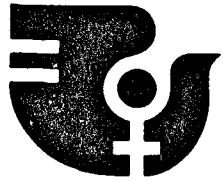




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CONFERENCE BACKGROUND PAPER

**CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE
DEVELOPMENT PROCESS: A POINT OF VIEW***

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INTRODUCTION

1. When we focus on women in development, we are forced to take into account the broader social and political implications of economic change. This stems from a basic assumption about the division of labour that has linked women's biological role in reproduction to the social responsibility of nurturing and socializing the future generations. When this assumption is tied to a development process that places greater emphasis on growth in production than on the development of the society, the implication is that employment of women in the advanced sectors of the economy is uneconomic, since it requires a heavier investment in social services of child care, improved working conditions and more flexible hours than in the case of male workers. Linked to the premise that the end of production is exchange for profit, concern for domestic consumption needs is subordinated to short range gains for a single enterprise or industry. Subsistence needs provided for by women's work in a domestic economy are often subverted by capital-intensive industrial projects that increase the dependency relationships that perpetuate under-development. Too often modern industrial sectors in the developing economies have failed to take full advantage of the human potential that is the greatest resource of these countries.

2. The emphasis on production for exchange that has characterized many of the development projects cultivates a sense in the work force of limited control over their work and an underestimation of the contribution they could make to society. For those sectors of the population which are excluded or limited in their participation in the labour market because of sex or ethnic considerations, the individual sense of worthlessness is even more distorted. The exclusion of women, the majority of the population of newly developing areas, from the advanced sectors of commercial production depresses the wage that workers can command in the marginally productive industries and services. At the same time, this exclusion augments the wages of workers in advanced sectors of industry by narrowing the labour force channelled into such jobs. The differential wage artificially heightened in such sectors stimulates even greater investment in the capital-intensive sector and in turn increases the distortion of the economy, the over-investment in import substitution and the further neglect of local level and subsistence sectors.

3. The uneven penetration of capital investment in developing countries has been considered in its regional, national, racial and ethnic forms. 1/ The sexual dimension of this uneven penetration has only recently been touched. Just as the effects of the unequal involvement of other discriminated sectors (for example, peasants in comparison with townsmen, or poor nations compared with rich) means that they can be controlled more effectively because of their inability to compete, so in the case of women there is a loss of decision-making and self-determination. Most importantly, when there is a shift in the balance of productive roles favouring male employment there often is a corresponding shift in consumption preferences. Radios and bicycles, for example, may have higher priority than nutritional needs of children and social welfare. The failure to set any market value on women's work in the reproduction and maintenance of the labour force means that their contribution to production is consistently undervalued. 2/ This further aggravates the unevenness of capital investment in the development process: the saving on their unpaid labour in domestic production in the home and the underpaid labour of domestic servants accelerates the accumulation of capital for the investment sector. 3/ The low value placed on women's work may further have the effect of socializing women to dependency on men. When women lose their subsistence base and the family has to depend on a single wage earner, the

1/ Studies of regional and national imbalances include Samir Amin, Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1974); Arghiri Emmanuel, Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1974); Fernando H. Cardoso and Enzo Faletti, Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina (Mexico, Siglo XXI, 1971); Andrew G. Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1967); Theotonio dos Santos, Tomás A. Vasconi, Marcos Kaplan and Helio Jaguaribe, La Crisis del Desarrollismo y la Nueva Dependencia (Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1969); Oswaldo Sunkel, "Transnational capitalism and national disintegration in Latin America", in Social and Economic Studies, vol. 22, No. 1 (1973), pp. 132-171. For studies of ethnic imbalances in development see Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York, Grove Press, 1968) and A Dying Colonialism (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1959); Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, "Internal colonialism and national development", in Irving Horowitz, Latin America Radicalism (New York, Vintage Press, 1969).

2/ Concerning discussions on sexual differentials, see Selma James, "Sex, race and working class power", Race Today, January 1973; Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James, Women and the Subversion of Community (Bristol, The Falling Wall Press, 1972); Isabel Largia and John Demoulin, "Toward a science of women's liberation", NACLA's Latin America and Empire report, vol. VI, No. 10 (December 1972); June Nash and Helen Safa, Sex and Class in Latin America (New York, Praeger forthcoming).

3/ Elizabeth Jelin, "The Bahiana in the labour force: domestic activity, handicraft production and salaried work in Salvador Bahi" in J. Nash and H. Safa, Sex and Class in Latin America, op. cit.; Heleieth Saffioti, A mulher na sociedade de classe: mito e realidade (São Paulo, Quatro Artes, 1969).

subordination of workers to control by employers is reinforced because of the pressure on the male breadwinner to remain in the work force.

4. An even more pervasive effect of the situation of women is the undervaluation of their product, human labour power. Children of the vast populations who have been pushed out of the rural areas by commercial agriculture and who have no hope of being absorbed in the narrow industrial sector in the cities, are born into a world that offers little prospect for the development of their talents in their own nations. Often on reaching productive age, they are forced to migrate to the urban centres in search of work. The abundant supplies of cheap labour further accelerate the accumulation of capital and aggravates the regional and international imbalances. The problems of women in development may be seen as intensification of the problems faced by the vast majority of the people of developing countries who are caught up in a process that stresses gains for the individual firm or industry at the same time that it results in the waste of human resources and the decline of social standards. Women emerged after a century of industrial development as triply subordinate: as housewives and mothers, they are the subordinates of men (most of them from middle and lower income groups) on the domestic scene. They are subordinates as females in sex-segregated jobs with discriminatory wages. As workers, women are usually excluded from the higher levels of management in private and governmental enterprises.

5. In the first case, the plight of the housewife in both developed and developing countries is similar. They are sometimes dismissed without indemnity, often have no control over income and have no regulation on the hours of work performed.

6. In the second instance male workers may join with employers in supporting the exclusion of women from jobs or in permitting lower pay scales in their own fear of losing the services women provide for them, as well as in competing with them in the job market.

7. Finally, women must depend on decision-making controlled by male élites who determine the allocation of private and public capital and who often tend to give low priority to social needs. Specific ways in which this situation distorts the potential for development at international, national and local levels are discussed below.

I. DEPENDENCY OF WOMEN IN THE FAMILY

8. The most important determinant of the extent to which women participate in development is the definition of their role in the family. It is not so much the particular form of the family as the imperatives demanded of the women in this context and the presence or absence of supporting figures or institutions to carry out the tasks defined as familial functions.

9. The dependency that supports the subordinate role of women in the family is embedded in ancient law as well as in the precepts of many religions, including

/...

Christianity and Islam. 4/ It is a departure from earlier societies and from some contemporary non-industrial societies where women were, and are, full participants in the domestic mode of production. 5/

10. The traditions that developed around women's "dependent nature" were crystallized in an ideology that fostered voluntary and compulsory dependency in the first decade of the twentieth century at the same time that it excluded the working woman from the mystique of the feminine that grew up around the myth. 6/ Social scientists at the turn of the century provided the "scientific" rationale for the subordination of women in the division of labour, asserting that it resulted in a genetic selection of a physically frailer and mentally weaker female of the species. 7/ The myth of women's dependent nature received a particularly virulent expression in the fascist ideology of the 1930s.

11. It has been argued that the specialization of functions in the family where female roles provide the expressive and affective component, while male roles deal with the public and gainful activities is especially adaptive in a society where the needs of mobility and achievement orientation could lead to conflict if they were to enter into the home. 8/ It was considered acceptable for women to play roles in the wider world, provided that these were an extension of the roles they played in the home, such as those of secretary, nurse or editorial assistant. This separation of instrumental and affective, of public and private, of competitive and dependency roles by gender limits and distorts the human impulses of both sexes. In such a setting, the family becomes an agency for "socializing children to class-based age and sex roles", thereby "assisting in the integration of society by producing persons willing to accept and adequately fill traditionally defined

4/ See, for example, Sir Henry Maine, Ancient Society; Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, with an introduction by Eleanor B. Leacock (New York, New World Paperbacks, 1972); John Stuart Mill, "The subjection of women", in Alice Rossi, The Feminist Papers from Adams to de Beauvoir, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1973); Mary Wollstonecraft, "A vindication of the rights of women", in Alice Rossi, ibid. Dominique Desanti, Flora Tristan, la Femme Revolte (Paris, Hachette, 1972).

5/ Judith Brown, "Economic organization and the position of women among the Iroquois", Ethnology, vol. 17, pp. 151-167; documents reports on the early contacts with aboriginal populations of North America showing the egalitarian status of women. Data on contemporary societies can be found in Eleanor Leacock, The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and the Fur Trade (American Anthropological Association, 1954) and Richard Lee and Irven DeVore, Man the Hunter (Chicago, Aldine, 1971).

6/ Scott and Nellie Nearing, Woman and Social Progress (New York, Macmillan, 1914).

7/ Emile Durkheim, Division of Labour in Society (New York, The Free Press, 1964), p. 57.

8/ Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales, Family Socialization and Interaction Process (Glencoe, The Free Press, 1955).

roles". 9/ It effectively limits the role women play in the development of their country, and deprives the society of the special perspectives they derive from their familial functions as an input in decision-making.

12. Three major patterns of familial and extra-familial institutions will be summarized here in order to assess their effect on socialization and maintenance of family members in both developed and developing countries. These include: (a) the nuclear conjugal family; (b) the extended communal family; and (c) the extended patriarchal family. The transformation of the family in some countries is also considered to reveal possible future trends in breaking the dependency relations cultivated in the home.

A. The nuclear conjugal family

13. In the unilineal thinking that has characterized developmental models, the conjugal, isolated nuclear family is cast as the expected outcome of development processes. Such a model may provide the possibility for geographical and class mobility that is a necessary adjunct of industrial development. 10/ Freedom of choice in the selection of partners and limitation of obligations to an extended network of relatives are the advantages seen in this form of the family for countries undergoing development. This concept of freedom, however, obscures the subordination of the female in the conjugal unit, since she is forced by the dependency relations contained in this relationship to rely on the earning potential of her mate. In most cases, monogamy is strictly enjoined on women whereas less stringent standards are applied to the behaviour patterns of men.

14. A frequent form of the family resulting from the changes brought on by industrialization and urbanization is the female-headed household. Although it is treated in much of the literature as a form of the nuclear family, it is also shown to be a functional adaptation to male migratory labour in many areas. 11/ In some cases the female-headed household may provide the mutual aid and interdependency among women workers. 12/ Women studied in Puerto Rico, for example, revealed a desire to have children since their main source of identification and reward comes from bearing and rearing children rather than from the low paid, low status jobs to which they are limited. The high proportion of female-headed households

9/ Dean D. Knudsen, "The declining status of women: popular myths and the failure of functionalist thought", Social Forces, vol. 48, pp. 183-193.

10/ William Goode, World Revolution and Family Pattern (New York, The Free Press, 1970).

11/ Nancy Solien Gonzalez, Black Carib Household Structure: A Study of Migration and Modernization (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1969).

12/ Helen Safa, "The female headed household in Puerto Rico", in June Nash and Helen Safa, Sex and Class in Latin America (New York, Praeger Co. in press).

throughout the world, and especially in developing countries, demonstrates the need to take them fully into account in planning for development. 13/

B. The extended communal family

15. Many extended family systems are not only retained in developing countries, but provide the much needed support system that makes successful participation in the modern sectors possible for women. Where principles of matriliney have survived the periods of colonization and external domination, the extended family remains as a buffer for women in economic and political transactions. For example, in the case of the Minangkabau of Indonesia, the mother's brother represents the family to the outside world, but only after consultation with all the members of the lineage. Women sit in on all conferences concerning property and political decision-making. 14/ Even in the case of the patrilineal families of Bali, the adat, or customary law continues to provide for the safety of women.

16. In West Africa, where women comprise 66 per cent of the country's traders, women spend much of their time away from home. This is made possible by sharing child-care with co-wives or other members of the extended family. The economic independence of women and their strong solidarity as a sex enables them to gain more leverage in their negotiations with men than in most societies where they are less economically independent. 15/

17. Extended family controls over sexual relations and reproduction often break down with the migration of men to work in the industrial centres. In south and east Africa, for example, the migration of men without their families creates a situation in the towns in which prostitution as well as bigamous relations with widows or divorced women is common. When men return to the reserve for extended visits, interpregnancy intervals are lowered. When normal routines are maintained, extended nursing and abstinence are used to increase intervals between births.

18. While men retain their ties with the village through their earnings, their children and frequent return visits, the women who migrate to town tend to be more

13/ Elise Boulding has made an estimate that between one quarter and one third of the families in the world are headed by females (personal communication to the author). For Africa, see also her manuscript, "Women, bread and babies: directing aid to fifth world farmers", background paper to the Conference on the World Food and Population Crisis: A Role for the Private Sector, 3 April 1975 at Dallas, Texas.

14/ Cora Vreede-de Stuers, L'émancipation de la Femme Indonésienne (Paris, Mouton, 1959), p. 87.

15/ Elizabeth Hunting Wheeler, "Sub-Saharan Africa", in Raphael Patai, Women in the Modern World (New York, Free Press, 1967) and E. Wayne Nafziger, "The effect of the Nigerian extended family on entrepreneurial activity", Economic Development and Cultural Change, vol. 18, No. 1 (October 1969).

confirmed in their commitment to the urban scene. It is reported that Xhosa women who leave the village to seek jobs in the city are desirous of escaping their status as a perpetual minor. Lacking ties to the village, they are more committed to making an adaptation to urban life and concomitantly to modernization and change. 16/

C. The patriarchal extended family

19. An extreme expression of familial control over women is found in those countries in which women are segregated and excluded from all participation in public life and their identity is almost entirely mediated through men. In some such countries the law extends rights of inheritance to a woman only when she remains in the custody of her husband's relatives after his death. The insecure economic position of women prevents their taking advantage of divorce or other rights. 17/

20. In some instances, however, sex segregation has had the effect of providing a special client group for women who are trained in medicine and law. Furthermore, the solidarity of women in a segregated sector seems to give them more self-respect and sense of peer group support such that when they move into the professions they do not seem to need male approval. In the seclusion of the home, women find a network of defences by which they can evade the full brunt of male prerogatives. 18/

21. Further, the socialization of women in religious instruction and in the home reduces their discontent with forced seclusion and restrictions. Many religious teachings emphasize that the divine will should be carried out by men. Combined with these teachings is the positive association of segregation with the higher social strata which enhances it in the eyes of the society. As a result, ideological support remains strong though not unchallenged.

22. In countries which insist on the exclusion of women from public life, the dependency of women is maintained at high economic cost because of the loss of their potential earnings, as well as the practical activities women might carry out in the home. Women of the lower income groups who must work in the field

16/ Lucy Mair, New Nations (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 157-159.

17/ Rounaq Jahan, "Women in Bangladesh" in Ruby Leavitt, Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge (The Hague, Mouton, 1975).

18/ Helen Papanek, "Purdah in Pakistan: seclusion and modern occupations for women", Journal of Marriage and the Family, vol. 33 (1971), pp. 517-530 and Daisy Dwyer, Laura Klein, Susan Makiesky and Constance Sutton, "Women, knowledge and power" in Ruby Leavitt, Women Cross-Culturally, op. cit.

require a burqua, or coverall that conceals them from head to foot when they appear in public. Middle income women must have servants to carry out the most routine chores, such as bringing water, which forces them to appear in public. Furthermore, they must have separate plumbing facilities at home as well as in public, and even eating facilities must be secluded for the working woman. This heightens the reluctance of employers to include women on their staff. 19/

23. Revolutions and independence movements of the post-war period have made considerable progress in the emancipation of women in some countries where the segregation of women used to be common. Egypt, in its 1956 Constitution, for example, qualified the equality of women in terms of compatibility between their role in society and their duties to the family; this was later stated in unqualified terms in 1962. 20/ For the most part, the women's movements in the Middle East countries are dedicated to extending educational opportunities to women and to modifying prohibitions on public appearance. Unveiling was so linked to modernization and progress that the Shah of Iran abolished the veil in 1935. While this was proclaimed as "a new era ... opened in the life of Iranian women", women continued to have limited legal rights in the family as well as in public life. 21/ They are still required (as in many countries in other regions) to seek their husbands' permission to go abroad and may be obliged to yield custody of children after divorce.

24. Modernization movements are often restricted to relatively small elite sectors and are not directed toward fundamental changes in family life or society. Consequently, many women continue to dread the arbitrary right of repudiation by their husbands. 22/ The anomalous situation in which women who have fought along with men in revolution and wars of independence has led to separatist tendencies in some of these new nations. Despite their sacrifices in wars of independence, women were urged to return to the domestic retreat.

D. Transformations of the family

25. Some countries have attempted to provide an infrastructure of social services and support that should lessen the dependency position of women in the family. Recognizing that full emancipation can be realized only when economic independence is achieved, some countries have provided public or private child-care services that make gainful occupation for women a real possibility.

19/ Rounaq Jahan, op. cit.

20/ Peter C. Dodd, "Youth and women's emancipation in the United Arab Republic", Middle East Journal, vol. 22 (1968), pp. 155-172.

21/ Lafiteh Yar Shater, in Raphael Patai, op. cit., p. 66.

22/ Sheila Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution (New York, Vintage Books, 1974). See also Vreede-de Stuers, op. cit., p. 55, and A. Afetinam, The Emancipation of the Turkish Woman (Paris, UNESCO, 1962).

26. Since the 1930s, for example, Sweden has progressively increased the subsidies for family maintenance. The most far-reaching step was taken in 1947 when a cash allowance for each child was granted, regardless of the parents' financial circumstances. Clinics for mothers and children have been supported by the State since 1937, and social responsibility for kindergartens, day nurseries, leisure-time homes and nursery schools increased in the 1940s. The State also provides for the training and payment of visiting home help when the housewife cannot manage. Direct allowances from public funds are given for children born out of wedlock and of divorced parents. 23/

27. Following the precept that the monogamous nuclear family was the means through which property could be individually inherited and therefore the vehicle for institutions based on property, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) gave priority in the early days of the revolution to establishing an infrastructure of communal services. The USSR aimed at effecting the complete emancipation of women and making them the equal of men. It was therefore necessary for the national economy to be socialized and for women to participate in common productive labour.

28. In order to accomplish this aim, the USSR had to overcome 1,500 years of the subordination of women in which they had become the slaves and chattel of their husbands and masters, and had been denied citizenship and the protection of the law. The fundamental understanding in the new socialist State was that women should have their own employment in order to realize their full humanity. The tremendous disproportions in sex ratios caused by the death of millions of men in the war and the social turmoil following in the wake of the revolution meant that the mobilization of women was not only an ideological goal but also an objective for national reconstruction. 24/ Factories became social centres with nurseries, kindergartens, libraries and class-rooms along with gymnasias and recreation facilities nearby. 25/ By 1928, there were 33,374 crèches and within three years these had been increased to 130,000. The result was to lower infant mortality, especially in the summer when women's work in the field caused neglect of the children in pre-revolutionary days. 26/ Today there are reported to be over 9.5 million children cared for in crèches and kindergartens as well as in after-school clubs. 27/

29. The concern with the welfare of children was combined with legal and social guarantees to give women control over their own bodies and release them from

23/ Sweden Today, The Status of Women in Sweden, report to the United Nations, 1968 (Stockholm, The Swedish Institute, 1970).

24/ Fannina W. Halle, Women in Soviet Russia (New York, Viking Press, 1934), p. 207; Susan Kingsbury and Mildred Fairchild, Factory, Family and Woman in the USSR (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935).

25/ Jessica Smith, Woman in Soviet Russia (New York, Vanguard, 1928).

26/ Halle, op. cit., p. 161.

27/ Anatoli Kharchev, "The Soviet family: a sociologist's viewpoint", Soviet Life (March 1973), p. 27.

oppression by men. Wife-beating, the explicit and hidden insults and attacks that reinforced the subordination of women, were brought up in workers' councils for the first time and men were shamed into abandoning such practices. Birth control and abortion were permitted in an era when religious and state injunctions prevailed in most of the rest of the world. The early decrees dissolving marriage in 1917 were replaced by the 1926 Marriage Code, which provided for the registration of marriages and communal property to protect the interests of women. In 1936, increased maternal assistance to women in pregnancy, and state allowances to large families reaffirmed the growing concern of the State with population growth and adequate child welfare. State grants to women were again increased in 1944. 28/

30. Other East European States after the Second World War introduced similar systems. Poland provided state funded child-care centres to enable women to work and thus "transform the family into a partnership of equality". 29/ Although the demand exceeded the supply, the crèches enabled 68 per cent of the women who had babies in the 1961 to 1963 period to return to work after childbirth. In the German Democratic Republic, 30 per cent of all children up to three years of age are reported to be brought up in crèches, 73 per cent of all pre-school children to be in kindergartens and 54 per cent of first to fourth grade children in after school clubs, thus enabling 84 per cent of able-bodied women to work. 30/

31. Dramatic transformation of the family is also occurring in China today. Before the revolution, patriarchal controls over women made them the pawns of the extended family. In the lower income peasant family, they provided labour in the fields, both their own, and that of their children, while in higher income families they provided male heirs. Restrictions over the movement of women were symbolized and physically enforced by the practice of foot-binding up to the second and third decades of the twentieth century. The control of male over female was reinforced by the control of elder over younger: the fact that even subordinate female members of the kin group enjoyed the control over secondary wives and daughters-in-law meant that elder females supported the system and became the major socializing agents for maintaining controls over women. 31/

32. The growing impoverishment of the peasantry in the third decade of the twentieth century began the process of undermining the patriarchal system, since only the rich and powerful were able to maintain and control a large family of wives and concubines. Rural poor peasant women had always enjoyed greater sexual and social freedom than urban and wealthy classes. The new leaders strongly

28/ P. Sedugin, New Soviet Legislation on Marriage and the Family (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1973).

29/ Krystyna Wrochno, Woman in Poland (Warsaw, Interpress, 1969).

30/ "Women of the whole world", Journal of the Women's International Democratic Federation, No. 1 (1974).

31/ Ch'ing-K'un Yang, "The Chinese family in the communist revolution" in Chinese Communist Society: The Family and the Village (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1972).

advocated liberation for women, which was seen as a key to toppling the authoritarian feudal patriarchy. Women became strong supporters of the revolutionary movement, joining in the Long March and fighting in the army as well as serving behind the lines in the years of armed struggle. 32/

33. Following the revolution, the first stage for women's emancipation was the struggle by rural women to be recognized as thinking human beings. By physically attacking men who abused women in the communes, they learned to overcome the fear of men that was cultivated in them. The new laws of 1950 guaranteed equality in marriage and loosened the domination of elder over younger as well as male over female. However, within a year there were an estimated 75,000 deaths or suicides attributed to marital difficulties as women struggled to win recognition of the rights granted to them by law. 33/

34. During the Cultural Revolution of recent years, the State backed up the legal equality won in the immediate post-revolutionary period with economic advances. The basic format of the national development calls for local self-determination in the communes. The work site containing communal provisions for child-care, health services and educational facilities, provides a nexus in which women can meet their productive schedules in collective work without encountering conflict in their maternal role. While child-care centres are usually subsidized by the whole community, women are still considered to be the parent with primary responsibility for children. It is reported that women received fewer work points for a working day - 6 to 7 compared to 7 to 9 points for a man - since they worked short hours to permit them to do household duties. 34/ It has been concluded by one writer that:

"The official line was that eventually the drudgery of housework would be eliminated, but in the meantime it was primarily the responsibility of the women ... In unmechanized agriculture, productivity still is often closely related to strength and stamina, and the continuation in a less sharp form of the old division of labour seems really to be a tacit acknowledgement that a man's time in the fields may be more productive than a woman's." 35/

35. In some socialist countries the task of abolishing private property is linked with the rejection of male proprietary rights over women. The economic support

32/ Hsu Kwang, "Women's liberation is a component part of the proletarian revolution" in Peking Review, vol. 10 (1974), pp. 12-15.

33/ Anita Chan, "Rural Chinese women and the socialist revolution: an inquiry into the economics of sexism", Journal of Contemporary Asia, vol. 4 (1974), pp. 197-208.

34/ Jan Myrdal and Gun Kessle, China: The Revolution Continued (New York, Random House, 1972), pp. 10-12, quoted in Delia Davin, "Women in the countryside of China: a study of change in the lives of peasant women under the People's Republic", in Ruby Leavitt, op. cit.

35/ Ibid., p. 26.

given to women's participation in the revolutionary process both as workers and policy-makers in the political movement, in day-care centres and boarding schools, but in recognition of the fact that this never is a complete release from parental responsibility, men have been called upon, in Cuba, for example, to participate in domestic responsibilities. 36/

36. The key to maintaining dependency relations and the subordination of women lies in the reciprocation of protection, economic maintenance and social status by men. If any of these factors is lacking, women will usually rebel from patriarchal control over them. The following examples illustrate the erosion of male dominant institutions.

37. Many instances can be cited of attacks on women in time of war, national emergency and other situations of social breakdown. Recent examples occurring in Bangladesh, Guinea, Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and the Republic of Viet-Nam, highlighting the sufferings of women in such situations are mentioned in a United Nations report issued in 1973 entitled "Protection of women and children in emergency situations, armed conflicts, in the struggle for peace, self-determination, national liberation and independence" (E/CN.6/586). The plight of the thousands of women raped during the emergency situation in Bangladesh was rendered especially tragic by the social order of the country which rejected the unmarried mother. Many women raised serious questions about a system that not only failed to offer them protection against attack, but also caused them to bear the shame and ostracism that is the lot of women who are considered no longer pure. 37/ When men of the radical party in the country proposed to solve the plight of these women who were cast from their family and cut off from means of livelihood by mass marriages, the women rejected such a solution and called for training programmes and jobs which would make them independent of family support.

38. A case in point for the breakdown of economic maintenance and hence the loosening of control over the female is shown in Latin America. Historical and contemporary factors could determine the difference between Chilean women's participation in the labour force, which is 32 per cent, and that of Pakistan women, which is only 9 per cent. Because of a long history characterized by miscegenation, sexual exploitation and illegitimacy in the colonial period and continued in the urban scene, Latin American males have less control over the public activities of women. In contrast to this, Pakistani men extend welfare and protection to widows as well as wives and daughters as long as they follow the rules of their station in life. Both family structures are characterized by patriarchal dominance supported by the church and state, but in Latin America the church provides a support structure for females of the middle-income group who find educational and career outlets in religious institutions, as well as charitable

36/ Speech by Premier Fidel Castro, 4 December 1974 (Havana, Unidad Productora Ol.) and the new Family Code (1975) requires a sharing of these tasks.

37/ Rounaq Jahan, op. cit.

support and solace for impoverished women. Patriarchal controls are sometimes contingent on carrying through the responsibilities of economic support. 38/

39. An illustration of the third condition, satisfaction of status aspirations, comes from studies in the United States of America. A familiar syndrome in the post-war pattern of social mobility was for newly married women to support their husbands through professional education with the expectation that they would retire from the job market, or, assuming they continue to work, attain the status established by their husband's professional career. The tensions implicit in this break from past traditions, in which the man supported his wife, are shown in the high number of divorces soon after the husband acquired his doctorate, medical or law degree. Oftentimes the frustrations accumulated at a later period in mid-years as the husband's greater mobility and economic power permitted him a wider range of available mates and he would leave the woman who supported him in his youth for a younger or higher status woman. The discontent that this rather widespread phenomenon produced contributed to the feminist movement of the 1960s and is still raising fundamental questions about the institution of marriage that no longer provides the social security that it did in the past for middle-income groups. 39/

40. These frictions brought about by contradictions in the ideal and real behaviour are persistent causes for structural breakdown of familial institutions in many areas. Lower-income women are universally more independent of familial controls over their behaviour because men are economically unable to reciprocate the rewards discussed above. If we were to compare relations in marriage, based on the dependency of the woman and her young dependent children on her husband, with relations in trades, the irrationality of the institution can be seen in that subsistence and allowance to a wife is in inverse relation to the services rendered, the skills learned to ply one's trade as a housewife are a hindrance in entering most job markets, and seniority is a detriment. I am not arguing for the obsolescence of marriage, but rather against the kind of union based on economic dependency and subordination of one partner to the other.

38/ Nadia Youssef, "Differential labour force participation of women in Latin American and the Middle Eastern countries: the influence of family characteristics", Social Forces, vol. 51 (1972), pp. 133-151.

39/ For a review of women's family and career roles, see Alice S. Rossi, "Barriers to the career choice of engineering, medicine or science among American women", in Jacquelyn Mattfield and Carol Van Akai, Women and the Scientific Professions, MIT Symposium (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1965).

II. DEPENDENCY AND EXPLOITATION IN THE WORK FORCE

A. The development of the labour market in the industrial age

41. The stage for modern industrialization was set by the long attrition in the feudal period when women lost control over the planning and carrying out of the production of food and clothing for their families. Early tradesmen excluded women from most of the trades except as assistants to their kinsmen by the thirteenth century, and by the sixteenth century only lacemaking remained in their control. 40/

42. In the early phases of the industrial transformation in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, women could combine child-care and domestic maintenance with production in the context of cottage industries. When they were drawn into the factories along with men after 1780, there was a separation of the tasks that set up a conflict in their productive and home-maintenance roles. The factory site was controlled by male entrepreneurs who included children only as part of an exploited labour force.

43. The process of labour mobilization in the nineteenth century resulted in a situation at the turn of the century in which employers increasingly asserted control over the site of production and the scheduling of work. Cyclical depressions eroded the workers' organizations that sprang up to defend their interests in periods of prosperity, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the conditions of work in the United Kingdom and the United States were worse than in the first quarter of the century. 41/

44. Women's participation in the labour force in the early days of industrialization sharpened the contradiction of treating labour as a commodity equivalent with other factors of production. Women, who had the responsibility of maintaining the home and their children even while working, were unable to keep up with the 15-hour work day. Because of this, they were even more concerned than men with gaining a shortened work day. Sarah Bagley, one of the labour leaders in the United States, phrased workers' demands in the broadest terms as providing leisure for cultivating the minds and raising the standards of living. 42/ Men supported the movement led by women, knowing that it would assist their own attempts to make the same gains. But when the 10-hour day was passed only for women in 1847, it restricted their ability to compete with men, and women themselves tried to have the law repealed. By segregating the labour force and pitting men against women in competitive opposition, management was able to turn the gains made by one sector against them.

40/ Helen Campbell, Women Wage Earners: Their Past, Their Present and Their Future (Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1893).

41/ Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860 (Chicago, Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1964), p. 26 et seq.

42/ Ibid., p. 39.

45. In the USSR prior to the revolution, the participation of women in industry revealed a special case of the competitive allocation of women to defeat a workers' movement. Until the nineteenth century, the majority of workers in industry were men. However, with the labour unrest at the turn of the century that peaked in 1905, women were hired in increasing numbers as a more docile source of labour. In the period between 1901-1911, their numbers increased from 26 to 31 per cent of the labour force. 43/ Following the revolution when there was an attempt to relieve male unemployment by firing all women in the printing trades, the paper industry and other factories in Petrograd, the Council of Trade Unions rebuked this reversal of communist principles and called for a reorganization on grounds of equality and independence for all workers. 44/

46. Because of the more intensive exploitation of female labour in industry, men in the trade unions associated the employment of women with the coming of machinery that threatened their job security and lowered wages. Women were forced to accept the lower wages in part because they were excluded from the skilled trade unions and worked out of absolute necessity. Lacking access to political power, which male trade union leaders often had, their valiant attempts at organization in the United Kingdom and the United States in the nineteenth century often failed. 45/

47. Technology has been a double-edged sword in the effect it has had on the employment of women. To take an example from the United States, women's entry into textiles was made possible by the power looms, and later improvements led to their displacement of men throughout the nineteenth century. However, their jobs in cutting cloth were lost to men when an improved cutting machine that cut more thicknesses required the greater force of male cutters, who displaced them in the silk trade in 1860. 46/ Shoemaking was man's work in the early decades of the nineteenth century when a skilled man would serve a seven-year apprenticeship and learned the whole trade, but when machine shop production was set up, women began to be employed more widely after 1852. 47/ A wider use of heavy sewing machines meant that, a few years later, women lost stitching jobs to men. With the spread of multinational corporations in recent years, technological advances in textiles has made it possible to set up shops in Singapore and Hong Kong employing thousands of women who, within a short training period, produce at the same per capita rates as women earning 10 times the amount in New York City. In other regions, the high productivity of workers in capital-intensive firms has made for a preference of male workers who are assumed to have lower absentee rates.

43/ Kingsbury and Fairchild, op. cit., p. 79.

44/ Ibid.

45/ Norman Ware, op. cit.

46/ Elizabeth Baker, Technology and Woman's Work (New York, Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 52; Elsa M. Chaney, Marianne Schmink and Gloria Galotti, "Going from bad to worse: women and modernization", in J. Nash and Helen Safa, op. cit.

47/ Campbell, op. cit., p. 55.

48. A technological determinist position obscures the fact that both men and women workers are manipulated in a labour process that is not concerned with their human needs, but rather with the maximizing of gains in the exploitation of their labour. In those countries where constant training and retraining of the work force is geared to the planned introduction of automation, technological innovation has not been prejudicial to either sex since it has not caused unemployment. 48/

49. The employment of women reached a peak in most industrial countries early in the present century. In the United States, employment reached a high of 64.4 per cent of females, while in the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany there were slightly over a quarter of the women in the work force. 49/ Following the turn of the twentieth century, the forced commitment to domestic roles with periodic mobilization in time of war became the rule.

50. In the period of rapid economic development after the Second World War, women's participation in the labour force in the market economies constituted 30 per cent of the work force in the period 1950 to 1965. 50/ In the centrally planned economies other than the USSR, women made up 40 per cent of the labour force. The Soviet Union reached the highest proportion, 51 per cent in 1975. 51/ While some of the increased labour power that was needed in the expanding industries of the European Economic Community came from rural agricultural areas, most of the increases came from the pool of unemployed persons in Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia, who migrated to the Federal Republic of Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Belgium. By importing a labour force in the period of economic prosperity in the 1960s, the European market economies were able to avoid confronting the problems contingent on mobilizing women into the labour force such as day-care centres and more communal facilities on the job. 52/ A net reduction in the job opportunities due to the introduction of electronic data processing with the replacement of women by men may be the beginning of a long-term trend in the future. In Canada, where a similar trend was observed in 1962, firms introduced technological advances that reduced the need for employees at a rate such that natural attrition of the work force obviated the need for layoffs.

48/ Valentina Nicolayeva-Tereshkova, "The technological revolution and Soviet women", "Women of the Whole World", Journal of the Women's International Democratic Federation, vol. 1 (1974).

49/ Antonina Vallentin, "The employment of women since the war", International Labour Review (1959), pp. 480-487.

50/ Manpower Aspects of Recent Development in Europe (Geneva, ILO, 1969).

51/ "Yenshing U.S.S.R.", Vestnik Statistiki (Moscow 1975), p. 5.

52/ Report of the Interregional Meeting of Experts on the Integration of Women in Development, New York, 19-28 June 1972 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.IV.12), para. 166 points out the reluctance of employers to hire women because of the increase in labour costs in meeting the requirements of protective legislation.

51. Women's experience in the period of industrialization became crystallized in a pattern of discrimination in wages, in occupational segregation in lower paid and less skilled jobs, and finally in a cumulative discrimination that is a kind of summation of other forms of discrimination in that it becomes internalized in the way society thinks. These three levels of discrimination derive from a division of labour by sex that has charged women with the full responsibility for the nurturing of family members at the same time that it has deprived them of independent earning capacity. Women keep men in the work force by their labour in the home; they get the man to work on time and receive the brunt of his frustrations when he returns from work at a low paid, monotonous job. When they enter the labour market to supplement the inadequate earnings of the "head of the house" they are losers in a job market that stresses mobility, a rigid job schedule based on an eight-hour day, and often a two-hour commuting schedule, and a continuous life career in which seniority provides an illusory security in a rapidly changing technological work sphere.

52. Wage discrimination which involves unequal pay for equal work is most likely to be rooted out as the most blatant form of discrimination. Trade unions in the United States have consistently supported women's demands for equal pay, sometimes possibly in the hope that it would prevent them from being hired. 53/ However, there are still areas of the world where unequal pay exists. It is much harder to define it where the work is diverse and qualitatively expressed rather than measurable in some quantitative product, and it is in these categories that discrimination is most prevalent.

53. The discriminatory wage received by women is hidden in the segregated labour market which relegates them to the lower paid jobs. The proportionate earnings of men and women, which were stabilized at slightly over 50 per cent after the Second World War in the United States, dropped from 64 per cent of the male wage in 1955 to 61 per cent in 1959. 54/ The channelling of women into the low-paying jobs is reinforced by guidance counsellors who cite figures to prove the advantages in securing employment in segregated fields. When legal action is taken to force hiring at higher levels, managerial reaction has often been that of creating "ghettoized" jobs within a broad classification. A counter ploy in defining job classifications in very specific ways when legislation is passed has been suggested. 55/

54. Cumulative discrimination is based on assumptions about women's performance in the work force, such as higher absenteeism, interrupted careers, and leaving work upon marriage or maternity. Many of these myths are no longer justified on the basis of statistics collected in the centres of industrial growth and

53/ Baker, *op. cit.* p. 43 indicates that when women called for equal wages, they invited discharge. Knowing this, the composers' union supported them.

54/ *The New York Times*, 6 January 1975.

55/ Janice Fanning Madden, *The Economics of Sex Discrimination* (London, Lexington Books, 1973), p. 97.

have never been operative in the developing countries. As the International Labour Organisation report of 1975 points out, poverty combined with bearing the primary responsibility for maintaining the family have kept women in the work force continuously in many developing countries. 56/

55. Even assumptions about women's physical weakness bears analysis in assessing how much variation there is and what the causes are. When women were being drawn into the work force in the United States during the Second World War, this kind of careful analysis of assumptions was being done because of the need for women's labour. Findings indicating a smaller difference between the physical strength of college women and college men than between college women and industrial working women have been reported - an index of 1,800 kg. for college men compared with 1,360 for college women, and 1,965 kg. for industrial men as compared with 910 for industrial women. 57/ Lack of physical training, bad clothing, especially shoes, and the task structure of enforced sedentary and minute detail work caused a consistent lifetime reduction in the female physical potential in industrial employment. When industries wanted female workers, they made up for the difference in strength with machines, adjusting the operations to the worker rather than the reverse. 58/ Chinese women have demonstrated remarkable advances in physical stamina in competitive work groups with men which served to demonstrate that they should receive equal points for work performed. 59/

56. Education is often pointed to as the panacea for levelling inequalities. Unless improvement in educational levels is combined with employment opportunities, the end result is frustration and loss of interest. In the United States, women are nearly excluded from medicine, where they account for only 3 per cent of practising physicians, and from law, where they again account for only 3 per cent. In engineering, they account for less than 1 per cent.

57. It has been pointed out that education alone cannot facilitate economic growth; but the existence of an educational system that serves as a carrier of values and motivations as well as of the verbal skills and vocational training necessary for increased productive ability. 60/ This is particularly important in assessing women's potential in economic development. A change in the political climate of a country can change in a decade the backwardness of women resulting from centuries of enforced illiteracy. The USSR transformed a country with one of the highest illiteracy rates to a world leader by 1940 in the proportions of women studying in higher institutions, industrial colleges, medical and educational training institutions. In 1975, the Soviet Union still leads the world in the proportion of females in the student population with 50 per cent of all students in higher institutions. What sustains the interest in higher education is a commitment to

56/ International Labour Organisation, Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers, Report VIII, 60th Session (Geneva, ILO, 1975).

57/ Anna Medora Baetjer, Women in Industry, their Health and Efficiency (Philadelphia, W.B. Saunders Co., 1946), p. 9.

58/ Ibid., p. 21.

59/ Delia Davin, op. cit.

60/ International Labour Organisation, Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers, Report VIII, p. 41. /...

introducing women into employment wherever there is a need for the skill. Over half a million women serve as directors of factories, and they account for 59 per cent of all specialists with higher education, 40 per cent of experts in agriculture, 31 per cent of engineers, 70 per cent of medical doctors and teachers. 61/ Similar high rates of female labour in new fields are found in Poland, where 50 per cent of printers, 42 per cent of electrical engineers, 36 per cent of chemists, 45 per cent of medical doctors, 79 per cent of pharmacists, 80 per cent of dentists, 70 per cent of biologists, 40 per cent of geologists, 47 per cent of chemists, 40 per cent of mathematicians and 35 per cent of physicists are women. 62/ While the particular category may not be comparable cross-nationally, their presence is felt in these fields.

58. Protective legislation for women aggravates the discrimination practised against them in market economies. The laws, phrased in terms of protecting the "weak and defenceless" crystallize a sense of inferiority. 63/ Furthermore, they confirm a division of labour which makes the care of children exclusively women's responsibility rather than cultivating a consciousness of the dual role of both parents or the societal concern with children.

59. Some of the developing countries are instituting protective legislation that inhibits women's employment opportunities. Zaire set stringent restrictions on women's and children's labour in 1968. 64/ Women may not be employed during the night in production except for managerial and technical personnel. They cannot be employed in greasing machinery, underground work or industrial painting nor can they carry, push or pull a load when pregnant. The Minister of Labour and Social Legislation in the United Republic of Cameroon issues a similar set of proscriptions, but added restrictions on women's employment in industrial establishments in extraction, manufacturing, building trades, public works and all jobs concerned with the generation and transformation of electricity. Prohibition against night work (except for managerial or technical personnel and non-manual workers in health and welfare) reveals the desire to preserve skills needed on a 24-hour basis, while it punishes women who might compete with male workers in other industries. Restrictions against the size of loads women can carry, underground work, greasing machines and work with dangerous chemicals carries to an extreme the prohibitions found elsewhere. A nineteenth century note was struck with the prohibition of work of an immoral nature "or where morally harmful activities are undertaken." 65/ This resurgence of

61/ Yenshine U.S.S.R., Vestnik Statiski, (Moscow, 1974). table 19, and "Women in society", Soviet Life (March 1973).

62/ Women of the Whole World, Journal of the WIDF, No. 1 (1973).

63/ ILO, Studies and Reports, Series 1 (Geneva, 1921).

64/ "Brief communication", International Labour Review, vol. 98, No. 4 (1965), pp. 357-359.

65/ "Brief communication", International Labour Review, vol. 102, No. 4 (1970), pp. 403-606.

restrictive practices without ensuring alternative remunerative job opportunities can be negative to women's over-all participation in development.

60. Women's own attempts to cope with a situation in which they have had to earn income and maintain a family and home meant that they were vulnerable to overwork in the home as well as other inferior conditions of work. In France and Germany in the 1920s, it is reported that there were higher levels of exploitation than in the factories, and trade unions proved incapable of stimulating sufficient collective spirit to overcome the abuses. The dispersion of work sites and the fact that women who were earning money for basic subsistence were competing against women who were earning pin money reduced the possibility of traditional kinds of organizations based on factory work to take root. 66/ A similar kind of "putting-out" system occurs today in Japan where women assemble small parts of complex machinery in their homes and the assembled unit is sent to factories where men, earning much higher wages, are employed in "heavy" industry. 67/

61. The discrimination against women in the labour market is a sharpening of the conditions that all workers suffer so long as the market for their labour is controlled. It is a remarkable fact that, in a half century of the most rapid technical progress of history, workers are still locked into an eight-hour day and that the promise of technological progress has made the greater part of human labour power obsolete. The "irrational and burdensome" career styles in leading jobs eliminates any person, male or female, who wishes to take communal or familial responsibilities seriously. 68/

62. The fallacy of treating labour as a commodity is dramatized by the presence of women in the labour market. Women's linked role in production and reproduction exposes the basic premise that the "elasticity in supply" when applied to labour means that, in a declining demand situation, wages are depressed to a starvation period, or, in the reverse case, when the demand for labour is high, employers must draw on the reserve supply of underemployed women who have been programmed to withdraw to the home in periods of recession. 69/ It is one of the ironies of history that war has brought North American women their greatest economic opportunities and that in every period of national emergency, women have served with distinction in widely varied capacities, but thereafter have been subject to

66/ Roger Picaret, "The legal minimum wage of women home workers in France", International Labour Review, vol. XIV, No. 2 (1926), pp. 232-256; Gertrude Hanna, "The German exhibition of home industries and its lessons", International Labour Review, vol. XII (1925), pp. 523-529.

67/ "Women in the Third World", lecture at New York University.

68/ Michael Fogarty, A.J. Allen, Isobel Allen, and Patricial Walters, Women in Top Jobs, (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1971), p. 92.

69/ As Joan Robinson states this proposition, in Essays in the Theory of Employment (New York, MacMillan Co., 1947), p. 12, the supply of labour has zero elasticity so long as real wages stand above the level at which physical efficiency is impaired.

treatment as a marginal group whose skills have been inadequately utilized. 70/ In the Second World War woman's participation in the labour force rose from 26 per cent in 1940 to 37.7 per cent in 1945, dropping shortly thereafter to 30.2 per cent. 71/

63. If one thinks of what this means in concrete terms one can appreciate the manipulation of the labour force in response to decisions that are beyond the control of women to influence. I was working on an assembly line in a non-unionized factory on 15 August 1945 when "Peace broke out" as Mother Courage would put it. The women on the assembly line began to celebrate, shutting down the belt, cheering and shouting. That very afternoon the management distributed dismissal slips for every one of the part-time workers like myself on what was called the "victory shift". The celebration stopped. Women who had begun to rely on the income they earned picked up their last paycheck and left.

64. The second major fallacy in the view of labour as a commodity lies in the dual role of the worker as both producer and consumer. Whatever the management gains in the single firm by depressing wages, the producers lose in sales for their commodities. The tendency towards unequal income distribution in market centres becomes even greater with the export of capital to developing areas. In developing countries, the richest 5 per cent receive 28.7 per cent of Gross National Income compared with 19.9 per cent in developed countries. The peak inequality is found in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Peru and the Republic of South Africa. Lacking income distribution, these countries do not have an internal market to absorb goods manufactured at home. More sectors of the labour force, including women, are relegated to marginal jobs. 72/

65. Women, as the consumer-control agent in the family, are even more aware of the pinch between rising prices and a stable or negative paycheck than is the "breadwinner". The Bolivian miners told me the story of the heroic woman who was the first worker to be killed in the 1942 massacre in the tin mines. Her words as she seized the Bolivian flag and marched up to the administration office when the men fell back as they saw the soldiers aim their rifles, were: "It is we women who have to face our children and tell them that we have nothing to feed them. It is better that we should die than to work at starvation wages".

70/ President's Commission on the Status of Women, American Women, by Margaret Mead and Frances B. Kaplan, eds., (New York, Charles Scribner, 1965).

71/ U.S. Department of Labour, Women's Bureau, Employment of Women in the Early Post-War Period, Bulletin 211 (Washington, D.C., 1946).

72/ Felix Pankert, "Income distribution at different levels of development", International Labour Review, vol. 108, Nos. 2 and 3 (1973), pp. 97-126, esp. 120 et. seq.

B. The export of dependency on the job market

66. The concept of development that took shape in the industrial centres after the Second World War stressed those features that characterized the rise of private industry in the developed countries. Theorists in development applied norms established in the large-scale capital-intensive sectors of the developed world as the logic for the industrial order in the rest of the world. These have been summarized as follows: (a) large-scale organization (b) linked to world-wide economy with (c) urban centres of some size (d) characterized by diverse occupational structures (e) and an educational system to feed this structure (f) with a wage structure that reflects supply and demand of various occupational skills (g) a labour market mechanism to sort out, distribute and redistribute workers (h) managers and managed with rules governing the relationship (i) industrial discipline for individual and group (j) a State strong enough to govern industrialism (k) and "acceptance of these imperatives by men who live in the industrial order". 73/ For the worker, commitment to this industrial order is equated with "dependence for his security on his employer and on the state, not on the tribe". 74/ The way in which women's productivity was subverted in the development projects that resulted from such programmes as well as the way in which communities as a whole lost control over their destiny should be clarified. The goal of such development is growth in production for an external market, not the satisfaction of needs in a local economy. Commitment to the labour force requires the systematic encroachment on the subsistence-based industries in horticulture and handicrafts which were the provenance of women in most of Africa, Asia and Latin America. An impressive record of the impact of development on such activities has been compiled in one publication. 75/ Industrialization and commercialization of agriculture break down the existing division of labour in developing areas and contribute to the imbalance and tension that derive from the dependency of women on a single wage earner and of the wage earner in a fluctuating labour market. The crises that are endemic in this global market situation of rising unemployment, food shortages and the restriction of energy supplies intensify the problems women have always faced in the impoverished areas.

67. The ILO casts the issue of women's participation in the labour force in terms of a contrast between developed and developing areas. While the over-all employment rates reflect the difference between developing and developed areas, women's activity rates do not. Women of the working force in the developed areas are experiencing the same insecurity as the first to be laid off (along with other minorities) and the last to be hired that women in developing countries have

73/ Clark Kerr, "Changing social structures", in Wilbert Moore and Arnold S. Feldman, Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1960), p. 340.

74/ Ester Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1970).

75/ Ibid. See also United States Agency for International Development, "Women and development", Office of Education and Human Resources, Technical Assistance Bureau, Washington, D.C. (Washington, D.C. United States Government Printing Office, 1971).

experienced for decades. The difference between developed centres and developing periphery is in the extremity of unemployment, and the narrow margins of welfare benefits in developing compared with developed economies. While the recorded level of unemployment in the United States is 8.1 per cent for women, 11 per cent for blacks of both sexes and 7.4 per cent for white men, 76/ unemployment rates for women in other parts of the world show a high in Puerto Rico at 12.5 in 1973 and 18.0 in Trinidad and Tobago, and these figures do not reflect the recent increases in unemployment caused by the recession. 77/ Canada and Italy show rates nearly comparable to those of the United States of America.

68. Another difference between the developed centres and the developing world is that, while women are treated as a reserve labour force in the former, in the developing areas a large segment are excluded from any but the most marginal activities. A study of women vendors in Mexico City, explains the growth in their ranks as the diminishing ability of the urban industrial system to absorb the workers released from agricultural employment. 78/ The same explanation might be extended to other large cities of Latin America and Asia. The chronic underemployment of women is referred to as a defect "not of the structure, but in the organization of society to allow the most important asset of any community, the productive capacity of its members, to go unused". 79/ Comparisons with employment figures in the centrally planned societies suggest that it may be an endemic problem both at the structural as well as at the organizational level in other systems. The incapacity of capital-intensive industries to sustain high levels of employment has been shown in developing countries in the past decade; it is now being demonstrated in the developed centres. Management policies in the market countries favour unemployment rates of around 4 per cent in order "to stem inflation and increase productivity by improving the allocation of labour". 80/ Combined with the reality of a segmented labour force, women's demand for equality becomes a threat as male workers are pitted against female, black against white and youth against older workers in a shrinking job market.

69. The variation throughout the world in the participation of women in the labour force depends not so much on the question of developed versus developing countries, but the commitment to a full employment policy versus the treatment of labour as a commodity equivalent to other factors of production and subject to the same fluctuations in demand. While there is a difference in the activity rates for developing and developed countries of 26 to 33 per cent, there is an even higher

76/ The New York Times, 9 March 1975, Sunday News of the Week, p. 1.

77/ ILO Report VIII, table 7, p. 17.

78/ Lourdes Arizpe, "Las Marias" y la migración indígena a la ciudad de Mexico", Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, unpublished.

79/ Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, Women's Two Roles: Home and Work (London, Routledge and K. Paul, 1968), p. 185.

80/ Victor Salera, Multinational Business (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1969), p. 341.

differential between the USSR (51 per cent) and the United States (34 per cent). ^{81/} All of the socialist countries except Yugoslavia have pursued a policy of full employment as a postulate of socialist ethics in their development programmes. The desire of these countries to reconstruct the economy after the First World War in the USSR, and after the Second World War in Poland, Romania and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, gave motivation at a national level to draw all adults into the labour force. The fact that the only source of personal income was one's own labour, motivated the individual worker to participate. ^{82/} Poland showed a female activity rate of 40 per cent in 1972; Romania and the German Democratic Republic, 45 per cent; the USSR, 50 per cent; Bulgaria, 46 per cent at the end of 1971; Czechoslovakia, 47 per cent in 1969; Hungary, 42 per cent in 1971 - an average of 10 per cent over activity rates in the market economies. ^{83/} Nor is the participation of women as restricted to female-segregated jobs, such as secretarial work, nursing and pre-collegiate teaching, as in most of the market economies.

70. Whatever illusions planners may have of achieving a rational allocation of labour in relation to production by a policy based on marginal productivity assumptions is futile in a global situation where the work force does not reproduce itself in accord with the growth rates of the country. The least developing reproduce the largest numbers of children, and in reverse proportions to the GNP. Whereas the more developed countries produced under 500 million workers and over \$US 22,000 million million of GNP; the developing countries provided over 1,000 million workers and \$US 500,000 million of GNP. While population increases in the 1960-1970 period have been correlated with employment increases until the recent recession in the developed regions, there has been over a decade of lag in developing regions. ^{84/} Grouping together the more developed regions and comparing them with the developing regions, the ILO data indicated that the number of economically active persons more than doubled in the developed countries during the same period.

71. Two solutions to the problem in some countries are the migration of workers and the "runaway shop". The migration of labour to developed countries solves the immediate problem of meeting labour demands without drawing on reserve labour supplies and providing the necessary social services such as day-care centres and retraining programmes. It leads to further imbalances as the developing countries

^{81/} James N. Ypsilantes, "World and regional labour force trends and prospects", International Labour Review, vol. 109, Nos. 5 and 6 (1974), pp. 413-442, esp. 427.

^{82/} J. Wilczynski, Socialist Economic Development and Reforms (New York, Praeger Co., 1972), p. 26.

^{83/} ILO, Report VIII, p. 12.

^{84/} ILO, Bulletin of Labour Statistics, "Labour and world population growth", 1974.

lose their most productive part of the labour force and continue to bear the burden of support for dependent segments. Without even speaking of the social and emotional stresses implicit in a situation where the active young male labour pool is torn out of the local community, we are already becoming aware of the mounting economic problems caused by such imbalances.

72. Labour unions in the United States recognize the problem of the "runaway shop" in the framework of a world labour market where multinational corporations close factory sites in high labour-cost countries and move to Singapore, Hong Kong, Puerto Rico, the Republic of Korea, and similar developing countries. However, the answer so far has been to put pressure on the Government to restrict imports from those areas, as well as setting limits on the production in foreign branches of the firms with which they hold contracts. In an interview with the research director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, it was learned that 10 per cent unemployment exists in the garment trades of New York. The unions have not attempted to push organization abroad to level wages in the world labour market. In the face of the global strategies of the multinational corporations, labour leaders are taking a parochial view of the role they play in international trade.

C. Women in industry in developing countries

73. The introduction of industry into the developing countries after the Second World War stressed a labour market commitment that demanded flexibility in learning new skills and mobility both geographically and in occupational strata for the working force. Commitment was based on the dependency of workers on the job, contrived by taxation that forced workers into the labour market, by limitations on available land because of the spread of commercial agriculture, by usurping small holdings, and by natural increases in the population, or a combination of all three factors. The net effect in all of the developing areas played a large role. The segregation of the labour force following the patterns developed in the industrialized centres between sex and racial categories, took on a new dimension as the upper echelons of management were filled by foreigners from the developed countries of the western hemisphere. 85/

74. An extreme instance of the emerging pattern can be seen in Puerto Rico. Contrary to assumptions about the dependent nature of Latin American females, American-based companies found that women flocked to the factories in the 1930s and 1940s. It was reported that in the 1950s the "radical change in the economic status of women and their reactions to the opportunities that have appeared" merited a reappraisal of women as a potential in the labour force. 86/ The major resistance

85/ Isabel Pico de Hernandez, "The quest for race, sex, and ethnic equality in Puerto Rico", paper given at the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, 14-16 November 1974.

86/ Peter Gregory, "The labour market in Puerto Rico", in Moore and Feldman, op. cit., p. 151.

to employment was from men, who threatened to and actually withdrew support from the family when their wives went to work. Nonetheless the women continued to work until they were deprived of employment opportunities. Because of their superior control of the political apparatus and trade unions, Puerto Rican men were able to introduce special incentives to industries in which male employment constituted two thirds or more of the total employment administered by the Economic Development Administration as well as through private companies. Women's rate of participation declined from the 1930s, partly in response to this direct rivalry between men and women.

75. The industrial newcomers in the petrochemical industry hired no women in their production lines and had only a few in the infirmary and commissary. The highest managerial job found in one survey of these companies was that of a secretarial assistant to the personnel executive. 87/ The policy of the multinational corporations is to let local practice prevail with regard to the hiring practices of the host country. However, their non-interventionist policies in effect crystallize the attitudes of discrimination that exist in other countries since they provide a model for less technically advanced firms to follow. If the practices of the most advanced sectors persist in the old pattern, they confirm the choices made at each level.

76. The assumption of linear change in an upward curve of development that prevailed in the social science literature is especially challenged when one concentrates on women in employment. Similar declines in the employment of women in production found in Puerto Rico can be seen in Mexico. The phenomenal industrial development in the post-war period contributed to the rise of women's activity rates from 4.6 per cent in 1930 to 18.0 per cent in 1960, but in the following decade it was increased by only 1.0 per cent. 88/ Of these, 10.8 were in agriculture and connected work, 19.4 were in industry, 60.1 were in services and 9.7 were in non-specified jobs. Owing to male hegemony in upper level occupations, women are limited in the levels to which they can rise in the professions and technical occupations. The only industry in which women's participation is higher than that of men is in clothing work, much of which is done in the home.

77. A similar pattern of decline or tapering off of participation can be seen in Brazil. In that country, the highest involvement of women in the labour force was 45.5 per cent of the labour force in 1875. It declined to 15.3 per cent by 1920, with the greatest loss in agriculture. 89/ Similarly, the high proportion in industry - mostly textiles, represented 91.3 per cent of the labour force in 1900, but dropped to 27.9 per cent in 1920. The 1970 census showed a slight upward shift

87/ I. Pico, op. cit.

88/ Gloria Gonzales Salazar, "La participación de la mujer en la actividad laboral de Mexico", in J. Nash and H. Safa, op. cit.

89/ Heleieth Iara B. Saffioti, A Mulher na Sociedade de Classe: Mito e Realidade (Sao Paulo, Quatro Artes, 1969); "Relationship of sex and social classes" in J. Nash and H. Safa, op. cit.

in total participation - 21 per cent, but when one considers the remarkable industrial growth of Brazil in the 50-year period, it represents a proportionate decline in the economic position in relation to men.

78. The sexual division of labour characteristic of the plantation appears to prevail in the low capitalized industries in Bahia. 90/ Male workers received a higher proportion of the income allotted to families because of the assumed greater physical input despite the greater mechanization of tasks in the factory that served to diminish the importance of physical force. Married women in Bahia were excluded from participation in the factory work because of the assumed larger costs in the legal provisions for maternity leave and crèches. In addition, the anticipated conflict in the paternalistic authority over a woman exercised by a husband and a manager makes owners reluctant to hire or continue to employ women who marry. For those who persisted in the work force, the consequences of the ideology were that they held menial jobs compared to men of the same educational background, and they received lower wages.

79. A similar pattern existed in the mining centre of Bolivia. Women entered as concentrators of mineral in the early period of tin mining from 1880 and in increasing numbers up until the 1940s when new methods of concentrating minerals were introduced. 91/ They even replaced men inside the mines during the Chaco war in the 1930s. Then, when new methods of concentrating minerals were introduced, hundreds of female workers were replaced by male workers in the sink and float plants. Since 1960, no women have worked in the larger mines as metal concentrators because they have been completely mechanized. The trade union did little to counter management policies with regard to replacing women, although it was a major issue when men were threatened with layoffs in the 1960s.

80. Women who worked were less able to sustain a regular consensual union with men, who felt that their earnings threatened their own masculine image in the community. Women worked out of necessity, since the high accident rate in the interior combined with the incidence of silicosis totally incapacitates most workers after 10 or 15 years. Hundreds of women worked with men panning the waters from every mine and salvaging the better ores from the slag piles of past years when recovery processes were not as effective. 92/ Others engage in retail sales bringing food-stuffs and consumer items from the lower agricultural and industrial regions to the high altitudes. The almost complete monopoly of consumer food retail sales by women is a tribute to their energy and resourcefulness in surviving and maintaining their

90/ Neuma Aguiar, "The impact of industrialization on women's work roles in the Northeast of Brazil", in J. Nash and H. Safa, op. cit.

91/ "Women in resistance movements in Bolivia", in Ruby Leavitt, Women Cross Culturally: Change and Challenge (The Hague, Mouton, 1975).

92/ June Nash, "Dependency and exploitation in worker consciousness" in Proceedings of the International Congress of Americanists, Rome, 1973, in press.

families. ^{93/} Their activity rates are not even minimally recognized in recent estimates of 13 per cent.

81. As a consequence of the high level of solidarity in mining communities and the respect with which they are held in legends and myth, Bolivian women have a greater degree of self-determination than women in many parts of the world. They have played an important role in the resistance struggles of workers against oppression. Their involvement in strikes is not only in a supportive role, but in actively organizing food distribution when the company store is shut down to starve the workers into submission.

82. In contrast to the history of industrialization in dependent economies, China's programme for development has taken a path in which small, labour-intensive industry is encouraged along with large, capital-intensive industry. In Fengsheng neighbourhood, seven factories produce insulting materials, rubber products, clothing, metallurgy and cardboard boxes and springs. Eighty per cent of the staff and workers are women who live 15 minutes away from their work place. ^{94/} Starting with hand tools, the women who organized the factories have introduced automatic or semi-automated production techniques in the past 15 years. They show a flexibility in shifting production to new products, going into insulating materials as the demand for such materials rose. Now 30 per cent of the local women are employed in industries close to their homes.

83. The difference between this pattern and what has been described above is the emphasis on local planning within the capital limits that can be locally sustained along with maximizing the human resources that were abundantly available in the early stages. By staging the introduction of automated processes, they were able to integrate it without creating imbalances in the local economy.

D. Women in agriculture

84. Women have been the major part of the work force in agriculture throughout the world as far back as the Neolithic Age. It is one of the few employment opportunities which does not seem to restrict their child-bearing functions, since fertility ratios remain high. The impact of commercial agriculture, however, has had a similar impact to that of industrialization in rural developing areas. Many of the programmes introduced in Asia, Latin America and Africa in the 1960s under a variety of development agencies illustrate the influence that programmes emphasizing growth in production but not development of a total resource base, may have. The emphasis on high capital inputs, sometimes two or three times higher than that of traditional farming, and large-scale operations has had an adverse effect on all small cultivators, but particularly on women and children in subsistence farming.

^{93/} Hans and Judith Maria Buechler, The Bolivian Aymara (New York, Holt Rinehart, 1973).

^{94/} "Some basic facts about China: questions and answers", China Reconstructs, Supp., January 1974.

85. In assessing the effect of the "green revolution" on employment it has been speculated that its effects on the over-all needs of labour would not be great, but that women and children would be released from some burdens such as pumping water for irrigation. ^{95/} It is anticipated that the higher yields might increase labour demand in other fields such as the transportation of crops, but these are notably occupations that employ men. In a careful study of the effects of technological innovation, it was shown that there was a reduction of the labour force to about one fifth of that involved in traditional farming with the introduction of pump sets for irrigation, wheat threshers, tractors and reapers. ^{96/} A displacement of not less than 19.5 per cent is projected by 1983-1984. While there is cause for some optimism about the positive advantages of this displacement, as workers would spend their time advantageously in education and community pursuits, the women could be forced into dependency relations that limit their involvement in the total development process. Most of the new jobs in transportation and work with agricultural machines are done by men.

86. In the assistance given government subsidies in India, preference was shown to farmers who already had the basic complements of land, oxen and labour in the family. It was estimated that only those who owned at least two acres could invest in the high yielding seeds, fertilizers and pesticides required in the new agriculture. ^{97/} This preference for the richer farmers is based on an emphasis by planners on growth indices in total output, not on concerns with the alleviation of hunger or the wider distribution of gains. ^{98/} Poorer farmers who tend to be oriented to subsistence crops, resisted the introduction of improved grains because they disliked the taste. The net result of the programme has been that the relatively more prosperous farmers were able to take advantage of the programme.

87. The over-all effect of the green revolution has been a vast increase in yields, but at the expense of the displacement of the small farmers, regional inequalities, and the accentuation of income differences. In Luzon, rising land values caused evictions of many small peasants, while in Delhi and Pakistan there was a loss of jobs and in Latin American countries, including Bolivia, Mexico and

^{95/} Donald K. Freebairn, "Income disparities in the agricultural sector; regional and institutional stresses", in Food, Population and Employment (New York, Praeger, 1973), pp. 97-119, esp. 107.

^{96/} Martin H. Billings and Arjan Singh, "Mechanization and the wheat revolution; effect on female labour in Punjab", Economic and Political Weekly, December 1970, pp. A169-A172.

^{97/} Francine R. Frankel, "The politics of the green revolution: shifting patterns of peasant participation in India and Pakistan" in Freebairn, op. cit., pp. 120-151.

^{98/} Joan Menchner, "Conflicts and contradictions in the 'green revolution': the case of Tamilnadu", Economic and Political Weekly of Bombay, in press.

Venezuela, there were few peasant cultivators aggressive enough to take advantage of it. ^{99/} The displacement of labour from a family-based context limits the ability of women to enter the productive process and thus assume a share of productivity for themselves and their children.

88. Commercial agriculture has often discouraged initiative for women's subsistence activities that provided a varied diet and some surplus for cash income. The inroads made on a community of black farmholders on the Colombian coast by the introduction of new cash crops have been described elsewhere. ^{100/} Women, who headed many of the households and, even when married, provided cash income as agricultural labourers in addition to crops from their gardens, were driven out of production with the encroachment of cash crops introduced by green revolution technicians. Whereas men saw their interests being improved by wage labour available in the mechanized farming sector, women lost control over the variety of crops that had been the mainstay of their subsistence activities and ensured their children food in case of market failures of monocrop cultivation. Some of their coffee trees were even ruined by the insecticides dusted over tracts outside the commercial crop area by planes used in the commercial enterprises. In the male-dominated society of rural Colombia where an attitude of irresponsible paternity prevails, the women, who had been the main providers for the family, lost the margin of control they had exercised. This suggests an important area of study in the disaggregation of family disbursements of income in order to understand the differential effect of male versus female employment. Research on the Maya of Chiapas, Mexico, shows an important shift in consumption when young men worked in a sawmill for cash rather than on the home plots. Whereas women customarily received the cash for crops and took care of family needs with it, men were reluctant to relinquish their wages. It resulted in greater drinking, and increased purchases of radios. ^{101/} A long-term study of the effects is imperative for development planning purposes.

89. As we explore the specific cases of technical change in agriculture, we become aware of the divergent interests of men and women within a domestic structure of inequality. The need for introducing women into policy-making levels in development projects becomes apparent.

90. The survival of much of African traditional culture in the twentieth century permits a view of women's role in society that challenges the stereotype of submissive acquiescence to European life. In Ibo country, women retain their own earnings from trade and domestic animals apart from that of their husbands. In

^{99/} Zubeida Manzoor Ahmad, "The social and economic implications of the green revolution in Asia", *International Labour Review*, vol. 105, No. 1 (1972), pp. 9-34.

^{100/} Anna Rubbo, "The spread of rural capitalism - its effects on black women in the Cauca Valley, Western Colombia (1974)", *Estudios Andinos*, in press.

^{101/} June Nash, *In the Eyes of the Ancestors: Beliefs and Behavior in a Maya Community* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970).

1929 when there was a threat that the British Government was going to tax women as well as men, the women organized a demonstration against the warrant officer for permitting a census to be taken that they thought would be the basis for the poll tax. 102/ Despite reassurances that they would not be taxed along with the men, the women converged in a group of 10,000 carrying sticks. They were dispersed after two days of rioting. Later they converged on a district officer, demanding that the Government should not extend the tax base to women and protesting the tax on men as well. They complained about the state of trade and the way in which foreign firms were cutting out their position as retailers and middlemen. As they became more militant, the lieutenant attending the district officer opened fire and killed 32, wounding 31. The riots, which have been called the Aba Riots, continued sporadically in an area of 6,000 square miles. The British were impressed with the vigour and solidarity of the women, acting completely independently of men and prepared to die if they did not succeed. In the commission of investigation that followed, one woman summed up their complaints: "Our grievance is that the land is changed - we are all dying".

91. Yoruba women reveal the same solidarity demonstrated by Ibo women in their dealing with the district commissioner. They still keep separate incomes and have different responsibilities in the maintenance of the family: men provide the house, and women the food and clothing. They co-operate with co-wives in an extended household arrangement that makes possible their trading activities. The fear among Yoruba men of losing control over the women causes them to combine with the missionaries in order to keep women in the village. 103/ This suggests an important trend noted in the collaboration between the males and European or other colonial administrators with the intrusion of Government and trade. Europeans assisted the men in making a transition from the hunting and warrior life they pursued to the cultivation of cash crops. In the process, men took over the tasks and the land resources that were the women's provenance. This added support meant that the gap between the male and female workers constantly widened in a way that "enhances the prestige of men and lowers the status of women. The men represent the modern, the women the old". 104/ Women's role as the bearers of cultural tradition, which reinforces this view, obscures the fact that women are often the most responsive members of the population to fundamental change. 105/ In the case of the Afikpo Ibo, women were the first to turn from the purchase of titles, which the men were still pursuing, to the acquisition of higher living standards. Stereotypes about women's resistance to change stems from the unilineal view of modernization that posits all cultural traditions of the developing country as obstacles to development.

102/ Margaret Perham, Native Administration in Nigeria (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937).

103/ Gloria Marshall, "Women, Trade and the Yoruba family", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Colombia University, 1964.

104/ Margarita Dobert and Mwanganga Shields, "Africa's women; security in tradition, challenge in change: Africa Report", (July-August, 1972) pp. 14-20.

105/ Kamene Okonyo, "The role of women in the development of culture in Nigeria", in Ruby Leavitt, op. cit.

92. China's agricultural programme is one of the outstanding examples of an attempt to integrate women along with men in development. When the land reform act was passed, women received certificates along with men and income was distributed to everyone who worked, not just to the head of the family as before. 106/ Women organized themselves into mutual aid teams in addition to working alongside men. Until the Great Leap Forward in the 1950s, women were in a disadvantaged position based on pre-revolutionary assumptions about their ability to produce. The Party has since taken a position in favour of equal pay for equal work, and the prejudices of men are slowly being overcome. By providing women with their own land and return from labour, they make direct participation in the productive process possible. Participating directly in the organization of production at the local level, Chinese women are acquiring the experience and self-confidence to enter into higher levels of leadership.

93. China's programmes in agriculture differ from rural development along commercial lines because of its attempt to integrate advances in the rural and industrial sectors. Trained medical and technical experts work in the agricultural areas as well as in the urban centres. The "barefoot doctors" and "shock teams" introduce advanced knowledge in special fields throughout the country as they attempt to overcome the elitism that characterized professional work in the past. 107/

III. EXCLUSION FROM DECISION-MAKING

94. The discrimination against women in high-level positions in Government, industry and trade unions as well as agricultural co-operatives confirms women's restriction from decision-making in all countries of the world. As yet development agents have not dealt with the problem directly. In fact, a recent report by the United Nations indicates that community development officers often defeat the interest and enthusiasm women have shown by casting them in stereotyped roles transferred from the developed countries. Many programmes, such as the "Better Family Living" projects sponsored by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations have as their objective "the maintenance of values and functions of home and family living and planning of a happy family life", but there is no attempt to encourage male participation in such basic activities nor to change the division of labour. Even when let out of the home, women are directed into stereotyped roles, such as stenographers and typists in urban African development projects, nursing and midwives in New Zealand, or "mothercraft" and "homecraft". 108/ Thus, while an earlier United Nations report pointed to obstacles to women's participation: lack of educational training, vocational guidance and counselling,

106/ China Reconstructs, Supp., 1974, p. 83.

107/ Chan, op. cit., p. 204.

108/ Participation of Women in Community Development (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.72.IV.8), pp. 11, 22, 32 and 31.

traditional attitudes of both men and women and the division of labour in the market, the existing projects often reinforce rather than do away with the inequality. 109/

95. The agents of change not only influence what is introduced, but also who will use it. Institutions that are the bases for cultivating change are usually exclusively male organizations such as the army, the priesthood or religious missionaries, trade unions or even the boy scouts. In Mexico the culture brokers in Indian communities are often men who learn to read and write in the army, and who become leaders in political and religious life when they return to their villages. 110/ The increase of development projects guided by military régimes means that military agents, almost exclusively male, are taking a direct hand in development.

96. In many cases, feminine participation in development projects is excluded both at the point of contact as well as at the point of entry by the fact that the intermediary is a man. There are few female institutions where women acquire the leverage to learn the skills of the dominant culture and rise within their own communities. Women usually enter into occupations that are socially isolating, such as street vendors or servants, and do not have the opportunity to foster a sense of solidarity in trade union organizations. Except for occupations that are predominantly female, there is no female leadership in the trade unions.

97. Even in co-operatives, whose stated aim is to improve the general human welfare, women have often met with defeat. In East Africa, co-operatives run by men defeated an economically successful production of pyrethrum, which was a woman's crop, because only the men were entitled to run a financial account in the co-operative. This had the effect of reducing the labour input, since women were alienated and were no longer as eager to produce as before. 111/ In a review of co-operatives throughout the world it is shown that subsistence crops, which are in the main women's work, are rarely included in the development of co-operatives. 112/ When women are included in decision-making positions in co-operatives, their

109/ Participation of Women in the Economic and Social Development of their Countries (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.70.IV.4), p. 3.

110/ Laurel Bossen, "Women and economic underdevelopment; when are babies like bananas?", unpublished ms.; Ralph Beals, Cheran, a Sierra Tarascan Village (Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1946).

111/ Raymond Apthorpe, "Some problems of evaluation", in Carl Gosta Widstrand, ed., Co-operatives and Rural Development in East Africa (New York, Africana Pbls. Corp., 1970).

112/ Orlando Fals Borda, "The crisis of rural co-operatives: Rural co-operative problems in Africa, Asia and Latin America" in J. Nash, N. Hopkins and J. Dandler, eds., Co-operatives, Collectives and Co-participation in Industry: Popular Participation in Development (The Hague, Mouton, in press).

participation is often contingent on their marital status. In some co-operatives (for example, in Peru) a married woman may occupy a position of importance. 113/

98. The most crucial institution is that of the trade union. In developed countries, particularly in the United States where they grew out of the skilled trades, union leaders succeeded in excluding women from skilled and professional occupations licence requirements, entrance fees and prolonged apprenticeships. The tactic was direct negotiation with employers in setting up job requirements that effectively excluded women by rulings against part-time work. Or, trade union officials supported demands for equal pay when the only chance for entry was at a discriminatory wage. There are even requirements such as maximum weights that can be lifted.

99. Trade unions in developing countries have negotiated protective laws that reduce women's competitive position with regard to men especially in extending maternity leaves (36 days before and 36 days after birth in Peru is typical) or requirements that factories pay for day-care facilities, as in Buenos Aires. 114/ If these provisions were extended to male workers with the assumption that paternity should be recognized and made a collective responsibility, the sting would be removed.

100. The demand for equality has often been coupled with a "me too" philosophy in which women strive to enter higher posts in the hierarchy of occupational positions accepting the structure as given. Instead of questioning the irrational and burdensome career lines, where responsibility and the cultivation of personal potential is concentrated in top positions while monotony and lack of mobility characterizes the bottom lines, many talented women strive to enter the elite status positions. The entry of token women in the high level posts only serves to stabilize a structure of inequality that is, from the point of view of leadership functions, less than optimal organization. This situation, which is most marked in highly developed western industrial States, prevails in the Eastern European nations as well, where many occupational barriers have been broken, but where entry into the top levels is not possible. The factors of household responsibilities, broken career lines, psychological and social forces as well as ordinary prejudice that inhibit the creative levels of performance and restrict women's entry into jobs at middle levels of responsibility in the professions become absolutely prohibitive at the topmost level.

113/ Giorgi Alberti, discussion comments to appear in J. Nash, N. Hopkins and J. Dandler, op. cit.

114/ United States Department of Labour, Women's Bureau, Bulletin 213, Women Workers in Peru (1947).

101. The "zero sum game" ^{115/} that women often play limits the constructive force that protest could have if women brought into question the assumptions that perpetuate a systematic concentration of power and control that affect men as well as women by limiting self-determination and creativity. The Chinese experience is instructive in its search for new principles for allocating responsibilities at the local level. The attempt to decentralize planning, and to build on local self-governing units provides a context amenable to women's entry into decision-making. But the most striking innovation is part of the over-all strategy of direct representation of workers' interests. The mix of women from lower and upper income levels in the Fourth National People's Congress indicates the striving for egalitarian principles within the leadership channels that characterizes the woman's movement at the grass-roots level.

102. United National General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) and 2716 (XXV) of 1970, which called for legislation to eliminate discrimination along with educational programmes and other measures to overcome prejudice, have raised the consciousness of the separate Member States to the problem of integrating women in development. Responses such as those of the Seminar on the Participation of Women in Economic Life held in Libreville, Gabon in 1972 (ST/TAO/HR/42) will, hopefully, lay the basis for specific steps to be taken to overcome the obstacles to women's involvement and release their energies and creative abilities.

IV. CONCLUSION

103. The position of women has worsened despite development activities in many parts of the world. Production for profit rather than for the welfare of the population has narrowed the scope of many development programmes. When the goals of productivity are stated in micro-economic terms, marginal productivity becomes the rationalization for increasing technological substitutes for human labour. As a consequence, development agencies of both a public and private nature fail to invest adequately in subsistence-based rural production primarily sustained by women in Africa, Asia and some parts of Latin America. In the manufacturing industry, the substitution of capital-intensive industry for labour-intensive

^{115/} As explained by Jessie Bernard, "The status of women in modern patterns of culture", in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 375, January 1968, p. 14, an example of the zero sum game is as follows: "Some of the rights which women demanded in their movement for emancipation did not have the effect of seriously depriving men of their rights. Giving women the vote did not deprive men of theirs. But granting other rights to women did deprive men. In such cases, it was a zero-sum situation. Laws, for example, which gave property rights took rights away from men. And laws which forbade discrimination in employment deprived men of an advantage in certain kinds of jobs. In a sense, any attempt to equalize unequal statuses can raise one only by lowering the other. In this sense, sexual equality is paid for by men".

industry has meant a constantly increasing pool of unemployed as well as an intensification of the competition between sex and ethnic-defined occupations. Even in countries that have provided the infrastructure for women's participation in the labour force, equality of access in occupations has often resulted in women bearing the double burden of home care and family responsibilities.

104. If planning is defined in relation to macrosocial planning, we take into consideration the manifold conditions of life, the social and expressive aspects of work as well as the needs of the total human group, including the young and the aged. Whereas in micro-economic terms, worker productivity increases with the reduction of employment, in macrosocial planning productivity increases with the expansion of employment.

105. A changing perspective in which women are demanding an active part in development at all levels is beginning to challenge accepted views. The organization and co-operation of women throughout the world is needed to overcome the normative aspects of development programmes which, by stressing non-political involvement, served to reinforce a structure of inequality. It would be tragic if, in this revision of received precepts women were to seek equality in the same structures of inequality and oppression. In the crisis of growing populations and shrinking resources, we must consider not only how women can gain entry into development, but how to reformulate the structures and programmes in which development has been cast.
