for the members of women's political, professional and economic organizations for personal or commercial use. These credit unions provide services and assistance to lower-income women and to new or expanding women's enterprises that might otherwise be ineligible for credit. Although they often face political and economic obstacles, these unions are viewed as one means which assist women to become economically self-sufficient.

115. Women's rural development associations are another form of economic organization found in developing countries. They are generally grass-roots women's organizations which attempt to improve the material conditions of their members through self-developed and administered income-generating projects or assist members in gaining skills for agricultural or non-formal rural activities. They often work closely with community, government or development officials in order to acquire initial financial support and guidance in technologies and skills.

116. The Harambee, or self-help groups, in Kenya started as sewing and home improvement groups. One of them, Mraru Women's Group, began to focus on income-generating activities, with the help of a Government Community Development official. The Group thereafter purchased a bus and put it in service between their village and the nearest town. The service has not only generated profits for the Group to use to expand their activities into building and running a consumer shop and goat shed but has also opened up the village, exposing it to a broader range of ideas.

117. In A Barangay of San Felipe, the Philippines, the local women's club organized a co-operative store. The venture began as a tomato project to earn a food ration from the Food for Work programme and to unite the village women. Despite several technical and organizational obstacles, the group managed to generate enough income to form a tomato and fish fermentation project and construct a store. In evaluating the project for development officials, the women reported that flexible group structure, strong dedicated leadership, family support and credit support helped the women to overcome the obstacles. Responsibilities for every task were rotated among the members so that each one received adequate training, learned skills and had the opportunity to contribute equally to the co-operative.

118. Other organizations which involve economic action on the part of women do not derive direct financial benefits for their members. Women's organizations in Western Europe, North America and some developing countries have spearheaded consumer safety campaigns to educate the public about dangerous and harmful chemicals in foods and clothing and to challenge the manufacturers of those products.

119. During the 1970s, for example, a number of women's organizations, development agencies and churches organized a massive consumer boycott of the baby-food companies that promoted and distributed infant formula to developing countries, where poor sanitation, limited water supplies and chronic poverty obstructed its safe usage. The World Health Organization recognized the efforts of these organizations, stating, "women's non-governmental organizations should organize extensive consciousness-raising campaigns for generating policy actions by governments and launching informational campaigns in support of breast-feeding and good weaning habits, as well as their involvement in government agencies to monitor and enforce marketing codes dealing with regulations and publicity".

2. Women's organizations based on social and moral issues

120. Women have long been involved in national and international peace campaigns. The awareness of the international system created during the Industrial Revolution contributed to the first all-women national peace societies, founded in England and North America between 1820 and 1830. In the second half of the nineteenth century, many women's groups posited visions of national diplomacy, democratic institutions and a more just global society. By the early twentieth century a number of groups, for example, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, had a strong professional commitment to women's involvement in public life and international peace. More recently, many women's organizations strongly protest governmental and industrial nuclear policies and practices. In the South Pacific, Women for a Nuclear Free Pacific lobby against nuclear testing, fallout and weapons stock-piling.

121. Women have also historically led prohibition campaigns. Recently, in India, women used their united strength against alcoholism among men, in an attempt to curb subsequent wife and child violence. During the 1960s and 1970s, they closed down many breweries and patrolled the streets for drunken men.

3. Women's organizations based on social transformation

122. The wide-ranging contribution of women in the national liberation struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has been significant. Women have continued to play an important role in the reconstruction of the liberated countries and to participate in the building of new societies. Several concrete illustrations follow.

123. The All China Women's Federation, supported by the Chinese Communist Party, involves women as active members in all levels and aspects of development - political, social and economic. The Federation helped women exercise their rights under the Marriage and Labour Legislation passed in 1950 and 1951, which challenged male hierarchical household authority. It also opposed land reform programmes which redistributed land without the participation of women. Governmental policies to collectivize agriculture and develop rural industries were implemented and administered by the Federation.

124. To bring women into the revolutionary struggle in the 1950s, the Federation's strategies included consciousness-raising campaigns to study the common problems

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of women. By "speaking their bitterness", airing their concerns and sharing the realization of common problems, women were impelled to take action in the Government's campaigns to improve their living conditions. Similarly, in the 1960s, a consciousness-raising campaign among men and women examined the problems of women, combining child-bearing, household maintenance and social production as well as the right to equal pay for equal work. At each stage in China's development, the Federation emphasized attitudinal and value change to accompany the transformation of political and economic transformation.

125. The Federation of Cuban Women, established after the Revolution, has been central to the participation of women within the social and political framework of the Revolutionary Government. State leadership prescribes the goals of the Federation within the modernization goals of Cuban society. The organization in turn articulates and integrates women's aspirations upward to the Party and Government. Like the All China Women's Federation, the Federation of Cuban Women utilizes consciousness-raising, politicization and resocialization campaigns to eradicate the traditional images of women in society. Their strategies for change included a massive literacy campaign in 1961. Of the 707,000 people they reached, 56 per cent were women. The Federation was also instrumental in the adoption of the Family Code of 1975 which contains a conscious attempt to break down male-dominated family structures and relationships.

126. The Organization of Women in Guinea-Bissau was also formally established after the Revolution, with the support of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde. Drawing its strength partially from existing support networks of women, the Organization politicized these informal societies to participate in the national development of a viable socialist economy. Many of the leaders of the Organization hold high government office, and the 10-member Commission of Women, which leads the Organization, ranks as a ministry of the Government.

C. Some principles for planning

127. Although planning is a concrete task which must be informed by national socio-economic and political specificities, the foregoing review and appraisal indicates some considerations which should be of universal concern to planners with respect to women. Is it possible to formulate some general guidelines from these considerations?

128. While the consequences of disregarding women in development projects and programmes have been observed by researchers and shown by experience to limit the realization of the full potential of the projects and programmes, no blueprint exists on how planners should incorporate women into the development process. Several international agencies have issued guidelines to their personnel for incorporating women in their programmes and projects. 19/ Such guidelines,

19/ See, for example, World Bank, Recognizing the 'Invisible' Woman in Development: The World Bank's Experience (Washington D.C., October 1979); United

however, primarily address sectoral concerns of the given international agencies. In what follows, several principles, from which concrete guidelines addressed to national planners may be formulated, are listed. The listing is not in order of priority nor is it exhaustive.

Guiding principle

129. Governments should make national measures designed to improve the status of women an integral part of their formal national planning documents, such as development plans, annual budgets etc. This must go beyond the mere inclusion of women in such documents and mean a perception of the problems of women in the context of their interrelationships with over-all development strategies and objectives.

Principle 1

130. All sectoral programmes should take into account the needs of women and the impact of these programmes on their well-being. To this end, the target group - women - should be intimately and actively involved in the complete programme and project cycle. In this regard, the traditional confinement of women's concerns to the ministries of health, education, housing and social welfare, where they are often treated as passive recipients and are insulated therefore from directly productive sectors and decision-making channels, should be avoided. All the key ministries should perceive women as their active constituency. For instance, the ministry of agriculture's extension programmes should include peasant women. Similarly, the ministry of local government should co-operate closely with women's organizations in discharging its responsibilities. Such collaboration will reduce the occurrence of counter-productive efforts, the boycott of "development" institutions and services, and bridge the gap between the national change agents and the target groups.

Principle 2

131. Traditional and local philosophies, technologies, institutions and delivery systems should be strengthened through official recognition, training and funding, and should be integrated into the formal socio-economic and political system. 20/

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Nations Children's Fund, "Assistance to programmes benefiting women" (PRO-42); "World Food Programme's contribution to the United Nations Decade for Women: priorities for 1980-1985: report of the Executive-Director" (WFP/CFA:9/6).

20/ Care should be taken here not to assume that traditional and local philosophies are sex-neutral or that they always favour women. The major consideration is that such philosophies should be given a more prominent place in the design of programmes, because they are more organic to the concrete requirements of any specific society.

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For instance, traditional birth attendants could be formally recognized and accordingly remunerated for services they render by the Government in the course of its official health programme. Customary law institutions such as dispute settlement mechanisms and the traditional legal personnel presiding over them could be likewise integrated.

Principle 3

132. In deciding priorities in terms of which programmes or projects to endow with limited resources, the programmes or projects with an impact on more than one problem should be paramount. In this regard, since poverty is a problem whose amelioration would have wide multiplier effects in health, nutrition and education, for example, income-generating projects for women are of primary importance. Similarly, measures aimed at developing basic and appropriate technology in food (processing, storage preservation), energy and water are multifaceted in their impact, since they would liberate women from drudgery - thus, not only releasing them for participation in productive tasks but improving their health.

Principle 4

133. In the design of projects, programmes and delivery systems, women should not be perceived as a homogeneous group. In identifying the target group, for example, it is important to consider women who are heads of households and women in the informal sector, both rural and urban, since they constitute a particularly marginalized majority of women. Similarly, in building a data base, these qualitative differentiations should be recognized.

134. Any effective planning process must also take cognizance of and utilize the autonomous initiatives of women. In this regard, the rise of the women's movement has raised many questions with respect to the modalities for achieving the goals of the Decade. Two questions are of special importance here: what is the most effective focus of governmental action with respect to women's organizations; and what is the most effective focus of women's organizations in achieving the goals of the Decade?

135. To the extent that women's organizations speak for women, representing their interests and articulating their aspirations, they are the most important institutions for mobilizing and reaching women. It is crucial for Government planners and policy makers to understand how and why women organize as women if the full potential of governmental measures aimed at improving women's condition is to be fully realized.

136. There are circumstances under which women's organizations may be the most effective or the only vehicle for channelling governmental resources and expertise. This may be the case, for instance, in situations where sex segregation exists owing to cultural or religious traditions and beliefs. Similarly, in many instances, the organizations are the most reliable and sensitive means of identifying problems and evaluating the operation of programmes and projects. It is therefore vital for Government to establish links with these organizations, utilize their networks in reaching women, incorporate their perspectives in

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formulating policy, and channel development resources through them, whenever appropriate. One way of establishing such links may be through resource centres similar to the Shopfront Information Service in Australia, which transmits women's views on government policies and programmes to the Government and relays information on government services to women. In establishing such links, however, the target organizations need to be selected on the basis of the spread and character of their memberships and constituencies.

137. Women, like any other social group are differentiated by class interests, social status and other aspirations. Their organizations reflect this differentiation. Thus, as explained in the report on national machinery, 21/ some women's organizations cater to narrow élitist interests of a small circle of members and do not address the basic problems facing a majority of women. This fact makes it extremely important for Governments to identify only those organizations representing the interests of a majority of women - a majority which is poor, overburdened and the most oppressed substratum of society.

138. For their part, the fundamental task of women's organizations should be the mobilization of women for action around issues affecting their daily lives. In doing this, the organizations should try to influence Governments and existing structures and institutions with a view to creating a consciousness among women of their oppression, giving leadership on how it can be altered. Generally speaking, the most successful women's groups are those which have not only helped improve women's daily existence by providing services and influencing existing structures to accord more benefits to women but have gone beyond those concerns, raising the consciousness of their membership and formulating strategies seeking to transform those structures. In the final analysis, the women's organizations that represent the majority of women from such a perspective are the most veritable institutional bulwark of women's aspirations; they constitute an organizational modality for women themselves to develop a sense of power, to influence and redirect the processes of change. They thus embody the ideals, goals and the objectives of the Decade. They are the conscience of these ideals and the final barricade for their defence, nationally and internationally.

21/ "Review and evaluation of progress ... national machinery and legislation" (A/CONF.94/11).