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THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS AS
EQUAL PARTNERS WITH MEN

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Report of the Secretary-General

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INTRODUCTION

1. The present report examines some of the basic issues concerning the integration of women in the development process as equal partners with men. ^{1/} The introduction raises some of the main points to be considered and is followed by an examination of certain crucial aspects of the question, viewed from different perspectives. The report also contains relevant statistical data (see annex).

2. The United Nations, according to the Charter, is committed to the promotion of better standards of life in larger freedom for all. If this is accepted as a basic aim of the development effort, then it must also be recognized that the full participation of society as a whole, including women, in this process is essential. In fact, many of the most serious problems of development defy solution without the active participation of women. Further, all who are involved in the human task of survival must share in the opportunities available in order to progress and in order that development may be achieved as rapidly as possible. Those who are left behind in this process constitute a drag on the pace of development and social progress for the whole society.

3. An essential element in the several definitions of development is that, in addition to economic growth, it implies change - social, structural and attitudinal change. As a process that increases the capacity of society, its institutions and members to accommodate to and sustain modernization, it involves increasing national income, improving levels of living, adopting new technology, acquiring new skills and capacities, changing values and occupations, reforming the socio-economic structure and establishing new institutions. Integration in the development effort is thus the ability to participate actively in these processes of change and to utilize effectively the opportunities offered by them. This means not merely understanding and accepting what the processes have to offer, but also clearly articulating demands on the system and contributing to its control. The integration of women in the development effort therefore requires "a special effort designed to make women politically aware and ... more effective participants in determining the directions of social change" (E/CN.5/445, para. 22).

4. An important feature of the development process has been the shift from relatively self-contained local institutions and systems of production to dependence on larger social, economic and political units with the assignment of tasks less based on kinship. In these processes of change, women are doubly disadvantaged. Because of their reproductive functions vital to the survival, maintenance and growth of every society, women's roles have always been defined more rigorously than those of men. Changes in these roles require alteration of social relationship and fundamental values which are achieved relatively slowly,

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since opinions and attitudes tend to perpetuate long after the socio-economic conditions leading to their formulation have changed. Further, because of their family responsibilities, women have been relatively less able than men to take advantage of opportunities that would separate them from hearth and home. Women, therefore, have been locked into a system of somewhat obsolete relationships. A second disadvantage for women is the loss of the economic autonomy and status that went with the performance of their traditional functions but are progressively reduced as those functions formerly exercised by the family become centralized in the development process.

5. Clearly, among countries and among regions of the same country, there is great diversity in the situation of women, their enjoyment of rights and responsibilities and the degree of their integration in development efforts. Due account must be taken of the fact that nowhere are women a homogeneous group; their aspirations to participate in development efforts are subjugated to their identification with various social groups. Neither is development a homogeneous or unilateral process, and the possibilities for participation will be limited by the style of development and its pattern of investment, as well as by its cultural framework and its relationship to the socio-economic structure. However, de facto inequality between the sexes is pervasive in many countries and many problems common to the majority of the world's women in both developed and developing societies can be identified.

A. Some key issues concerning the integration of women in the developing process

6. Among the problems that bear particularly on women's integration in the development process there are three which subsume a number of issues. The first is the impact of inequality between the sexes on the productivity of females.

"As long as girls remain under the two-fold handicap of a family education which suppresses their self-confidence, and of training facilities in schools and elsewhere which are inferior to those given to boys, they are bound to be inferior workers who contribute little to the national product despite their hard toil in many traditional tasks of low productivity." 2/

The 1974 World Food Conference addressed this problem in relation to the low productivity of women in agriculture. While in many regions they account for over 50 per cent of agricultural labour, this labour yields less than optimal returns because women generally do not have access to the agricultural extension services and improved techniques and equipment that would increase their productivity. Low productivity is also a feature of many household tasks performed by women and this further contributes to limiting their choices of employment. Therefore, particularly in developing countries, women tend to be concentrated in low

2/ Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1970), p. 220.

productivity fields of employment that are often an extension of their traditional and domestic roles. Thus, it is especially true in relation to women that "a large amount of human potential is wasted in one way or another, to the detriment of economic growth, equitable income distribution, and social harmony". 3/

7. A corollary of low productivity is a low level of wages and consequently poverty. An essential element in the new approaches to development is a frontal attack on poverty. In connexion with the purported conflict between economic growth and equity involved in this new approach, the Committee for Development Planning points out that, at low levels of welfare, "increased consumption frequently yields direct improvements in productivity; indeed such consumption - better nutrition, health improvement and basic education - can be construed as a form of investment". 4/

8. This reference to investment leads to the second set of issues, namely, the cost of the wastage of investment, which is attributable to inequalities between the sexes, for example, wastages in the educational system. Universal education, at least at the primary level, is a declared aim of most countries, both as an individual human right and as part of society's need for trained human resources. It is accepted that at least six years of primary education of a minimum standard of quality are required for both purposes, and to ensure the retention of the benefits of education. 5/ However, many countries, despite the expenditure of a significant proportion of national resources, both for expansion of educational facilities and recurrent expenditure for their maintenance and operation, are unable to accommodate all children of primary age, and the numbers of available school places are unable to catch up with the rapidly growing numbers of pupils.

9. In these circumstances, boys are given preference and, even when girls are enrolled in school, their attendance is more spasmodic and their drop-out rates higher than those of boys. The number of girls completing primary school represents a relatively small proportion of those who enter. In many countries, even today, girls complete the equivalent of only two to three years of schooling, which is inadequate for the retention of literacy and numeracy. The low return on the investment in education in terms of both the personal value and the societal value of education, starting at the primary level, is compounded at the higher levels. It is further aggravated by the need to allocate resources to remedial programmes, such as those designed to improve levels of adult literacy.

10. In most cultures, mothers are responsible for the socialization of their children and the management of the household (which is both a production unit and a consumption unit). The efficiency of these tasks is improved when women have been educated and, further, there is a direct relationship between the education

3/ Raul Prebisch, Change and Development: Latin America's Great Task (New York, Praeger in co-operation with the Inter-American Development Bank, 1971), p. 1.

4/ Renewing the Development Priority (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.7), p. 11.

5/ See, for instance, Victor Stoikov, The Economics of Recurrent Education and Training (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1975), p. 67.

of women and the educational achievement of their children. The limited returns on investment in the education system at present, therefore, are mortgaging the returns on future investments. Similar wastage in investment could be indicated in other areas, such as the provision of social infrastructure. Because of the lack of women's knowledge and other factors, the services provided are not used efficiently.

11. A third set of issues affected by inequality between the sexes are those connected with the relationship between population factors, development and the status of women. Stimulated by the activities of World Population Year (1974), considerable attention has been given to the fact that it is not possible to "plan development with any measure of success without due consideration to demographic factors, and without attempting to influence them with a view to achieving the best correlation between population increase and economic progress" (E/CONF.60/SYM.I/13, para. 7).

12. Concern over the impact on development of population growth and change in many parts of the world has led to attempts to identify the complex economic, social, cultural and biological factors that result in reproductive patterns. Within this framework the relationship between the status of women and family planning has been studied, and the circular relationship between women's role in the development process and population factors confirmed. The wider inclusion of women in educational, social, political and economic activities tends to foster conditions leading to reduction of birth rates - and having fewer children at better spaced intervals enhances the possibilities for women to participate actively in social and economic life.

13. Men appear to be more traditional than women in their attitude towards the family. Thus changes in family structure that imply emancipation of women from the authority of their spouses and orientation of their roles towards greater participation in community and other activities outside the home will facilitate the motivation for a small family size. There is an inverse relationship between the number of years of schooling of a woman and her fertility; if girls can be kept in school, therefore, instead of having to stay home to assist their mothers in their household or agricultural tasks, the beginning of childbearing and the traditional stereotyped role is likely to be delayed. Girls will also have some foundation for taking advantage of any opportunity that may be offered for further training, thereby improving their capacity for contributing to development efforts.

14. There are clear indications that a certain level of social and material well-being must be reached before family size will be voluntarily reduced. The longer women are deprived of opportunities for participation on the basis of which they may move towards this level of well-being, the longer will high fertility prevail. Already half the population in the developing world is in the dependent age groups, and this high dependency ratio puts severe limitations on national

25% > 65 anos

6/ See "Interrelationship between the status of women and family planning" (E/CONF.66/BP.9).

development possibilities. The productivity of investment in children is low, because not enough community resources in terms of nutrition, housing and education can be devoted to the individual child to make her or him an efficient producer. The pattern of discrimination against females dictates that in these circumstances they will be unlikely to improve the quality of their lives to the point that would affect fertility.

15. In examining the issues relevant to the integration of women in development that are raised in the following chapters, one should bear in mind that:

"At issue, in the context of development, is not the reversal of sex roles, but more shared responsibility between men and women in economic, social and political spheres. This is the same notion of human equality that we are asked to apply to every other aspect of our development work. The primary objective is to promote and restore such sharing, which, in the experience of the industrialized world, tends to become disrupted by changes stemming from industrialization. There is imminent danger, unless counteracted by deliberate policies, that development efforts may increase rather than reduce the economic dependence of women." 7/

The basic issues may be considered under the following broad headings:

The information and communications gap

16. It is often repeated that the indicators that would explain the status of women and give a clear and realistic picture of their situation are generally not available. As pointed out in chapter I, this means that the society at large fails to see all the implications of their participation. This lack of information is relevant from the point of view of measuring the contribution that women are currently making. It also limits the realism of the intervention proposed to improve their situation, and means that there is no sound basis on which to design the communication support for intervention and direct it to the areas most critical for successfully achieving the required change. As pointed out in chapters II and III, even where there is relatively high labour force participation by women, this tends to be in segregated jobs. This seclusion of women limits the flow of information to them about services, new opportunities and new technologies. Access to knowledge is an important determinant of real status.

Attitudinal barriers

17. The relative seclusion of women, both in employment and in the household, conditions them to an attitude of inferiority and dictates that in the labour market they tend to be insecure and thus accept segregated employment in traditionally "female" fields. These tendencies are reinforced by the attitude of employers, the minimal participation of women in trade-union activities

7/ Opening statement of Mr. Rudolph A. Peterson, UNDP Administrator to the nineteenth session of the UNDP Governing Council, 15 January 1975.

and often also by their families. Modernization requires, in addition to skills, certain attitudes towards work that, in these circumstances, women are unlikely to develop, and, as pointed out in chapter III, it is necessary to break down this isolation of females, particularly in rural areas. It should be noted that the low level of wages that women accept tends to depress the general level of wages. Further, as much of their labour is neither recognized nor valued and, as much of their employment is on a part-time basis, they are deprived of income-related employment and social security benefits. As indicated throughout this report, societal attitudes of males as well as females at several levels, buttressed by culture and traditions, affect the possibilities for widening women's roles. As pointed out in chapter I, the status of women is a reflection of the general situation of the particular social class or stratum of society to which they belong.

Prevailing policies and procedures

18. Chapter III indicates some of the strategies that may bring about the advancement of women and enhance their opportunities to contribute to development. The effect of measures can, however, be expected to vary according to the stage and type of development and the strength of the links between them. Because of lack of information, and because of women's limited participation in the formulation of policies and the procedures for their implementation, these links tend to be weak. In fact, the forward planning required for the successful implementation of many programmes completely overlooks many critical factors, and this contributes to the wastage of resources indicated above. Of direct relevance here are the proposals for an integrated approach to development planning.

Lack of resources

19. The development possibilities of even relatively rich countries are limited by resource constraints, by the lack of congruence in the availability of physical, financial and human resources of the types and quantities needed at the required times and localities. In developing countries, where these problems are most acute, it is particularly important to maximize the returns on investments. Widening income-earning opportunities for all, including women, will reduce the requirements for certain types of expenditures by Governments, and will also increase the tax base of the society. Various approaches for supplementing the resources of the Government are indicated in chapter III, including the provision of seed capital for the development of co-operative ventures among women. It is important to orient the bilateral and multilateral technical co-operation programmes to include projects of interest for the integration of women in development, and also to explore the possibilities for increasing technical co-operation in this field among developing countries and among groups within the same country.

Lack of adequate mechanisms

20. As the extent of the administrative constraints on development is increasingly recognized, so must be the need for a proper administrative structure to effect changes of the scope required to promote the full integration of women in development. Given the sectoral and programmatic interdependencies implied above, the administrative system must provide for a two-way flow of information from the micro to the macro level, both for the formulation of programmes and for their continuous review and adjustment. Development administrators need to be sensitized both to the particular requirements for the advancement of women and to the technological and resource possibilities. Various administrative forms (e.g., bureaux, commissions, committees) specifically charged with review, evaluation and recommendation of measures and priorities for the integration of women in development have been or are being introduced in many countries. Two particular elements are essential for the success of these and all other efforts to enhance the position of women in society. First, it is necessary that they reflect the needs and aspiration of all women, not only those of the articulate élite. Secondly, they must be formulated within the accepted political, social and ideological framework with the recognition that the purpose of development is to improve the quality of life for all.

B. International strategies for development

21. A declared objective of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, was the encouragement of "the integration of women in the total development effort". However, the policy measures proposed do not focus specifically on women, but deal rather with human development. At the same session, the General Assembly adopted a programme of concerted international action for the advancement of women, setting forth certain objectives and targets to be achieved during the Second Development Decade (resolution 2716 (XXV)). These included general measures and measures relating to education, training and employment; health and maternity protection; and administration and public life.

22. A recurrent theme of the discussions leading up to the formulation of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order was the widening gap between developed and developing countries, which was felt to be a threat to international security and to the economic and social progress of the world community. In his preliminary report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General made particular reference to the growing "income disparities between countries, between groups of people and between regions of a country" (E/5536, para. 14).

23. The Declaration and its Programme of Action made no specific reference to the role of women. The whole thrust of these instruments was the search for new approaches to speeding up economic and social development. Both the New International Economic Order and the interest in enhancing the contribution of

women derive from the same universal concern for a better distribution of the opportunities for progress and development. Intensified action to strengthen the position of women in society and to promote their integration in development is part of the goal of social and economic progress for all. It should not be viewed in isolation from general development policy and the new approaches thereto. Rather, as the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination has pointed out, it should be dealt with within the complex development process in its entirety, forming part of "comprehensive national strategies which would attack income disparities, correct imbalances in the prevailing educational systems, make better choices of technology and break down the sharp division within developing economies between the traditional and the modern sector, thereby providing a framework for development within which the mass of society can participate in the process of economic growth" (CO-ORDINATION/R.1096, annex II, p. 4).

24. The United Nations system has a significant role to play both in the implementation of these new approaches to development and in fostering the climate needed for their successful implementation. This important objective has been incorporated in the draft World Plan of Action submitted to the World Conference and the measures proposed therein (E/CONF.66/5).

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

I. THE CONCEPT AND MEANING OF DEVELOPMENT: ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN

25. Development is a much-debated concept. Since the Second World War, when it became fashionable to speak of it, innumerable definitions of the term have been put forward, but each new definition appears in the end as unsatisfactory as the previous ones. In general terms, the concept refers to the process whereby a society increases the flow of goods and services over time and the distribution thereof among the population. But a number of fundamental issues remain: What goods and services? Who produces them and what for? Who benefits from their production and why? And, even more important, in what way does an increasing flow of goods and services contribute to the satisfaction of the basic needs of a population?

total lack of cultural approach

26. This last question is particularly relevant to the so-called developing countries, for in many of them a process of rapid economic growth over the past few decades (as measured in aggregate and per capita terms) has not necessarily led to improved standards of living of the great majority of the population. Indeed, the number of people who are ill, undernourished, unemployed, poor and frustrated, is probably larger in the world today than it ever was before in the history of humankind.

27. There are a number of reasons for this, and different approaches will arrive at different solutions. Some would see the problem merely as a race between population and economic growth, and would state that the former has outdistanced the latter. The solution for this group would be a simple matter of birth control. Others question the strategy of economic growth itself and affirm that, regardless of population, in most underdeveloped countries the social and economic organization of society is responsible for the increasing inequalities between rich and poor, between the so-called modern and traditional sectors and between dynamic poles of growth and stagnant, archaic backlands.

28. One thing is certain: economic development is not only a question of capital inputs, technological transfer or the adequate training of the labour force for new tasks. This much has been learned from the experience of the last 30 years. Development implies deep and durable changes in social structure, in the functioning of institutions and the cultural values of great masses of people. This is a complex and multifaceted process, sometimes referred to as modernization, in which the social, economic and political relationships among individuals and groups of people as well as among nations are undergoing constant change.

29. In the developing countries, the majority of the population usually lives on the land and derives its livelihood from agricultural and connected pursuits. This is perhaps one of the main characteristics of underdevelopment itself. In these countries, where the great majority of the world's population lives and toils, the development process, if it is to be at all meaningful to our planet's masses, must begin by modifying the agrarian structures. In real terms, this means that the social and economic institutions within which the rural population carries on its productive activities have to be modified.

30. The structure of agrarian institutions is particularly relevant to the role of women in society. In agrarian communities, the peasant household usually constitutes the basic economic unit. At one and the same time, it is a productive undertaking, the locus where most consumption takes place, and an institution that carries out various important social functions, such as training the young for productive activity and caring for the sick, the aged and the unemployed. The peasant household is not a thing of the past (as in most industrialized nations), but a living and dynamic social institution that not only has resisted the impact of modernization in many countries but has occasionally been strengthened by the various economic crises that have affected the third world.

31. In peasant households, women play an active role in production and other basic activities for the family's survival. The fact that they are usually not included in the labour force by census takers - despite their participation in a number of tasks such as sowing, tilling, weeding, harvesting, weaving, pottery-making, buying, selling and so forth - reflects the unsatisfactory state of labour statistics in male-dominated societies and the difficulties of adequately defining the work of women; it does not reflect low female participation rates in the labour force.

32. It is not only a question of statistics, however. Peasant households in the developing countries are usually economically marginal and unproductive farms, whose main contribution to the economy consists in feeding (and often not even that) their own family members and in absorbing family labour that does not find gainful employment elsewhere. Frequently, the market value of what is produced on these farms is inferior to the cost of production, if the unpaid labour of all family members were to be priced at prevailing wage rates. This is one of various mechanisms whereby wealth is extracted from peasant agriculture and transferred to other sectors of the economy. By excluding women's work from the economic calculations of peasant farming, the society at large fails to see the whole implications of poor peasant agriculture in the developing countries.

33. The functions of peasant agriculture are many. It tends to keep people on the land; it provides food to millions of people who would otherwise have to satisfy their demand through inefficient market systems; it reproduces the labour force required for economic development at low cost to the society as a whole; it serves as a safety cushion for political and social unrest.

34. While the social and economic role of women undoubtedly varies from one agricultural society to another, at this stage of development both men and women are equally implicated in the problems of backward peasant farming. However, in the process of development, certain sectors of the peasantry tend to break up and become integrated in the market economy. From then on, the economic and social roles of women and men tend to become increasingly differentiated. The male worker either migrates back and forth between peasant farming and modern agriculture, or is absorbed by the modern industrial sector or becomes a part of the masses of urban unemployed and marginal labourers.

35. In this process, the traditional peasant family structure suffers severe

strains. Caught up in the vortex of rapid urbanization, internal and international migrations and the beginnings of industrialization (which, however, is not eminently labour absorbing owing to modern capital-intensive production methods), broken and unstable families become commonplace. In this process, women suffer doubly. Many of them are the family breadwinners and the heads of households. Low levels of training and formal education do not enable them to compete on an equal plane in a male-dominated labour market. The extended family, rooted in the peasant society, tends to disintegrate; specialized social institutions begin to take over the social functions that were previously the domain of the extended family. Yet, for the great masses of underemployed urban and rural labour in the developing countries, formal education, social security and modern medicine are still beyond their reach.

very good analysis
→ 36. The new domestic unit becomes the nuclear family, the small and sometimes unstable group made up of parents and unmarried children. This unit is unstable because, as is often the case, under the stress of the early stages of development, the father is absent; children leave the home earlier than in the peasant household; the life-span of the nuclear family as a functioning institution shortens. While the male becomes increasingly absorbed in extra domestic activities, the woman is caught between a floundering family structure and an unresponsive, but at the same time, demanding labour market.

37. Is this only a transitional situation between the past stability of the traditional peasant household and the new stability of the modern urban family as it has become established in the industrial countries? At first glance it might seem so; but in the countries of the third world the process of industrialization and urbanization is somewhat different from that which took place in the earlier stages of the industrial revolution. Here it is likely that what may appear as a transitional stage will continue for several generations, due mainly to the problem of increasing unemployment, rapid demographic growth, extremely rapid urbanization in the metropolitan areas and other social phenomena now associated with the development process. The structure and functions of the family institution are ill-adapted to the requirements of this stage of the development process. The combination of public social services directed at large numbers of individuals is not always adequate for family units whose structure precludes the efficient absorption of these services.

→ 38. The development process implies important changes in productive activities, the structure of productive units and the occupational composition of the population. Production for consumption, the mainstay of the traditional peasant societies, becomes transformed into production for exchange in the market. Goods produced mainly for immediate consumption (except for salable surpluses) give way to commodities produced for sale in large enterprises. Under the old system, as long as the family was the main economic unit, no serious structural strains developed. In the new situation, the male population is rapidly caught up by the requirements of the development process. As the economic pivot changes from family production to the firm, the undertaking or the enterprise, the female population finds it increasingly difficult to adapt, due to its biologically and culturally imposed attachment to the family. "Homemaking" or "housekeeping" emerges as an activity quite separate from the market, and thus it is increasingly undervalued by the dominant cultural patterns of a society oriented toward production for exchange.

39. The traditional large or extended family is not only characteristic of peasant production; it has frequently been the basis for social and political activity by the male population in the wider society. "Familism" is a deeply engrained cultural trait in several of the world's major areas, such as the Mediterranean basin, Latin America, East Asia, the Arab culture area, the European aristocracies, and the southern United States. It has been associated with feudalism, but whereas feudalism as an economic and political system has faded away fairly rapidly under the impact of the expansion of capitalism, the cultural values associated with familism have simmered on for many generations. A family-oriented society attributes differential social roles to men and women, relegating the latter to an inferior position, and this has been a major obstacle to the equal participation of women in the economy. Family-oriented social and economic networks, while generally associated with rural society, may also play a role in urban culture. Indeed, extended family relationships are important links in the process of rural-to-urban migration that is so widespread in the third world today.

40. In the urban society that has emerged as a result of production for the market, the separation between home and worksite (office, factory) has become definite (except for certain categories of production such as handicrafts, certain services and small trading establishments). The home is no longer the centre of the family's activities, and many of its earlier functions have been taken over by the specialized institutions of the industrial society. Having been relegated by cultural tradition and social pressures to the home, women have found it increasingly difficult to satisfy the demands of the wider society and to adapt to the multiple activities that it offers.

41. The drive for equal participation for women in the various economic pursuits of modern society as well as in educational and political institutions requires therefore a two-pronged approach: certain changes in the functioning of social and economic institutions to make access easier for women and, simultaneously, a redefinition of the role of home and family in contemporary society. Up to now, emphasis has been placed upon the first of these approaches, whereas the latter has been generally ignored or neglected.

42. In the socialist countries it has long been stated government policy to provide equal educational and employment opportunities for women, but simultaneously a varied number of social service institutions are provided that are designed to facilitate the participation of women with family responsibilities in the labour force. In Eastern Europe, almost half of the work force is actually made up of women; in the Soviet Union women make up a little over half of the total labour force. However, the market economies of the industrialized countries are not far behind in these figures, the female labour force having progressed rapidly in recent years.

43. In Asia as well as in Latin America, women played traditionally a passive and subordinate role in society, owing to a variety of historical and cultural reasons. The new institutions that have arisen in the centrally planned economies of countries in these regions have especially emphasized the new social role of women in the economy, the society and the polity and have gone far towards finding

solutions to some of the problems of industrialization and urbanization raised in previous paragraphs. In the rural setting, local community organizations often provide an adequate framework for the solution of some of the basic problems that beset the family in its daily routine. It is in the establishment of new institutions or the adaptation of existing ones at the local level that the role of home and family can perhaps best be redefined.

44. There are, however, a number of difficult issues that have not yet been resolved and that are of extreme importance, such as the parent-child relationship at the affective level, the issue of family intimacy and the role of the couple within the wider social framework.

45. The demand for equality for women in modern society is generally addressed to equal treatment with men in the economic structure, in educational institutions and political life. It should be noted, however, that the situation of women with regard to the institutions of society (and particularly the economic structure) varies considerably in terms of the socio-economic strata or income groups to which they belong. In the industrialized countries, the women of the higher-income groups, whose economic needs are relatively well satisfied, seek greater participation in activities outside the home mainly for psycho-social reasons.

46. Among families of lower-income groups, particularly in developing countries, women work outside the home for gainful employment, mainly in order to contribute to the maintenance of their families or even to wholly support them. These women are usually unskilled and untrained, and their work outside the home generally represents an extension of their domestic activities, that is, they work in menial tasks in the services sector. This kind of work can hardly be considered as socially and psychologically satisfying, particularly when for many female family heads or working mothers, it may mean neglecting their own families. Here again, as among the poor peasantry, the inferior status of women in the labour market is a reflection of the general situation of the income group to which they belong. For many of these women, practical advancement would be better served by over-all income distribution and employment policies directed at lower-income groups, enabling both them and their husbands to devote more time to their homes and to find steady and more remunerative employment. This holds particularly for the non-structured labour market of the so-called marginal urban groups that has multiplied considerably in the developing countries over the last two decades, in many countries now encompassing 30 to 40 per cent of the urban labour force.

47. The family structure, occupational composition and employment situation of the urban marginal poor in the metropolises of the developing countries have as yet not been systematically studied. No reliable statistics are available on this part of the total population and only fragmentary case studies have been carried out. Yet these subproletarian marginal masses are an important new element in the process of development. Characterized by high levels of unemployment and underemployment and low levels of educational achievement and income, the marginal urban poor constitute a potentially powerful political force and make increasing demands upon the political system for a variety of costly social services (housing, education, urban services, health care) that Governments are unable to satisfy at the required rates.

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48. It is not likely that the marginal urban labour force will be absorbed into regular, productive employment within the foreseeable future. Capital-intensive industrialization, which has been adopted as the guiding strategy for economic growth in most developing countries, is unable to provide sufficient jobs. It has also failed to provide the basic goods and services that the poor require to raise their standard of living and to satisfy their fundamental needs.

consumer's
defender

49. The problem of poverty in the developing countries cannot be considered in isolation from the international economic order, since poverty, underdevelopment and interdependence of States are closely related processes. The position of women is particularly vulnerable in this context. For example, a large part of the massive advertising campaigns for the products of the consumer society addresses itself directly to the potential female market. Both men and women are being conditioned to believe that the incessant buying of many of these consumer goods will make life easier or more satisfying. While in some cases this may be true, a highly consumer-oriented, urban, middle-income group (the main target) is not the best basis for the savings and capital accumulation that the developing countries sorely need.

50. Thus, the new economic order that the countries of the third world constantly strive for is not unrelated to the problem of the position of women in these societies. To the extent that new international economic relationships will help to eliminate or at least diminish poverty in the developing nations, to that extent also the position of women will improve.

51. Within this over-all framework, the promotion of the equal participation of women in the economy cannot be posed in abstract terms but must necessarily be conditioned by the various factors mentioned above.

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II. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

52. Of the total world population of about 3,987 million in 1975, women constitute approximately one half, or about 1,988 million. Awareness that they are economically discriminated against is relatively recent. The further recognition that women in the developing countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America are not only discriminated against but oppressed adds a grim dimension to women's predicament. Indeed, a set of striking statistics can be invoked to demonstrate that, within the over-all pattern of subsistence living in the developing countries, women's lot is even more dismal than that of men.

A. Participation of women in the economies of developing and developed countries

53. Several features of women's participation in the economies of developing and developed countries, their educational background as well as marital status emerge from an examination of the information presented in tables 1-3 of the annex to the present document.

Characteristics of economic participation

54. It is clear from the data presented in table 1 that adult women 15 years old and over participate less than adult men in the economies of all countries, the discrepancy between male and female participation rates being greatest in the case of some countries in the Middle East, followed by the majority of Latin American countries. Within the developed countries, women's participation rates in the approximate range of 45 to 60 per cent of adult women are clearly substantial in the Eastern European countries in contrast to the participation rates of 20 to 40 per cent for the Western European countries, North America, Australia and Japan (table 1, col. 4).

55. An intriguing aspect of the data in the table consists in the high activity rates of women in the economies of almost all African and Asian countries. African women not only farm the lands and sell their produce, but also barter and sell produce and other commodities, mainly in the markets adjoining the urban centres. Similarly, Asian women contribute massively to agricultural activity either as hired or unpaid family labour in the fields and the plantations. 1/ As a result, while the activity rates of women in Africa and Asia are as high as in some developed countries, their economic status is vastly different.

1/ It must be emphasized that both in Africa and Asia, men and children also contribute to farming (and to small-scale industries, where they exist) as family labour. However, the difference between male and female family labour in these societies arises from the fact that (a) women also undertake the cumbersome and physically exhausting chores of feeding the family and (b) women in these traditional societies have no claims on the incomes resulting from their productive activity.

56. The high participation rates of women in developed countries arise primarily from the fact of their being wage and salary earners in organized industrial, service and professional activities with provision for considerable income and job security. By contrast, rural women in African and Asian countries with traditional tribal and patrilineal systems have little or no property rights in the land or its produce, and hence their economic status is almost totally subservient to the male members. It must be stressed in this context that while African and Asian women work in large numbers in fields and elsewhere, their work routines are by and large secluded.
57. In the Middle East, the extremely low participation rates of women signify their highly secluded lives; even the slightly higher rates of 12 per cent for Iran and Morocco arise from women and teen-aged girls undertaking and assisting in, say, rug-making in strictly supervised and secluded surroundings (table 1, col. 4). By contrast, Latin American women are unencumbered by such constraints and rural women migrate in large numbers to urban areas in search of jobs, essentially as domestic help.
58. In discussing the structural aspects of women's work, it is relevant to begin with an analysis of economic work or employment provided to the total economically active population by occupations in (a) agriculture, (b) industry, and categories such as (c) administrative, executive and managerial work, professions (such as teaching, nursing, legal and medical practice), clerical and sales work and services (such as domestic help and waitresses). For convenience, this final occupational category is referred to as the non-agricultural, non-industrial category.
59. It is clear from an examination of the data shown in parentheses in table 2 that, in the developing countries, the pattern of economic activity is provided largely by agriculture (col. 7) followed by industry, often including small-scale and craft industries (col. 10). The contribution of the non-agricultural, non-industrial occupations (cols. 3-6 and 11) in this regard is not significant, except in a few instances in Africa and in Latin American countries (e.g., Botswana, Ghana, Namibia, Argentina, Ecuador).
60. By contrast, in the developed countries, by and large, employment is provided by industry and the non-agricultural, non-industrial occupations followed by agriculture. The striking exceptions to this pattern, with agriculture still dominating as a source of economic activity, are Greece, Italy and Portugal in Western Europe and almost all of the Eastern European countries.
61. The economic participation of women in the various occupation categories has to be evaluated in the context of this pattern of the relative employment on work provided by the relevant occupation to the working population as a whole. Furthermore, it should be noted that the economic participation of women in each category is defined in terms of the ratio of female participation to the total in each category. Thus, in countries of Africa and Asia, farming provides the bulk of employment and work for both the total working population and for women; in Latin America, while agriculture dominates in creating work for the total working

population, women are most active in the non-agricultural, non-industrial occupations, especially in services such as domestic help. In the Middle East, while agriculture dominates in general, women's participation in farming is insignificant.

62. In the developed countries of Western Europe and North America, women are generally most active in the non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations. The majority of women in the USSR and Eastern European countries work in industry and agriculture, followed closely by working women in the non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations, especially in health, education and scientific fields.
63. This pattern of female occupational breakdown in the developing and developed countries is further characterized by two specific features. In the first place, despite the fact that non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations provide limited work opportunities for women in the rural areas of the developing countries, in view of their generally low educational level and of cultural constraints, their participation rates are nevertheless relatively high. For example, in the Middle Eastern countries, whereas professional and technical occupations provide no more than 4 per cent of economic activity for the working population as a whole, women's participation rates are in the range of 10 to 30 per cent (table 2, col. 3).
64. Secondly, while women participate actively in the non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations in many of the developed countries (and also, in Latin America), their participation is dominant as professional, clerical, sales and service workers rather than as administrative, executive and managerial workers. Barring certain exceptions, the participation rates of women in the latter category are in the range of 5 to 15 per cent (table 2, col. 4).

Educational performance and marital status

65. It is important to relate the over-all and structural pattern of women's economic participation in developing and developed countries to their educational performance and marital status. Such an analysis is crucial to the task of suggesting suitable guidelines for promoting the economic participation of women in developing countries.
66. There is a clear relationship between illiteracy and the development process. In some regions, particularly in Africa and the Arab States, the majority of the population, both men and women, is illiterate; in others, such as Western and Eastern Europe and Oceania, the bulk of the adult population is literate. 2/
67. In Latin America, the illiteracy rates are substantial, in the range of 15 to 40 per cent for both adult men and women, but the discrepancy in the rates is not significant. It would seem that in Latin America, the provision for acquiring the

2/ See annex II (E/CONF.66/3/Add.3), table 4.

basic skills of reading and writing and their utilization are equal for women and men. By contrast, in Asia and the Middle East, illiteracy rates, in general, are massive with wide discrepancies in female and male rates. In these countries, women either do not have adequate educational opportunities even at the basic level or they do not avail themselves of these opportunities as a result of inhibiting social practices.

68. Thus, the bulk of the adult women in Asia, Africa and the Middle East are illiterate; they are also married. Indeed, marriage is such a universally accepted and enforced status for women in these countries that only 20 per cent or less of the adult women happen to be unmarried. By contrast, the average rate of single women in the female population of Latin America, Western Europe and North America is in the range of 30 per cent. The rate of widowed women in total female population is almost constant at 10 to 15 per cent across all countries.

69. A similar contrast in the marital status of adult women in the developing and developed countries is provided by table 3, which indicates that, whereas in Latin America and the developed countries of Western Europe, single women constitute almost 60 per cent of economically active, adult women, by contrast, in Africa and the Middle East, they constitute, on an average, 30 per cent of the active adult females and in Eastern Europe 20 per cent. The difference, certainly in the case of Latin America, may also be determined by the prevalence of consensual unions.

70. Perhaps the only special and encouraging feature of female participation in the economies of developing countries consists in the significant role of educated women in the professions and the non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations in general (table 2, cols. 3-6).

71. In relating the significantly high occupational status of women in these societies to their educational performance, it is clear that in 1970 the enrolment of women (in total enrolment at each level) in the countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East dropped sharply from below 50 per cent at the first level to 24 per cent (as low as 5 to 20 per cent in individual countries) at the third level of education. By contrast, for the developed countries of Western Europe and elsewhere, and also in Latin America, the rates of female enrolment are close to and sometimes above 50 per cent at the first and second levels of education and 35 to 40 per cent at the third level. 3/

B. The contribution of women to national income

72. In assessing the issues relating to the contribution made by women to national income, three questions need to be sharply distinguished:

3/ See annex I, (E/CONF.66/3/Add.3), table 5. It is assumed that for occupations such as teaching, nursing, administrative and managerial as well as clerical and sales jobs, women would require second-level education (age group 15-19) or third-level education (age group 20-24) or specialized training. Female enrolment is used here as a proxy for such training.

- (a) Should the work done by the women inside the household be evaluated and included as part of a nation's Gross National Product (GNP)?
- (b) Should the contribution made by women to GNP, whether their household work is included or not, be separately noted in GNP accounts?
- (c) Quite aside from evaluating (i.e., imputing) income to household work as part of GNP, would it be desirable to reorganize the household so that women's work is actually paid for (e.g., as children in some households are paid for doing the dishes by the hour) at some "market" price?

Inclusion of women's household work in GNP

- 73. The inclusion of women's household work in GNP, by imputing value to it, is an issue that is identical to that discussed traditionally by national income accountants in regard to household work in general. The fact is that such imputation of market valuations to non-market transactions is already being undertaken for a number of transactions in computing GNP in developing countries; and such a practice could undoubtedly be extended to imputation of value to household work by women. 4/
74. The central advantage of altering national income accounting practices to take women's work fully into account is that it would recognize their work as productive. While such an inclusion of women's household work would increase the size of current GNP estimates, its effect on the growth rates of GNP may also be discussed. As of the year of inclusion, the growth rate would naturally be augmented. However, the impact in subsequent years is likely to be to lower growth rates for the simple reason that services generally show lower rates of growth in productivity than the national average (and certainly than the manufacturing sector) and women's household activities are likely to be subject to the same constraint.
75. The possible results of including women's household activities in GNP should be considered. Would there be special gains for the developing countries, such as closing the statistical gap between the poorer and richer nations? In other words, would the GNP estimates of the developing countries tend to be augmented more or less than those of the developed countries?
76. As for the immediate impact, with a greater proportion of the female population engaged in partial or total outside-of-the-household work in developed countries, the inclusion of women's household work in GNP would augment the

4/ The mere fact that any particular activity of the woman in the household has no market counterpart cannot prevent a national income statistician from valuing it. All that the statistician has to do is to construct the mental experiment: suppose that the woman reallocates her time used in this activity to an activity that does have a market valuation - then how much of that alternative activity would she be able to undertake, thus yielding what the economist would call the "opportunity cost" valuation of the activity without a direct market valuation.

/...

developing countries' GNP relatively more, thus giving a more accurate statistical picture of the situation. This, in turn, would enable policy makers to appreciate the economic contribution of women more fully and consequently to take it into account in national economic planning and policy making. This would be the case even if household help provided by paid men and women servants were accounted for, as women in developing countries, as a whole, spend more hours per day in household chores.

77. The majority of them perform the daily burden of feeding large families in primitive conditions. In some countries of Africa, for instance, women walk several miles a day in order to fetch drinking water. On the other hand, a partially offsetting phenomenon must be noted: in so far as women in developing countries address part of their over-all work in households to more narrowly economic activities already being included in GNP or being imputed in GNP under already current data-gathering practices, the amount of newly-imputed income from their household work would be correspondingly smaller. In fact, there is evidence that more economic activity, whether male or female, is performed as family labour in countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East than in the developed countries.

Separation of women's contribution to GNP in national income accounts

78. The foregoing analysis relates to the question of including women's household work in national income estimates. But is there any rationale for including women's contribution to income, within and outside the house, as a separate entry, just as currently one distinguishes the shares of GNP originating in production sectors, such as manufacturing and agriculture, and in ownership sectors, such as public and private? A thorough study could be made of those countries where this has been done.

79. Such a separation would be most appropriate in advancing women's economic participation by making generally available to analysts the scope of female participation in economic activity in the important dimension of contribution to the generation of national income. It would also show up quantitatively the long strides that still need to be taken before women can participate in economic life to the degree that their share in the over-all population would, in a non-discriminatory world of equal access and equal pay, seem to indicate. The additional separation of household work and outside work would also be most helpful, as it does seem to make a significant difference to a woman's economic independence and capacity for full development as a human being whether her work is part of the household enterprise (where she is extremely unlikely to be truly independent economically) or outside of the household.

80. Furthermore, even within the household sector, women's contribution to income needs to be separated into two categories: one where their household-maintenance work (e.g., cooking, cleaning etc.) are imputed value and the other where their household-enterprise work (i.e., working on the peasant family farm or in domestic rice milling) are evaluated. For it is clear that the social implications of the latter are very different from those of the former: a woman who has any occupational skills, even if related to activity conducted in the household framework, is clearly likely to have greater ability to assert herself and seek her goals with boldness than one whose skills are confined to the traditional roles of a housewife and mother.

*occupational skills ≠ univ. diploma**

81. While the third question - actual assigning of a market price to household work - is not discussed or analysed here, and depends to a large extent on the stage of development of a country, it has to be taken into account in long-term planning for the full integration of women in development and for ensuring that they can exercise full options to work at home or outside. This also has implications for more equitable sharing of national income through adequate pension provisions granted as a result of paid housework; such provisions would affect the income of the majority of married housewives, who tend to outlive their spouses. Many of these women face the years after their husband's death on limited widow's pensions. Considerably more data is needed on countries that are investigating or experimenting with these possibilities. Moreover, the third question also relates to possibilities of a more equitable sharing of household responsibilities and duties. Would men be more inclined to share the full or partial burden of housework if some financial remuneration was automatically paid?

C. Strategies for promoting the economic contribution of women in developing countries

matriz cultural
82. The task of outlining the components of a programme that could promote the economic contribution of women in developing countries requires a multidisciplinary approach including economics, law and sociology. For example, traditional values which confine the woman to role-playing as a housewife, or laws which make it difficult for the woman to own property, to earn income freely or to procure a divorce, impede the participation by women in economic activity and hence their transition to economic independence. Prior to turning to these issues, however, we must examine one important factor that affects women's access to jobs, especially in developing countries, i.e., the presence of unemployment.

Unemployment and equality in job access for women

83. The problem of ensuring to women equality of access to jobs when jobs are scarce and unemployment a fact of life can be an important one. In fact, considerable evidence suggests that, in such a situation, it is desired that men be given preferred access to jobs over women. The following statement was made by a delegate to an International Labour Organisation conference in 1964: "I firmly believe that it is a serious error of judgement for developing countries to ascribe high action priority to plans for encouraging women to enter the market, especially women with family responsibilities, when those same countries do not have or cannot create sufficient jobs for their male populations."^{5/}

^{5/} Cited in Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1970), pp. 194-195.

84. At the outset, it is necessary to dismiss the notion that unemployment is caused by the entry of women into the labour force. If there is anything that development planning has revealed in the post-war period, it is that the growth of unemployment, regardless of the increases in participation rates of women in the labour force, has been a major problem in many developing countries. Women, like men, have been the victims, rather than the cause, of the inability of the economic planners to create adequate numbers of jobs. The fact is that women have tended to increase their participation rates in gainful employment in the modern sectors of the economy in response to the economic distress caused by few and/or low-paid jobs, as a means of self-support and to supplement their husbands' incomes. ^{6/} Nor should one forget that even in fields (e.g., engineering) where women's participation rates are still miniscule, there are substantial rates of unemployment in countries such as India. Hence, neither at an aggregate nor at a disaggregated sectoral level is it valid to argue that the potential or actual entry of women in the labour force has created an unemployment situation.

85. On the other hand, given the unemployment situation, generally or in specific occupations, what is the supposed rationale for, and the implications of, a rule which considers men as deserving of greater access to jobs vis-à-vis equally qualified women? "Fairness-in-hiring" policies, for example, in allocating scarce jobs among applicants outnumbering the jobs, extend in a number of directions, of which the discrimination against women is only one manifestation. Thus, economic theorists have recently explored the implications of yet another fairness-in-hiring principle in situations where jobs are scarce, namely, where employers consider it fair to prefer applicants with more education to those with less, even though the job requires no education. ^{7/} This kind of rule has been shown to lead to overexpansion of education beyond the economic optimum, so that the social-welfare implications of this "fairness" principle are distinctly undesirable. In fact, as will be argued below, the "fairness" principle which discriminates in favour of men also creates undesirable economic and social results.

86. It is also necessary to pinpoint the reasons advanced to support the contention that men should be preferred to women in having access to scarce jobs. Clearly, the single most influential argument used is that men must support their families, whereas women do not have to do so. Such an assertion is founded on several fallacies. First, the stylized picture of men in need of jobs competing against women who do not need them does not do justice to the numerous cases where women need jobs more than men. Indeed, a fair application of the "need" principle would require an explicit means test which would rule out blanket rules of the type that are implicitly used to discriminate against women in hiring. Secondly, the notion that men support families and women do not may be valid for extremely

^{6/} In the Middle East, where women's participation rates in the economy are extremely low, there is evidence which indicates that divorced women participate significantly in the non-farm sector in order to earn a living. See Nadia Youssef, Women and Work in Developing Societies (Berkeley, University of California, 1974), p. 64.

^{7/} J. Bhagwati and T. N. Srinivasan, "Education in a job ladder model" (Cambridge, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1975), mimeographed.

traditional, patriarchal societies. However, it flies in the face of the emerging social realities where, for example, men encourage their wives to seek gainful employment to earn supplemental income. Here we probably get the intransitivity that each man encourages his wife to covet his neighbour's job, but would seek to prohibit the neighbour's wife from coveting his own. Thirdly, it is surely inconsistent to enact social legislation, such as permitting women to seek personal emancipation via easier divorce, and then to discriminate against them in hiring so as to negate the aims of such progressive legislation; economic participation is surely a pre-condition for such emancipation. Finally, serious injustices to women can arise from the interaction of this discrimination-in-hiring principle with basic technological facts regarding the acquisition and retention of skills. Thus, a woman who is denied a job because a man with equal or fewer skills is preferred, not merely loses the job but will, over time, steadily lose both the unused or underutilized skill; hence, her ability to compete will be yet further eroded, through no fault of her own. There is ample relevant evidence of such loss of skills and competitive ability on the part of women who seek to re-enter professions in their middle age, having had to withdraw from the labour force during the child-rearing years.

87. Indeed, put in this perspective, it is readily apparent that the stereotyped preference for men over women in awarding scarce jobs is little more than a carry-over from traditionalist concepts of the role that women should play, concepts which many societies would probably reject if explicitly challenged, and which certainly cannot be happily reconciled with their acts of social legislation. Hence, all international forums and institutions should work towards the adoption of clear directives designed to abolish the discriminatory preference for men over women, under which member States would then enact legislation or issue executive guidelines ensuring women equal access to scarce jobs so as to enjoy "equal pay for equal work with equal access".

Components of a programme for women's economic contribution

88. International conventions and national actions relating to women could form part of an over-all programme aimed at promoting women's participation in modern economic life. The components of such a programme can only be sketched here. Specifically, only one crucial feature having special relevance to the economic aspects of the problem is discussed.

89. Any programme designed to secure women's economic participation must assume as a pre-condition that education, especially at the higher levels, is indispensable for guaranteeing it. The following relationships can be established: the longer a woman's schooling, the greater is the probability of her marriage being postponed. Furthermore, the longer a woman pursues education and remains single, the greater the chances of her finding employment in the non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations that require some schooling and training. The relevance of these occupations to women's economic participation in developing countries arises from the fact that they provide direct income and considerable job security to women in contrast to the traditional activities of farming and small-scale industries where women participate essentially as family labour or as temporary hired labour.

Direct evidence linking the higher participation of women in these occupations to women's educational and marital status is unfortunately scanty. However, in the developed countries, three factors operate simultaneously: (a) high participation of women in the non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations; (b) substantial enrolment of women at the higher levels of schooling; and (c) large numbers of single women both in total and economically active female populations. The potential of higher education for catapulting women into the non-industrial, non-agricultural occupations in the developing countries is also suggested by the significant participation rates of a limited number of educated women in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

90. It must also be emphasized that the phenomenon of large numbers of single women in developed countries is also associated with later marriages of girls. ^{8/} It is also clear that no legislation designed to postpone the marriage of women and no family planning programmes designed to restrict the number of children (both designed to raise women's over-all status in developing countries) can succeed unless a teen-aged girl's objective is diversified via education and a married woman's goal is enriched via education and employment.

91. It is also relevant to note that parents in developing countries would be more willing to educate a daughter rather than give her a share in family property if they were convinced of the argument that an educated woman has greater potential for being economically self-reliant. Parents might prefer to sacrifice by educating girls rather than abide by laws requiring that they be given a share of family property.

92. Thus, while free access to jobs, as argued earlier, can ensure women's participation in various sectors of the economy, the provision of education for women at all levels, including their free entry into educational and training institutions, would encourage larger numbers of women to seek employment in these sectors. Considerable scope for diversifying women's education via training in commercial, secretarial, vocational and technical institutes also exists. Further, the training programmes for women in home economics institutes must be designed to qualify them as competent nutritionists rather than "super cooks" in their households.

93. It is possible that as a result of entry into these jobs, vast numbers of women in developing countries would end up as teachers, nurses, saleswomen, and clerks in exactly the kinds of stereotyped roles which women in the developed societies associate with women's suppression. While there is considerable justification in this argument, it must be stressed that in the context of developing societies, a woman's liberation must begin at a different level. For example, in the Middle East and the rural areas of the Indian subcontinent, it consists in the woman venturing into the street without a veil. At the same time, women's transition into the non-stereotyped, decision-making and higher managerial and executive professions must also be ensured in the developing countries through non-discriminatory job-appointment policies. Considerable evidence indicates that the élitist core of professional women in the developing countries has forged ahead in strictly male-dominated professions, such as medicine and, of course, politics.

^{8/} See Nadia Youssef, Women and Work in Developing Societies (Berkeley /... University of California, 1974), chap. 5.

94. The conclusion of the present chapter is that the most crucial components of a programme designed to promote women's economic participation in developing countries must consist of provision for free access to higher education combined with provision for free entry into jobs.

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

III. EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENEFITS OF DEVELOPMENT
IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE
ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

95. Whatever might be the importance of a document relating to the contribution of women to the development of their country, it can have no other aim but to emphasize a point which is part of a whole and which for some time has been mentioned only in passing or which has even been consciously ignored by the various experts in problems of development. One part of a whole, since the roles of men and women in the life of their country are interdependent, just as economic growth and social progress are closely connected factors in the development of a nation.

96. Development constitutes a complete entity in itself which presupposes a real balance between economic growth and social progress. Moreover, it should be noted that men and women can make a constructive contribution to development only in the context of a lasting peace. It is in these same primary conditions that it will be possible for development to take place, since development is always accompanied by a dual process, namely, an increase in income and an improvement in social conditions corresponding sometimes for women in a reduction in the relative importance of traditional activities and, parallel with this, a considerable expansion of new activities. It is within this clearly defined framework that this chapter has been prepared.

A. Nature and extent of participation in national development
in traditional and new activities

97. While women have always played an unquestionably important role in the family and the home, there is now increasing recognition of the fact that they also have a role to play in the economic life of their country. For that reason it now seems that the question of the participation of women in national life is no longer raised, since it is an undeniable fact that women are making an ever greater contribution to the economy of their nation and their participation is gradually increasing both qualitatively and quantitatively. Their contribution, however, varies according to the degree of development of the country, because of changes relating to national production and also because of the effects which the national level of economic and social development has on the volume and nature of the tasks devolving directly upon women. In Africa, as well as in other regions of the third world, women are the driving force of development and their contribution is an essential constructive factor in contemporary society. There can be no development without the effective participation of women at all levels; there can be no economic growth or social progress without their participation.

98. In general, women are active in the various sectors of modern life, in the rural areas as well as in the towns, at home and in the paid positions which they hold outside the home.

Participation in rural areas

99. In the rural areas in the developing countries, women play an important part in the agricultural work necessary to produce food for the family's subsistence.

The analysis is not aware

Without seeking to generalize, it might be considered that 80 per cent of the African population lives in rural areas and that 50 per cent of that population is composed of women engaged in agricultural work. The facts show that those women have a decisive role in production: they sow in straighter lines than men and at least 50 per cent of the work in the fields devolves upon them. They assume responsibility for poultry-farming, as well as for gardening and the cultivation of rice, millet and other food crops necessary for the family's subsistence. They sow, plant, weed, and harvest the crops, which they then sell in the villages. 1/

100. However, the time devoted to work in the fields does not reduce correspondingly the amount of time which women devote to their tasks as housewives and mothers. As in all countries in the world, such tasks are cumulative and in a traditional rural environment constitute one of the forms of exploitation of women. If one examines the daily routine of African women, it will be noted that a large proportion of their time is devoted to transporting the wood needed for cooking food and to fetching water which they must draw from a well generally some kilometres away from their homes. To all this must be added the fatigue and wear and tear resulting from too frequent and successive pregnancies. In Madagascar, for example, it is not uncommon to see a woman working in the rice fields, a baby attached to her back, while another child, barely older, is entrusted to the care of an older child sitting nearby waiting until their mother has finished her task.

101. It is therefore not surprising, in these circumstances, that because of the heavy burden placed on them, women find themselves obliged to make their daughters help them in the domestic work. This explains the relatively low rate of school enrolment among girls in rural areas, since they must remain at home and must often abandon their studies.

102. In some more advanced countries, women's participation in rural life is not negligible; they are doing an increasing amount of the agricultural work which was formerly done by the men who have left for the towns or for other countries where they have been able to find stable and better paid employment. Where industrialization is more advanced, the tasks devolving upon women in the fields and on the farm are simplified and made easier as a result of the mechanization of agricultural work.

103. But, whatever the level of development attained, the problems which arise are similar since women for the most part are illiterate or have reached a very low level of education; they have not been initiated into modern methods of cultivation and animal raising and do not know how to use the modern equipment which could make their work more productive. In fact, as the country achieves progress, only the men receive adequate training to enable them to deal with the problems posed by the introduction of profitable crops and intensive animal raising. There are few projects which have taken into account or which take into account the decisive role played by rural women in production, a role which is considered solely as that of making a supplementary contribution to national production.

1/ See table 2 in the annex to this report and the report entitled "The data base for discussion on the interrelations between the integration of women in development, their situation and population factors in Africa" (E/CN.14/SW/37) prepared by the Economic Commission for Africa.

Participation in trade and handicrafts

104. In some developing countries, such as Togo and Ghana, women not only participate in agricultural work but, in order to supplement the family budget, devote part of their time to handicrafts, trade or small-scale industries. This sector is expanding for various reasons: it offers opportunities for women who want to work at home while looking after their families; it also offers employment opportunities without causing major migrations to the large urban centres by settling the women in the villages and thus avoiding the breakdown of the family structure and other social and cultural institutions; and it promotes a more equitable distribution of income within the community. In western Africa, for instance, women are adept at marketing food-stuffs which they have prepared at home. In this way they manage to increase the income which they derive from their agricultural work. In Madagascar, more specifically in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, Tananarive, women have organized teams to fish with scoop baskets in the rice fields once the rice has been harvested. The fish caught is sold and the money is shared equitably among them all.

105. Elsewhere, handicrafts (weaving, braiding, hat-making, doll-making, pottery, basket-making, embroidery, dyeing, food preservation, soap-making ...) constitute a source of income for women who are thus able to meet the various expenses of the household. Handicrafts have the advantage that the work is often done in groups and thus relieves the isolation which is such a cruel burden in rural areas.

106. In the developed countries of Western Europe, women working on their own account or as heads of enterprises employing paid staff are most frequently engaged in those sectors which can be described as purely "women's sectors", such as dress-making and management of grocery stores, hairdressing establishments or restaurants. But, in both developing and developed countries, women have frequently not acquired adequate vocational training; they work according to simplistic and outdated methods, without any idea of management, and this prevents them from improving their means of livelihood. Moreover, it is undeniable that small-scale industries are not very diversified and that often a major industry which is able to sell cheap, standardized, machine-made goods competes with them.

Modern industry

107. The extent of women's participation in modern industry also varies considerably according to the country's degree of development. In countries where industrialization is advanced, women are recruited in large numbers to work in the factories, where they constitute a considerable proportion of the industrial labour force. *Of course, they form a non-revindicative proletariat!*

108. In the underdeveloped countries, on the other hand, the level of women's participation is very low; it is generally limited to the textile and food industries. The reasons for this low level of participation are many, apart from the fact that industry is only in the early stages in the so-called "new" countries. Among the major reasons, the following might be mentioned:

- (a) The idea prevailing in all sections of society that the primary role of a woman is to be a mother and that her family and home must be the sole object of her concern;
- (b) The lack of education (high rate of illiteracy) and vocational training;
- (c) The marked preference of employers to engage men, whether or not they are heads of families, in countries where unemployment prevails;
- (d) The legislation in force which, while protecting the employment of women, also operates to their disadvantage (legislation relating night work, for example, or legislation granting maternity leave to women);
- (e) The attitude of some men who refuse to allow their daughters or wives to work under the orders of men to whom they are not related;
- (f) The lack of social facilities such as day nurseries or day-care centres which would help women to lead a dual life as housewives and paid workers.

109. Other problems which have been the subject of recent studies are the following:

- (a) Mothers, children and pregnant women are most often undernourished and sometimes do not have enough to eat;
- (b) The great majority of pregnant women, mothers and babies receive neither advice nor welfare services (43 per cent of women give birth alone);
- (c) The burden of work on women and girls in rural areas is considered to be excessive;
- (d) The question of birth spacing has been raised;
- (e) The status of women and legislation protecting the family are considered unsatisfactory in most countries. ^{2/}

110. The replies offered to these various problems show, among other things, that development has not had any favourable effects on the most disadvantaged areas and that the status of women in rural areas has undergone no change in relation to the needs of a society in a state of complete flux. Moreover, the participation of women in national development is not always regarded and accepted as an essential element.

111. A number of studies have led to the following conclusions:

^{2/} See Enfance, jeunesse, femmes et plans de développement (Montreux, 1972), on the UNICEF Conference held at Lomé from 18 to 27 May 1972, in particular the national studies drawn up by eight countries: Cameroon, Chad, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Togo.

(a) First, the lack of training of women is detrimental to national development, which will only be further slowed down since it prevents the increase of agricultural productivity and of rural incomes. Since taxable incomes are low, the rural areas have not the resources to introduce modern educational, health or social welfare services nor to make the investments required in the rural infrastructure, including roads;

(b) Secondly, greater integration of women in the employment market could improve the level of living of the family and increase its capacity to contribute to national development through the payment of taxes which could be used to create various services from which everybody could benefit. In the present state of affairs, however, partly because of the constantly increasing birth rate, above all in the developing countries, a male worker must provide for the needs of several persons dependent on him.

112. Those are not the only reasons militating in favour of the greater participation of women in the national economy. But they constitute in themselves examples which might prompt those responsible at all levels to seek ways likely to ensure the more rapid advancement of their country through a policy of involving women to a greater extent in the development of the nation, of which they are full members on the same basis as men.

B. Strategies for increasing and improving the participation of women in the economic life of their country

113. "The full integration of women in the total development effort should be encouraged." 3/ Such is the recommendation in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which does not, however, give any clear indication of the means to be used to attain that goal. It must be noted, accordingly, that there is no strategy common to all countries in the world and no miracle method for achieving the degree of development desired, since the same type of measure, for example, might have different, and even opposite, repercussions according to the degree of development of the country. Each nation must therefore decide what action to take and set itself a special strategy taking into account both the stage of development of the country and the specific cultural, social and economic factors which make it unique. Nevertheless, it is possible to recommend certain methods, which should be adapted to the realities of each country.

114. For example, the following are some of the measures which could be undertaken simultaneously for the benefit of women in rural areas and which would have the effect of improving agricultural production techniques, increasing the return per area unit and per hour of work so as to increase agricultural incomes and ease the tasks devolving upon women: (a) functional literacy courses which would be expanded

3/ General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV), para. (18) (h).

to include nutritional and health education; (b) agricultural instruction to be incorporated in school curricula at all levels, for both girls and boys; (c) utilization of the mass communications media (radio and, where appropriate, television) to teach modern methods of agriculture; (d) training of a large number of women agricultural extension workers for the gradual introduction of modern methods of production (utilization of fertilizers, improved seed, crop rotation ...); (e) training in specialized centres (for example rural community development centres) of local women instructors from the villages who will return there subsequently to live in their place of origin and promote the advancement of their community.

115. Rural community development, such as has been tried, for instance, in the Niger, in Senegal and in Madagascar, promotes certain forms of action: (a) the dissemination of the principles of family planning among couples who wish to follow them; (b) the undertaking of projects which would have the effect of easing the work of women and modernizing rural life, for instance, the provision of a water supply in the villages, the mechanization of domestic work (the installation of husking plants to replace the pounding of rice by hand ...); (c) rural electrification; (d) the construction of schools and hospitals and the creation of maternal and child welfare services; (e) the improvement of the state of roads and other communication routes to facilitate the flow of goods to the villages and the towns.

116. As far as women working in trade, handicrafts or small-scale industries are concerned, assistance might consist in:

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- (a) Finding outlets for their goods;
 - (b) Getting them to produce articles which correspond to local needs and encouraging them to diversify those articles;
 - (c) Making it easier for them to obtain credit. In many countries, women do not obtain credit facilities and loans because of their very limited capital;
 - (d) Initiating them into management and marketing techniques; ^{4/}
 - (e) Initiating them into the operation of co-operatives, which would offer them an opportunity to receive training in management and organization.

117. To assist women working in industry and to encourage them to do their work better, it would be necessary to:

^{4/} In Madagascar, courses in the management of enterprises are currently organized through the Institut national de promotion-formation (INPF). Many women enrol in these courses in order to acquire some idea of management or to improve their knowledge of the subject. It should be pointed out that the courses are given in the Malagasy language.

- (a) Improve recruitment and employment conditions and promotion opportunities;
- (b) Hire women with family responsibilities rather than single men;
- (c) Increase the number of day nurseries, day care centres and other social institutions to which children may be entrusted while their mothers are at work, in both rural and urban areas;
- (d) Make arrangements for the training of staff to work in those social institutions;
- (e) Organize in-service and continuing training for women workers;
- (f) Accept the principle of equal pay for men and women for work of equal value;
- (g) Recommend separate tax assessments when both spouses are working, rather than a combined assessment of the family income, since the latter system, particularly where a system of progressive taxation is employed, could discourage women from participating in the economic activity of the country.

118. These are examples of some of the methods that could be followed. But who will apply them? Those responsible in the government, above all, but also every individual, and every voluntary organization that feels a desire to help its neighbour. The role of the female élites in each country is of primary importance in this matter, even though there are often still only a few women with a higher education. The voluntary organizations could also alleviate the chronic lack of funds from which many of the developing countries suffer by setting up maternal and child welfare centres, by organizing their members to look after children whose mothers are working outside the home, or by giving literacy, home economics and other courses on the principle that "she who has received much should have much to give".

119. Every organization can, as part of its own objectives, lay its brick in the building of the nation, thanks to the spirit of initiative it will show by seeking the most suitable way to integrate women into the economic life of the country.

120. Once this is being done, the question remains whether women will really benefit from the progress that, in the final reckoning, can be achieved only by their efforts and those of men.

C. The equitable distribution of the benefits of development in the context of the participation of women in economic life

"The ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefits on all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustices persist, then development fails in its essential purpose." 5/

121. That is the aim of the Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade - and it could not be clearer. The Strategy also lays down that there is a need to stimulate and enrich the abilities and aptitudes of all, including women and young people, in rural areas and in the towns, in isolated regions and in the centres, and to distribute equitably the fruits of development.
122. What are in fact these fruits of development produced by the efforts of men and women? Firstly, there is the raising of incomes: the Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade set an annual rate of growth of 6 per cent for the developing countries. In addition, social justice must prevail; there must no longer be extremely rich people or people living in abject poverty. Education must be the same for all and accessible to all, without discrimination of any kind. Health would be improved under the Strategy, and there would no longer be problems of over-population, unemployment and malnutrition. And no more shanty towns. The environment would be safeguarded and a better quality of life established. That is how a developed country should be.
123. In any event, we are bound to recognize that whatever the stage of development of a country, it is never entirely satisfactory. That is what Heilbroner is saying when he asserts that development is not a process that produces social satisfaction, for while we are deluding ourselves with expressions such as the revolution of expectations, the fact is that the majority of the population will receive from the earthquake of development not greater expectations, but a loss of traditional hopes, not gains, but a new sense of loss.
124. Be that as it may, the benefits of development exist, even though they may not produce satisfaction for all and even though they do not make everyone happy. How, then, are these benefits, however minute, to be distributed equitably?
125. In section B above, views were put forward with the idea of ensuring greater participation by women in the development of their country. For some countries, this means an immense long-term programme which covers several aspects of the advancement of women at once and which therefore requires a certain amount of organization and a plan of attack, well defined in advance, so as to avoid any dissipation of effort. In short, the whole programme must be integrated into the national development plan and be closely linked to it, since to plan development is not simply a matter of applying accountancy to national resources; it also requires an appeal to all members of the community (women and men alike) to build

5/ General Assembly resolution 2626 (XXV), para. (7).

together, to share in the effort, and to distribute the results more equitably according to the needs of each individual.

126. The fact is, however, that until now, although problems relating to women were marked for special attention in the development plans of many countries, they were not the subject of a well-defined policy, contrary to what one might have thought. Those responsible for national planning always hesitate to allocate funds (which are always in short supply in the developing countries) to programmes directed solely to the needs of women.

127. But in those countries, as elsewhere, the problem lies mainly in the choice of priorities, which are numerous. Where, then, must we begin? It may be suggested that when development projects are being considered, high priority should be given to projects which, while meeting felt needs, are of greater social importance. For example, before opening a hospital to care for the sick, it would be better to put into operation simple nutrition and public health projects. Such projects would perhaps be less spectacular, but they would certainly be more useful to, and have a greater effect on, the entire population, both young people and adults.

128. It may in fact be stated without risk of contradiction that only projects with a broad social effect and significance have any chance of achieving uniform progress in well-defined areas. Each development project should thus be not only an investment designed to create new revenue; it must also be an effort to eliminate progressively the poverty, disease, illiteracy and other ills that afflict society. Once the project has been chosen, its execution must be accompanied by a series of new legislative and financial measures establishing monitoring machinery and, where necessary, altering existing structures and institutions.

129. International Women's Year should be the starting point for radical changes in the status of women throughout the world. The revolution must be made for women, in all spheres of life, so that women may make their specific contribution in full. And for women to benefit equitably from the benefits of the development to which they have contributed, it is essential to plan development and the national economy to an extent beyond the limits of an indicative programme, particularly in the developing countries where it is possible, because of the atmosphere of current international co-operation, to achieve development in double-quick time. It is in vain to speak of the advancement of women and the improvement of their status in order to equip them better to join in the battle for development, if the efforts to be made at the international, regional or national levels in the economic, social and cultural spheres do not form part of a plan whose execution must be subject to continuing and sustained monitoring.

130. A joint long-term programme to integrate women into national development at the level of the international organizations could provide the framework for decisions to be taken at the regional and national levels in the hope that such decisions will be effective even though, at this time, throughout much of the world, the decision-making power still rests solely with men.

Annex

STATISTICAL TABLES

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Explanatory notes

The following symbols have been used in the tables throughout this annex:

Three dots (...) indicate that data are not available or are not separately reported.

A dash (-) indicates that the amount is nil or negligible.

A full stop (.) is used to indicate decimals.

A comma (,) is used to distinguish thousands and millions.

A slash (/) indicates a crop year or financial year, e.g. 1970/71.

Use of a hyphen (-) between dates representing years, e.g. 1967-1969 signifies the full period involved, including the beginning and end years.

Details and percentages in tables do not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

Table 1. Economically active population, 15 years old and over by sex and country

Region and country	Year	Male economically active population as percentage of total male population	Female economically active population as percentage of total female population
<u>Africa, South of the Sahara</u>			
Botswana	1964	72.3	73.1
Burundi <u>a/</u>	1965	49.4	51.2
Ghana	1970	83.5	63.6
Liberia	1962	82.0	42.9
Nigeria	1963	57.7	27.7
Sierra Leone	1963	55.9	30.3
Swaziland	1966	83.2	50.2
Zambia	1969	77.0	30.2
<u>Africa, North and the Middle East</u>			
Algeria	1966	82.4	2.9
Egypt	1966	89.0	5.2
Iran	1966	86.5	12.2
Jordan	1961	78.0	4.4
Kuwait	1970	87.3	10.0
Libyan Arab Republic	1964	80.1	4.1
Morocco	1971	80.0	12.6
Pakistan	1961	90.6	15.0
Syrian Arab Republic	1960	83.8	7.9
Tunisia	1966	83.5	5.5
Turkey	1965	91.9	56.8
<u>Asia</u>			
Bangladesh	1961	92.9	18.1
India <u>a/</u>	1971	52.4	13.2
Indonesia	1971	87.6	40.2
Japan	1970	84.3	50.9
Philippines	1970	78.3	34.1
Sri Lanka	1963	82.0	23.6
Thailand	1970	86.2	72.7

Table 1 (continued)

Region and country	Year	Male economically active population as percentage of total male population	Female economically active population as percentage of total female population
<u>Latin America</u>			
Argentina	1960	84.2	23.2
Brazil	1970	83.7	20.9
Colombia	1964	87.5	20.3
Costa Rica	1963	90.8	17.5
Chile	1970	77.0	21.2
Ecuador	1962	93.7	17.6
El Salvador	1971	91.4	32.2
Guatemala	1964	92.0	13.0
Honduras	1961	93.8	13.7
Mexico	1970	78.4	19.0
Nicaragua	1963	91.1	22.4
Paraguay	1962	92.8	24.8
Peru	1961	87.4	22.4
Uruguay a/	1963	51.9	19.6
Venezuela	1961	89.4	20.2
<u>Western Europe</u>			
Austria	1961	80.0	44.8
Belgium	1961	76.0	25.5
France	1968	73.2	36.1
Germany, Federal Republic of	1970	79.0	38.2
Greece	1971	75.5	27.0
Italy	1961	80.7	24.6
Portugal	1960	91.0	17.0
Spain	1970	80.1	17.7
Switzerland	1970	84.3	41.9
Sweden	1965	75.0	37.3
United Kingdom	1971	81.6	42.8
<u>Eastern Europe</u>			
Bulgaria	1965	76.7	59.5
Czechoslovakia	1970	72.9	54.1

/...

Table 1 (continued)

Region and country	Year	Male economically active population as percentage of total male population	Female economically active population as percentage of total female population
<u>Eastern Europe (continued)</u>			
German Democratic Republic	1964	83.3	50.9
Hungary	1970	75.7	48.0
Poland	1970	79.9	62.0
Romania	1966	83.3	63.8
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics <u>a/</u>	1970	51.9	44.0
Yugoslavia	1971	77.6	40.7
<u>North America</u>			
Canada	1961	78.1	29.7
United States	1970	74.7	40.5
<u>Oceania</u>			
Australia	1966	83.9	35.2

Source: Derived from International Labour Organisation, Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1973, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1973), table 1 and Demographic Yearbook 1972 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.XIII.1), table 8.

Note: This table should be examined along with table 7 in E/CONF.66/3/Add.2.

a/ Data relate to the entire population. This means that the corresponding data for the 15 years and over category would be higher for both male and female participation rates for these countries.

Table 2. Total and female economically active population by occupation*
(percentage)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Region and country	Year and total economically active population	Profes- sional, technical and related workers	Adminis- trative, executive and managerial workers	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Farmers, fisher- men, hunters, loggers, and related workers	Miners, quarry- men and related workers	Workers in trans- port and communi- cations occupations	Craftsmen, production process workers and laborers not elsewhere classified	Service, sport and recreation workers	Unclassi- fied
AFRICA: SOUTH OF THE SAHARA											
Angola	1960 (1 421 966)	F 14.4 T (1.2)	5.8 (0.4)	15.2 (0.9)	18.2 (3.6)	5.3 (69.0)	0.1 (1.7)	0.5 (1.8)	4.2 (10.8)	26.5 (10.2)	2.5 (0.4)
Botswana	1964 (250 678)	F 39.1 T (1.1)	5.1 (0.2)	18.8 (0.4)	18.8 (0.7)	52.4 (90.6)	3.5 (0.6)	2.6 (0.5)	9.2 (3.3)	56.6 (2.5)	57.0 (0.1)
Ghana	1960 (2 723 026)	F 19.7 T (2.2)	3.1 (0.5)	7.4 (1.6)	80.3 (12.7)	36.9 (57.4)	5.2 (1.3)	2.6 (1.9)	25.9 (14.4)	29.1 (2.0)	33.3 (6.0)
Liberia	1962 (411 794)	F 26.6 T (1.8)	9.1 (0.5)	12.8 (1.1)	35.1 (2.7)	42.6 (78.7)	3.1 (1.7)	2.0 (1.5)	3.4 (8.3)	12.7 (2.0)	10.8 (1.7)
Mauritius	1962 (187 401)	F 41.6 T (4.7)	4.1 (1.0)	23.8 (3.1)	7.9 (8.3)	19.2 (37.9)	7.3 (0.3)	1.3 (1.8)	5.4 (29.6)	54.3 (10.0)	4.5 (0.3)
Namibia	1960 (203 323)	F 38.1 T (2.0)	8.6 (0.6)	43.6 (2.7)	33.4 (1.4)	19.6 (58.7)	1.1 (0.2)	6.7 (1.5)	1.1 (20.4)	65.0 (8.8)	52.2 (3.7)
Nigeria	1963 (18 305 810)	F 14.9 T (2.4)	6.8 (0.2)	9.6 (1.2)	60.3 (15.3)	9.6 (55.7)	1.9 (0.1)	2.1 (1.5)	23.5 (12.0)	26.3 (4.8)	21.1 (6.8)
Sierra Leone	1963 (937 737)	F 26.6 T (1.2)	8.9 (0.3)	16.0 (0.7)	46.6 (5.0)	42.4 (74.6)	0.6 (4.6)	2.0 (1.4)	9.2 (7.5)	6.5 (1.5)	7.9 (13.2)
Zambia	1969 (1 159 698)	F 20.9 T (4.0)	10.5 (0.7)	21.5 (2.3)	14.4 (2.9)	12.2 (15.2)		4.1 16.9		10.4 (6.5)	47.9 (51.4)
AFRICA, NORTH AND THE MIDDLE EAST											
Algeria	1966 (2 564 663)	F 20.9 T (3.4)	6.0 (0.8)	11.6 (3.5)	1.3 (4.8)	1.8 (49.7)	0.1 (0.4)	1.3 (2.9)	4.0 (14.2)	3.7 (8.5)	3.4 (11.8)
Egypt	1966 (8 333 733)	F 23.9 T (4.4)	4.4 (1.6)	10.2 (5.0)	6.3 (5.8)	3.3 (45.6)	- (-)	0.6 (3.0)	3.1 (16.5)	13.6 (6.9)	22.3 (11.2)
Iran	1966 (7 584 085)	F 25.7 T (2.7)	3.3 (0.1)	6.8 (2.7)	1.1 (6.7)	6.4 (41.3)		25.0 26.8		22.0 (6.7)	10.8 (11.0)

* See "Notes" at end of table.

Table 2 (continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Region and country	Year and total economically active population	Professional, technical and related workers	Administrative, executive and managerial workers	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and related workers	Miners, quarrymen and related workers	Workers in transport and communications occupations	Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	Service, sport and recreation workers	Unclassified
Jordan	1961 (389 978)	F 30.5 T (4.1)	0.1 (0.6)	5.8 (4.1)	0.1 (6.8)	5.1 (35.4)	- (2.0)	1.3 (5.5)	4.9 (28.7)	11.4 (5.9)	2.3 (6.9)
Kuwait	1970 (239 271)	F 29.3 T (10.7)	0.1 (0.7)	5.3 (11.7)	0.1 (8.8)	0.3 (1.6)	0.7 40.2	- (-)	- (-)	11.5 (24.1)	2.5 (2.2)
Libyan Arab Republic	1964 (387 699)	F 11.5 T (3.1)	0.6 (1.4)	1.3 (4.8)	0.7 (6.0)	2.5 (37.4)	- (1.8)	0.5 (5.1)	11.6 (18.7)	5.8 (10.1)	8.2 (11.6)
Morocco	1971 (3 980 518)	F 15.0 T (4.0)	23.0 (3.0)	4.5 (5.6)	4.5 (5.6)	11.2 (51.4)	15.5 (19.2)	38.1 (8.2)	21.0 (8.6)	38.1 (8.2)	21.0 (8.6)
Pakistan	1961 (30 205 981)	F 9.6 T (1.4)	0.5 (0.4)	0.9 (1.8)	2.2 (4.3)	14.2 (75.0)	1.1 (0.1)	0.3 (1.5)	8.6 (10.8)	15.0 (3.4)	8.6 (1.3)
Syrian Arab Republic	1971 (1 645 721)	F 30.8 T (3.4)	0.0 (0.2)	9.7 (4.5)	1.1 (7.3)	26.4 (56.5)	- (-)	6.4 (22.5)	- (-)	6.2 (2.3)	17.7 (3.3)
Tunisia	1966 (1 093 735)	F 17.3 T (4.0)	3.1 (0.7)	11.9 (2.7)	1.7 (5.4)	11.9 (38.9)	0.4 (1.8)	0.9 (2.6)	8.0 (32.1)	18.6 (5.9)	5.3 (5.9)
ASIA											
Bangladesh	1961 (17 442 957)	F 4.3 T (1.1)	0.6 (0.2)	0.4 (1.0)	3.5 (3.0)	16.2 (85.9)	- (-)	11.3 (6.2)	20.1 (1.7)	20.1 (1.7)	5.9 (0.9)
India	1971 (180 373 400)	F 17.7 T (2.7)	1.7 (0.7)	4.0 (3.0)	6.1 (4.2)	20.0 (72.0)	- (-)	8.4 (10.0)	16.7 (3.2)	16.7 (3.2)	18.8 (4.2)
Indonesia	1971 (40 100 070)	F 31.1 T (2.2)	19.4 (3.4)	11.2 (3.1)	43.9 (70.1)	31.4 (11.8)	- (-)	12.8 (13.8)	32.3 (59.7)	32.3 (59.7)	40.1 (5.9)
Japan	1970 (53 196 095)	F 35.6 T (6.7)	4.8 (3.8)	49.7 (14.6)	42.3 (11.5)	53.2 (18.9)	- (-)	26.6 (35.1)	56.3 (8.0)	56.3 (8.0)	33.9 (1.4)
Nepal	1961 (4 306 839)	F 6.4 T (0.4)	1.0 (0.4)	18.6 (1.1)	18.6 (1.1)	41.8 (93.7)	51.1 (-)	0.4 (0.1)	25.8 (2.3)	16.0 (1.3)	34.0 (0.7)
Philippines	1970 (12 296 583)	F 56.8 T (5.4)	28.5 (1.1)	38.0 (3.1)	56.9 (6.5)	19.6 (50.8)	1.5 (0.3)	1.5 (4.2)	42.6 (13.8)	66.0 (7.3)	39.7 (7.5)
Sri Lanka	1963 (3 458 994)	F 38.7 T (4.2)	3.4 (0.9)	5.7 (3.4)	5.8 (6.1)	24.9 (47.7)	8.8 (0.1)	1.8 (3.0)	14.1 (18.3)	24.9 (7.6)	24.9 (8.7)
Thailand	1970 (16 470 000)	F 41.9 T (1.8)	8.3 (1.0)	32.8 (1.2)	54.6 (4.3)	49.7 (81.4)	33.3 (0.1)	3.0 (1.2)	31.8 (5.2)	50.3 (2.6)	37.4 (1.2)

Fundação Guider o Futuro

Table 2 (continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Region and country	Year and total economically active population	Profes-sional, technical and related workers	Adminis-trative, executive and managerial workers	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Farmers, fisher-men, hunters, loggers, and related workers	Miners, quarry-men and related workers	Workers in trans-port and communi-cations occupations	Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	Service, sport and recreation workers	Unclassi-fied
LATIN AMERICA											
Argentina	1960 (7 424 524)	F 58.7 T (6.1)	7.4 (2.5)	28.9 (11.0)	16.9 (9.4)	5.2 (17.9)	- (0.3)	1.2 (4.2)	15.8 (30.8)	62.2 (9.2)	19.4 (8.6)
Brazil	1970 (29 557 224)	F 59.8 T (4.7)	9.1 (5.3)	34.5 (4.8)	18.2 (4.6)	9.7 (43.5)	1.2 (0.4)	3.9 (3.9)	15.2 (15.0)	89.3 (7.7)	15.0 (10.1)
Colombia	1964 (15 134 125)	F 47.3 T (3.9)	14.8 (2.6)	35.6 (4.6)	25.5 (5.6)	4.4 (47.4)	27.2 (0.8)	12.1 (3.0)	20.3 (17.4)	74.6 (11.2)	16.3 (3.5)
Costa Rica	1963 (395 273)	F 56.1 T (5.2)	10.7 (1.3)	27.3 (5.2)	18.7 (7.6)	1.6 (47.2)	- (0.3)	- (2.3)	15.7 (16.4)	69.6 (9.5)	8.0 (5.0)
Chile	1971 (2 980 700)	F 48.4 T (5.1)	9.3 (2.3)	37.6 (11.0)	37.9 (9.3)	3.0 (19.3)	0.4 (1.6)	0.9 (5.4)	18.8 (33.5)	73.1 (11.0)	37.6 (1.5)
Ecuador	1962 (1 528 500)	F 46.7 T (3.1)	6.8 (0.3)	27.7 (3.2)	23.0 (5.7)	10.6 (57.3)	4.2 (0.2)	- (1.9)	27.5 (15.8)	68.1 (6.8)	5.7 (5.7)
Guatemala	1964 (1 317 140)	F 38.9 T (2.3)	27.0 (1.9)	29.1 (2.1)	28.6 (4.1)	2.2 (64.5)	2.5 (0.2)	0.9 (1.8)	17.7 (16.0)	76.9 (6.6)	13.3 (0.5)
Honduras	1961 (567 988)	F 57.1 T (2.5)	11.0 (0.6)	33.1 (2.2)	35.8 (3.9)	0.8 (65.9)	- (0.2)	- (1.1)	21.5 (10.2)	72.2 (7.8)	16.2 (5.6)
Jamaica	1960 (659 582)	F 64.2 T (2.9)	18.2 (1.8)	49.9 (3.9)	65.3 (6.6)	16.6 (35.7)	20.1 (0.1)	12.8 (2.4)	29.1 (24.6)	86.1 (13.5)	61.2 (8.5)
Mexico	1970 (13 014 416)	F 33.8 T (5.6)	16.3 (2.5)	40.7 (7.5)	7.4 (27.8)	4.6 (38.0)	$\frac{a}{(-)^a}$	43.9 ^b / (12.0) ^b	12.8 ^c / (21.3) ^c	$\frac{d}{(-)^d}$	36.9 (5.7)
Nicaragua	1971 (504 240)	F 42.9 T (5.2)	12.4 (0.9)	36.8 (4.2)	50.0 (7.1)	3.0 (46.7)	- (-)	$\frac{-15.7}{(21.9)}$		78.1 (10.9)	32.0 (3.1)
Paraguay	1962 (586 415)	F 61.4 T (3.3)	5.5 (0.7)	22.2 (3.5)	44.5 (5.9)	8.9 (54.5)	- (0.1)	- (1.7)	39.3 (19.2)	68.5 (6.6)	6.6 (4.5)
Peru	1961 (3 124 579)	F 46.0 T (3.3)	10.7 (1.5)	31.5 (4.3)	28.8 (7.2)	13.9 (49.1)	2.2 (1.1)	0.7 (2.3)	21.2 (17.5)	60.0 (8.9)	14.6 (4.8)
Uruguay	1963 (1 012 267)	F 57.5 T (5.6)	5.4 (1.3)	27.5 (12.5)	20.4 (9.4)	1.9 (17.7)	0.5 (0.2)	0.5 (3.4)	19.6 (27.9)	62.5 (13.8)	22.0 (8.2)
Venezuela	1971 (3 257 840)	F 43.2 T (8.5)	6.2 (2.2)	44.0 (10.0)	17.4 (13.8)	4.4 (19.6)	2.7 (0.7)	1.5 (6.8)	11.8 (24.5)	52.7 (12.7)	25.3 (1.2)

Table 2 (continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Region and country	Year and total economically active population	Professional, technical and related workers	Administrative, executive and managerial workers	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and related workers	Miners, quarrymen and related workers	Workers in transport and communications occupations	Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	Service, sport and recreation workers	Unclassified
WESTERN EUROPE											
Austria	1972 (3 013 000)	F ... T (...)	42.4 (19.5)	... (...)	57.1 (8.7)	50.5 (16.4)	- (0.5)	9.6 (6.6)	19.9 (33.1)	69.3 (14.0)	36.1 (1.2)
Belgium	1961 (3 512 463)	F 42.2 T (8.0)	33.9 (2.6)	33.9 (11.3)	51.8 (10.9)	15.9 (7.4)	0.3 (2.4)	4.5 (5.2)	17.5 (39.4)	64.3 (7.0)	11.6 (5.8)
Denmark	1965 (2 251 785)	F 50.8 T (9.5)	14.3 (1.6)	62.9 (10.5)	42.7 (10.1)	17.0 (14.6)	- -	9.5 (6.2)	18.3 (32.0)	77.4 (11.1)	9.5 (4.4)
France	1968 (20 439 160)	F 43.3 T (11.4)	11.9 (2.7)	62.5 (11.7)	50.1 (7.6)	31.9 (15.3)	- (-)	15.0 34.6		70.2 (8.4)	30.3 (8.3)
Germany, Fed. Rep. of	1961 (26 821 100)	F 33.1 T (7.6)	20.0 (3.1)	54.9 (11.9)	52.6 (7.5)	54.2 (13.5)	0.3 (1.4)	7.7 (4.7)	21.3 (38.5)	67.9 (7.6)	56.9 (4.2)
Greece	1971 (3 283 880)	F 34.3 T (5.7)	9.1 (0.7)	33.3 (7.6)	19.1 (7.1)	36.4 (10.5)	- (-)	14.7 (29.4)		37.4 (6.9)	13.7 (2.1)
Italy	1965 (19 920 000)	F 37.1 T (5.3)	32.6 8.0		34.5 (11.6)	32.0 (24.8)	1.0 (0.5)	1.5 (4.5)	20.1 (35.9)	64.0 (3.6)	25.9 (5.8)
Norway	1972 (1 675 000)	F 46.9 T (14.4)	10.3 (3.5)	68.8 (9.4)	52.9 (9.5)	30.4 (11.6)	- (0.2)	13.5 (8.8)	13.2 (29.4)	81.0 (11.9)	19.0 (1.3)
Portugal	1960 (3 423 551)	F 49.6 T (2.7)	6.0 (1.3)	19.9 (4.4)	13.8 (6.2)	7.3 (42.0)	3.0 (0.6)	7.3 (3.0)	18.6 (27.2)	67.8 (8.9)	2.7 (3.7)
Switzerland	1960 (2 512 411)	F 31.6 T (8.9)	47.5 (1.2)	40.1 (13.6)	53.5 (6.8)	8.3 (11.4)	0.3 (0.3)	7.5 (3.8)	19.7 (43.4)	74.9 (10.5)	- (0.1)
Sweden	1972 (3 567 800)	F 43.5 T (20.8)	9.1 (2.1)	76.6 (11.1)	44.1 (8.9)	23.0 (7.7)	- (0.3)	17.4 (6.2)	14.2 (31.5)	74.6 (10.9)	- (0.5)
United Kingdom	1966 (24 856 500)	F 38.3 T (9.6)	7.5 (3.1)	67.3 (13.7)	48.3 (9.6)	12.1 (3.5)	0.1 (1.5)	11.0 (6.0)	20.1 (39.3)	71.0 (12.0)	22.7 (1.7)
EASTERN EUROPE											
Bulgaria	1965 (4 267 798)	F 42.2 T (8.3)	40.0 (7.6)		58.8 (3.3)	58.0 (41.0)	7.9 (1.5)	8.2 (7.2)	36.9 (18.9)	58.9 (4.1)	20.0 (8.1)
Czechoslovakia	1961 (6 482 664)	F 34.6 T (14.0)	4.6 (1.7)	68.8 (6.6)	56.4 (5.5)	55.6 (21.3)	10.1 (2.9)	16.4 (7.6)	30.0 (32.0)	66.2 (8.2)	33.9 (0.2)

Table 2 (continued)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Region and country	Year and total economically active population	Professional, technical and related workers	Administrative, executive and managerial workers	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Farmers, fishermen, hunters, loggers, and related workers	Miners, quarrymen and related workers	Workers in transport and communications occupations	Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not elsewhere classified	Service, sport and recreation workers	Unclassified
Hungary	1970 (14 988 676)	F 47.2 T (10.9)	15.3 (0.9)	70.0 (10.9)	61.3 (3.5)	45.8 (18.1)	- (-)	28.2 (50.2)	70.6 (5.8)	- (-)	
Poland	1970 (16 943 848)	F 49.8 T (7.8)	27.1 (1.0)	60.3 (8.9)	84.8 (2.0)	57.5 (34.6)	- (-)	24.7 (32.8)	76.0 (5.6)	34.6 (7.3)	
Romania	1966 (10 362 300)	F 44.4 T (9.2)	40.4 (3.1)	40.7 (1.7)	58.6 (55.4)	2.8 (1.6)	10.0 (4.5)	19.5 (19.5)	48.6 (4.9)	42.6 (0.1)	
Yugoslavia	1971 (8 889 816)	F 46.3 T (7.6)	8.8 (1.0)	49.3 (6.0)	36.6 (3.2)	43.7 (43.0)	1.4 (0.7)	18.0 (24.3)	49.5 (5.8)	26.8 (8.4)	
NORTH AMERICA											
Canada	1973 (9 335 000)	F 41.7 T (13.8)	15.5 (9.0)	73.4 (14.8)	39.5 (6.6)	11.9 (6.7)	- (0.5)	9.5 (5.0)	14.0 (27.1)	58.1 (11.2)	31.4 (5.3)
United States	1972 (88 991 000)	F 39.4 T (13.2)	7.7 (9.2)	75.9 (16.9)	43.3 (6.3)	47.3 (3.5)	17.3 (34.2)	62.4 (13.2)	13.2 (3.6)		
OCEANIA											
Australia	1971 (5 330 488)	F 42.3 T (10.1)	12.0 (6.5)	63.8 (15.6)	48.3 (7.9)	15.5 (7.6)	0.3 (0.6)	13.7 (5.5)	13.3 (31.5)	62.7 (7.3)	29.9 (7.4)

Source: Derived from International Labour Organisation, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1973 (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1973), table 2-B.

Notes: Economically active population includes employers, persons working on their own account, salaried employees, wage earners and unpaid family workers as well as unemployed persons at the time of the survey.

F = per cent of workers within each occupational category that are women.

T = per cent of total economically active population (male and female) in each category.

For example, see Angola (col. 3):

14.4 = per cent of professional, technical and related workers that are women (which implies that 85.6 per cent of workers in this category are men).

(1.2) = per cent of total economically active population (male and female) that are professional, technical and related workers.

a/ Included in column 10.

b/ Including service, sport and recreation workers.

c/ Including miners, quarrymen and related workers.

d/ Included in column 9.

Table 3. Female economically active population over 15 by marital status
(percentage)

Region and country	Year	Over-all participation rate	Marital status					Unknown
			Single	Married	Consensually married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	
<u>Africa, South of the Sahara</u>								
Mauritius	1962	17.5	24.6	38.8	7.5	19.9	9.1	-
Zambia	1961	30.2 a/	27.7	62.0	-	5.0	...	...
<u>Africa, North and the Middle East</u>								
Iran	1966	12.2	36.5	51.2	-	9.4	2.2	0.7
Morocco	1960	12.6 b/	17.8	44.5	-	25.4	11.0	1.4
Syrian Arab Republic c/	1963	7.9 d/	40.0	55.3	-	4.4	0.2	-
<u>Asia</u>								
Japan	1965	50.9 e/	30.8	56.6	-	9.9	2.7	-
Singapore	1957	...	43.3	38.5	-	17.2	0.9	-
<u>Latin America</u>								
Argentina	1960	23.2	63.6	26.9	2.1	5.0	1.7	0.7
Chile	1960	21.2	62.3	24.5	...	...	...	12.9
Ecuador	1962	17.6	54.7	28.1	-	17.2	...	-
Peru	1961	22.4	56.0	23.4	7.8	10.6	1.6	0.7
Uruguay	1963	19.6	29.1	53.9	4.5	10.5	1.8	0.2
Venezuela	1961	20.2	59.4	22.7	8.5	5.9	2.3	1.2
<u>Western Europe</u>								
Belgium c/	1961	25.5	39.4	52.8	-	3.5	2.2	-
Denmark	1960	...	62.0	38.5	...	...	...	...
Finland	1960	48.7 e/	...	51.2	...	...	...	...
France	1962	36.2	33.2	53.2	-	10.1	3.5	-
Germany, Federal Republic of	1961	38.2 e/	43.7	45.7	-	10.6	...	-
Iceland	1960	...	60.3	26.3	-	8.2	5.2	-
Ireland	1966	28.7	81.4	8.9	-	9.7	...	-
Italy	1961	24.6	50.5	43.3	-	6.2	...	-
Netherlands	1960	...	74.8	18.9	-	3.5	2.5	-
Norway	1960	...	60.9	24.7	-	9.2	5.2	-
Sweden	1965	37.3	36.1	53.4	-	4.6	5.8	...
Switzerland	1960	41.9 e/	62.5	25.4	-	6.9	5.2	...
United Kingdom	1966	42.8 b/	33.6	57.9	-	6.8	1.7	-
<u>Eastern Europe</u>								
Bulgaria	1965	59.5	9.0	85.3	-	3.5	2.2	-
Czechoslovakia	1961	54.1 e/	21.2	68.0	-	7.2	3.5	-
Hungary	1960	48.0 e/	25.3	55.3	-	15.0	4.4	...
Poland	1960	62.0 e/	36.4	63.6	...	...	...	...
<u>North America</u>								
Canada	1960	29.7 f/	42.6	49.6	-	6.6	1.3	-
United States	1960	40.5 e/	23.6	60.7	-	9.8	5.9	-
<u>Oceania</u>								
Australia	1961	35.2 g/	49.8	38.5	-	5.5	6.1	-

Source: Derived from information in Demographic Yearbook 1972 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E/F.XIII.1), table 9.

- a/ In 1969.
- b/ In 1971.
- c/ Data relate to entire population.
- d/ In 1960.
- e/ In 1970.
- f/ In 1961.
- g/ In 1966.