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CONFERENCE BACKGROUND PAPER

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

Prepared by the Economic Commission for Africa

CONTENTS

Table with 3 columns: Section, Paragraphs, Page. Includes sections like INTRODUCTION, I. THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN SUBSISTENCE AND EARLY MODERNIZING AREAS, II. INTEGRATION OF WOMEN: AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT, and III. POLICY AND ACTION IMPLICATIONS.

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

INTRODUCTION

1. The major obstacles to African development cannot be overcome without the full participation of women. Any society which is seriously committed to raising levels of living needs to consider women not as marginal to the development process but as an essential human resource. Most of the goals of the Second United Nations Development Decade as set forth in the International Development Strategy (General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970) are related to women's roles in Africa. For example:

Nutrition cannot be improved without women who produce, process and prepare most of the food;

The problems of health, population and education cannot be solved without the active involvement of the women who bear, nurture and socialize infants and children;

Productive employment cannot be increased to any significant extent without expansion of opportunities for the employment of women, who constitute a major part of the traditional sector;

High productivity cannot be reached without the involvement of farmers, retailers and distributors, most of whom are women, in the total economy;

A more equitable distribution of income and wealth is not possible if women are ignored.

2. In short, achieving the objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade depends upon taking into consideration the contribution and needs of both women and men, and the involvement of both in the formulation of policies and the execution of projects. Both men and women should share in the work and in the rewards of development, since its ultimate objective is to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of all.

3. Development must involve all the people and be for all people. If every able-bodied person were to contribute even in the smallest measure to the productive effort, capital formation would be achieved painlessly. On the other hand, if only a small portion of the total population is the subject and beneficiary of the national effort, not much can be achieved. The same is true of participation in society.

4. Tradition, custom, culture, convention, laws and administrative double-dealing have all conspired to defeat African development because a significant portion of its society is ignored, under-utilized or suppressed. The fact that it is not only in Africa that women play a less than acceptable role in the development effort is no cause for complacency. For in the technologically advanced and other regions, human resources may be quantitatively and qualitatively abundant, while Africa can utilize all the human resources it can muster. Similarly, although the problem of

employment - especially of unemployment - is acute for both males and females in Africa, there is no excuse for not making sufficient effort to integrate women into the mainstream of the economy and the educational process.

5. Unemployment is rampant in Africa. Although there is a shortage of food, Governments have never attached as much importance to food production as they have attached to production of cash crops or to promotion of industries. Since women have generally engaged in the production of food crops, they have been ignored almost completely in development plans. Women make no claim to be part of the widespread unemployment situation. They are too busy, in any case. But they demand that action be taken to recognize their role in the economy and that they be assisted with the fruits of technology and development in order that they may improve their lives and those of their families and, in the process, contribute significantly to society and the economy.

6. It is the thesis of the present paper that African society is still preponderantly traditional and that much of the traditional economy is supported by women. Because this fact has not been sufficiently recognized by the male-dominated society that apports rewards for work done and promotes the cause of development, women are being ignored or bypassed by planners. The result - at least as far as the traditional sector is concerned - has not been rewarding and it cannot be unless the level and standard of living as well as the per capita income of the village woman is raised. Throughout the world, it has been found that there is a high correlation between the level of development of women and the level of development of the country as a whole.

7. The present paper is not concerned with analysing the causative factors in the situation described above. Economists have long played the game of "breaking the vicious circle" without much success. It suffices to say that a beginning must be made in raising the level of African women in the traditional sector of the economy and in giving opportunities to those in the modern sector to make their contribution to society on an equal footing with men. If a significant beginning can be made during 1975 - International Women's Year - then there can be hope for the future.

8. In an effort to describe the role of women in development, and their contribution to it, little scientific data can be adduced in support of claims and assertions made. The cause is not totally lost, however, for many anthropologists, sociologists, medical and administrative persons have contributed and are still contributing significantly to our knowledge of the subject. Over the past two or three years the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) has also been concentrating on this subject, and has acquired a mass of material upon which much of the present report is based. Nevertheless, the complexity of the development process and the paucity of reliable statistical and other data make the evidence presented necessarily impressionistic.

9. The continuous differentiation and specialization of roles is an accepted indicator of development in a society. As development proceeds, tasks which had previously been performed by a single person, or a group such as the peasant family, are separated and increasingly assigned to specialists. If this process

is limited to selected groups in the society, imbalanced development occurs. Therefore, the division of economic labour by sex in traditional sectors of the society and that in modernizing and modernized sectors are compared in the present paper in order to discover whether women are sharing in the specialization of roles.

10. A second measurement is the extent of women's opportunities to provide support for themselves and for their children, when custom or circumstances make maternal support a necessity. The impact of change on economic production and on family well-being, the material and the human factors of development, is discussed. Finally, some of the actions of women themselves through their organizations are reviewed, and areas in which policies, research and action are needed to bring women into the mainstream of development are described.

11. Any effort to generalize about situations in Africa is hazardous. In fact, generalizations about a single country in the region are difficult. But they are nevertheless necessary as a means of increasing understanding of the role of women in development vis-à-vis that of men. However, it should be recognized that particular undertakings - policies, studies and action programmes - need to be based on the conditions of an individual country, or of a region within the country.

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I. THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN SUBSISTENCE
AND EARLY MODERNIZING AREAS

12. The division of labour in traditional agricultural areas dictates definite roles for women, who are generally the producers of food. They rise before dawn to fetch the water and cook, then walk to the fields for planting, weeding or harvesting. In the peak agricultural seasons, they often spend 10 hours in agricultural labour, returning home in the evening with a load of wood gathered en route. Then there is the pounding of grains or roots, and all the while the infants and children need care. Husbands, children and elders need food. Beer must be brewed for festive occasions. On market days, goods or excess foods must be carried on foot to and from the market - often many miles away. It has been estimated that 60 to 80 per cent of agricultural labour in Africa is women's work. 1/

13. In North Africa and in other parts of the continent, women have important roles in economic life. They sow, clear away weeds, prepare and carry fuel, and spend much time in animal husbandry. 2/

14. Tables 1 and 2 compare male and female labour in rural areas of Zaire and Sierra Leone. Table 3 shows women's work only. All three tables confirm the active role of women in the rural development effort. Among the Bushmen of Botswana, for example, "vegetable foods comprise from 60 to 80 per cent of the total diet by weight, and collecting involves two or three days of work per woman per week ... Although men's and women's work input is roughly equivalent in terms of days of effort, the women provide two to three times as much food by weight as the men." 3/

1/ "The changing and contemporary role of women in African development", Economic Commission for Africa, 1974.

2/ Hoda Badran, Arab Women in National Development (Paris, United Nations Children's Fund, 1972).

3/ The Observer (London), 1 October 1972.

Table 1. Division of rural labour
 in Kivu Province, Zaire

Workers	Unit of production	Type of work
Women	1.00	Ploughing, sowing, upkeep of plantation, transport of produce, carrying water, preparation and transport of firewood, marketing, beer-making
Men (in the rural areas all the time)	0.30	Care of banana trees, clearing land when necessary and help with the cultivation of new fields; certain other jobs
Children aged 5-9:		
Boys	0.00	No contribution
Girls	0.05	Help with weeding and carrying water
Children aged 10-14:		
Boys	0.15	Looking after cattle; help with weeding
Girls	0.55	Help mother with all agricultural work
Old people over 55:		
Men	0.05	Very little work; some jobs in banana groves
Women	0.20	Help with light work in the fields

Source: Analyse de la malnutrition au Bushi published by Oeuvre pour la lutte contre le bwaki et la protection de l'enfance, as quoted by David Mitchnik in The Role of Women in Rural Development in Zaire (Oxford, OXFAM, 1972).

Table 2. Actual time devoted to farm work,
 by age group per working day
 (Percentage)

	Age group 10-14	Age group 15-59	Age group 60 and over
Male workers	65	90	75
Female workers	45	50	65

Source: A. K. Mitra, Integrated Development of the Agricultural Sectors, Sierra Leone, Report to the Government of Sierra Leone on resource management and farm planning (Rome, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 1971).

Table 3. A Zambian woman's day during
 the planting season

Activity	Time spent (hours)
Waking up in the morning at 5 a.m.	
Walking to the field with baby on her back (1-2 km)	0.50
Ploughing, planting, hoeing until about 3 p.m.	9.50
Collecting firewood and carrying it home	1.00
Pounding or grinding grain or vegetables	1.50
Fetching water (1 to 2 km or more each way)	0.75
Lighting fire and cooking meal for family	1.00
Dishing out food, eating	1.00
Washing children, herself, clothes	0.75
Going to bed at about 9 p.m.	
	Total 16.00
Summary: Hours of work	15
Hours of rest/eating	1
Hours of sleep	8
	Total 24

Source: "Report on five workshops in home economics and other family-oriented fields", Economic Commission for Africa, 1973.

15. In those areas of Africa where women are not by tradition so heavily engaged in agriculture, they are often involved in trade - either in markets, along the roads, or in their homes. In some countries of West Africa, it is estimated that more than 80 per cent of the petty traders are women. They work full time at marketing, in addition to caring for the children and maintaining the home. In many of these societies it is customary for women to provide in large part for the support of themselves and their children even when their husbands are employed. Data on trading in African countries are given in table 4, which shows that trade is an important activity of women, even outside West Africa.

Table 4. Participation in marketing, according to sex
(Percentage)

Area and period	Male	Female
Copperbelt (Zambia) (late 1950s)	59	41
Rhodesia (late 1950s)	Majority in larger markets	Majority in smaller markets
Northern Somalia (late 1950s)	-	Women dominate the open markets
Hausa (Nigeria) (late 1950s)	Men dominate the public markets	Women trade from their homes
Dakar (Senegal) (1959)	40	60
Brazzaville (Congo) (1963)	34	66
Nigeria (1963)	30	70
Ghana (1960)	16	84
Dahomey (1967)	11	89

Sources: Bohannan and Dalton, eds., Markets in Africa (Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1962); David Lucas, "Women in the Nigerian labour force", Economic Commission for Africa (M71-2985); "Participation of women in industry and commerce in African towns south of the Sahara", Economic Commission for Africa (E.C.B.14).

16. Self-help projects are another area in which women's labour predominates. Construction of roads, nursery schools, primary schools and village centres is often more than 50 per cent women's work. In Kenya, for example, the Government has estimated that women provide 80 per cent of the self-help labour; in Lesotho, they build 90 per cent of the roads under Food-for-Work and other programmes. This does not mean that the men do not do anything; it does, however, indicate the nature and extent of women's participation in these development efforts.

17. Women have numerous assigned roles for the social as well as the economic development of their societies. A critical one, which raises and even creates their status, is to bear children. A large family remains the norm in most of the region for reasons often enumerated, including extra hands to work on the farm, social security for the parents in their old age, insurance that the family will be carried on through future generations, proof of a man's virility, and anticipation of premature death of children before maturity. When many pregnancies are necessary to have a few living adult children, a woman will be pregnant during most of her child-bearing years. But pregnancies, child-bearing, lactation and child-rearing do not debar nor deter her from her work in the fields or in the markets; both her economic and her social roles are pressed upon her, and she accepts them without question.

18. In subsistence societies the basic problem of poverty prevents access to the means of making life's tasks easier and more rewarding. Even in these societies roles have changed and are still changing; yet women's major traditional responsibilities persist.

19. In summary, in both the subsistence and the petty monetary sectors of the economy, women's roles dictate their full engagement in productive activities - producing and processing food, distributing goods, raising children, and caring for men and elders.

20. Estimates of women's participation in the essential activities of the subsistence and early modernizing areas of their societies are not always readily available, but it is possible to obtain them once their importance is recognized. (See tables 1-3.) To obtain a "unit of participation" for women's labour in rural areas one makes the best possible estimate, based on available data and experience, of the percentage of the labour associated with a particular task which may be attributed to women. For example, in Bukoba, United Republic of Tanzania, it is estimated that men work 1,800 hours per year in agriculture and women work 2,600 hours. ^{4/} This totals 4,400 hours, of which 60 per cent is women's work. Women's "unit of participation" is thus 0.60.

21. Using this method, an attempt is made below to estimate roughly the units of participation by women in the traditional rural and early modernizing economy in Africa as a whole, in order to provide a model:

^{4/} Country report on United Republic of Tanzania for Libreville Conference, Gabon, 1971.

<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Unit of participation</u>
A. Production, supply, distribution	
Food production	0.70
Domestic food storage	0.50
Food processing	1.00
Animal husbandry	0.50
Marketing	0.60
Brewing	0.90
Water supply	0.90
Fuel supply	0.80
B. Household, community	
Bearing, rearing, initial education of children	1.00
Cooking for husband, children, elders	1.00
Cleaning, washing, etc.	1.00
Housebuilding	0.30
House repair	0.50
Community self-help projects	0.70

Source: "The changing and contemporary role of women in African development", Economic Commission for Africa, 1974; "Country reports on vocational and technical training for girls and women", Economic Commission for Africa, 1972-1974; studies, mission reports, discussions. As noted in the text, units of participation should be determined first for areas within countries, then on the national level, then for Africa.

II. INTEGRATION OF WOMEN: AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT

22. To be integrated into the development effort means to have access, by legal right as well as in practice, to available means for self-improvement and the improvement of the society. Among the means available to persons in the Africa region are: (a) opportunities for wage-earning employment, or the generation of incomes through self or family employment; (b) education, both formal and non-formal, and including access to extension services; (c) participation in administration and public life; (d) access to health and maternity services; and (e) reduction in workloads and means for increasing productivity. The first four areas are those identified in the annex of General Assembly resolution 2716 (XXV) of 15 December 1970 as target areas for women's integration into development during the Second United Nations Development Decade.

23. While full information is not available, it appears that governmental laws and policies generally do not hinder women's integration in the areas noted above. Nevertheless, few African countries have positive policies towards encouraging the full involvement of women. Only one country, Egypt, has established a National Commission on Women and Development, although this action was recommended to all Governments at the Regional Conference on Vocational Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in Africa held in Rabat in 1971. A half dozen other countries are considering similar action.

24. In some countries, terms of civil service, income tax structures, marriage laws, and other laws and policies of Government are believed to deter women's full integration. Since available information is scanty at this writing, it is not possible even to estimate the extent of this influence.

25. Some data, varying from reliable to very tentative estimates, are available, however, on national practices in the five areas mentioned above as indicators and means of women's integration in development.

Employment

26. Employed persons, as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), are persons who work for wages, or are own-account employers and workers, or unpaid family workers. "Women occupied solely in domestic duties", are not considered as employed and therefore are not included in labour force data. ^{5/} Using the ILO definition, it is clear enough that women in the traditional and early modernizing areas are fully employed. Very few of them, in fact, are confined to domestic duties alone. They often work excessively long hours on the farms or in the markets, even though the returns on their labours are not commensurate with their efforts.

27. It is necessary, first of all, to determine whether this employment of women is fully recognized by Governments, and, secondly, to examine the extent of employment of women in the modern sectors.

^{5/} International Labour Office, Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1972 (Geneva, 1972).

28. The question of determining who are members of the active labour force is important to an understanding of women's integration into development. If women's work is not considered as employment, women are likely to be overlooked and excluded from projects and programmes of planners, who base their planning on these statistics.

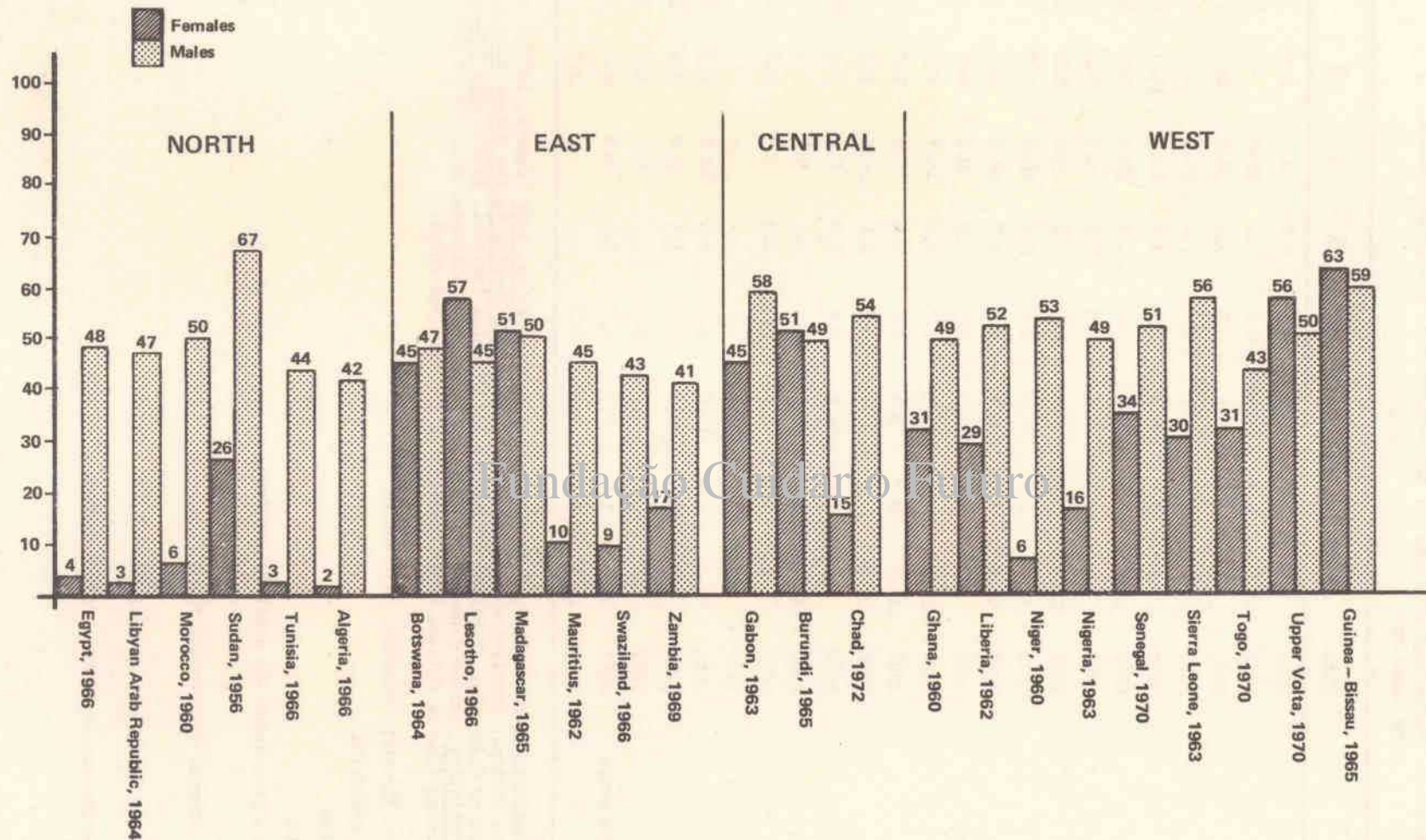
29. As shown in the figure below, "Percentage of women who are economically active by subregions and countries", numerous African countries still do not consider very many women as economically active. The median percentage of women considered economically active in 24 countries with available data is 28; for men, it is 49. These statistics do not reflect the realities of women's work as described in the preceding section.

30. The percentage of women employed in the various sectors is shown in table 5. It can be seen that, in most sectors of economic activity, women are not well represented. 6/

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6/ For detailed analysis of the active labour force, see "The data base for decision on the interrelations between the integration of women in development, their situation and population factors in Africa" (E/CN.14/SW/37), pp. 20-39.

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WHO ARE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE, BY SUBREGION AND COUNTRY^{a/}



Source: International Labour Office, Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1972 (Geneva, 1972).

^{a/}Countries are grouped by subregions because of the varied roles of women and the apparent differences in calculating women's economic activity. For example, in most North African countries, women are seldom identified as economically active, and in most East African countries, it appears that only wage-earning employees are accounted for in the breakdowns by branch of activity.

Table 5. Percentage of women in the economically active population, by industry

	<u>Year</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>
Algeria	1966	1.8	1.8	8.8	0.5	3.8	2.5	2.6	15.3	3.0
Botswana	1971	20.8	4.4	5.9	2.5	...	22.8	-	18.7	...
Congo	1967	...	-	2.5	0.3	0.2	6.6	2.0	13.8	...
Dahomey	1967	18.1	...	...	...	...	95.0	...	10.2	...
Ethiopia	1970	1.7	0.4	26.3	0.7	3.4	13.7	14.0	23.0	...
Gabon	1963	50.6	1.5	12.2	3.0	11.1	30.1	3.5	34.2	35.7
Egypt	1966	3.9	2.5	4.6	0.8	1.9	6.3	2.1	18.6	33.0
Ghana	1969	12.3	1.9	7.8	2.2	1.4	9.4	5.4	14.3	...
Kenya	1971	17.2	2.4	6.4	2.8	2.4	10.4	5.7	19.7	...
Liberia	1962	41.6	2.5	8.7	1.4	3.7	34.1	2.4	14.8	21.2
Libyan Arab Republic	1964	2.1	0.4	29.3	0.5	1.3	0.8	0.4	5.9	8.4
Madagascar	1964	14.9	20.3	15.3	1.2	4.2	15.7	1.7	...	...
Malawi	1968	11.5	0.8	3.4	0.1	1.4	5.6	1.7	10.9	...
Mauritius	1970	27.3	27.9	...	0.6	4.4	16.5	1.5	...	...
Morocco	1960	7.7	2.0	30.1	0.7	3.9	6.4	3.3	26.9	8.4
Niger	1960	10.3	...	...	...	...	9.4	...	17.3	...
Nigeria	1965	9.9	2.0	4.8	0.3	1.0	5.7	2.4	12.9	...
Rwanda	1969	1.1	0.2	3.2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sierra Leone	1963	42.3	0.8	14.8	1.1	3.5	41.9	2.3	15.8	8.0
Tunisia	1966	1.8	0.7	23.4	0.5	1.3	2.9	2.9	10.3	5.0
Uganda	1969	1.8	-	3.4	0.3	...	6.4	1.5	13.1 ^{a/}	...
United Republic of Tanzania	1967	51.1	1.9	9.9	0.7	2.7	9.4	1.5	18.8	...
Zambia	1969	12.2	4.3	7.5	2.5	...	...	3.5	...	...

Sources: International Labour Office, Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1972 (Geneva, 1972); Country reports issued by the Economic Commission for Africa; Employment and Earning in the Modern Sector, 1971, Kenya, General Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning (Nairobi, 1973); 1967 Population Census, vol. 4: Economic Statistics, United Republic of Tanzania, Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning (Dar es Salaam, 1971) (statistics for mainland only).

- A = Agriculture, forestry, hunting, and fishing
- B = Mining and quarrying
- C = Manufacturing
- D = Construction
- E = Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services
- F = Commerce
- G = Transport, storage and communication
- H = Services
- I = Activities not adequately described

^{a/} Refers to people in government services only.

Employment in agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing

31. Available data indicate strong participation of women in agriculture in Central and West Africa, but only minimal participation in East Africa (Botswana excepted), despite the fact that food production is women's work in East Africa. ^{7/} In North Africa also, women engage in agriculture; but this fact is reflected only in data from the Sudan. For 22 countries reporting data, the median of women's participation is listed at only 11.9 per cent - in spite of the fact that women perform 70 per cent of agricultural labour.

Employment in commerce

32. Here the data for West Africa are, for the most part (Nigeria being a major exception), a reflection of the numbers of market women. But the commercial activities of women in the other subregions are not very visible. For 21 countries with data available, the median of women's participation is listed as 9.4 per cent. It is clear that women's employment is sometimes reflected in labour force data, but far greater accuracy is needed.

Employment in manufacturing

33. This is a "modern" area of employment, and it offers a variety of jobs demanding more or less physical strength and various levels of skill and education. It is a field in which women are employed in industrial societies, and may be a potential field of employment for African women. The median for 19 countries with data available shows that a low 8 per cent of workers are women.

34. Of seven countries for which data are available, four (Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, Rwanda) show only slight positive or negative changes in the manufacturing sector over a period of five or six years. Zambia shows a fivefold increase, and Tunisia a doubling of women workers; Ghana shows an increase of 3 per cent. From this and other analyses, ^{8/} it appears that women's employment opportunities may (but do not always) increase when the economy is growing rapidly or, as is more likely, when Governments make and enforce policies favouring the employment of women.

35. It is also important to realize that women may dominate the low-status, low-paid jobs, or provide day labour, as shown in some case studies. Table 6 shows that women's salaries in manufacturing are lower than men's but are rising. The same is true in wage-remunerated agriculture.

^{7/} It is likely that some countries include only those persons engaged in wage-earning employment in agriculture.

^{8/} See "The impact of modern life and technology on women's economic roles: implications for planning", Economic Commission for Africa (ESN: THEP/A/72/9-A), May 1972.

Table 6. Comparative wages in agriculture and manufacturing

Employment	Country	Year	Percentage	Year	Percentage
			of male salary earned by by females		of women among workers in the category
Agriculture:	Ghana	1962	74	1962	4
		1970	79	1969	12
	Kenya	1962	34	1963	19
		1966	60	1966	18
	Morocco	1962	75	...	...
		1972	80		
Manufacturing:	Egypt	1962	53	...	...
		1967	67	1966	5
	Kenya	1962	74	1963	19
		1966	93	1966	18

Source: International Labour Office, Year Book of Labour Statistics.

36. On the level of professional and technical employment, women's representation ranges between 20 per cent and 30 per cent in a number of countries and rises to 40 per cent in Botswana and Mauritius. But the median is 21 per cent for 12 countries with available data. Here we can expect to find large numbers of teachers and nurses.

37. In the region as a whole, there are magistrates, doctors, and other high-level professional persons who are women. But on the administrative, executive and managerial levels, women's representation is poor (except in Botswana), and indications are that it is increasing only slowly. The median is a low 6.4 per cent for 14 countries. Women participate very little at the decision-making levels. Here, also, changes are occurring less rapidly than in manufacturing. In Algeria, between 1960 and 1966, women executives remained constant at 6 per cent; in Egypt during the same years, the percentage dropped from 5 per cent to 4.4 per cent. In Ghana between 1960 and 1967, the percentage of women executives rose from 3 to 4 per cent; Ivory Coast showed a drop from 7.5 per cent to 6.7 per cent between 1966 and 1970. 9/

9/ International Labour Office, Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1967 and 1972; country reports issued by the Economic Commission for Africa.

38. The question of women's employment becomes more serious when viewed from the perspective of women's family responsibilities. While data are incomplete, the number of female-headed households in both rural and urban areas, and the stepped-up migration of young women to towns, suggest that the need for women to have incomes to support themselves and their children will increase. ^{9/} In Kenya, more than one third of rural households are headed by women; in Ethiopia, women outnumber men in the towns.

39. Women in the towns have special difficulties in finding employment, particularly if they are illiterate or poorly educated, as is the case with most women. It has been said that even the market women of West Africa are in danger of being squeezed out by big commercial undertakings and yet "there are no noticeable new openings for women's employment". ^{10/} For many women - whether married or not and whether husbands are present or not - life in the towns means a struggle to obtain an income; and often the only avenues open to them are brewing, baking, hawking, prostitution or the acceptance of unskilled employment at low wages and sometimes poor working conditions with little job security.

40. As described earlier, it is in the sector of what is called informal employment (self or family employment), that women are most heavily engaged - on farms, in markets, cottage industries, brewing or baking. This sector, although contributing significantly to the economy, is often overlooked by Governments who still tend to give greater encouragement and priority to formal and large-scale industries.

41. In sum, while inclusion of women as members of the active labour force is improving, there remains the need in many countries for data to reflect the realities of women's traditional employment. In the modern sectors, where women's employment indicates the degree of their integration in development, women are not well represented, despite their family responsibilities. Only among the educated are there good proportions of women workers. But when it comes to decision-making, even these women lag far behind men. As increasing numbers of men seek jobs, the outlook for women may be even less promising than at present, since employers, including Governments, appear to prefer men.

42. Persons who are self-employed are not always fully accounted for in labour force data, and since many women find incomes outside wage employment, their activity is not properly recorded. Nevertheless, the indications are that, whereas women had very clear economic roles in traditional Africa, they play only a relatively small part in the modern wage employment sectors.

^{9/} Ibid.

^{10/} Young Women's Christian Association, West Africa Regional Conference, 1970. This is a general problem for all small-scale commercial enterprises. A programme of training, financial encouragement, incentives and development is required to promote entrepreneurship among women that will enable them to move into higher-level commercial areas hitherto unavailable to them.

Education and training

43. Education - formal and non-formal, including extension services - is a means of opening minds to the possibilities and practical methods of development and of preparing women to make a contribution to development. According to the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, educational and training programmes should be designed "to increase productivity substantially in the short run and to reduce waste" (para. (67), General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970). The importance of women's productivity - particularly in the rural areas where 80 to 90 per cent of them live and produce, process and prepare most of Africa's domestic food - has been discussed already in the present paper. The waste of time and energy has been implied in the descriptions of the hours of work women put in.

44. Opportunities for education and training of girls and women have a strong influence on development of the traditional areas. But they also influence the growth and formation of the coming generation, since women have the major and often exclusive responsibility for early child-rearing. Finally, the need to mobilize all human resources for development dictates that half of the continent's people should not be left behind.

Formal education

45. Women constitute the majority of illiterates in the region, except in Lesotho. ^{11/} They form the majority of pupils in literacy classes in most countries.

46. In 1965, an average of 37 per cent of primary school students in countries with available data were girls. By 1969, this average had risen to 38 per cent. Increases in secondary school enrolments came slightly more rapidly, from 27 per cent in 1965 to 29 per cent in 1969. The differences between primary and secondary enrolments show a clear tendency for girls to drop out of school at a higher rate than boys. The percentage of women in post-secondary education was 19 per cent in 1965 and rose to 23 per cent in 1969.

47. The division of rural labour described above accounts in large part for the failure of girls to continue their education, or in fact, in many cases, to be enrolled at all. Young girls must help their mothers at home and on the farm; they carry water in smaller pots behind their mothers. Boys are often excused from home tasks when they are studying, and they thus have the chance to do homework after school. Girls may be removed from school because of pregnancy or for early marriages. When family finances for school fees are scarce, boys receive preference. This partly traditional and partly new cultural pattern persists despite studies which show that the performance of children in school correlates positively with the education of the mother, but bears little or no

^{11/} See country report issued by the Economic Commission for Africa.

relationship to the education of the father. ^{12/} Thus the women's education has a direct effect on the next generation, as well as on present agricultural production and distribution of goods.

48. On the level of formal vocational education at the secondary level, the median percentage of girls and women was 22 per cent in 1965, and 22.5 per cent in 1969. Moreover, these data mask the reality that "vocational education" for girls and women is generally concentrated on sewing and cookery, which seldom lead to gainful employment and relate to only a small part of women's work and, consequently, their needs.

49. Women make a better showing in second-level teacher-training institutions; girls averaged 30 per cent of median enrolment in 1965 and 32 per cent in 1969. At third-level teacher-training institutions girls did not fare so well. In 1965, of 23 countries with data available, 11 enrolled no women at all on this level. Four years later, 10 countries still had no female students at this level. A significant exception is Madagascar, where 80 per cent of students were women, while in Sierra Leone, Egypt and Zambia, the proportions were 44 per cent, 43 per cent and 34 per cent respectively.

50. Units of participation of girls at various levels of formal education may be represented as follows:

<u>Areas of access</u>	<u>Unit of participation</u> (median)
Adult literacy	0.60
Primary	0.38
Secondary	0.29
Vocational and technical (second level)	0.23
Teacher training (second level)	0.32
Teacher training (third level)	0.06
Post-secondary	0.23

Non-formal education

51. Numbers and percentages of women participating in mass or non-formal education are more difficult to assess. But, from the very incomplete data available in the country reports of the Economic Commission for Africa, initial indications are that domestic science constitutes more than 50 per cent of all the mass education offered to women. Sometimes subjects such as animal husbandry, kitchen gardening, and poultry keeping are included, but only seldom is agriculture itself or co-operative education a part of the training, despite the

^{12/} "The changing and contemporary role of women in African development", Economic Commission for Africa, 1974.

fact that women are responsible for more than 70 per cent of the agricultural labour in the region. Even the functional literacy courses in which women participate are centred on home crafts.

52. Within the broad concept of non-formal education may be included opportunities to make use of scientific knowledge and technological innovation through extension services, access to loans for improved seeds, fertilizers, tools and equipment, knowledge about co-operatives and other institutions for producers or consumers.

53. Again, in this area, even concrete data are insufficient for judgement. But the type of mass education available to women and general knowledge of various countries, would lead one to conclude that women's access to the tools of development is quite limited. It appears that most agricultural extension services are offered to men. And membership in producers' co-operatives is most often a male prerogative, by virtue of land ownership and training opportunities.

54. Among the major exceptions to this pattern are the market women's associations and co-operatives, projects for support of small entrepreneurs, and special co-operative training courses for women.

55. Available data for non-formal education allows units of participation of special importance to women to be expressed as follows: 13/

<u>Area of access</u>	<u>Unit of participation</u>
Agriculture	0.15
Animal husbandry	0.20
Trade and commerce	-
Co-operatives	0.10
Arts and crafts	0.50
Nutrition	0.90
Home economics	1.00

Participation in administration and public life

56. It has been noted earlier that, on the level of administrative, executive and managerial employment, women's representation is poor - an indication that women have few national decision-making responsibilities in the higher levels of

13/ Units given are extremely rough estimates owing to lack of data. Estimates are based on country reports issued by the Economic Commission for Africa and on informal information. Ideal units in most of these areas might be 0.50, indicating that both men and women have access to non-formal training.

employment. Data are not available on numbers of women parliamentarians, ambassadors, mayors, members of local councils, permanent secretaries, development planners. Recently, however, a few countries have taken steps to appoint or elect women to these posts, notably, the United Republic of Tanzania, with its women area commissioners, and Zambia, with three women ministers and one ambassador. In Ghana a law was passed appointing women to parliament and other senior posts. For some time 27 per cent of Guinea's National Assembly and 16 per cent of its regional assemblies have been composed of women and Guinea claims the first woman President of the United Nations Security Council. A Liberian was the second woman President of the General Assembly.

57. But these women are the exception rather than the rule in African countries as in most other countries of the world. In Africa, however, women were given the franchise at independence and did not have to fight for it.

Access to health and maternity knowledge and services

58. Women's role in child-bearing, nurturing and children's initial education is a positive contribution to their families, communities and nations. From this perspective, health and maternity services must include a broad spectrum of activities and resources, for they involve protection of the woman's well-being, not only during pregnancy and thereafter, but at all times.

59. In most countries of Africa, policies promoting maternal and child health centres, health clinics, hospitals and other health units have been emphasized in development plans. However, countries vary in the implementation of these policies. Some countries allocate only a small portion of their budget to health.

60. Women and children have the greatest need for health services among any population. In most African countries, the proportion of children is rising rapidly with the increase in the annual growth rate of the population. Thus the need for maternal and child health services and for preventive medicine is even more acute than in earlier years. Although progress has been made, a World Health Organization seminar on the organization of maternal and child health services, held at Brazzaville in November 1969 showed that a great deal must still be done to encourage the authorities to give due emphasis to the proper orientation of maternal and child health activities. 14/

Reducing work loads and increasing productivity

61. Women's work could be much more productive if they had access to loans, seeds, fertilizer and insecticides, advice from extension agents, market training

14/ World Health Organization, regional office for Africa, "Twentieth annual report of the regional director to the Regional Committee for Africa" (AFR/RC20/3), 1 July 1970.

and other advantages. When available, these are generally enjoyed by men. As much of their work effort is spent on unproductive drudgery, women would also obviously be more productive if supplied with suitable substitutes for traditional labour methods so that their time and strength could be conserved for more rewarding activities.

62. At a 1974 workshop for women trainers in home economics and other family-oriented fields held by the Economic Commission for Africa in the United Republic of Tanzania, the participants identified the following activities as the most burdensome to women: carrying water; farm labour with traditional tools; carrying wood and other heavy loads; pounding and grinding; cooking with traditional equipment and fires.

63. Much of this drudgery is reduced or eliminated on farms and in homes that have been modernized. However in most African countries, few villages have piped or well water, ox-carts or other vehicles for carrying loads, grinding mills or convenient cooking equipment.

Water supply

64. A supply of pure water near a homestead or village has a dual health advantage: first, for the family, it means protection against water-borne disease. Secondly, it saves the woman, the nearly universal water-carrier of the region, unnecessary and exhausting labour, which she must undertake despite her state of health or maternity. Provision of water supplies is often, in development plans, directed to major agricultural projects and to urban and industrial needs. Community self-help activities include construction of wells, bore-holes and other water sources, but provision of water is probably not often enough considered in relation to women's portage tasks - sometimes two or more hours daily - and thus to the health of the mother.

65. The Director-General of the World Health Organization, in his progress report to the twenty-third World Health Assembly entitled "Community water supply programme", 15/ suggested that if the true facts were known, many examples could be quoted of countries where water-borne diseases accounted for much morbidity and mortality. There is a dearth of statistics, especially about dysentery and parasitic diseases, which in endemic areas are regarded by people as ever-present facts of life. As well as reducing the true water-borne diseases, typhoid and cholera, water supplies also reduce filth-related diseases such as trachoma and scabies, dysentery and parasites.

66. There are indications that, during the Second United Nations Development Decade, Governments are becoming more aware of the economic and social advantages of expenditure on community water supplies; of the relation between nutrition and safe water; and of the essential nature of water supplies as an infrastructure for public health improvements as well as for projects of social and economic

15/ World Health Organization document A23/P&B/5, 10 April 1970.

development. As a result, greater use is being made of international and bilateral capital for construction. The World Health Organization has prepared realistic targets for the Decade (1971-1980) for both urban and rural water supplies. These global targets are according to the Director-General's report, "Community water supply programme":

Urban supplies: 1970 position

25 per cent of urban dwellers supplied in house or courtyard

26 per cent supplied from public standpipes

Decade target

40 per cent to be supplied in house or courtyard

60 per cent to be supplied from public standpipes

Rural supplies: 1970 position

Less than 10 per cent of rural inhabitants supplied with safe water

Decade target

20 per cent of rural inhabitants to be supplied with safe water

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67. The figures below show the targets of water supplies for the Second Development Decade for rural inhabitants in Africa.

A. Estimated number of persons served in 1970	15 million
B. Number of persons to be served by 1980 (20 per cent of the rural population)	40 million
C. Additional population to be served (B minus A)	25 million
D. Construction costs	\$150 million

From this table it can be seen that in rural Africa in 1970, only 7.5 per cent of rural inhabitants had water supplies. This is close to the global average as given above.

Village technology

68. In addition to a water supply, village technology is a necessary contributor

to the health and well-being of women and to their productivity. Data are not available to calculate units of participation nor does the subject lend itself to this exercise. However, from ongoing surveys by the Economic Commission for Africa it appears that sufficient imagination has not as yet been put to the task. Women continue to work with primitive tools in the fields and in their homes. The fact that their husbands may be using similar tools and implements is no cause for comfort. Tractors and improved ploughs, when they are available, are offered to and used by men. This situation generally prevails despite the fact that the introduction of cash crops has often imposed increased agricultural labour on women.

69. When the division of rural labour as set forth above is carefully examined, there remains no doubt that simple technology for community, farm and home could greatly relieve the strain and drudgery of daily living, allowing for the improvement of the family's welfare, increased food production and more efficient marketing.

70. An example of the reduction of women's work by a simple input with modest investment can be found in the various places in East Africa where hand-pounding of cereals has been replaced by small-capacity power-driven mills. ^{16/} An average village family consumes about 2 to 5 kilograms of maize daily and to pound this takes about an hour when a mill is not available. It has been observed that East African village women will take advantage of a commercial mill even though they have to carry a 24-kilogram load for four miles and take a bus for a further five miles to have their maize ground. They do this in spite of the costs of grinding and transportation, which reach the equivalent of about two thirds of the value of the maize. There is no doubt of the need for and acceptability of small community mills.

71. Collecting and carrying fire-wood is one of the heavy chores of African women. This has become increasingly tiring and time-consuming as deforestation has forced women to walk longer and longer distances to find the quantity they need. This work could be much reduced by the planting of fast-growing trees near villages and by the introduction of a small village portable mechanical saw or even by an ox-cart to transport the wood, perhaps for groups of families.

72. In agriculture and livestock keeping, innovations which would help women include ox-drawn ploughs and harrows, hand-operated inter-row cultivators, planters and winnowers, seed-cleaning sieves, chicken feeders and waterers. Sun-dryers, smoking drums and improved food stores would ensure that they lose less of their hard-earned food supplies. Solar water heaters, improved stoves, maize shellers, cassava grinders and simple home-made things like clothes-lines and cupboards are a few of the household items which would save time and energy and make women's work more efficient. The psychological effect of using a machine or new piece of equipment such as a grinding mill, a cart or a home-made stove to relieve human

^{16/} "The young child: approaches to action in developing countries" (E/ICEF/L.1303, 27 March 1974).

drudgery can stimulate new ideas among women about the introduction of other labour-saving devices.

73. The Economic Commission for Africa, the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the United Nations Children's Fund as well as many voluntary agencies are interested in the problems of introducing into Africa labour-saving technology which will benefit women and families. This interest has grown rapidly in the last few years and it is hoped that a joint effort can be made to help countries to identify needs and to design, test and promote many useful items which will help to change village life.

Child care facilities

74. Child care facilities are more often thought about for urban rather than rural areas, even though they are necessary in both.

75. We have already noted that rural women spend 8 to 10 hours in the fields during the peak agricultural seasons. In addition, when their older children go to school, they are left with the smaller children and babies. Kenya women have established 5,000 rural nursery centres, in which the children are cared for and provided with pre-school education. Day-care centres are being established in all Ujamaa villages in the United Republic of Tanzania by community effort.

76. Unfortunately, data are not available for other countries but, especially where co-operative farms or group cultivation are being introduced, arrangements are often made for a woman or an older girl to look after a group of children and to receive the same pay for this job as those sharing in the cultivation. These arrangements may in time develop into recognized day-care centres.

77. Women in wage employment in the towns also need care for their children. On the whole, they have better access to such centres at present than do rural women. In Egypt, for example, the Government provides day-care services and has also made it obligatory by law for employers to provide them for the children of their women employees. However, in most countries there are insufficient centres to meet the present or potential demands. Many are privately run and too expensive for poor families. While women who hold professional or business jobs may find it possible to hire maids, poorer women cannot afford to do so and need cheap or free day-care centres. If raising children is a social contribution to development, the community or the local administration has some obligation to provide for such needs.

78. The introduction of day-care centres has the additional advantage of creating an opportunity for pre-school education, which is now appreciated as a valuable step in child development.

III. POLICY AND ACTION IMPLICATIONS

79. Women themselves, individually and through voluntary organizations, are working to provide for their needs, and modernize their work for development. Following a discussion of women's own initiatives, the present paper concludes with proposals for further policies and strategies drawn from the recommendations of conferences of African women and from studies and the experience of the Economic Commission for Africa.

80. A large proportion of the self-help labour in Africa is provided by women. In parts of Zaire, women give the family service of one day each week for self-help road building. In Gabon, women are constructing a local airport, entirely by hand. In Lesotho, it is estimated women are building 90 per cent of the roads under the Food-for-Work Programme. In Kenya, women are responsible for about 80 per cent of the self-help labour; they have established 5,000 rural nursery centres, among numerous other activities.

81. Women join with men, or band together themselves for purposes of self help. All countries in Africa have at least one women's organization, and in most countries there is a proliferation of them. These groups vary from small rural mutual aid societies which supply quick services or money for weddings and funerals to national associations with branches throughout the country, which are often attached to the ruling political party or to a government ministry. Churches have active women's clubs, and youth clubs are numerous. Additionally, there are the national branches of international organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association, Girl Guides, Scouts, Zonta, University Women, Soroptimists and consumer societies. These groups establish literacy and other adult education programmes, organize and market handicrafts, provide pre-school crèches and nursery centres, collect money for scholarships for girls, propose legislation to improve the legal status of women, organize self-help construction, and so forth. Sometimes they affiliate with a national council of social services or with a national council of women's organizations or both.

82. In the rural areas, women have traditionally joined forces for mutual assistance. Information groups evolved so that work might be undertaken in small groups, rather than in isolation. Reciprocal service is the essential base of these organizations, and no written rules exist. The groups may have 5 to 10 members, and have the same membership for only a season. Similar associations plan social activities. The evolution of these groups in modern times has led to the formation of co-operative activities, such as the famous corn mill societies of the United Republic of Cameroon, which have added a higher degree of organization, credit and business rules to traditional practices. 17/

83. In areas where marketing has been the women's business, strong associations of women have grown up through which women may obtain cash on credit without the heavy

17/ "Women and rural institutions", Economic Commission for Africa, 1972.

interest charged privately. Some organizations also regulate trading practices to stabilize prices and discourage excessive competition; offenders are punished with ostracism and perhaps loss of the market stall. These market societies may buy in bulk for their members. In southern Nigeria, where women have associated for production, a Women's Union with 80,000 members operates a weaving corporation, subsidizes a maternity and child welfare clinic and conducts literacy classes. Voluntary associations also exist for the organization and protection of prostitutes. 18/

84. Women participate in political parties, they are elected to local offices and to parliaments, and they are often credited for their contributions to the struggles for liberation of their countries. They have more or less strength as members of trade unions; the weakness of their participation in wage employment naturally affects their membership in industrial unions. The associations of market women in West Africa wield political power from an economic base.

85. Despite this diversity of associations, women do not participate in society on the same level as men. Because they lag behind men in formal and non-formal education, training and other access to the tools of modernization, women lack self-assurance. For example, women sometimes hesitate to join co-operatives together with men for fear of being cheated because of their ignorance of the workings of the organizations. (Sometimes women are not allowed to join.) In addition, women are so heavily taxed physically and psychologically, particularly in the traditional sectors, that they have little time or energy to give to changing their situations.

86. Women's organizations have very substantial accomplishments to their credit, and they are potential vehicles of greater change. But in many cases they have appropriate objectives and goodwill without the necessary specialized skills. Their increased effectiveness is likely to depend on the policies of Governments, on the involvement of highly trained younger women in their activities, on the use of technical resources available outside their organizations and, in general, on a rising national consciousness of the importance of women's work for development.

Policies and strategies for change

87. The following list of strategies for change, which the Women's Programme of the Economic Commission for Africa has identified from recommendations of regional conferences of women, discussions with Governments, and its own research and experience, is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. As noted in the introduction to the present paper, action programmes must suit national and local cultures and circumstances. The following four areas of concentration are taken from the ECA Five-Year Programme for Women, 1972-1976, with its revisions. The Economic Commission for Africa views the needs of women from a regional

18/ For a more thorough picture of voluntary associations, see Kenneth Little, West African Urbanization (Cambridge University Press, 1966) and African Women in Towns (1974).

perspective and so concentrates on research and actions which are relevant to many countries, albeit with local adjustments. Thus, the four areas are: (a) national machinery needed to assure the consideration of women in planning for development; (b) assembling of information and original research needed to form factual bases for action; (c) training and action programmes; and (d) use of the mass media to heighten consciousness of what women are doing for their countries' development.

(a) National machinery to promote and influence governmental and voluntary actions in the integration of girls and women within the context of national development 19/

Governments' commitment to involve women together with men in the tasks and rewards of development demands the creation of national machineries to implement policies. This may be achieved through the formation of national commissions on the role of women in development and technical women's bureaux in Government ministries to support the commissions. Since African Governments plan their economies through national machinery, the commissions and bureaux can appropriately be integral parts of that machinery.

National commissions should consist of leading men and women with experience in such fields as government service, policy making, development planning, employment, social development, education and training and other aspects of public life; representation of rural area women should be guaranteed. The functions of these commissions should include:

The examination and evaluation of the present contribution of women to the various sectors of development in the light of national needs and priorities;

The study of specific areas where women's participation should be initiated or strengthened;

The development and promotion of action programmes and legislation to integrate women into all sectors of national development;

Assistance to Governments in formulating requests for international technical assistance available through the United Nations system and bilateral organizations;

Working in partnership with government authorities at all levels and in close co-operation with non-governmental agencies, especially women's organizations.

19/ The substance of this section is taken from the Special Recommendation of the Regional Conference on Vocational Training and Work Opportunities for Girls and Women in Africa held at Rabat in May 1971.

In order to assure the effectiveness of the national commissions, Governments should consider setting up permanent secretariats or technical women's bureaux within an appropriate ministry, for example, the Ministry of Development Planning.

(b) Information and research

Assembling information in a meaningful way and undertaking original research are both necessary in order to devise a factual base on which to plan projects and programmes. Present research on women is hidden in diverse places - books, articles, dissertations, research papers and governmental publications which touch on the subject. But there are great gaps in some areas, in particular those which are needed to assess the impact of innovations on women's role. "The ECA five-year programme on pre-vocational and vocational training of girls and women, 1972-1976" lists numerous research priorities, including:

In rural life, comparative studies of the impact of innovations on the labour and productivity of rural women, directed to specific areas, such as: the possibility of creating or providing labour-saving technologies to increase productivity and decrease labour - for grinding, winnowing, weeding, water portage, storage, food preservation, transport to markets, etc.; potential markets for small-scale industries, for food preservation, handicrafts, etc.; land use and consolidation of holdings; availability of small loans; and transformation of traditional associations for modern activities;

In commerce, availability and types of training to modernize the work of traditional market women (co-operative and loan societies, access to credit, bookkeeping methods, assessment of market fluctuations, etc.); availability and types of training for the young educated women for entrepreneurship;

In small-scale industries, including service industries, survey of needs and markets in the informal sector of employment for hotel-keeping, chicken-raising, bee-keeping, upholstering, etc.;

In wage employment, extent of wage employment possibilities for women; data on absenteeism, availability and use of maternity leaves, frequency of job changes, level of responsibility, opportunity for promotion, equal pay for equal work, etc.; attitudes of employers, supervisors, fellow workers and women themselves toward women workers and supervisors; assessment of the value of "protective" and other legislation; services for working mothers, responsibility of working women for support of self, children, others;

Evaluation of current training programmes for women; follow-up of trainees to see if they have jobs; assessment of methods of training; proposals for income-oriented training programmes;

Tracer studies of school-leaver girls, to describe and assess the situation of school-leaver girls in both rural and urban areas - their migration, residence, means of support, continuing education, use of achieved education, and so forth; to evaluate existing vocational training programmes for school-leaver girls from the perspective of their relevance to preparation for participation in national development;

/...

Review of legislation on marriage and inheritance;

Review of literacy programme materials, including functional literacy, to determine their relevance to women's actual lives;

Examination and analysis of family planning programmes, to assess their relevance to women's real needs (e.g., their incorporation into programmes to raise women's earning capacities, lessen their labours, improve health and thus increase the chances of successful pregnancies and survival of infants and children).

(c) Training and action programmes

In policy, women should be included with men in all training and services relevant to their traditional activities and modern potential. At times, however, special programmes for women may be called for.

Training and action programmes should be carefully planned, with attention to markets for labour and/or goods, and lead to incomes in most cases. The training for co-operatives held in 1972 in Kenya is a good example of a clear and felt need which was met; earlier pilot training programmes under the auspices of the International Co-operative Alliance had met with enthusiastic response. Another example is the ILO/UNDP project in Swaziland, the Small Enterprises Development Corporation (SEDCO) and its related organizations, which, among other activities, train women who are already skilled in basketry for mass production of car seats. Poultry and small-animal raising projects have met with success in numerous countries. The YWCA in Ghana has trained school-leaver girls to set up catering services for school and business lunches.

Other possibilities for projects and training include those mentioned under research, for the research could form a preface to or a part of the programmes. For example:

Pilot rural development projects, preferably to be incorporated into existing integrated rural development schemes, for labour-saving technology, small-scale processing industries, improved marketing, teaching about co-operatives, etc.;

Training courses for trainers, such as the ECA Itinerant Training for Trainers in Home Economics (East and Southern Africa, 1973, francophone and anglophone West and Central Africa, 1974), a course intended to raise the consciousness of home economists to an awareness of women's need for training and assistance in agriculture, co-operatives, etc.;

Courses for national planners on how to integrate women into national development planning. (This was proposed in the Report of the Interregional Meeting of Experts on the Integration of Women in Development (United Nations publication) Sales No. E.73.IV.12.);

Internships for college men and women, perhaps during the holidays preceding their final year, on qualitative and quantitative data and its analysis, as bases for planning for women's integration in development;

Training courses for women leaders on data, analysis and methods of integrating women in all sectors of the economy. These would preferably be held on the national level;

Projects for handicraft and small businesses, such as the ECA/ILO and World YWCA 1974 workshop on women's participation in handicraft and other small industries. As has been pointed out, women usually retain their incomes from their own produce, including handicrafts. Also, handicrafts may be produced at home, during free hours.

(d) The mass communications media

Until the level of consciousness of women's present enormous work for development in the region is raised, there can be little expectation of any major efforts to examine the profound contradictions which exist. Current attitudes will prevail, and chances to double the productivity and halve the labours of women may be missed. The method of raising consciousness is simply to focus attention on women's tasks, and the needs of women and children in the context of national development. What are women doing in agriculture, self help, commerce, child care? And how can they do it with higher productivity, for the sake of development? Towards this end, the following are proposed:

A series of professionally-planned radio broadcasts, which may be adapted to practical situations in the various countries of Africa, and donor countries abroad;

Newsletters wherein women and their organizations can exchange experiences, and which would include small stories of what women are doing, what programmes are especially valuable etc.;

A film series on women and their activities at all levels to be circulated in Africa and abroad.
