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WOMEN AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT *

prepared by

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1. Introduction

The basis of the Lima Declaration and Action Plan accepted by the UNIDO General Conference in March 1975 is the acknowledgement that the common development strategies pursued until recently, based on a purely quantitative economic approach, have not managed to reduce poverty. On the contrary, the situation of large number of the world's population has deteriorated in both relative and often absolute terms.

The explosive growth of the world economy since 1945 has mainly benefited the rich Western capitalist countries and small elite groups in the developing countries.

The inordinately disproportionate division of economic and political power between rich countries and developing countries is reflected in class distinctions at national and local level which are often very great in developing countries because of the tremendous and increasing discrepancy between the incomes of the ruling elite and those of the majority of the population. Focusing on the situation of women, we can observe that growing inequality between population groups in many places is coupled to a growing inequality between the sexes.

The realization has consequently dawned that to solve development problems an approach is required in which a more just distribution of wealth and well-being is given priority alongside economic growth. The essential elements of this approach are the social aspects of development, such as a more equal distribution of income, knowledge and power and the participation of all population groups, especially women.

Special attention was paid to the participation of women in the Lima Declaration and Action Plan and this was expanded upon in Resolution ID/B/RES. 44 (IX):

" (a) The importance of securing for women, regardless of their marital status, the same opportunities as are available to men for gainful employment, and the importance of the economic independence derived from such employment for the promotion of the status of women in society;

(b) Ensuring the fullest possible use of available human resources by incorating women into training activities linked to industrial development at all levels and for all professional specializations from management to shop floor;

(c) Equal remuneration with men and equality of treatment, in respect of work of equal value, for women in industry;

(d) The promotion in rural areas of the processing of agricultural products and manufacturing industries, particularly small-scale industries, which will provide regular employment for women in such areas ".

There are a great many obstacles to converting these principles into practical measures. If the situation of women is to be improved, radical changes are needed in production and consumption patterns and in the composition of the labour market. What is more, there will have to be changes in the existing relationships between men and women. A more just distribution of wealth and well-being and the participation of all population groups demands far-reaching structural changes in the international economic order (Ul Haq, 1976; Emmerij & Verloren van Themaat, 1977; Jolly, 1977). The modernization which has taken place to date has been determined by the existing imbalance in the power structure and has led to greater inequality. Ways of promoting the

participation of women in industrialization and improving their situation cannot be dissociated from modernization in general, and must be examined in the context of the power hierarchy which determines the structure of the world economy and in the light of the balance of power between men and women.

For the purposes of this paper I have confined myself to an extremely simplified framework which distinguishes the three major power structures:

(i) the unequal distribution of power between industrialized countries and developing countries;

(ii) the unequal distribution of power at national level between elite groups and the majority of the population;

(iii) the unequal distribution of power between men and women. This cuts across other socio-economic inequalities, and places women at a disadvantage in relation to men in practically all areas and at all levels.

The inequality of men and women is the basic theme of this paper and some remarks on this follow in the second section. The influence of modernization on this inequality in rural areas, in industry and in education is examined in the next three sections. I define modernization here as the social changes introduced by the West involved mainly in industrialization, the mechanization of agriculture and economic integration into the world market. Lastly, an attempt is made to draw parallels in a wider context with reference to the modernization programme in Guatemala. Some very general proposals which could promote the participation of women in the modernization process are presented in the conclusion.

2. The unequal distribution of power between men and women

The crucial issue in the unequal distribution of power between men and women is the division of labour arising from the fact that women are made responsible for caring

for the family because they bear and suckle children. Elise Boulding calls this the 'breeder-feeder role':

> "From the earliest and simplest hunting and gathering folk to the most industrialized society of the twentieth century, the breeding of babies and the feeding of humans of all ages is almost exclusively the work of women, above and beyond other productive processes in which she is engaged" (Boulding, 1977:55).

This imbalance is grounded in the fact that the breeder--feeder-role is assigned exclusively to women all over the world. They are more vulnerable than men because they are primarily responsible for the survival and well-being of children and often other members of the family too. Women are the ones who are most affected by e uncertainties of existence (Postel & Schrijvers, 1976).

The large majority of women, and particularly poor women, also fulfil other productive roles: they work on the land or take part in other subsistence activities, selling their labour or the products of their labour. All these women have a dual task and are therefore doubly vulnerable (Postel and Schrijvers, 1976; Tinker 1976).

Traditional cultural notions throughout the world support this unequal distribution of work, tying women's work to the closed sphere of home and hearth and associating men's work with the wider community, the 'public sphere'. The crucial point is that the two are also evaluated differently; greater value in the form of prestige or economic benefits is attached to the public sphere and therefore, generally speaking, to male work. The lower value attached to female work (or in some cases nil value) confirms and reinforces the inequality between men and women. Women are consequently triply vulnerable.

The unequal distribution of power between men and women has the same basis everywhere, but the vulnerability of women and the way in which this is expressed differs considerably, depending on the region and the social class. The differences are exemplified strikingly by the limited opportunities women have to earn their own living and the degree to which society sees the unpaid work of women as a contribution to the family income. Another major factor is the degree to which the male and female worlds are separated (Ester Boserup, 1970; Postel & Schrijvers, 1976).

The women farmers and market women in West Africa, who are largely economically independent, are an example of the regional differences. They take part in public lif through clubs and organizations and have a relatively high status. Many women in the Islamic world, on the other hand, live in a closed environment of household and family, often completely cut off from the male world. They make no contribution to the family income and their status in relation to men is low (Postel & Schrijvers, 1976).

If we consider the vulnerability of women in the context of class distinctions we discover that there is a fairly strict segregation between the worlds of men and women in the affluent upper classes of many societies. Women are often economically dependent on their husbands, who, as breadwinners, keep them. Women do not work at all, it is thought, since domestic chores and the upbringing of children do not count as'work'. Their status derives from that of that of their husbands (Postel & Schrijvers, 1976).

The life style of the upper classes and the attendant values and norms in general constitute the cultural ideals of the lower classes. What is more, those higher up, by virtue of their dominant position, can impose their opinions on others to a certain extent through the social and cultural insititutions they control.

In societies where the prevailing ideal is one of women who do not work but sit at home all day there is little if any recognition of the work that poor women have to do by force of circumstances in the home or outside it and there are many obstacles that prevent women being educated and going out to work.

A major factor affecting the relationship between men and women in developing countries is that in the most affluent upper classes in the world, in other words in the rich Western countries, the distinction between the female domestic sphere and the male public arena is clearly accentuated. This has been given an extra boost by modern trends in the West which have led to a strict division between home life and the working world and promoted the isolation of nuclear families. (Actually, there is an interplay of factors here. It is extremely dubious whether modern trends would have assumed this form if the distribution of power between the sexes had been less unequal.)

The idealized picture of the bourgeois Western family has men as breadwinners going out to work and women as housewives who do not work, but who are responsible for the well-being of the family. The idea is becoming old-fashioned but it is certainly not obsolete; witness the fact that it determines the position of women on the labour market in the Netherlands (Schoenmaker and others, 1978).

In many developing countries the ideal of the Western family was originally introduced by missionaries and colonial powers and in many countries it was adopted by the elite. Even today the policies of government bodies, development experts and contractors are based on these notions; when it comes to investment, employment policy, wages policy and education men have priority.

Policy is also affected by a lack of information about what women really do. The ideal of the woman who does not go out to work has an effect on scientific and economic theories, especially the latter, and on the way in which data are collected. Statistics relating to productivity and employment, as well as calculations of the national product and the national income, usually exclude the whole range of productive activities performed by women throughout the world, whether as housewives, women farmers, women working at home or market women. They are a forgotten group in the development process, a group whose living conditions have increasingly deteriorated as a result of modernization.

In the next three sections the changes in the distribution of power between men and women as a result of modern developments in rural areas, in the urban sector and in education are outlined using some general data.

3. Modern developments in rural areas

Women in rural areas work as housewives and farmers, ususally without the benefit of modern technology and modern knowledge and skills. Agricultural development and extension projects throughout the world are directed almost exclusively at men.

The fact that men rather than women are brought into the modern sector has plainly had disastrous effects in a number of instances. For example, in Africa it was men in the main who were employed in the large foreign enterprises (plantations and mines). The women who stayed behind while the men migrated to the towns for work were faced with additional work to continue to produce food in the rural areas as subsistence farmers. Moreover, the best agricultural land was sometimes used for cash crops instead of food production, with the result that food production dropped and with it the nutrition and health of the population (Rijpma, 197).

In addition to all this, the transition from a subsistence economy to a money one is often coupled with changes in the pattern of consumption which have a detrimental effect on food consumption. Research has indicated that men do not automatically spend the money they earn in the modern sector on the family's needs, but first and foremost on prestige items such as radios, wristwatches, drink or parties (June Nash, 1975; Schoorl, 1977).

An employment policy which puts men in a privileged position fails to take account of women-headed households, which are extremely common. It is estimated that 38% of all households in the world comprise a women and her children and that in some countries the percentage is even higher than 50 (Boulding, 1977). In Africa this applies particularly in rural areas and the phenomenon is connected with the migration of men to the towns where there is work. In Latin America it is mainly the women who migrate with their children to the towns, often as a result of fewer jobs on the plantations due to mechanization and the fact that subsistence farming does not provide a living. These women frequently end up in the lowest strata of the 'informal' sector (as maids, market women, street sellers, prostitutes) owing to lack of education and job opportunities. Their income is low because of the large numbers of women in this sector. As the modern sector expands it becomes increasingly difficult for them to make ends meet. The ones to suffer most are the market women, who cannot compete with supermarkets (Arizpe, 1977; Moser, 1977).

4. Industry and modern occupations

In almost all the developing countries, especially Africa, the modern industrial sector absorbs only a very small proportion of the total labour force and the percentage of women is very low; 15.3% of all those working in industry are women: this represents 18.7% of all women registered as going out to work (Boulding, 1977). These are world averages.

The ILO's 1975 report on the position of women on the labour market stated:

> "The cultural norms of many, if not most, countries remain ambivalent as regards the employment of women. Political constraints reinforce ambivalent cultural attitudes and generate resistance to acceptance of the costs involved in making it possible for women to work outside the home, without discrimination.... Hence the heavy burden of stress imposed on women by unrealistic and inequitable norms and the hard path which they have to pursue in their work and home lives and in society as a whole." (ILO 1975:16)

The inequality of men and women clearly emerges in the difficulties and obstacles with which women are confronted on the labour market. These are based not only on cultural notions but must also be seen in the light of wages policy and employment policy. Up to now analyses have taken the situation in the West as a model, but they can probably be extrapolated to cover the situation in developing countries. A major factor to be borne in mind is that women in developing countries are more often forced to go out to work because they are poor. Better situated women in the West and women of the elite in developing countries can usually fall back on the husband's income. They have the option of working solely at home or taking on a job as well. Poor women and the many single women have no choice; they always have two jobs to do and have to accept bad terms of employment and low wages.

Western women constitute a labour reserve: they are encouraged to work or to be good mothers and housewives depending on the state of the economy and employment policy (Els Blok, 1978). In developing countries poor women are an inexhaustible source of cheap labour for entrepreneurs. The modern sector, however, offers very limited job opportunities. The distribution of women among different occupations and industries is very disproportionate in all countries. Women

usually congregate in a limited range of jobs, considered to be 'feminine' ones. Whatever sector women are in, they will be found to hold the poorest jobs for which the least qualifications are required. This partly accounts for the difficulties in implementing the legislation which exists in many countries on equal pay for equal work (Boserup, 1970).

There have been special measures on the statute books for years in many countries which are designed to benefit working women. Originally, these laws were intended to protect women against unfavourable terms of employment, such as night work, carrying heavy loads etc. Later, stress shifted to the rights of working women, e.g. entitlement to maternity leave, the right of married and pregnant women to retain their jobs and lastly, arrangements for child-care (ILO, 1978). In practice, such measures are circumvented and, moreover, they are used as arguments against employing women in certain industries because they are 'too expensive'.

We will probably only really be able to say that discrimination no longer exists when all the protective measures, including those relating to maternity leave and child-care, apply to men and women alike.

Sometimes women will be deliberately excluded from certain jobs or industries by men who feel a threat to their supremacy or jobs. In Puerto Rico the number of women in industry has dropped considerably since 1930 under pressure from unions and politicians who wanted to reserve the jobs for men (June Nash, 1975; see also Hartman, 1978).

Women appear to take very little part in trade union activities; in the literature there is nothing on the subject in relation to developing countries. Women in industry usually work in

"economically vulnerable, labour-intensive, technologically backward industries, especially the consumer goods industry (textiles and food)" (Hoogenboom & Voets, 1977:136). It is precisely these industries which are transferred, often as 'run-away shops', to developing countries. The women work for extremely low wages and are given no job training or only the absolute minimum; trade union representation is avoided as much as possible (Salaff, 1976). The Dutch textile firms which were relocated in Tunisia as part of reorganization are examples of 'run-away shops' (Baud, 1977). The better trained women in many countries work in the clerical sector, education and nursing - usually in the lowest categories of jobs. Few women are to be found in jobs requiring more qualifications at management level, in advisory functions in companies or in the higher ranks of the civil service.

Lastly, there are the cottage industries, whose mainstay is women in many developing countries (Boserup, 1970). In countries where women's freedom of movement is strictly limited, for the majority of them cottage industries are the only means of earning a living. The intermediaries who act as the outlet for the goods are often men, who make exorbitant profits because the women are dependent on them and are forced to work for extremely low wages (Maria Mies, 1978). Difficulties still occur even when cottage industries are organized into cooperatives; women workers are excluded from the board of the cooperative and have no say in matters such as materials, tools and prices and are forced to accept arrangements which are extremely disadvantageous to them, such as not being paid for inferior products (see Sri Lanka II report). Cottage industries are on the decline as a result of modernization. In the large enterprises which mass produce consumer goods it is usually women who do the work with the effect that the only source of income for large numbers of women disappears.

5. Education

One of the major underlying causes of the poor position of women on the labour market is that women on the whole are less educated than men. The educational disadvantage of women can most clearly be illustrated by some figures. More than 40% of all the women in the world are illiterate (for men the figure is 28%); in the majority of developing countries about 1½ times as many boys as girls attend primary school; in secondary schools there is one girl to every two boys and in tertiary education one in four or five students is a girl (Postel & Schrijvers, 1976).

It is obvious that women's illiteracy and lack of education are an obstacle to their participation in other areas of modern life. Their receptivity to innovations, even those intended to improve their own lot, is limited. New ways of thinking which could furnish them with a new attitude to life, fail to get through. Women go on living in the traditional, conservative daily round (Postel & Coster, 1976, p. 40).

Again, the major obstacle to women's development is the pattern of cultural expectations in which they are seen primarily as future housewives and mothers and which places them within a closed female world. Obviously, in countries where the latter is a major feature of women's life (Islamic areas) the percentage of girls participating in education in any form whatsoever is extremely small (Youssef, 1974). However, in these countries a relatively large number of women from the elite classes have had the benefit of higher education.

The availability and nature of the education often forms a major obstacle to women's participation. In rural areas there are often few schools and the number of girls attending them is much lower than in the towns. The fact that there are fewer skilled jobs in rural areas than in the towns

probably plays a role as well (Boulding, 1977). Higher--level training courses are usually concentrated in the urban areas, which presents difficulties to those who provide facilities on behalf of the government in rural areas; doctors, social workers and agricultural extension workers usually come from the towns. They do not normally live in the villages where they work and are not integrated into village life, a situation which, to say the least, does not benefit the standard of the facilities provided (Van der Most Van Speijk, 1977).

Primary and secondary education is normally strictly formal and trains people for white-collar jobs: greater prestige is attached to mental work than manual work. There is much less incentive to take a vocational training course and very few girls are to be found in this sector. In the majority of cases men are the only ones to benefit from courses coupled to technical aid and agricultural development and from on-the-job training in firms (Boulding, 1977).

Courses in 'female leadership' are given in some countries in which village women are trained to be social workers. This has proved very successful in Egypt (Mandersloot & Boesveld, 1977).

Girls' education also reflects class differences: the greater the poverty, the less the chance that girls will attend school. Often these girls will have important domestic duties; after all a daughter's labour cannot be spared if the mother has a dual burden. What is more, there is a fear among the lower classes that a girl's marriage prospects will diminish if she is educated. A husband's supremacy is threatened by a wife who knows more and may even be able to earn more.

In the upper classes, conversely, girls are encouraged to attend secondary school as a way of finding a good partner. Men in these circles apparently have such an advantage by virtue of their good position that they do not feel threatened by a well-educated woman. In the majority of countries it is extremely difficult if not impossible even for women with a good education to get top-level jobs, though as a rule they find work more easily than women who are not as well educated (De Miranda, 1977).

It can be assumed that in developing countries, just as in the West, there are quite a large number of women who do not use the knowledge they have acquired or work in 'feminine' jobs for which they are too highly qualified. More should be done to combat this type of brain-drain.

Broadly speaking, in the lower levels of the world population modern education has exacerbated the unequal distribution of power between men and women, whereas among the higher classes it has resulted in greater equality.

Educational reform ought in the first place to concentrate on creating good vocational training courses in every field. In addition, as part of the campaign against illiteracy, informal courses should be provided for all those who have had no opportunity of having a formal education. All courses, even the extremely technical ones, must be seen to be open to women. Second, education can be used to undermine the basis of inequality between men and women, i.e. the division of labour within the family, by teaching boys to do domestic chores. This method has been used in Cuba for some years now (Hoogenboom & Voets, 1977).

6. Modernization in Guatemala: a case study

Some idea has been given in the foregoing of the connection between modernization and the greater inequality between men and women in certain areas. A description of an extremely capitalist-oriented modernization programme in Guatemala will serve to illustrate the correlations in a wider context. The case study is based on a general description of changes in Guatemala over the last thirty years, supplemented by data from research into conditions in a small provincial town.

In Industrialization, Monopoly Capitalism and Women's Work in Guatemala, 1977, Norma Chinchilla gives a general survey of industrial development in Guatemala. In 1954 a new government came into power, bringing with it rapid industrial development based on a capitalist free market economy which placed the interests of foreign and local investors first. The result has been very substantial growth in the national income while the general level of wages has scarcely risen at all in 15 years.

> "The hard-line industrial strategy has yielded increased output, but the benefits of increased production have accrued to a very few. The market remains very small, and the jobs created few...
> This industrialization, rather than destroying the large agricultural sector, has held intact a sector which produces cash crops for export, but which relies on traditional labour-intensive methods of production, including a large, seasonally employed work-force.
> As a result, the number of people working in agriculture and the service sector remains high, and both foreign investors and large landowners have a vested interest in keeping it that way.
> Most industries lured by such a scheme are capital-intensive multinational giants which consolidate or eliminate existing industries, replace old job categories with some new ones, and create little overall employment. A

few industries, particularly those in clothing and textiles, are labour-intensive 'run-away shops' that take advantage of the large labour pool." (pp 46-57)

The major sector is large-scale cash-crop farming organized by a few enterprises which together own 2/3 of the available agricultural land. They employ agricultural labourers' families as seasonal workers, paying them impossibly low wages and expecting them to live and work under appalling conditions:

"They live primitively, with as many as 500 workers in large open-air dormitories that have dirt floors and laminated roofs, no sanitary facilities, electricity or potable water ...

They are given about twelve to fourteen pounds of corn per week, one to two pounds of beans, and occasionally some sugar and rice. Children receive half portions and women none if they do not work because of their young children" (p 47).

The subsistence farming from which these families have to live for the rest of the year does not provide an adequate living. The big companies have the best land and tenancy systems were abolished when the previous government tried to give tenant farmers more rights by means of land reform. The meagre harvest reaped from small plots of poor land forces families into debts, which have to be paid off by seasonal work.

The bad conditions affect everybody but women are hardest hit because in addition to their work on the plantations they are responsible for providing food and caring for the children.

Industrial developments have mainly produced benefits for men in the form of new job opportunities. Women, on the other hand, are at an increasingly greater disadvantage. The big companies have squeezed the small trades and cottage industries - where most women were employed - out of the market. No new jobs for women have been created to make up for this. Even in the traditionally 'feminine' industries such as tobacco and textiles there are relatively more men.

Unskilled women increasingly find jobs in the service sector, usually as maids. Women with any education do white-collar jobs, but here too they face even greater competition from the growing number of male secondary-school leavers who are considered to be more entitled to work because they are breadwinners.

Most women who have been well educated become teachers, nurses or social workers. Among the more highly-skilled jobs in particular there are 'feminine' jobs which have relatively low status and low wages. Large-scale unemployment means that wages in general are low but women's earnings are on average about half those of men.

The conclusion to be drawn, therefore, is that "industrial growth, conditioned by the needs of monopoly capitalism, has meant increasing inequality of wealth and opportunity overall and greater inequality of employment by sex" (p 54). Laurel Bossen (Women in Modernizing Societies, 1975) comes to a similar conclusion. She describes the changes in the situation of women as a result of modernization in Tecpanaco, a small provincial town with a population of 5,000 in the western highlands of Guatemala. The town serves as the centre of modern Western technology, institutions and culture for much of the surrounding rural population. Traditionally, the men worked as subsistence farmers, women prepared the meals and both took part in local trade.

"However, in many respects the traditional work patterns have been significantly altered by colonial and modern technology, labour requirements, and market relationships. For instance, in Tecpanaco the traditional method of weaving with a backstrap loom by women has been completely displaced by the large Spanish foot loom which is generally used by men. Much of the clothing is machine made. Food preparation has been simplified by the introduction of power mills for maize; commercial bakeries, and improved water supply. Modern transport has greatly increased the impact of foreign markets and products. As labour-intensive products have been supplanted by capital-intensive products there has been an increasing dependence on cash income. In addition, the general scarcity of land has meant that no households can subsist without additional income. Household industries (particularly weaving), commercialism, and migratory wage labour are established means of acquiring such income " (p 596).

These changes have reinforced the inequality between men and women, especially on the following points:

"1. Men are generally found in occupations with greater capital investment. ...

2. Relative to men, few women have special skills. ... Occupations held by men use more technology. The greater specialization of at least some men and their association with the more capital-intensive occupations tend to give their labour a higher market value.

3. Due to advances in technology which reduce the time needed for household tasks, there has been a general decrease in the value of female labour. When women generally lack the training, capital, or cultural permission to enter new occupations, this means that they must accept a condition of partial or disguised unemployment as they engage in occupations where their

> marginal product approaches zero. Thus, spinning, embroidery, domestic work, and food selling are poorly paid, because there are so many women trying to earn money this way " (pp 596-598).

The educational system strengthens existing differences. In general, it is men who benefit from modern education and vocational courses, which are usually sexually segregated: domestic arts may be offered to girls, while boys are trained in industrial arts.

Bossen concludes that:

> "... modern technology does not make its appearance as a neutral factor; it tends to support the structural interests and priorities of the system that introduces, or imposes it. ... One of the structural characteristics of Western capitalist societies is a priority for males in all productive activities and particularly in capital intensive occupations. There is a corresponding preference to assign women to domestic, dependent, and marginal economic roles. ... The impact of the modern capitalist world economy and modern Western institutions may be largely detrimental to sexual equality since women appear to be losing their productive functions as modernization progresses " (pag. 599).

It is apparent from these descriptions of the modernization in Guatemala that the inequality in society, between rich and poor, between men and women, is reinforced by the capitalist free market economy, which protects the interests of the strongest. Women always lose out in the power structure because of their special vulnerability, a vulnerability which becomes greater as the gap between the public, modern sector occupied by men and the subsistence sector of women widens. Women are losing control over traditional sources of aid and have much less access to new knowledge, skills and capital than men. It becomes increasingly difficult for them to earn a living from the work that they do, their productivity drops and their labour becomes cheaper. Together

with their children, they become more and more dependent on male labour.

The increasing inequality between men and women promotes poverty and is an obstacle to development.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

In the above paper an effort is made to give an impression of factors influencing the situation of women in processes of modernization : international and national power relations and unequal distribution of power between men and women.
It is important to acknowledge that the hard core of the development problem is women. "In an unequal world, women are the most unequal, even among unequals." (Krishna Ahooja-Patel, 1977)
A more equitable distribution of income, knowledge and power on an international level among countries and on a national level among population groups calls for fundamental changes in the economic structure of the rich western countries as well as the developing countries. The extensive problems connected with this have been stressed elsewhere, among others in the Lima Declaration. However, no development strategy can function without touching the hard core of the development problem : that is without directly involving women in the fight against hunger and poverty, giving them a more equal share in prosperity and well-being. This means, that in planning policy and action the vulnerability of women should be continuously taken into account, as this vulnerability is the basis of unequal power ralations between men and women.
It is not only the participation of women in traditionally male dominated sectors of society that has to be promoted. In order to diminish their vulnerability it is equally neccessary to acknowledge the importance of women's work and their live. Policy should also be directed to participation of men as equal partners in traditional women's sectors of society.
With regard to the participation of women in industrialization, some important points can be mentioned :

- It is of the utmost importance in the development of agribusiness and foodindustry, to give full attention to women's role in food preparation and food production. Women should be involved in policy and decision-making concerning these matters on all national and local levels.

- In moving toward factory-based manufacturing processes of goods formerly produced by women or to mechanization of women's traditional tasks, women should in the first place been involve at all levels, and should be given the opportunity to earn an income through participating in these modern industries.
- In the promotion of small-scale industries in rural areas priority should be given to applied technology for household and agricultural use. Employment in these industries should be equally available to men and women under equal conditions.
- To create opportunities for self-employment of women and to enhance existing opportunities, it is necessary that credit facilities for women should be available, together with adequate information as to how women can abtain these.
- Policy directed at securing the same opportunities for women as are available for men for gainful employment should be based on the standards elaborated by the United Nations and the International Labour Organization.
  They should include legislation stipulating the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of sex or martial status, guidelines for implementing the principles, appeals procedures, and effective targets and machinery for implementation (Irene Tinker & Michele Bo Bramsen (eds), 1976).
- Special attention should be given to the double workload of combining a job with family and child-care responsibilities. Measures created to lighten this double task should be directed equally at women and men, to give both parents the same opportunities to earn an income as well as fulfilling family responsibilities.
  Protective legislation concerning work conditions should be equally applied to women and men.
- Trade Unions, together with governments should take positive steps to ensure equal treatment of men and women at every level from the factory floor through to management.
- Trade Unions in the Netherlands (and other western countries) should persue active lines for co-operation with Trade Unions in developing countries.

Trade Union membership should be encouraged especially among women.

- To break down sex labelling of jobs - and generally to break down unequal work distribution among men and women - it is necessary to make all levels of education, vocational trainin and on-the-job training accessible to girls and boys, men and women, without discrimination.
  Special efforts should be made to encourage girls and women to participate in technical training and courses, particularly industrial training programmes, formerly reserved for men. At the same time boys and men should be encouraged to take part in training programmes and courses formerly especially designed for women.

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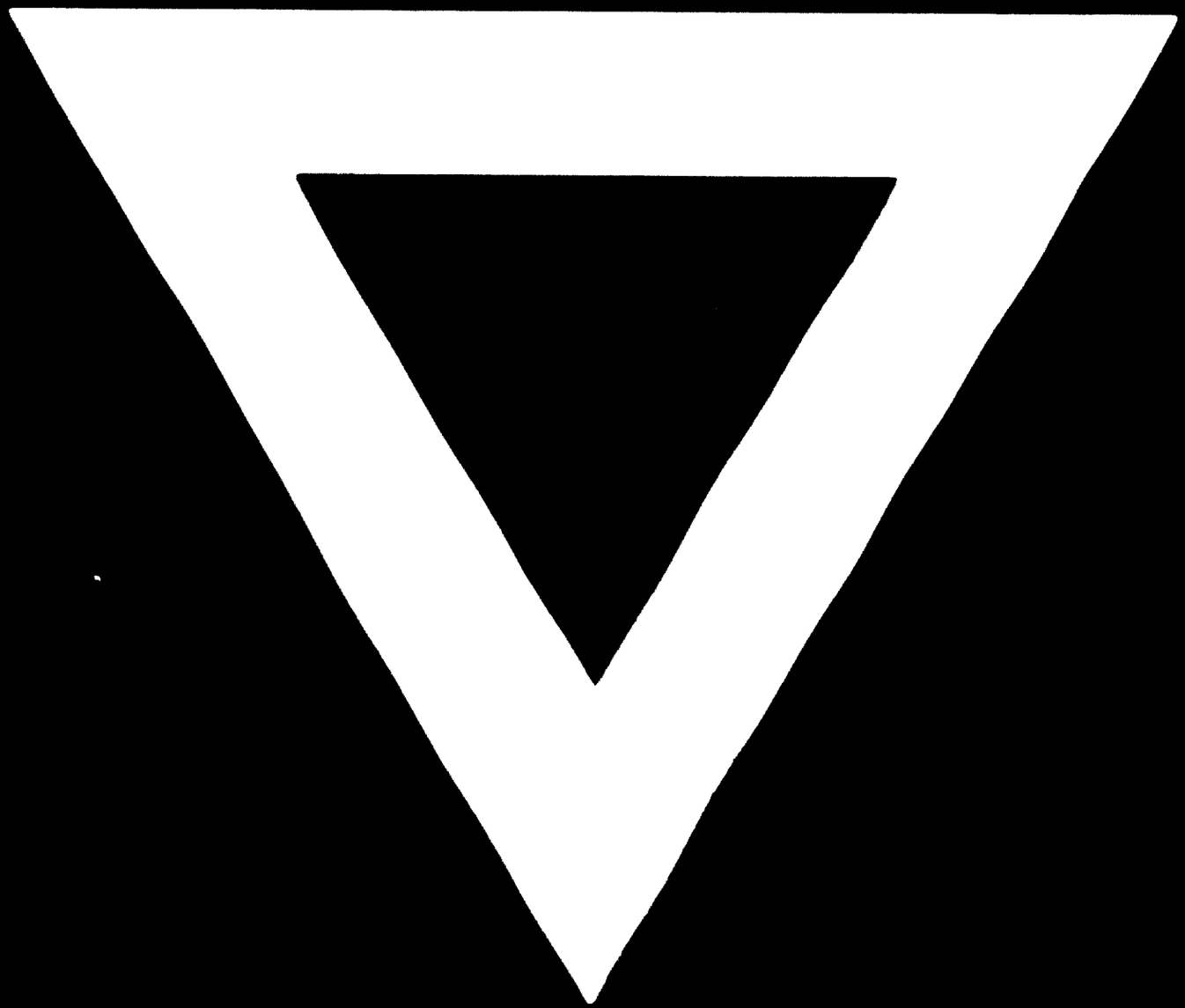

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