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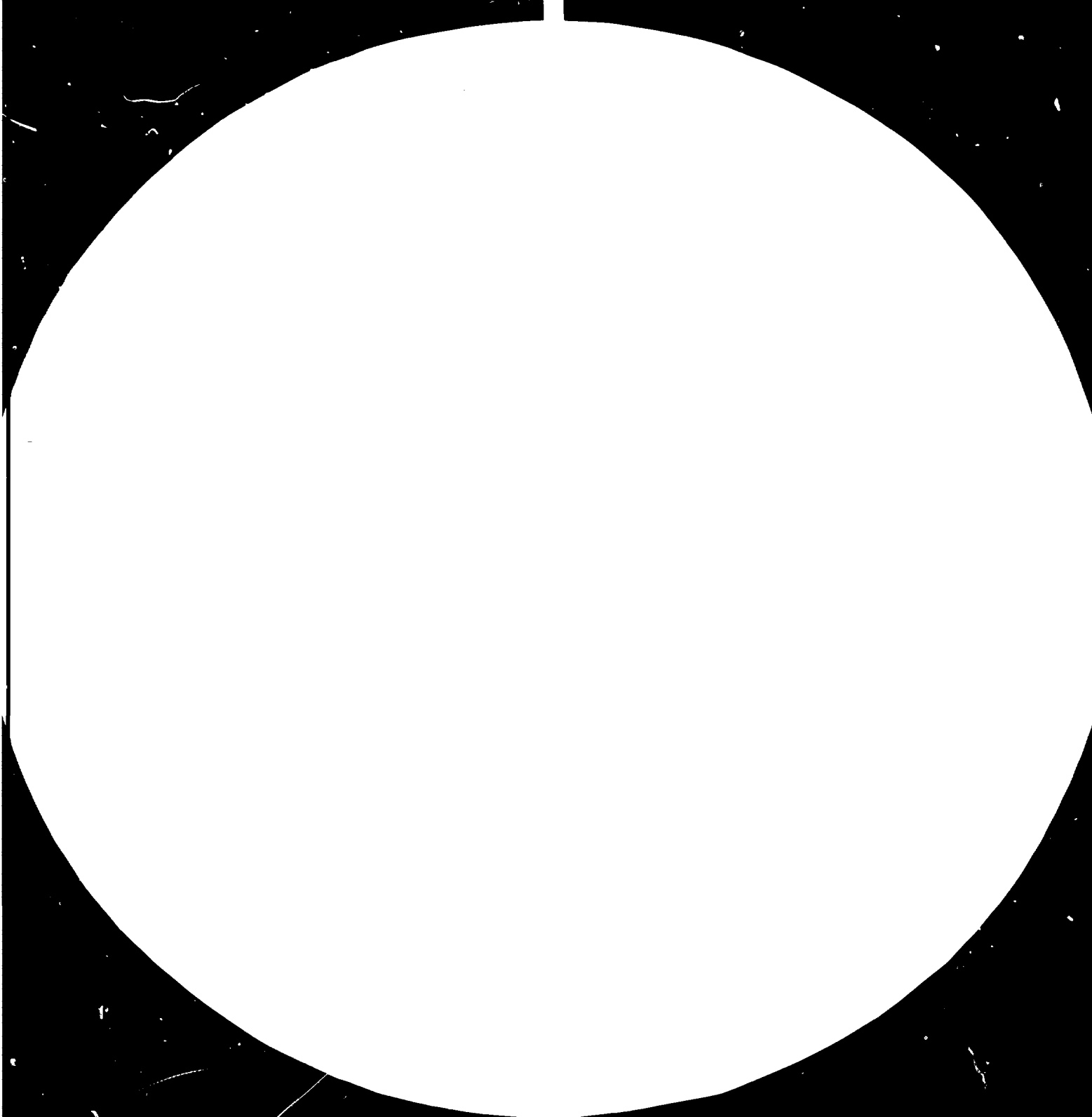
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THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON WOMEN'S TRADITIONAL
FIELDS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

by

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* organized by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in co-operation with the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

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INTRODUCTION

The International Development Strategy of the Third United Nations Development Decade ^{1/} recognizes the importance of ensuring that women participate effectively, and as equal partners with men, in all aspects of development if the goals and objectives of the Strategy are to be achieved.^{2/} The Strategy reflects the demands for the restructuring of economies and societies that were made almost simultaneously by developing countries on the one hand and women on the other. Both the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace ^{3/} and the Declaration on the Establishment of the New Economic Order and Programme of Action ^{4/} contained similar goals, which emphasized the urgent need to create new equitable relationships between the industrialized and developing countries in their international economic relations and between men and women in their internal economic, social and power relations. ^{5/} The major conclusions of both conferences detailed the means of achieving the goals of equal access to all resources by all countries, and of strengthening the economies of the developing countries. However, in order to ensure that national economic development includes the creation of equitable conditions for women, it is essential

1/ A/35/464, Annex, 23 October 1980.

2/ Cf. IESDA/BAW/WP.2, 17 December 1980, "Guide to elements of the International Development Strategy having significance for women's advancement."

3/ E/Conference/66/34, 19 June - 2 July 1975.

4/ General Assembly resolutions 3201(S-VI) and 3202(S-VI) of 1 May 1974.

5/ Cf. International Labour Organisation (ILO): Office for Women, "Women, technology and the development process", R. Dauber and M.L. Cain, eds., Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, Inc., Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1981), (AAS Selected Symposia Series, No.53), pp. 33 - 47.

that the economic growth aspires to take place within the framework of an equitable distribution of economic resources, the returns of labour and the resulting improvements in the means of satisfying material and non-material needs.

National development is intimately linked with the international context. It has been shown in many studies that the integration of developing countries into the international economic system had, in most of these countries, brought about a series of internal processes which in turn had resulted in a negative impact on women, both in absolute terms and in relation to men. ^{6/} It has therefore been concluded that "international monetary, trade, aid and technology policies will not themselves automatically have an undifferentiated or even beneficial impact, but will do so only with careful incorporation of specific elements designed to have such an effect." ^{1/}

There is a growing awareness that development is a political process and the choice of goals and means of development are political decisions. ^{8/} The distribution of the fruits of production, the use of indicators to measure development, ^{2/} the determination of access to the tools of production and the choice of technologies to be used, are all matters of a political and not predominantly technical nature. This last point has been emphasized as follows:

^{6/} I. Tinker and M.E. Bramsen, eds., Women and World Development: (Washington, D.C., Overseas Development Council, 1976); B. Lindsay, ed., Comparative Perspectives of Third World Women (New York, Praeger, Publishers, 1980); "Effective mobilization and integration of women in development: Report of the Secretary-General" (A/35/82, 27 March 1980)

^{1/} Ibid, p.33.

^{8/} Cf. Developing Strategies for the Future: Feminist Perspectives, Report of the International Feminist Workshop held at Stony Point, New York, 20 - 25 April 1980, p.6.

^{2/} Cf. D. Seers, "Was heisst Entwicklung?" D. Senghaas, ed., Peripherer Kapitalismus: Analysen über Abhängigkeit und Unterentwicklung (Frankfurt, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977), pp. 37 - 67.

The choice of technologies is one of the most important collective decisions facing a developing country. It is a choice that affects the whole fabric of economic and social structure. It determines who works and who does not; the whole pattern of income distribution; where work is done, and therefore the urban - rural balance; and what is produced, that is, for whose benefit resources are used. 10/

All the choices outlined above, which decide the course of national development to be followed, are of vital importance in determining the impact of development on women.

The following report focuses on the impact of changes brought about by development through industrialization on the role and status of women in those areas of economic activity in which they have been traditionally engaged in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. From the multitude of questions concerning the economic and social situation of women in developing countries, four are of special interest here: to what extent does the contribution of women to those sectors of the economy change; to what extent do women share in the returns of their labour; how is the total situation of women affected by these changes; and what is the impact on their productivity. Furthermore, some of the effects of these changes on the economies of the respective countries will be considered, with particular emphasis on the vital role women have to play in attaining the goals of a development directed towards local, national

10/ Intermediate Technology Development Group, Journal of Appropriate Technology, (n.d.) p.2, quoted in M.L. Cain, "Overview: Women and technology - resources for our future", R. Dauber, M.L. Cain, op. cit., p.5.

and regional self-reliance. Selected examples from developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were chosen to illustrate the ripple effect of measures taken to promote development through industrialization. These detailed analyses of different aspects of change in individual countries are intended to make it possible to elaborate recommendations for specific policies designed to consider women as agents and beneficiaries of development.

It has been pointed out that there are two biases in economic development theory which hinder the inclusion of women as equal partners in development. The first bias is the artificial division of economic activities into a modern and a traditional sector, into remunerated and unremunerated work, and into productive work and welfare activities (these include, besides the usually cited household tasks, caring for the dependent population and providing an informal social security system for workers in the modern sector, thus subsidizing low wages earned in industry). Activities outside the modern monetary economy are not considered as work and are thus not reflected in national statistics.^{11/}

The task of the economic development planner is traditionally conceived as planning for the improvement of the economic situation of the country through modernization, mechanization, industrialization, surplus accumulation, and the improvement of marketing and trading facilities. Although now, due to the failure of policies designed to promote GNP growth to spread the benefits of development to the majority of the population, development planning includes the concept of income generation at the grass-root level, the basic recipe for growth remains unquestioned.

^{11/} I. Tinker, "The adverse impact of development on women", I. Tinker and M. Bo Bramsen, eds., Women and World Development, op. cit., pp.22-34.

The second bias that has been observed is men's stereotyped view of the role appropriate to women. This view holds that women do not "work" or, if they do, they should not. This tendency to relegate women to performing tasks considered as non-productive and to deny them remuneration for productive activity (assigning them work as unpaid family labour) can be seen as a mechanism for keeping women in a dependent position and preventing them from emerging as economic competitors of men.

The myth that women's work is auxiliary to that of men and thus, if it is remunerated at all, it need not be fully remunerated, and that a woman's income is only supplementary to the family income which is primarily earned by the male head of the household, ignores the fact that world-wide 38 per cent of the heads of households are women, a figure that reaches 50 per cent in some areas.^{12/}

Another factor important to development is that, particularly in developing countries, women are considered responsible for providing the family's subsistence, and most of their income is spent on basic necessities, thus providing for the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force.

This bias, restricting women to the home and to unremunerated care of the family, leads to such statements as that contained in a 1977 development aid agricultural policy paper, which suggested that the reduction in the number of women working in the fields would be a measure of development.^{13/}

^{12/} E. Boulding, Women: The Fifth World, Headline Series 248 (Washington, Foreign Policy Association, February 1980), p.13.

^{13/} USAID draft paper cited in I. Tinker, "New technologies for food-related activities: an equity strategy", R. Dauber and M.L. Cain, eds., op.cit., p.53.

It should be understood that these two biases about women's work are not primarily determined by psychological or cultural reasons but are anchored in the currently prevailing framework of social, economic and political relationships.

A review of the available literature on the division of labour in pre-industrial agrarian societies does not reveal a single, universal, sex-segregated pattern of production, but a variety of patterns of a division of labour by sex. Research has documented the existence of autonomous spheres of production in which women and men have separate plots of land, separate crafts and trading enterprises, retain control over their own profits and give and receive credits separately. In these societies, women have been and are engaged in such economic activities as farming, crafts and trade and, in connection with these, they participate in the handling of money, credit transactions, savings and investment activities, and accumulate and invest capital in the form of land, livestock, gold and other commodities.^{14/}

Another reason for presenting selected examples in great detail in this report is the limited validity of national statistical data as a reflection of women's productivity in their traditional spheres of activity in developing countries.^{15/} This cannot be explained simply as a result of an insufficient collection of statistical data in developing countries but is due to a variety of factors.

^{14/} R. Firth and B.S. Yamay, eds., Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies: Studies from Asia, Oceania, the Caribbean and Middle America (Chicago, Alding, 1978); N.J. Hafkin and E.G. Bay, eds., Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change (Stanford, Stanford University Press 1976); Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1977); S.A. Chipp and J.J. Green, eds., Asian Women in Transition (University Park and London, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980).

^{15/} Cf. E. Boulding, Women: the Fifth World, op. cit., Chapter 5, "The fifth world today: statistics and realities", pp.34-42.

A large proportion of women's economic activities have traditionally been outside the formal sector, rendering it almost impossible to assign a monetary value to their productivity. Even today, women's work in industrialized forms of agriculture is often not taken into account adequately in national labour statistics (e.g. Sri Lankan women working for male relatives, transplanting rice, which has been shown to result in a 40 to 65 per cent increase in productivity, ^{16/} as they are not paid any wages are registered as economically inactive or as unpaid family labour^{17/}).

The need for disaggregated data which does not subsume women's work under the heading of "family labour" or "family income" has been recognized and expressed by development planners. ^{18/} However, the possibilities of collecting data, as well as the comparability of statistical data, are restricted because the objective situation can only be inexactly recorded, the data reflects the different value systems of different societies, there is increasing diversity in the economic activities engaged in by an individual as a necessity for survival and there are great differences in the social organization of labour, both between countries and within a single country. ^{19/} Where disaggregated data is available, mainly in manufacturing industries in the modern sector, it will be cited to show the impact of industrialization on the female labour force.

^{16/} S. Ponnambalam, Dependent Capitalism in Crisis: The Sri Lankan Economy, 1948-1980 (London, Zed Press, 1980), p.65.

^{17/} C. Risseuw et al., A Woman's Mind is Longer than a Kitchen Spoon (Leiden, University of Leiden, 1980), p.12.

^{18/} "The Role of Women in Development", OECD Observer, No.109 (March 1981), p.15.

^{19/} W. Schmidt, "Frauen in der Wirtschaft von Entwicklungsländern", Asien, Afrika, Lateinamerika (Berlin, GRD), Band 9, Heft 2 (1981), p.232.

I. WOMEN WORKING IN THE PRIMARY SECTOR: AGRICULTURE

A review of the research on women and the changes in their status which have occurred through the introduction, promotion and intensification of different forms of agricultural production, shows that the social, economic and legal status of women are closely interrelated and that they are all dependent upon women's role in the production process. What is important for male planners of agricultural development to realize is that the strategies usually implemented, which involve the incorporation of traditional production units into larger national and international markets, the promotion of larger production units, production intensification through improved inputs, implements and techniques, and land reform or settlement schemes, tend, for the most part, to have an adverse effect on women, locking them into a self-perpetuating pattern of poverty and dependency, from which it is almost impossible to escape. While the detrimental effects on the well-being of the population in the respective countries, the promotion of which is identified as the ultimate aim of development planning, are sometimes obscured by national statistics, there is a growing literature of reports, case studies and field research on the impact of the process of industrialization in agriculture on the local population, and on women, the group of special interest in this report. ^{20/}

^{20/} See, for example: C. Risseuw et al., op cit.; J. Bukh, The Village Women in Ghana, Centre for Development Research Publications, No.1 (Uppsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1979); M. El Belghite, "The role of women in socio-economic development: indicators as instruments of social analysis: The case of Morocco", Women and Development: Indicators of their Changing Role, Socio-economic studies No.3 (Paris, UNESCO, 1981), pp. 15-32; M. Kisekka, "The role of women in socio-economic development: indicators as instruments of social analysis: the case of Nigeria and Uganda", Ibid., pp.33-47; E. Croll, Women in Rural Development: the People's Republic of China (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1979); N. Nelson, Why Has Development Neglected Rural Women? A Review of the South Asian Literature, Women in Development, Vol.1 (Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1979); Women in Developing Countries: Case Studies of Six Countries, (Stockholm, Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) 1974).

The majority of the female population in many developing countries lives in rural areas where women's primary activities are agricultural production and providing for the family's subsistence needs. In most developing countries in Asia 75 to 85 per cent of women live outside the cities and half their working time is spent on agricultural activities. In the rural subsistence economies of Africa, it is estimated that between 60 and 80 per cent of the work in food production is performed by women. Many Latin American countries are more urbanized, so that a smaller percentage of the population lives in rural areas but even there a large proportion of the agricultural work falls to women.^{21/}

Since women play such an important part in agricultural production, equal opportunities with men for employment in the production of primary commodities, whether for subsistence consumption or distribution to other consumers, and equal conditions for engaging in these economic activities, have been declared prerequisites for successful rural development planning and programme implementation.^{22/}

It is worth noting that at a time when the strategies of increased production, the expansion of income-producing activities and a reduction in post-harvest food losses are seen by development planners as solutions for meeting the world food crisis, nothing is mentioned in the literature of development planning - apart from a few documents specifically concerned with the role of women and largely written by women - that more than 50 per cent of agricultural labour in developing countries is provided by women or that women do most of the post-harvest food processing and preservation.^{23/}

^{21/} Z. Tadesse, "Women and technological development in agriculture: an overview of the problems in developing countries", Science and Technology Working Papers (New York) No.9, 1979, p.6, cited in W. Schmidt, loc. cit., p.232.

^{22/} Report of the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, Rome, 12-20 July 1979 (WCARRD/REP), sect.IV; transmitted to the members of the General Assembly by a note by the Secretary-General (A/34/485).

^{23/} I. Tinker, "Food-related activities: an equity strategy", loc.cit., p.52

Women's share in agricultural production

Women's tasks in agriculture include the production of staple and other food crops for family consumption and sale, performing a great part of the work for cash crop production, cultivating market gardens and keeping small domestic animals. Both in subsistence and cash crop production there is a strong tendency towards a strict division of labour by sex. The women's tasks are usually labour-intensive, manual, using only the simplest techniques and implements and not demanding long uninterrupted stretches of time, while men's work often involves the use of tools, machinery or animals and includes such tasks as ploughing, harvesting and threshing.^{24/} The introduction of improved "Green Revolution" technology in agricultural production, including new high-yield seed varieties, agro-chemicals (fertilizers and pesticides), mechanization and irrigation in developing countries, has not only led to increased land concentration and thus to increased poverty^{25/} but has also had a differential impact on men and women and on women of different classes.^{26/} It is usually the men's tasks, both on and off the farm, that are mechanized, while the women's work remains manual. Tasks that were previously performed by women, or both men and women, become men's work when they are mechanized, or even when improved implements are introduced; tasks involving the use of machinery or animals, which are therefore considered men's work, suddenly become women's work when they have to be performed manually. (In Sri Lanka, ploughing with buffaloes or tractors is considered too hard and dangerous for women, but when it has to be performed by hand because neither animal nor mechanical

^{24/} Cf. Z. Tadesse, loc.cit.; Z. Ahmed, loc.cit.; J. Bukh, op.cit.

^{25/} Cf. S. Ponnambalam, op.cit. pp. 62-78; U.J. Lele and J.W. Mellor, "Jobs, poverty and the 'Green Revolution'", International Affairs, vol.48 (January 1972), pp. 20-32.

^{26/} I. Tinker, 1981 op.cit., pp.65-66; P.M. D'Onofrio, "The implications of UNCSTD's 'ascending process' for the exploitation of women and other marginalized social groups", Science and Technology Working Papers 7/1977, p.8.

draught power is available it is allocated to women.^{27/})

The effects of technological change on women are paradoxical. On the one hand, women's burden of work is increased: when family production increases, their work, which is not mechanized, increases also; the use of fertilizers means increased weeding; new grain varieties often require more work in preparation for immediate consumption or storage, etc.; furthermore, the collecting of water and fuel for daily subsistence use often becomes more time-consuming. On the other hand, opportunities of landless women for wage employment are reduced in industrialized forms of agricultural production.^{28/}

Intensified production through the use of improved technologies tends to be concentrated on cash crop cultivation. This increases the existing competition for land and labour between cash crop and food crop production, and has been seen in African and Asian countries to lead to significant decreases in both quantity and quality of food crops produced. For example, in Africa, where cash crop cultivation occupies a large proportion of available fertile land and the labour of men and women, not only is there less food produced but there has also been a shift from the cultivation of the more nutritious - yet more labour-intensive and time-consuming - food crop, yams, to the cultivation of cassava, which can still be grown by women with the resources of land, time and labour available to them but which lacks essential vitamins and minerals, thus leading to increased malnutrition.^{29/}

^{27/} Cf. C. Risseeuw, et al., op.cit.

^{28/} E.R. Morse, et al., "Strategies for small farmer development: an empirical study of rural development projects", prepared by Development Alternatives, Inc. for AID, May 1975, vol.I, p.24; J. Bukh, op.cit., pp.42-88; C. Risseeuw, et al., op.cit.; Z. Ahmad, "The plight of rural women; alternatives for action", International Labour Review, vol.119, No.4 (July-August 1980), pp.425-438.

^{29/} J. Bukh, op.cit., pp.42-72.

A standard explanation for women's position of disadvantage vis-à-vis men in agricultural production is their lack of formal training. It is an observed fact that women are discriminated against in the provision of agricultural training and that technological information is channeled almost exclusively to men. Research carried out in Kenya in 1975 documented the creation of agricultural productivity gaps between men and women through a policy of preferential provision of agricultural extension services (both technical information and training, and information about and granting of loans) to male farmers. Extension services were denied to women, particularly at the initial stages of the distributive process, thus creating a structural disadvantage which may prove difficult to overcome later. As pointed out by the researcher, "Denying access to capable groups because of norms which support male preferences represents an inefficient use of scarce resources." ^{30/}

Deprivation of information, however, is not the only or necessarily the most important factor disadvantaging to women. Frequently it is not the lack of knowledge that prevents women from increasing production but the fact that they are so restricted by their lack of access to land, labour and capital, and so burdened by their everyday workload, that they cannot indulge in the risk of experimenting with new technologies. Fulfilling their responsibilities of providing for their families' subsistence needs thus prevents women from increasing their productivity.^{31/} Women's reluctance to engage in innovative activities - usually explained by male planners as resistance to change anchored in traditional cultural patterns - can be seen to result from lack of time and resources.

^{30/} K. Staudt, "Agricultural productivity gaps: a case study of male preference in Government policy implementation", Development and Change, Vol. 9 (1978), pp. 439-457.

^{31/} J. Bukh, op.cit., p.96.

Policies designed to make full use of women's capabilities in order to increase national agricultural productivity should consider the importance of increasing the time available to women for engaging in production. Under a project in Kenya, tin roofs were built that allowed for the collection and storage of rain water, thus freeing women from the time-consuming (2 - 10 hours a day) chore of water collecting. It is reported that, with the time saved, and often with the money earned by selling part of the water, women were able to increase their production of vegetables and animals for sale.^{32/}

A national industrialization programme that strives to include women in the labour force could benefit from the widespread distribution of simple technologies and improvements designed to reduce the time women spend on domestic chores. As many of these technologies are available in developing countries, they should be shared within the framework of technical co-operation among developing countries.

Women's possibilities of appropriating the returns of their labour

The monetization of the economy and the change in production patterns from self-provisioning production to market production, has been seen to reduce women's possibilities of appropriating the returns of their labour.^{33/} Women's labour is increasingly required as unpaid family workers. As men control the proceeds from cash crop production, even when women perform a large proportion of the cultivation work, the women have no control over the use or investment of the money earned. Statistics show that, in countries

^{32/} "UNICEF/NGO Water Project", National Council of Women, Kenya, n.d., cited in I. Tinker, 1981, op.cit., p.65.

^{33/} Cf. I. Palmer, "The role of women in agrarian reform and rural development", Land Reform, Land Settlement and Co-operatives, 1979, No.1, (Rome, FAO, 1979), pp. 57-69; N. Nelson, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

with rapid commercialization of agriculture, the percentage of the female labour force working as unpaid family workers in the rural sector is increasing.^{34/}

At the same time, programmes for the intensification of agricultural production have the effect of reducing wage employment opportunities for landless women and those with insufficient land. The informal character of women's work in agriculture, even in industrialized forms of agriculture, renders this difficult to assess. Nevertheless, statistics on female wage employment in agriculture in countries promoting large-scale agricultural production are indicative of this trend. For example, in Ghana between 1965 and 1971, the percentage of women wage earners in agriculture decreased from 25 per cent of the sector to 11.5^{35/} percent; in Kenya between 1967 and 1971 the percentage decreased from 43.6 to 36.1;^{36/} in Sri Lanka between 1975 and 1978 the percentage decreased from 51.0 to 48.8;^{37/} and in Colombia between 1964 and 1973 the percentage of economically active women working in the primary sector decreased from 13.2 per cent to 4.0 per cent.^{38/}

It should be recognized that if agrarian development does not guarantee to women possibilities of appropriating at least a certain amount of the returns of their labour, it will be impossible to enlist their co-operation in attaining the goals of agricultural change, increased productivity and increased well-being of the population.^{39/}

^{34/} For example, in Sri Lanka between 1953 and 1971, the percentage increased by almost one-third, from 11.7 per cent to 15.6 per cent. S. Jayaweera, "Women in the economy", Status of Women (Colombo, 1979), p.463.

^{35/} O. Akerele, Women Workers in Ghana, Kenya, Zambia: a Comparative Analysis of Women's Employment in the Modern Wage Sector (ATRC/SOD/RES02/79), (UN Economic Commission for Africa, 1979), p.39.

^{36/} Ibid.

^{37/} Sri Lanka, Department of Labour, Annual Employment Surveys, 1975 and 1978.

^{38/} G. Rauch, Frauenarbeit in den Städten Kolumbiens (Münster, Verlag Frauenpolitik, 1978), p.20.

^{39/} M. El Belghiti, loc. cit., p.23.

The impact on women of changes brought about by agricultural development will be illustrated by reference to several examples taken from the rural, non-plantation sector of Sri Lanka and one example from China.

Sri Lanka was chosen because in the last three decades special attention was paid, by a succession of Governments, to the development of the domestic agricultural sector, and many programmes were undertaken, both with and without foreign assistance, for planned rural, non-plantation development. Some of these programmes were designed for nation-wide implementation, as for example multi-purpose co-operatives, while others were area-specific as, for example, the Gal Oya resettlement project started in 1949 and the Mahaweli River Diversion Scheme started in 1970 to irrigate and colonize the Dry Zone.

Agricultural development in Sri Lanka provides both examples of the ways in which processes of industrialization and modernization have deprived women of access to land and labour, and the control over the returns of their labour, and also evidence that the creation of institutions such as co-operatives, in which supra-family relations diminish the negative aspects of traditional control over the means of production by male heads of households, can greatly contribute to the achievement of more equitable social, economic and power relationships between men and women.

The impact of incorporation of small farms into larger national and international markets

The incorporation of small farms into larger national and international markets has worsened the position of women, especially in cases where no specific measures were taken to ensure that increased income is used for

the welfare of the local population rather than for individual profit.^{40/}

The process by which this integration into the national economy leads to the marginalization of rural women is illustrated by the example of rural development in the Wet Zone of Sri Lanka traditionally inhabited in small villages and cultivated in small plots.

In the 1960s Sri Lanka embarked upon an economic strategy of import substitution, in an effort to save foreign exchange and to reduce her external dependency.^{41/} The implementation of this strategy included encouraging farmers to grow vegetables for sale in order to increase national self-sufficiency in food production which led to the integration into the market economy of even remote villages that had previously relied on subsistence agriculture.

The immediate effects on one of the villages (Weerakongana) were described as a "bonanza". Mechanized large-scale transportation facilitated the sale of an ever-increasing agricultural output, putting capital into the hands of those who had paddy lands on which to grow vegetables.^{42/}

During this process of industrialization of agriculture, family production units relied heavily on women's unremunerated labour for subsistence, increasing their workload to as much as 16 hours per day

^{40/} Cf. I. Palmer, 1979 loc.cit.

^{41/} N.D. Karunaratne, "Export-oriented industrialization strategies", Intereconomics, (Sept./Oct. 1980) p. 218.
G. Myrdal, Asiatisches Drama, (Germ. Frankfurt/Main 1980) pp. 126-127.
G. Gunatilleke, "Participatory development and dependence - the case of Sri Lanka", Marga Quarterly Journal, vol. 5, No.3, (Colombo, 1978).
G. Gunatilleke, "A pluralistic strategy of development", Marga Quarterly Journal, vol. 6, No.1 (Colombo 1980), pp.43-66.

^{42/} B. de Mel and M.W. Fernando, "Tradition, modernity and value movement; a study of dietary changes in a Sri Lanka village", Marga Quarterly Journal, vol. 6, No.1 (Colombo 1980), p.25.

during peak seasons, to enable male labour to be devoted entirely to cash crop production. In addition to the increased burden of work involved in the production for daily consumption, women also had to perform approximately 50 per cent of the work for cash crop production as unpaid family workers and only the male head of the household was compensated for the work of the whole family. This meant that women's economic position deteriorated in relation to that of men.

The increased cash income was often spent on acquisitions such as motor-scooters and transistor radios, bought by men, while the nutritional levels of the population declined ^{43/} and other negative changes for women were brought about. The male farmers' desire for more land to grow cash-crops in an area where the pressure on land, caused predominantly through appropriation by the plantation sector, had placed an increased burden on the village household ^{44/} resulted in the annexation of the chena land (slash and burn land) - women's land for growing minor cash crops for barter or sale. Where women kept their chena land, they were deprived of men's labour for clearing and ploughing, which decreased their output. This in turn led to reduced quantity and to a limited variety of food being produced locally, thus increasing the village's dependence on the national and international market. The dependence on imported inputs had other serious consequences; the rapidly rising fuel and fertilizer prices in the early 1970s cut short the period of increased prosperity.

In 1973, the Government initiated an import-substitution drive to encourage the domestic production of sugar. This incentive, which gave the villagers the opportunity of earning cash by growing sugar cane -

^{43/} Ibid.

^{44/} B.M. Morrison, "Rural household livelihood strategy in a Sri Lankan village", The Journal of Development Studies (1980), p.459.

which was then processed by the growing local food-processing industry - met with enthusiastic response. Farmers cleared all available land (except rice paddy land), including chena land, pasture land, wind and soil erosion belts, and the smallest home garden plots, in order to plant sugar cane.

This was the process by which women were ultimately deprived of their land resources, the chena and the home gardens, and reduced to working exclusively as unpaid family labourers or as occasional daily wage labourers, earning only two-thirds of the male wage.

The sugar boom was also short-lived. In 1977 the newly elected Government reduced the price of imported sugar. This led to a drastic deterioration of the economic situation of the poorer villagers owing to the imbalance between the sudden drop in producer prices for sugar cane and the high prices of food and other consumer commodities.

Thus the ultimate effects of the process of industrialization and the incorporation of small farms into the market economy, combined with drastic changes in Government policies, were that - while large-scale growers were able to fall back on their other investments - the poorer farmers were left without jobs, without tenancy rights which they had given up in order to work as wage labourers in the sugar cane fields and, in many cases, without any land at all. The final result was the elimination of smaller farms and increasing landlessness, indebtedness and absolute poverty.^{45/}

Similar effects were reported in many developing countries, for example Senegal, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Mexico.^{46/} The transformation of

^{45/} B. de Mel and M.W. Fernando, loc.cit., p.25.
Cf. B.M. Morrison, loc.cit., pp.456-461.

^{46/} P.M. D'Onofrio, 'The implications of UNCSTD's 'Ascending Process' for the exploitation of women and other marginalized social groups', loc.cit., p.8.

small farms into production units for the market usually leads to a deterioration in the position of women, and to their further economic dependence. While under the traditional patterns of production approximately half of what was produced was under the women's control, this proportion decreased substantially under the present conditions of production for and dependence on the market.

The impact of the establishment of irrigation and settlement schemes

Studies conducted in different parts of the world have shown that, irrespective of cultural differences, differing agricultural production patterns and traditional systems of land use allocation, irrigation and settlement schemes tend to have a particularly detrimental effect on women.^{47/} Titles to new land are usually given to men, new technologies and machinery are made available almost exclusively to men, income from cash crops is almost always in the hands of men, and women normally receive no wages for the work they perform on the land of their husbands or relatives. Activities considered to be men's work, like clearing and ploughing are mechanized, whereas the women's work, planting, transplanting, weeding and harvesting, is not mechanized. These main points should be examined more closely.

An important factor that is often neglected is the time of arrival at the new settlement site. Where the men arrive before the women to take possession of the land, they gain an advantage which the women are never able to make up. Land ownership and inheritance are important determinants

^{47/} I. Tinker, 1981, loc.cit., p.62; M.L. Dulansey, "Women in development: a training module", (Washington, D.C., Consultants in Development, 1977) mimeo, p.5; I. Palmer, "Rural women and the basic needs approach", International Labour Review, vol. 115, No.1 (January-February 1977): I. Palmer, 1979, loc.cit.

in women's economic and social positions. Resettlement and irrigation schemes tend to be of disadvantage to women because they do not grant them any legal rights to the family land they work on. In general, the establishment of new settlements neglects the allocation of adequate land for subsistence food crop cultivation, as well as the provision of water, inputs and implements for food production for local consumption. As has been shown above, the effects of restructuring agricultural production on a division of labour by sex have led to decreasing possibilities for women to control the returns of their labour.

One effect of irrigation and resettlement projects directed towards increasing production for the market, is the encouragement of the profit motive and the accumulation of private wealth. Planners might regard this as a success because of the possibility that re-investment of profits could lead to higher productivity. However, the resettlement in new areas and the commercialization of production often leads to the elimination of such practices as the exchange of gifts and kinship support which have traditionally protected women in particular and provided them with a form of social security. This loss of kinship support and protection can only be compensated by new laws that provide institutionalized forms of support for women.

The fact that these phenomena are not merely theoretical but result in the further marginalization of the "invisible" rural woman, is demonstrated by reference to the implementation of an irrigation project in Sri Lanka.

The Mahaweli River Development Project aims to irrigate 360,000 hectares (900,000 acres) in the north central parts of Sri Lanka's Dry Zone, and to improve the irrigation of a further 90,000 hectares. Approximately 500,000

people are to be resettled in 25,000 new villages. It is also planned to build a hydro-electric plant that will supply a large part of the country's electricity needs.

A research project designed to study the effects of planned change on women was carried out in 1978 in one of the new villages in the Galnewa region of the "H" area of the Mahaweli Project.^{48/} The majority of the settlers were taken from an old colonization scheme in the North Central Region, and were second generation landless farmers. It was noteworthy that, at the time of the study, two years after the project had begun, 30 per cent of the families to whom land had been allocated had either not settled there, or had already abandoned their land. This study further confirmed the results of earlier studies in respect of the negative effects of planned change on the status of women:

(a) Loss of access to land. In 96 of the 112 cases, the land was given to male farmers, their wives did not share ownership, thus increasing their dependence on their husbands and placing them in a vulnerable position in cases of marital disputes, separation or divorce. As the land in the resettlement schemes may not be divided, it is usually inherited by one son, and a woman's chances of inheriting are minimal. Provisions are made for the allocation of new land to grown sons of settlers but not to daughters. ^{49/}

(b) Loss of access to income. The position of women deteriorates with the transition from a subsistence to a market economy, a process that is already taking place in traditionally Dry Zone areas but which is consolidated in the Mahaweli Project. As the goal of the resettlement scheme is to increase the production of rice for sale, and since the rice production is the domain of men, women have no say about the income thus earned. The unpaid labour of women is presently necessary in rice cultivation because the farmers suffer from lack of

^{48/} C. Risseeuw, *et al.*, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-118.

^{49/} "Sri Lankan settlers find homes in Mahaweli Ganga Scheme", *News and Views from the World Bank*, September-October 1980, p.2.

capital, labour, buffaloes and machinery, as well as a shortage of water outside the rainy season. These facts reduce the yields they can achieve, and they have therefore no income for investment. However, no provisions have been made to provide gainful employment for women, either now or in the future. Other cash crops, such as chillies, tobacco and soya beans - which have replaced the crops traditionally grown by women - are produced, utilizing women's labour. Their sale and the resultant income is controlled by men, thus worsening women's position relative to men's. Some fields are designed for growing nutritionally necessary vegetables which could provide women with both non-monetary and monetary income. However, they are not only too small but are also located too far away from the village for the women to tend them. This, coupled with the lack of transport facilities, makes it impossible to produce and market the necessary minor food crops. 50/

(c) Lack of access to information and technology. Although agricultural extension officers provide instruction to male farmers on paddy cultivation, no instructions are provided to women on home gardening and agricultural techniques. In the research area one instructor was assigned for women to cover the entire 'H' area in one day per week.

(d) Lack of infrastructure. The lack of infrastructure weighs most heavily on women. In the village under study, there was no school, no dispensary, no village well to provide pure drinking water, no road leading to the village and, in a few years, there will be no firewood in the whole project area. 51/

It was reported that both men and women in the village studied agreed that women suffered most from the general hardships of life in the new settlement. They are the ones who are responsible for seeing that the family's primary needs are met, that they are fed despite the poverty and lack of basic necessities, and for nursing members of the family who fall ill. 52/ While the burden of women's work is increasing, the benefits accruing to them in the form of independent income, status and influence are reduced. Further, they suffer from loneliness due to physical and social isolation in the new village. 53/

50/ Cf. G. Iriyagolla, The Truth About the Mahaweli (Colombo, 1978); G.W. Ström, Rural Development Strategy in Sri Lanka (SIDA, 1980), pp. 73-74; V. Jayasinghe, Women's Community Development in the Mahaweli Settlement Scheme: A Draft Project Proposal (Colombo, 1979); C. Risseuw, et al., op. cit., pp. 112-113.

51/ Ibid., pp. 115.

52/ Ibid., pp. 113-117.

53/ Ibid., p. 114.

It appears paradoxical that the serious deterioration of women's economic and social position and the worsening of the conditions under which they live and work in the development schemes are the outcome of years of careful socio-economic planning by national and international bodies. In Sri Lanka, the process of transition from a rural subsistence economy to a cash economy with emphasis on the introduction of large-scale agriculture, modern technology and resettlement schemes has had serious consequences on the supply of food for domestic consumption. Even if the deteriorating situation of women in the rural sector is not taken into consideration, the importance of the declining nutritional status of the country's population in all areas, urban as well as rural and plantation, cannot be ignored.

A researcher on women in Sri Lanka pointed out the following:

"The little subsistence farming remaining is mainly carried out by women still in possession of some land and time, with hardly any support from governmental services. This relative neglect of subsistence food production (in contrast to rice and other crops) has a noticeable effect on the family's diet, the nutritional value of which has decreased over the years. Moreover, in times of drought and scarcity, the villagers can no longer rely on their own varied food production. They have become more dependent on the market and more vulnerable to outside economic influences". ^{54/}

^{54/} C. Risseuw, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p.12. The following table shows the decrease in consumption of calories as well as protein for all income groups between 1950 and 1973.

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION PER INCOME GROUP, SRI LANKA 1950 - 1973

Year	Upper inc. group		Middle inc. group		Lower inc. group	
	Calories	Protein (gms)	Calories	Protein (gms)	Calories	Protein (gms)
1950	3055	93	2593	47	2067	50
1955	3271	84	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1969/70	2641	65	2437	58	2064	47
1973	2800	58	2400	43	1900	37

Source: *Statistical Profile of Children*, 1977, p. 46, cited in C. Risseuw, *et al. op. cit.*, p. 13.

Impact of the establishment of agricultural co-operatives

Rural development changes the structure of agricultural production and labour patterns. It has been shown in the foregoing examples that if special attention is not paid to the role played by women in the rural economy agricultural development will affect them adversely.

The recognition that disregarding women's contribution has had a detrimental impact on the total agricultural situation of developing countries has recently led to the inclusion of institutions such as co-operatives in plans for rural development. The establishment of supra-family relations within the framework of collective organizations, which may assume different forms under different societal conditions, may be able to change such factors as gender-typing of work; overcome the absolute control by male heads of households over land, labour and returns of labour; and break the pattern of privatization of women's work, thus raising their economic and social status.^{55/}

It must be noted, however, that even in co-operatives, whenever leadership was invested entirely in men, or when men were given the advantage of a head start in the organization of the co-operative, women were unable to compensate for their initial disadvantage, as was seen in the co-operatives organized in the Mwea scheme in Kenya.^{56/}

The potential represented by co-operatives for forming viable production structures, in which all women participate on equal terms with men, was demonstrated by the findings of a series of interviews with women conducted throughout Sri Lanka in 1977. The only women among those interviewed who expressed satisfaction with their work and their economic situation, as well

^{55/} Cf. A/35/82, op.cit., para. 7.

^{56/} J. Hanger and J. Morris, "Women and the household economy". R. Chambers and J. Morris, eds., Mwea: An Irrigated Rice Settlement in Kenya (Munich, Weltforum Verlag, 1973), pp. 209-244

as hope for themselves and their children, were members of co-operatives, both all-female and mixed ones.^{57/} The importance of these statements should not be underestimated, as they contribute to the evaluation of these projects an insight into the reactions of the people involved - an aspect that is all too often missing from reports. The following is an examination of the process of organizing a co-operative in which women and men can participate on equal terms, using a Chinese co-operative as an example.^{58/} In the planning and implementation of this project, special measures were taken to overcome the imbalances that affect women and which arise in the development of capital-intensive, mechanized agricultural production. The following elements were emphasized:

- (a) The use of existing groups of women to create the pre-conditions for an effective mobilization of women in agriculture, i.e. by collectively building up women's willingness (new value system) and ability (vocational training) to perform work in the fields.
- (b) The establishment of separate female production units, assigned special innovative projects, to create incentive, to make possible an assessment of their productivity and to overcome cultural barriers to their working (men's contempt for their work).
- (c) The provision of advanced training in production and administration, the appointment of women to administrative posts, and the utilization of innovations developed by women.
- (d) The guarantee of equal returns of labour and direct payment to each individual.
- (e) The provision of time for productive, remunerated work through the establishment of communal services and the spread of improved technologies to reduce the time spent on household chores.
- (f) The establishment of adequate health care facilities, both for curative and preventive treatment.

^{57/} P. Huston, Third World Women Speak Out: Interviews in Six Countries on Change, Development and Basic Needs, Overseas Development Council (New York, Praeger, 1979), pp. 24ff.

^{58/} E. Croll, op. cit., pp. 8-23.

(g) The creation of new employment opportunities for men, leaving agricultural production to women, thus combating underemployment and increasing national productivity.

(n) The inclusion of women in a system of appropriate life-long education and training, thus raising their social and economic status in the community. 59/

A comparison of the experiences in agriculture in Africa and Asia presented here, shows that the negative impact on women of common patterns of agricultural development that are capital-intensive, mechanize and promote production for market rather than for domestic use could perhaps be alleviated by the introduction of agrarian institutions which would assure to women a role in production planning, access to information and to the vital resources of agricultural production, and control over the returns of their labour. This development would have to take place within a framework of restructuring national and international priorities.

59/ Ibid.

II. WOMEN WORKING IN THE SECONDARY SECTOR: MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

The relatively low participation of women in the secondary sector and the declining number of women employed in industries that produce goods traditionally processed or manufactured by women, has often been noted. Statements by national and international bodies recognize women's potential for full participation in socio-economic development and industrial production and deplore the limited use that is made of this human resource.

As has been pointed out by a noted woman social scientist, "There has been no independent drive in any society to place technology 'in the hands of the poor' or 'in the hands of women' ^{60/} which explains why women lag behind in industrial productivity.

The negative effects of industrialization on women are not limited to those caused by the establishment of large-scale, capital-intensive industrial complexes, even small-scale, so-called appropriate technology can work to women's disadvantage. If women in developing countries are supplied with packaged "appropriate technology" from industrialized countries, their poverty and dependency can only be increased further.

The forms of industrial development from which women are most likely to benefit in terms of improved total socio-economic status are those that are based on the fulfilment of local needs, utilizing resources that are locally available as raw materials, and traditional techniques of processing and manufacturing. Improved technologies, which may be

^{60/} E. Boulding, "Integration into what ? Reflections on development planning for women" R. Dauber and M.L. Cain, eds., op.cit., p.17.

mutually exchanged through a programme of technical co-operation among developing countries, will be shown to enable groups of women engaged in co-operative manufacturing projects to produce goods that can compete successfully, both in terms of price and quality, with products manufactured by large-scale national and international companies.

Constraints on the employment of women in the secondary sector

The assertion that women's participation in industrialization is "still minimal" ^{61/} is misleading as women are, in fact, being progressively excluded from their traditional activities in the secondary sector of the economy by the processes of industrialization and integration into the present world economic system.

Women have traditionally played a vital economic role in manufacturing - processing food and other primary commodities, producing textiles, soap and other items for daily use - which would appear to predestine them for employment in industrial branches producing similar commodities. The constraints on women's participation in industrial manufacturing have been dealt with at length in studies specifically devoted to this problem. The most important of these appear to be the following:

- (a) High levels of general unemployment; ^{62/}
- (b) Introduction and intensification of large-scale capital-intensive technology;

61/ UNIDO, Women and Industrialization in Developing Countries (ID/251), 1980, p.5.

62/ For a discussion of factors leading to unemployment in developing countries see: P. Singer, "Beschäftigung, Produktion and Reproduktion der Arbeitskraft", V. Bennholdt-Thomsen, et.al., eds., Lateinamerika: Analysen und Berichte I (Berlin, Olle und Wolter, 1980), pp. 53-69; and for a discussion of these in Colombia, see: M. Jahrmann, "Kolumbien", Ibid., pp. 240-244.

- (c) Increasing size of enterprises;
- (d) Women's reproductive functions and domestic responsibilities including the care of the dependent population;
- (e) Lack of time to engage in remunerated employment caused by lack of social services (child care, health care) and lack of labour-saving techniques to relieve the burden of household work;
- (f) Lack of formal qualifications;
- (g) Attitudinal barriers and societal prejudices.

The constraints listed above appear to be intensified by several preconceptions and misconceptions about women. In addition to the biases against women detailed in the chapter on agriculture, the following elements relating to women and work appear to be worthy of reconsideration. One of these is the arbitrary assumption that women's productivity is lower than men's. Another factor with serious consequences is the failure or refusal to recognize women's informally acquired capabilities as skills, which results in women being categorized as unskilled workers.

As women's manual dexterity and endurance are the prerequisites that lead to women being hired in the redeployment industries today, ^{63/} there is no justification for not remunerating these qualities that cause female workers to be preferred over males.

The employment of women in the textile industry in Colombia

The following example, taken from Colombia, concentrates on women's participation in the formal sector of the economy, in large-scale industry. The textile industry ranks first within Colombia's manufacturing sector in terms of employment, with some 76,000 employees, one-sixth of the total labour force, and second - after the food and beverage industry (coffee) - in gross value of production (12.6 per cent of the sector). The Colombian textile industry

^{63/} L.Y.C. Lim, "Women's Work in Multinational Electronics Factories", R. Daub and M.L. Cain, eds., *op.cit.*, pp. 181-191; F. Fröbel et al., Die neue internationale Arbeitsteilung (Hamburg, 1977, Rowohlt Verlag), pp. 483-594.

has the highest productivity rates in Latin America, both in cotton and woollen yarns, and in wovens. Textiles and apparel are the largest category of Colombia's manufactured exports, and accounted for foreign exchange earnings of over \$150 million in 1978.^{64/}

Changes in the female labour force participation by sector

The changes in women's participation in the sectors of the economy shown in the table below demonstrate the trend, detrimental to women, towards excluding them from participation in the primary and secondary sectors, and relegating them either to working in the informal sector or being unemployed, thus increasing the privatized nature of their work, which is known to be a major determinant of their low social, economic and political status.

Table 1. Economically active women in Colombia by sectors of the economy in per cent

Sectors	1938	1951	1964	1973
Primary	33.4	15.5	13.2	4.0
Secondary	36.4	22.7	17.1	12.5
Tertiary	29.0	59.1	65.2	44.8
Others *	1.2	2.7	3.3	23.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* 'Others' includes those not included in any of the three sectors because they are seeking work for the first time. In the 1973 data, this category comprises mainly unemployed women.

Source: G. Rauch, Frauenarbeit in den Städten Kolumbiens, op. cit., p.20.

^{64/} "Colombia Today", Vol.14, No.6 (1979) (New York, Colombia Information Service, Colombia Centre), pp.1, 6.

The decrease in the percentage of women employed in the secondary sector shown in Table 1 was the continuation of a process that had begun earlier in the century. In 1918, when the secondary sector accounted for 25.7 per cent of the economically active population, the highest percentage in this century, women comprised 71 per cent of the sector, or 18.5 per cent of the economically active population. As these statistics are not broken down into the traditional and the modern sectors of the economy, the figures include all handicraft production as well as factory production. In 1938, although women in the secondary sector still predominated, they comprised only 8.4 per cent of the economically active population. ^{65/}

This decline in female employment has been attributed by researchers to several factors including the decline in small-scale manufacturing as a percentage of the sector, the high level of general unemployment and the decreased wage level, which propelled men into areas of activity previously considered to be women's work and protective legislation for women, which made them more expensive to hire ^{66/} (though not more expensive than male workers). By 1976 the proportion of women and men in the secondary sector was exactly reversed: 71 per cent of the sector were men and 29 per cent were women. ^{67/}

The impact of industrialization on women's employment in textile manufacturing

The changes in the secondary sector as a whole correspond to the

^{65/} R. Parra Sandoval, La desnacionalización de la industria y los cambios en la estructura ocupacional colombiana 1920-1970 (Bogotá, CEDE, 1975), p.70.

^{66/} G. Rauch, op.cit., p.17

^{67/} DANE, Boletín mensual de estadística (Bogotá), No.301 (Agosto 1976), "Empleo en la industria manufacturera 1975-1976 según estadísticas del ICSS", p. 174, cited in G. Rauch, op.cit., p.18.

changes in the proportion of women employed in the textile industry. This is illustrated in the following table.

Table 2. Workers in the Colombian textile industry by sex in per cent

<u>Year</u>	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
1938	6,209	26	17,916	74
1945	12,896	49	13,331	51
1966	30,675	66	15,905	34
1969	23,703	78	6,795	22

Source: D. Keremitisis, "Women textile workers - a comparative study in Mexico and Colombia", Actas des XLI congreso internacional de Americanistas, Mexico, 2 al 7 Septiembre 1974, Vol. II, (Mexico, 1976), p. 640.

The reduction in the number of women employed in the textile industry, originally an industrial branch employing primarily women, appears to be the result of the factors outlined previously, i.e. the growing size of enterprises, the increasing complexity of technology used and increasing capital investment.

The process of reduction in the number of women employed in textile manufacturing can be seen as follows. In Colombia the process of industrialization with national capital began to be successful before World War I, when the Government erected a protective barrier of import tariffs that made this possible. This period of industrial production was characterized by a low level of technology and a labour-intensive mode of production in relatively small production units.

The industrial branches that developed initially were textiles,

tobacco and food processing, areas in which women had traditionally carried out home production. Women were consequently employed to a large extent, as they had informally acquired the necessary skills and experience in domestic production. These industries made use of women's capabilities developed in female household tasks and socialization, i.e. manual dexterity and endurance.

The two textile firms, COLTEJER and FABRICATO, located in the city of Medellin (Colombia's second largest city) today employ together approximately 50 per cent of those working in the textile industries. COLTEJER began with twelve female workers in 1907, and continued to employ predominately women as it grew in size. FABRICATO, founded in 1923, started out with eight female workers. During the 1920s, female workers predominated in both factories.

With increasing capital investment, the proportion of women employed in the textile industries declined. Although in 1945 approximately 50 per cent of those employed in textile manufacturing in all Colombia were still women, the factories at Medellin, using more capital-intensive methods of production, already employed more men than women. In the same year, the firms at Cali and Bogotá, which still used more labour-intensive production methods, employed twice as many women as men. ^{68/} This trend continues until today, as shown in Table 2, reinforced by the tendency to employ only men as skilled labour and women as unskilled, so that in 1967 only 15 per cent of those employed in weaving and spinning mills were women.

It is worth noting that the characteristics of the labour force

^{68/} D. Keremitisis, op.cit., p.639.

employed in Colombia in the early years of industrialization, are similar to those of workers employed by redeployment industries today. Then, as now, one of the advantages of the female labour force is the fact that women could be hired at lower cost than male workers.

A survey of the female textile workers at Medellin in 1915 showed that of the 380 women, 372 were single, 351 were under 24 years of age, and 340 were illiterate. Forty per cent were migrants from the surrounding rural areas.^{69/}

While poor women in developing countries are often forced by the responsibilities of fulfilling their families' essential needs to seek paid employment, their family obligations limit their mobility and flexibility in choosing employment. Their range of choices in terms of hours, place and type of work, are far more restricted than those of men. In addition, the urgency of their need to add to the family income, which increases with the number of their children,^{70/} further restricts their ability to seek more favourable conditions of work.

An economic sector that employs predominantly young, single women at low wages, and without job security, does not appear to offer the majority of women an opportunity for equal participation in development. The example of women's limited participation in the production of textiles raises the question as to alternative courses of development more favourable to women.

^{69/} G. Rauch, op.cit., p.16.

^{70/} N. Banerjee, "Indian women and the labour market", Labour Capital and Society No.1 (Montreal, 1977), pp. 133, 140;
W. Pecht, "Participation of married women in the urban labour market in selected Latin American countries; Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador and Venezuela", Labour Force Participation in Low-Income Countries (Geneva, 1978, ILO), pp. 32-35.

Impact of new technologies in textile production on women:

handloom weaving

Similar phenomena have been observed in connexion with another example of the impact of new technologies in the manufacture of textiles, the Integrated Development Project for the woollen handloom weaving industry in Jammu and Kashmir sponsored by the Government of India with assistance from UNDP. This project, which aims at modernizing the traditional handloom weaving industry that produces woollen goods for local use in the Kashmir valley by installing new high-production looms to replace existing, relatively low-production looms, and thus increasing the productivity of existing weavers, threatens to cause large-scale displacements of women workers. This was determined by a case study ^{71/} carried out in 1977-1978 by the Institute of Social Studies (ISS), New Delhi, which found that thousands of women engaged in hand-spinning would be displaced because the new looms were using only mill-made yarn, and that family labour, traditionally engaged in the preparation of warp and weft for the weavers (who are men) would be displaced because ready-made warp and weft was being provided to weavers from a central facility.

The Institute found further that increased production of the new looms would not only disrupt the existing product pattern geared to local demands but might well have a negative total effect on the employment of weavers if the product failed to find a market for new products geared to export demand, a factor that had not been studied in detail before the Project was launched. This finding was subsequently borne out by the accumulation of unsold stocks of the new products.

71/ "A Case Study on the Modernization of the Traditional Handloom Weaving Industry in the Kashmir Valley: The Integrated Development Project for the Woollen Handloom Weaving Industry in Jammu and Kashmir", prepared by the Institute of Social Studies, New Delhi, 1979 (Bangkok, Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development, May, 1980).

An independent team of experts appointed by the Indian Government to examine the possible threat to women's employment substantiated the findings of the ISS case study, and this resulted in a Government policy decision recognizing the vital need of protecting the traditional employment of women spinners of woollen yarn in the project area and elsewhere in India. This has led to Government-sponsored research to improve the traditional hand spinning wheel, a development effort which had not been part of the original Integrated Development Project. The ISS emphasized in its 1979 report that the total investment on the R + D to improve the productivity of the traditional spinning wheel, and the likely cost of extending the improved spinning wheel technology are not expected to be more than a fraction of the tremendous expense of the handloom modernization project. As pointed out by the ISS:

The success of the above R + D efforts will have profound implications not only for the 200,000 women hand-spinners of woollen yarn in India but also on the approach which development agencies (such as UNDP etc.) need to follow in developing countries where it is essential to first study the existing pattern of employment, tools and techniques in traditional industries before launching "modernisation" programmes. ^{2/}

Impact of new technologies in food processing on women: rice husking

In several Asian countries where locally-grown rice forms part of the diet and requires processing, discussions are presently under way on the comparative advantages of different technologies for rice-husking, a traditional income-generating activity of women. ^{73/} The trend of

^{72/} Ibid., p. 222

^{73/} M.L. Cain, "Java, Indonesia: the introduction of rice processing technology", R. Dauber and M.L. Cain, eds., op.cit., pp. 127-137; I. Tinker, "New technologies for food-related activities: an equity strategy", loc.cit., pp. 71-74; M. Ahmad and A. Jenkins, "Traditional paddy husking - an appropriate technology under pressure", Appropriate Technology (London), Vol.7, No.2 (Sept.1980), pp. 28-30.

these discussions reveals a bias on the part of Western and Western-trained technicians that tend to favour capital-intensive over labour-intensive technology. The mechanized technology, which is profitable mainly because it is labour-displacing and takes advantage of a source of energy provided by subsidized rural electrification schemes, ^{74/} threatens to destroy what is described as a "low-cost, labour-intensive, dispersed industry"^{75/} in Bangladesh, for example.

It is estimated that, in Indonesia alone, as many as 7.7 million women were deprived of income-generating work as the result of the introduction of this new technology.^{76/} The only other options available to women are begging, unemployment or general domestic employment at half the wage previously earned.^{77/}

Two more factors, which tend to be overlooked in the cost-benefit analysis of rice processing technologies, are the nutritional dimensions - rice processed with the use of traditional technology, because of incomplete milling, provides the population with much needed vitamin B; and the value of 'waste' produced by the traditional technology - rice husks are used as animal fodder, thus contributing a vital source of protein to the local diet, and also used as a construction material (a substitute for cement).^{78/}

^{74/} Ibid., p.29.

^{75/} Ibid., p.28.

^{76/} M.L. Cain, loc.cit., p. 134.

^{77/} M. Ahmad and A, Jenkins, loc.cit., p.29.

^{78/} D.J. Cook, "Using rice husk for making cement-like materials", Appropriate Technology (London), Vol.6, No.4 (1980), pp. 9-11.

Under existing conditions of poverty and lack of infrastructure in the countries affected, the removal of these by-products of traditional technology from the rural household will have serious adverse consequences for the local population.

A Government strategy that encourages the import of the above-described technology through cheap credit, subsidies or direct investment could eliminate millions of jobs very rapidly. On the other hand, a strategy that combines an adequate supply of raw materials, credit and training in the traditional sector could encourage a more effective utilization of under-used existing capital and labour. A proposed means of implementing the latter strategy includes building and maintaining effective co-operative institutions at the local level and an employment-oriented set of policies at national level.^{19/}

A communal effort utilizing small-scale technology to increase productivity, :
Soap-making in Mali

The criteria that should be met by a technology to be considered appropriate are the following:

- (a) Better use of local human and physical resources;
- (b) A simplicity which permits lower costs, local repair and maintenance and easy duplication in small communities;
- (c) Promotion of local control, greater self-sufficiency and reduced reliance on imported resources.

^{19/} M. Ahmad and A. Jenkins, loc. cit. p. 30.

The case study of a women's co-operative in Mali that produces soap exemplifies a project that meets these criteria and also represents a model for promoting the use of appropriate technology by means of technical co-operation among developing countries. Further, it is an example of the beneficial effects of a movement that starts at the grass roots level rather than being imposed from above and which promotes increased productivity, improved socio-economic status and contains elements leading to self-perpetuating growth and development.^{80/}

Soap-making has been a traditional source of income for women in West Africa that makes use of locally available raw materials. The introduction of imported factory-produced soap displaced the local product. In Ghana, shortages of soap and soap powder, reportedly created by an international company's refusal in 1974 to continue to produce soap in its factory in Ghana without higher subsidies from the Ghanaian Government, led women to rediscover traditional soap-making skills. Their efforts met with such success that the products of the international company were no longer able to compete with the local product.^{81/}

The following description of a co-operative soap-making project in Mali demonstrates clearly the steps that were followed and can serve as a model for successful participation by women in development.^{82/}

^{80/} M. Mas, "Le Pouvoir des femmes: Afrique: la fin du pilon?" Actuel développement, No. 43 (1981), pp. 45-50.

^{81/} R. Howard, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana, (New York, Holmes and Meier, 1978), p. 225.

^{82/} Susan Caughman and Mariam N'diaye Thiam, "Soap-making - the experiences of a woman's co-operative in Mali", Appropriate Technology (London), Vol. 7, No. 3 (December 1980), pp. 4-6.

The pressing need of women in Markala, Mali to contribute to the household income in order to survive had led them to form a co-operative that engaged in a range of typically female handicraft activities. Already at this stage the women's group contacted outside experts for advice and training in cloth-dyeing and soap-making.

The next step was motivated by a shortage of locally-produced soap and the prohibitively high price of imported products. The existing women's production unit attempted to engage seriously in soap-making, experimenting with different methods and inputs. In order to learn how to improve the quality of their product and increase their productivity, the women's group requested the services of a technical adviser in soap-making, an expert from the Technology Consultancy Centre, University of Science and Technology at Kumasi, Ghana. The co-operative was so successful in implementing the techniques based on the Ghanaian experience that the final product was described as "a laundry soap which compares extremely favourably in quality and appearance with any industrially-produced soap sold in Mali. The Markala co-operative product is a soap of which the members are justifiably proud".^{83/}

The growing number of members in the co-operative and the use of improved techniques allowed the co-operative to expand its production, employing more women who are paid for their labour and increasing the profitability of the operation. Presently the co-operative is making efforts to reduce production costs by bulk purchase of raw materials and to extend the area it serves by selling through retail agents. It has begun to act as a centre for diffusion of soap-making technologies to other women in Mali

^{83/} Ibid., p. 6.

by training representatives of other women's groups, thus serving as a development pole leading to growth by spreading appropriate technology throughout the country.^{84/}

A comparison of the four examples presented here shows that trends in industrialization of the manufacturing sector have mixed implications for women's employment, productivity and status. As has been concluded in a United Nations report, "In circumstances of locally self-reliant diversification and expansion of manufacturing and service provision, numerous opportunities will occur for women to enter more remunerative work and to combine part-time work with household and family responsibilities."^{85/}

^{84/} Ibid.

^{85/} A/35/82, op. cit., para. 24.

III. WOMEN WORKING IN THE TERTIARY SECTOR: MARKETING AND TRADING

The adoption of appropriate development strategies to "improve the well-being of the entire population" and ensure a "fair distribution of the benefits" of development, - goals set out in the International Development Strategy of the Third United Nations Development Decade ^{86/} - should include the establishment of an adequate infrastructure for the distribution of commodities for domestic consumption, which is essential for the development of local, subregional and regional self-sufficiency. It has been recognized that "special attention should be given to overcoming the bottlenecks and constraints of transport and communication facing the developing countries, particularly with a view to strengthening intraregional and interregional links."^{87/}

In order to illustrate the impact of development on women's traditional work in a field of the tertiary sector West Africa was chosen. In most West African countries, women traders have traditionally linked producer and consumer as both retail and wholesale traders, performing the vital function of satisfying local needs on a scale appropriate to the requirements and resources of local consumers, selling products in quantities that individual consumers could afford, and serving the entire region with an effective decentralized system of distribution.^{88/}

^{86/} A/35/464, Annex, op.cit., para.8.

^{87/} Ibid., para. 30

^{88/} M. Kisekka, "The role of women in socio-economic development: indicators as instruments of social analysis: the case of Nigeria and Uganda", Women and Development: Indicators of their Changing Role, Socio-economic studies (Paris, UNESCO, 1981), pp.33-47. She states: "The role of market women in the distributive sector in the urban and regional economy cannot be over-emphasized", (p. 34).

The dominant position of female traders in the West African economy has been well documented.^{89/} In 1978, during a seminar held at Accra, sponsored jointly by the FAO and the Ghanaian National Council on Women and Development, on the topic "The Role of Women in Marketing of Agriculture and Marine Produce", it was concluded that women traders are the primary link between food producers and consumers in West Africa.^{90/} The proportion of women in trading is highest in Ghana, 84 per cent according to the 1970 Ghana Census.^{91/} In 1976 at Makola Market No.1, the largest market in Accra, the capital of Ghana, there were 12,000 women traders and only 8 men.^{92/}

^{89/} "The Role of Women in African Development" in Economic Bulletin for Africa, Vol. XI, No.1, (ECA, UN, New York, 1975), pp. 59-61; A.C. Smock, "Ghana: from autonomy to subordination", J.C. Giele and A.C. Smock, eds., Women's Roles and Status in Eight Countries (New York, Wiley-Interscience, 1977), p. 201.

^{90/} This is cited by E. Ocloo in "The role of women in industrialization: country paper on Ghana" (ID/WG.283/13) (Preparatory Meeting on the Role of Women in Industrialization in Developing Countries, Vienna, Austria, 6-10 November 1978), p.2.

^{91/} Ghana, 1970 Census (Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra). A sectoral distribution of women's employment is shown in the table:

Economically active women in Ghana by occupation

Occupation	As percentage of total sector	As percentage of economically active females
	%	%
Professional, technical and related	23.47	1.98
Administrative and managerial	5.17	0.04
Clerical	15.46	0.94
Sales (including petty trading)	87.81	25.66
Service (including domestic workers)	23.26	1.48
Agriculture, fishing, and related	42.91	64.53
Production and related	35.39	15.35

Source: Calculations based on provisional census figures supplied by Division of Demographic and Social Statistics, Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra, table in A.C. Smock, 1977, op.cit., p. 201.

^{92/} These figures were reported in African Woman, No.5, 1976.

The major reason for the great increase in numbers of Ghanaian women engaged in marketing and trading was the imposition on the country of a colonial export economy directed towards the production of primary commodities. The emphasis on the cultivation of cash crops (in Ghana, primarily cocoa) led to a destruction of the previously balanced agricultural production patterns oriented to local consumption. While under the earlier production patterns women had shared access to land and other economic resources, male predominance in cash crop cultivation, the restriction of women to subsistence agriculture, and the decline of household industries that had previously provided a major source of women's income ^{93/} all led to a deterioration of women's social and economic position. ^{94/}

Women's engaging in trading to compensate for the lack of other income-generating possibilities runs parallel to a similar pattern on a national level in the northern region of the country, where trading had provided a source of income in areas where climatic conditions limited agricultural productivity. Just as the northern markets were closed down when they conflicted with the economic interests of the colonial powers, thus causing economic stagnation of the north, ^{95/} so can women's acquired dominance in trading be seen to be transitory as it is at present being

^{93/} Epstein, T.S., "The Role of Women in the Development of Third World Countries", Internationale Entwicklung, No.3, 1975, p.9.

^{94/} See: J. Bukh, op.cit., C. Okala and S. Mabey, "Women in agriculture in southern Ghana", Manpower and Unemployment Research in Africa (Montreal), Vol.8 No.2 (November 1975), pp. 13-40; and C. Oppong, C. Okali and B. Houghton, "Womanpower: retrograde steps in Ghana", African Studies Review (Waltham, Mass.), Vol.18, No.3 (December 1975), pp. 71-84.

^{95/} Nii-K Plange, "Underdevelopment in northern Ghana: natural causes or colonial capitalism?", Review of African Political Economy, No.15/16 (May-December 1979), pp. 4-14.

destroyed in the process of industrialization of the retail trade, ^{96/} with a similarly negative impact on the majority of the country's population.

While the official statistics available do not provide an insight into the process of economic marginalization of Ghanaian women in the field of trade and marketing, data can be gleaned from research reports, journal and newspaper articles.

Extent of women's trading activities in Ghana

For women in Ghana, as throughout West Africa, trading is almost the only opportunity of earning monetary income; they sell at markets, keep shops, stores and kiosks, or sell by the roadside. ^{97/} Female traders comprise:

- (a) Subsistence farmers earning additional income by petty retail trade, processing and selling food, or by selling their own non-food products;
- (b) Unskilled female migrants to urban areas unable to find any other work;
- (c) Women traders in coastal areas who sell mainly fish and cloth;
- (d) Urban women engaged in small-scale retail and large-scale retail and wholesale trade.

^{96/} L. Mullings, "Women and economic change in Africa", N. Hafkin and E. Bay, eds., op.cit., p. 255

^{97/} C. Robertson, "Ga women and socio-economic change in Accra, Ghana", in: N.J. Hafkin and E.G. Bay, eds., op.cit., pp. 111-133; J. Bukh, op.cit., p. 117; and O. Akerele, op.cit., p.39

The majority of women traders fall into the first two categories and this type of trading is characterized by:

- The high demand on time, mainly waiting;
- The very low amount of capital involved;
- The small scale on which it is run;
- The minimal profits, which are reinvested or used up by the family's consumption.^{98/}

The earnings of most women traders, urban or rural, are only at the subsistence level,^{99/} most have acquired their skills informally, and the majority of them are illiterate, though illiteracy has not, until recently, been felt as a handicap, even for the large scale traders,^{100/} and their informal training has provided adequate preparation for their professional activities on all scales. This shows that the current emphasis in development planning on formal, institutionalized education and analyses of women's status which attribute the deterioration of their economic situation predominantly to lack of formal (i.e. following Western models) training ignore the proven adequacy of informal training. Only now, where other economic interest groups are taking over trade and excluding women from the market, is their lack of formal training being used as a justification for their marginalization.

^{98/} J. Bukh, op. cit., p.117

^{99/} F. Sai, Market Women in the Economy of Ghana, (Cornell University, 1971).

^{100/} E. Ocloo, op. cit., p. 2, estimated that 90% of women traders were illiterate.

Similarly, Anna Dodoo, President of the Market Women's Association of Ghana, responding to a question about how she managed her business without knowing how to read or write, explained: "I have worked with foreign companies for a long time and this has enabled me to read figures on receipts. I manage to recognize figures so that no one would cheat me. I also speak and understand English. However, I have employed an accounts clerk for my business. He sees to all the financial aspects of the business and once in a while we go through the books together". (Africa Women, July-August 1976). Quoted in B. Harrell-Bond and A. Fraker, Women and the 1979 Ghana Revolution, American Universities Field Staff Report, (BFB-1-'80) (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1980).

Although selling locally grown food has been a traditional prerogative of Ghanaian women, they were never in the past, neither in Ghana nor elsewhere in West Africa, limited in their activities to trading in perishable foodstuffs. They also traded in imported and domestically produced non-perishables, providing the necessary infrastructure in rural and urban areas.^{101/} Market women functioned not only as a source of necessary commodities but also served as centres of communication and information, which is essential in a country where high rates of illiteracy (82 per cent of women and 57 per cent of men were illiterate in 1977^{102/}) and poverty hinder other forms of communication and sources of information. The importance of their services is shown by the fact that in 1977, for example, it was reported that until that time "the attempts of the Ghana National Trading Corporation to take over food marketing had not been very successful".^{103/}

Impact on women of industrialization of the trade sector

A series of economic and political changes in Ghana in recent years have had a negative impact on women traders, depriving them of income, power and privileges and shifting these to men, institutions controlled by men and groups of consumers in which men predominate.

^{101/} E. Ocloo, op. cit., p. 2 stated: "In Ghana until five years ago women were mainly in control of the retail trade and they are an economic force to be reckoned with. They sell anything you can find in supermarkets or department stores." C. Robertson, 1976 op. cit., p. 114, notes that women in West Africa traded in all commodities and that only the trade in slaves, gold and ivory, primarily export items, was conducted mainly by men.

^{102/} Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1977 quoted in "World's Women Data Sheet" of the Population Reference Bureau, Inc. (Washington, D.C., 1980).

^{103/} A.C. Smock, 1977, op. cit., p. 212.

These changes have brought about a process of stratification similar to the one seen in the agrarian sector of developing countries, that is, a stratification by sex and class, with a strong pro-urban anti-rural bias, by which women traders are disadvantaged through the processes of mechanization and monopolization and the passing of new legislation that discriminates against women.

The stratification in agriculture results in a growing male-dominated, modern sector of large-scale food production, with high profits for a few. The parallel stratification in trading results in a growing, male-dominated commercial sector, under the influence of and dependent upon industrialized countries, as the increasing import of manufactured goods provides opportunities for earning large profits that attract national and international, male-dominated groups. Just as the industrialization of agriculture has been seen to have a negative impact on local consumers, particularly women, who are responsible for providing the family's basic needs, so has the industrialization of the trading sector negatively affected the ability of the population at the grass roots level to fulfil their essential needs, as the progressive exclusion of women traders from the market has reduced the country's already inadequate infrastructure resulting in the lack of an effective system of distribution of food and other basic commodities.

The complex phenomena leading to women's exclusion from trade can be analyzed in four stages. The first includes the processes of mechanization and modernization, the expansion of imports, and the development of large scale, capital-intensive production and distribution systems beginning in the early 1960s which led to the first efforts of bringing

trade into the male economic domain.^{104/}

A typical case can be seen in the economic activities of the Ga women in the coastal areas of southern Ghana who had traditionally engaged in processing and trading in their husbands' fish and agricultural products. The introduction of commercial fishing in the early 1960s meant that women were deprived of this source of income as large firms took over the processing and selling of fish.^{105/} The negative impact of this development was not confined to women traders, however, as most of the fish caught is now destined for export, leading to a shortage of fish in local markets, and increased prices, so that fish, which was always an important part of the local diet, is no longer available at prices which the majority of the population can afford.^{106/}

Development programmes in agriculture in the early 1960s, designed to increase national production, followed a course similar to that followed in the development of the fishing industry, emphasizing production for export and for urban markets, characterized by a strong anti-rural bias, neglecting production for local consumption. Women traders were deprived of products for sale and also of the means of transport, and further disadvantaged by their lack of access to credit, which was necessary to enable them to compete when trade was carried out on a large scale.^{107/}

^{104/} C. Robertson, "Ga women and change in marketing conditions in the Accra area", Rural Africana, No.29 (Winter 1975/76) (East Lansing, Michigan), pp. 157-172.

^{105/} C. Robertson, "Ga women and socioeconomic change..." op.cit., pp. 116-118.

^{106/} R. Howard, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana (New York, Holmes and Meier, 1978), pp. 223-230. She points out a further negative effect on Ghana's economy, the fact that despite the existence of a domestic fishing industry, 3.6 per cent of the country's scarce foreign exchange resources are spent on fish which has to be imported.

^{107/} Cf. C. Robertson, "Ga women and change in marketing conditions...", loc.cit.

Further interrelated changes in the agricultural and trading sectors were brought about by the implementation of schemes designed to increase Ghana's food production, Operation Feed Yourself (OFY) in 1972 and Operation Feed Your Industries in 1975. However, rather than transforming agriculture for the benefit of the entire population, the programmes resulted in a parallel production and marketing structure benefiting only the urban elite. Local traders and transporters (not only 84 per cent of the traders but also a large proportion of the transporters were women) were totally excluded from this distribution network, as indeed were the local consumers.^{108/} The combined effects of disregarding production for local consumption and the breakdown of infrastructure for local distribution culminated in 1977 in a famine in the northern region of Ghana.^{109/}

The attempts to exclude female traders from the market by creating a state-controlled, urban-centred distribution system continue. There are at present groups requesting that the Government institute food distribution measures similar to those tried in the 1970s.^{110/}

^{108/} J. Marshall, "The state of ambivalence: right and left options in Ghana", Review of African Political Economy (London), No. 5, 1976, pp. 58, 59, reports that these programmes created state farms and a Food Production Corporation, guaranteed minimum prices to producers and provided such inputs as seed and fertilizers, tractors and combine harvesters. These measures benefited only large-scale farmers, often absentee landlords (urban, male, elite) who had access to credit and were able to invest in the improved inputs and technology. Furthermore, the state marketing system distributed the food produced on state farms and the farms of bureaucrats and businessmen only to institutions and privileged classes through urban supply depots with controlled prices that were inaccessible to peasants, petty commodity producers, and urban workers.

^{109/} B. Harrell-Bond, Politics in Ghana 1978, American Universities Field Staff Report 1978/No.49, (BHB-3-78) (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1979), p.2.

^{110/} "Union demands" in West Africa, 2 February 1981, p. 246, quotes representatives of the Posts and Telecommunications Workers Union (PTWU). "The union also asked the government to instruct food distribution agencies and commercial houses to supply foodstuffs and other commodities direct to institutions and co-operative shops to save workers from the 'kalabule women'."

A major development goal of Ghanaian Governments continues to be self-sufficiency in food production. The achievement of this goal depends on efficient distribution as much as on increased productivity. This renders invalid the often repeated charges that market trading is parasitic and non-productive, as research has shown that it provides an effective system of distribution throughout the country at a lower cost than any of the alternatives. ^{111/} Nevertheless, it is reported that retail trade in Ghana, as throughout West Africa, is steadily being taken over by supermarkets and other large-scale commercial enterprises, ^{112/} that destroy rather than integrate the traditional forms of trading. Development planners fail to recognize that female traders provide an essential service and as such form a necessary component of the country's infrastructure.

Impact on women of legal restrictions on their trading activities

With the liberalization of import restrictions at the end of the 1960s, the quantities of manufactured goods imported into Ghana increased, which meant that this sector became more profitable and "no longer unimportant enough to be left to predominantly female traders." ^{113/} The Ghanaian Business Promotion Act passed in May 1970 required all foreign individuals and companies to disengage themselves from all businesses - trade and other commercial enterprises - valued at less than ₵ 500,000. This act opened the way for Ghanaians to move into trading on a larger scale. ^{114/} The growing Ghanaian-owned wholesale sector, which involves large amounts of investment capital, is male-dominated ^{115/} due to the fact that large companies are

^{111/} F. Sai, op.cit., p. 107.

^{112/} International Labour Organisation, 1978, quoted in E. Boulding, "Integration into what? reflections on development planning for women", R. Lauber and M.L. Cain, eds., op.cit., p.13.

^{113/} B. Harrell-Bond, Politics in Ghana 1978, op.cit., p.4

^{114/} F. Sai, op.cit., p.102.

^{115/} M. Kisekka, op.cit., p.34

unwilling to hire female traders, with their informally acquired skills, but prefer to hire male employees. A further factor negatively affecting women's opportunities in trade is the lack of access to credit in the form of bank loans which would provide them with the necessary investment capital. Although market women participate in co-operative saving societies, which pay no interest but enable them to save small sums for re-investment, they are not able in this way to accumulate the capital necessary for larger scale trading. Banks generally refuse to grant loans to individuals who do not receive regular salaries, and this excludes the self-employed female traders.^{116/}

While the factors described above acted as structural and financial constraints on women's participation in trading, large-scale commercial enterprises had only a limited success in competing with female traders.^{117/} However, rather than involve women in efforts to adapt modern forms of trade to local conditions,^{118/} the Government passed legislation to restrict women's participation in trade, limiting them to trading in locally produced perishable goods and preventing them from selling non-perishable goods, both imported and locally produced.

^{115/} M. Kisekka, op.cit., p.34.

^{116/} M. Kisekka, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

^{117/} A.C. Smock, 1977, op. cit., p.212.

^{118/} Cf. F. Sai, op. cit.

In 1975, ostensibly as part of an economic stabilization programme, import restrictions were imposed on small businessmen and women.^{119/} In 1976, the Specified Commodities Decree restricted the economic activities of women traders to dealing in perishable commodities, excluding them from trade in manufactured goods where the highest profits could be made and granting monopolies on the sale of other items to supermarkets and state-owned companies, both controlled by men.^{120/} There were protests against the Specified Commodities Decree, not only from the women traders but also from other groups, pointing out the disadvantageous effects of this discriminatory policy on the majority of the population.^{121/}

A parallel can be drawn between the current legislation - which discriminates against women traders - and the colonial and post-colonial domination of Ghanaian trade by foreign companies, under which the Ghanaian trader was only allowed to engage in activities that the foreign companies deemed too insignificant to merit their concern.^{122/}

^{119/} B. Harrell-Bond, Ghana's Troubled Transition to Civilian Government, American Universities Field Staff Report 1979/No.48, (BHB-7-79) (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1979), p.6. She writes: "In January, as part of the economic stabilization program, tough import restrictions were introduced and 7,000 small businessmen were excluded from importing goods in an attempt to 'bring sanity into the country's import trade'."

^{120/} B. Harrell-Bond, Politics in Ghana, 1978, *op.cit.*, p.7.

^{121/} *Ibid.*, p.8.

"The Ghana Association of University Teachers issued a statement in July 77 objecting to the Specified Commodities Decree which allowed a small minority of individuals to control the nation's entire stock of scarce commodities and to secure them for personal consumption or diversion to clients at a profit. The Association accused the instigators of the Decree of subsidizing the living standards of those in positions of power and privilege and removing from circulation those commodities to which the working Ghanaians were entitled through their labour."

^{122/} Cf. Fitch, B. and Oppenheimer, M.. "Ghana, end of an illusion", Monthly Review, July-August 1966.

Campaigns to exclude women from trade

In spite of the discriminatory legislation described above, women traders continued to try, with some success, to circumvent these restrictions, but they were viciously attacked by press campaigns that accused them of hoarding and profiteering, and of being the major source of people's misery by causing high prices, inflation, lack of food and other vitally needed goods. ^{123/} The attacks in the press prepared the way for and accompanied attacks of physical violence against female traders. These took the form of humiliating punishments and, while purportedly directed against malpractices in the market, the definition of guilt in individual cases was exceedingly arbitrary. ^{124/} The attacks culminated in the total demolition of Makola Market No.1 with the aim of "excluding women from participation in the lucrative trade in non-perishable commodities". ^{125/} This destruction accomplished by means of direct violence what had not been achieved through structural violence, the exclusion of the most active groups of women in Ghana, the market women, from economic competition. ^{126/}

Thus, it has been shown that the industrialization of the trade sector in Ghana has led to a deterioration of the position of female traders that was carried out in four stages:

^{123/} A. Fraker and B. Harrell-Bond, "Feminine Influence", West Africa, 20 November 1979. They report:
"As already in 1976 women were regarded as responsible for creating artificial shortages of essential commodities and guilty of other trading malpractices".
For further examples see: The Standard, July 29, 1979; Ghanaian Times, July 19, 1979; July 27, 1979; Daily Graphic, July 13, 1979, J. Hanlon, "The Shrinking Cedi", New Africa, June 1979.

^{124/} B. Harrell-Bond and A. Fraker, Women and the 1979 Revolution in Ghana, op.cit., p.4.

^{125/} Daily Graphic, August 20, 1979.

^{126/} "Losing Illusions at Makola Market", West Africa, 27 August 1979.

- (a) Large-scale structures for production and distribution were established that by-passed the small local producers, traders and transporters;
- (b) Women were virtually excluded from wage employment in the modern trade sector, and self-employed women traders had no access to bank loans for investment capital;
- (c) Legislation was passed that discriminated against female traders;
- (d) Market women were subjected to attacks.

All of the above successively served to restrict women's participation in trade and thus to break down the links between producer and consumer upon which the majority of the population depended.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The foregoing presentation of the impact on women of changes brought about through the processes of industrialization and modernization has shown that changing production structures tend to create and perpetuate a "north-south" situation of unequal exchange between men and women similar to that existing between the developed and the developing countries.

Women's role and status in society undergo changes, usually gradual but occasionally abrupt, through technological improvements, political decisions and legal measures, as a consequence of war or revolution, through changes in educational and training systems. The examination of the proven or potential impact of different types of economic development on the socio-economic status of women, and bringing the results of these analyses to the attention of national and international bodies, should make it possible to guide, balance or accelerate these changes.

Despite the wealth of evidence of marginalization of women brought about by industrialization and modernization, this should not be accepted as inevitable. There is no compelling reason why women should not be able to benefit from industrialization and why the process of industrial development should not be furthered by women's contribution.

The negative effects of development on women, outlined in this and other papers, can be avoided by ensuring at the planning stages full consideration of the needs of women, the possible impact on women, and the vital economic and social role of women. A national and international development strategy directed towards gaining equitable access to the world's resources for formerly marginalized countries and population groups within countries can be implemented by:

Promotion of increasing local, national and regional self-reliance;

Acceleration of processes of growth and diversification that originate within a country and are relatively autonomous;

Progressive eradication of unemployment and mass poverty.

Considering the demand for technical co-operation among developing countries (TCDC) and its emphasis on the full utilization of human resources, the need for the involvement of women in developing countries cannot be ignored. As far as possible, TCDC should take into account the sources of knowledge and technology with which women are familiar, and stimulate and promote the utilization of this knowledge in ways that originate at the grass roots level, rather than being imposed from above. Whether it involves the use of existing technologies for easing women's burden of work, or relying on the expertise of professional associations of women in research and training, or teaching income-generating activities that have already been utilized successfully in one area to women in other areas, the application of TCDC as a strategy for women will provide vital impetus for development.

In order to achieve the aims of development, the biases against women mentioned already should be eradicated at all levels. It is vital that the value and importance of women's work be recognized. The relegation of women to performing unremunerated activities and the consequent under-estimation of the value of their activities has had serious negative consequences, not only for women but for society as a whole.

Instruction and training are frequently mentioned as prerequisites for the integration of women into the development process. It is equally important that education and information be provided to men - particularly to national and international development planners and other local or national

Government officials as well as to fathers, husbands and other male relatives - to educate them as to the true value of women's work and the importance of women's productivity and their contribution to the familial, local, and national economic well-being. This should lead to the full remuneration of women's work, counter-acting the increasing privatization of their economic activities and deterioration in socio-economic status.

The myth that women are not capable of adapting to technological change, which has been seen to exclude women from participating in production, particularly in wage employment in the modern sector, restricting women to their reproductive role, contains the further danger of leading to an increased population growth and placing an additional strain on national resources.

The elements of industrialization and modernization that have directly and indirectly affected women adversely, have been identified here and elsewhere. These are:

Emphasis on capital-intensive technology;

Organization in large-scale production units, either for major urban markets or for export;

Change of production priorities and methods without adequate provision for the alleviation of resulting imbalances.

Measures for minimizing the negative impact on women of development through industrialization and, at the same time, increasing their productivity in the various sectors of the economy, are contained in the examples presented in this report. The most important measures in the three areas of activity in which women have traditionally been engaged are the following:

In Agriculture:

- Access to fertile land within reasonable distance;
- Availability of loans and credit;
- Inputs (improved seeds and agro-chemicals) in affordable quantities at the right time;
- Appropriate implements based on appropriate technology;
- Labour besides their own;
- Labour-saving equipment for household tasks;
- Adequate infrastructure, including transport and storage facilities;
- Access to markets and marketing co-operatives;
- Full and equal participation in extension services and training courses;
- Setting up collective organizations such as co-operatives, with movement outward from the family unit to the community level, in which women participate as full members.

In Manufacturing:

As has been shown in the chapter on manufacturing, the expansion of the industrial sector of the economy has not automatically led to increased employment opportunities for women. In fact, the opposite case has often been observed, in which the elimination of women's work in traditional production patterns has not been compensated by a corresponding increase in wage employment. Women's possibilities in the modern sector are, for the most part, extremely limited, both as to quantity and quality of employment.

Women's employment prospects in manufacturing would be improved by the following:

- Pre-vocational training;
- Adequate formal education including training in occupational skills which can be used both in self-employment and wage employment;

Vocational training in all fields;

On-the-job training (in co-operatives and in-plant training)
for adults as well as adolescents;

Effective job placement services;

Working situations which permit women to fulfil their responsibilities as mothers, e.g. the establishment of infant and child care facilities, flexible working hours, part-time employment;

Expansion of industries, especially small-scale manufacturing, including those organized as co-operatives, to rural and peri-urban areas, providing increased wage employment as well as opportunities for self-employed women;

Assured regular access to necessary raw materials and other inputs at affordable prices for women engaged in home or community manufacture.

Under the current conditions of increasing poverty in most developing countries, women are highly motivated to earn an independent income and are willing to learn any necessary skills to this end. Alternative patterns of development which provide them with opportunities for doing so would enable them to contribute to their country's economic growth.

In Commerce and Trade

As was shown in the example of Ghana above, in some countries women have for a long time played an essential role in commerce and trade. However, with the increase of modernization and specialization in the market sector, women traders are gradually finding themselves excluded from the market. This development has serious consequences for the women and their families and for the effective distribution of basic commodities for mass consumption, especially in rural and peri-urban areas.

The following measures are necessary to provide opportunities for earning additional income through trading to women in the rural subsistence economy and to assist the poor and unskilled urban women engaged

in petty trade:

Repeal of legal restrictions on the sale of non-perishable commodities and of other regulations and hindrances which effectively exclude petty traders from the market;

Building up adequate infrastructure, e.g. inexpensive means of transport of goods, accessible to small-scale traders, predominantly female, and not only to large, male-dominated enterprises, permitting adequate profits without driving up prices;

Provision for an equitable distribution of products for mass consumption between rural and urban areas;

Promotion of higher production of basic commodities (food and non-food) in rural areas, in order to have marketable surplus;

Encouraging increased production of goods using local materials as a substitute for imports;

Establishing rural marketing co-operatives as a more efficient use of women's trading skills;

Expanding potential markets for local traders through rural industrialization.

Furthermore, women's possibilities for engaging in trade should be improved through measures allowing them access to capital and training in commercial skills. For those selling their own products, availability of necessary equipment, inputs and instruction in labour-saving techniques and methods to avoid waste would increase their income.

Further measures should be taken to overcome those factors that hinder women engaged in large-scale trading, specifically the imported and indigenous bias against women as economic competitors of men, the monopolization of the market sector by large-scale commercial enterprises, the pressure by international firms to adopt sales patterns of industrial countries (supermarkets, etc.) and the attempts by the male-dominated urban elite to control distribution and sales activities. Policies which are not discriminating by sex would allow women equal access to import and export

licenses, credit and loans, would not restrict the sale of non-perishable goods and would provide women with opportunities for relevant training in such fields as management and marketing.

As has been illustrated above by the examples from developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, women are vital to their country's economy. The restructuring of the international economic order cannot be achieved without recognition of women's essential economic role. Reversing the process of women's marginalization is not an act of compassion for women but an urgent necessity for the well-being of humankind.



