WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP: Women, Work and Public Policy

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
WOMEN AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP:
WOMEN, WORK AND PUBLIC POLICY

Selected papers from a workshop organized by the Joint
Harvard/MIT Women and International Development Group, and sponsored
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Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

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INTRODUCTION

The Women, Work and Public Policy Workshop was organized by the Women and International Development (WID): Joint Harvard-MIT Group, an organization established and formally associated with the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID) and the MIT Center for International Studies in 1980. Participants in the Group include faculty and graduate students from colleges and universities in the greater-Boston area as well as professional staff of several non-profit organizations and educational institutions. The Group is open to all interested participants, and currently includes women and men of a wide variety of nationalities. The Group has an executive committee and several Task Forces based on functional or administrative concerns. An Advisory Board of faculty and corporation members is assisting the Group in formulating its long-term plans.

The WID Group has two major concerns: (1) substantive issues related to women and development; and (2) the process of research on women in developing nations and the role of such research in policy and program formulation. Given the varied background and fields of the participants in the WID Group, there are many problem areas of interest. These include topics such as the impact of government policies in regard to land ownership, credit eligibility or child care on the status of women and their roles in society; or the conditions under which programs and projects for women should be integrated with national development programs, sustained as components of ongoing programs, or implemented independently.
In regard to research activities, WID perceives several useful roles. These include serving as a forum for evaluating research proposals and research techniques in regard to Third World women, and developing a data base on the topic of women and development, taking advantage of work already being done at institutions in the greater-Boston area.

The Workshop Papers represent the first of a two-part workshop, the second session to be held in the spring of 1982. The selected papers in this volume represent field research concerning the roles of women in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Central and Latin America, as well as perspectives on the role of women in more developed countries. Women's diverse contributions to agricultural and non-agricultural activities in the developing countries are discussed, particularly in the papers by Jane Guyer, Marty Chen, Amalia Alberti, and Susan Christopherson. Yet their contributions and special problems often remain unrecognized on national and subnational levels, further impeding development. The contributions of women to ideas are also not often recognized. Lisa Peattie discusses the effects of the women's movement on the changing conceptualization of many issues, such as the definition, evaluation and reward of work, the definition of politics and art and perspectives on morality (contrasting the caring morality and the morality of rights). The Workshop speakers recommend improved methodologies of research on women, further studies and documentation of women's economic contributions, specific national policies to enhance women's contributions to development, and concerted political action to
expedite the integration of women's perspectives, needs, and priorities into national policymaking.

Susan Swannack-Nunn
WID Workshop Planning Group
Women and International Development Workshop  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  

Women, Work and Public Policy  
Saturday, February 21, 1981  

Women's Role in Agricultural Societies  

Jane Guyer, Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University  
"Women's Work in African Agricultural Production"  

Marty Chen, Harvard Institute for International Development  
"Interaction of Sex and Class in Women's Work Participation"  

Amalia Alberti, International Development and Education Center, Stanford University  
"Some Observations of the Productive Role of Women and Development Efforts in the Andes"  

Chair: John Thomas, Harvard Institute for International Development  

Rapporteurs: Patricia Haggerty, MIT  
Cathy Overholt, Harvard  

Women's Roles in Industrializing/Industrialized Societies  

Hanna Papanek, Senior Research Associate, Center for Asian Development Studies, Boston University, "Class Distinctions and the U-Shaped Curve of Women's Work"  

Susan Christopherson, Department of Geography, University of California at Berkeley, "Female Labor Force Participation and Urban Spatial Structure -- Ciudad Juarez, Mexico"  

Lee Rainwater, Professor of Sociology, Harvard University "Family Policy Taking Account of the Changing Roles of Women in Europe and the United States"  

Chair: Jean Jackson, Professor of Anthropology, MIT  

Rapporteurs: Susheila Bhagot, Harvard  
Susan Swannack-Nunn, MIT  

Probing Future Directions: Research and Policy Implications  

Richard Goldman, Harvard Institute for International Development  
Lisa Peattie, Professor of Urban Studies and Planning, MIT
Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, Department of Sociology, University of California at Berkeley

Marilyn Waring, Fellow, Institute of Politics, Kennedy School, Harvard; Member of Parliament, New Zealand; Delegate to United Nations World Conference on Women

Chair: Kate Cloud, Harvard University

Rapporteurs: Lee Farris, MIT
            Edith Ruina, MIT

WID Workshop Planning Group: Kate Cloud, Susan Swannack-Nunn, Jean Jackson, Edith Ruina, Cathy Overholt, Colleen Dunlavy.
Two themes recur in analyses of women's position in the rural areas of Africa: enterprise and autonomy on the one hand, and poverty and overwork on the other. In almost every region women have access to some kind of productive resource or a particular market which provides them with an income of their own. And yet almost everywhere that income seems limited and earning it absorbs time and effort which has to be integrated with housekeeping and childcare.

During the past two decades a great deal of research has been done on women's position and we now have a wealth of locally specific studies and some powerful generalizations about the African continent as a whole. The purpose of the paper is to explore the divergent patterns within Africa, amongst rural economies with different structural links to wider economic systems. The paper is suggestive rather than definitive, resting on examples rather than correlations. Four cases are discussed in detail: an area whose economy has been peripheral to major markets, an old cash crop region, a migrant labor region, and a plantation. Special attention is given to four different indicators of women's position in each case: first, the sex ratio in the rural areas and the

forces which determine it; second, the proportion of women who are managing the day-to-day requirements of their families single-handed; third, the kind and amount of resources women control relative to men; and finally, the value of their work by comparison with the value of men's work.

I suggest that the particular configuration of rights and constraints which make up women's economic position is different in each of the four cases, giving rise to characteristic and different dilemmas and contradictions. For example, amongst plantation workers the male/female wage differential is relatively narrow by comparison with differentials in returns to labor in the developed peasant sector, but, on the other hand, opportunities for female employment in fully proletarianised sectors of the work force are generally limited.

But the pattern itself is not static. For the moment, the majority of women in rural Africa live and work in the peasant sector, involved with the wider system to a greater or lesser degree depending on the region. Their work will continue to be the backbone of the food supply system, but under shifting conditions. The urban areas are growing extremely quickly while agricultural productivity remains stagnant. At a time when the fact of women's key position in food supply, painfully and slowly forces itself on policymakers, many of those women are trying to educate their daughters for occupations other than agriculture. A literate female farming population is one possibility for the future; but so is a female rural exodus to match the male migrations of the past two generations.
I. Women's Contribution: The Participation of Women in Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Economic Activities

There is a clear consensus that macro-level data such as censuses and national surveys underestimate the work of women in rural Bangladesh. Micro-studies have shown that virtually all rural women, above the age of 10, work extremely long and hard days. Under the traditional division of labor by sex, women contribute substantially in both agricultural and non-agricultural production, but their work remains almost completely integrated, and therefore "hidden," within the family and the homestead. A total of 31.6 million women (92% of the total female population) live in the villages of Bangladesh. A total of 20 million of these rural women are above the age of 10 and must be considered economically active.

There are five main areas of income-generating production in the Bangladesh farming communities: grain production; jute production; tree, vine, and vegetable cultivation; animal production; and craft manufacture. There are several areas of income-conserving production generally overlooked because of their "femaleness": hut construction; household maintenance, including collection of fuel and water; and labor force reproduction and maintenance.
Let us look for a moment at women's contribution in each area of production:

1. Grain Production
   a. Field operations are the domain of men. Land preparation, seed-bed preparation, transplanting and planting, weeding, and harvesting are done, almost exclusively, by men. If a seedbed is near the homestead, women are sometimes deployed or hired to prepare the bed and plant and tend the seedlings. Women prepare the hard-mud threshing floor and occasionally thresh the grain, especially in households which do not possess bullocks. Women take over after threshing operations, that is, once the grains reach the homestead.
   b. Drying of grain is carried out by women. Grain is dried and/or winnowed and cleaned several times: post-threshing and pre-storage as paddy seed; post-parboiling and pre-storage as paddy; pre- and post-husking; and, intermittently, during the storage period.
   c. Parboiling is done exclusively by women. Parboiling is a process of partially boiling the paddy in large drums over slow fires. This process is very time-consuming. All paddy for domestic consumption and for sale as rice is parboiled. Some paddy is reserved for seed, some for sale as paddy. And, some paddy is set aside to be processed into puffed rice and pounded rice, both considered delicacies. It is women, in consultation with men, who select which quality paddy in what amounts undergoes which process.
d. **Husking** is done by women. This process is very labor-demanding. Most typically, paddy is husked in a foot-operated hammer-action implement.

e. **Storage** of domestic and market stocks of rice, paddy, and seed is the women's job. Women prepare the storage bins and supervise the storage of the grains. It is women who can judge paddy for its quality and moisture before and during storage.

2. **Jute Production**

   a. **Land Preparation, planting, weeding, and harvesting** are all done by men. With jute, as with grain, women are involved in post-harvest operations.

   b. **Steeping** of the jute is most typically done by men. After cutting, jute is steeped in water for several days and allowed to rot on the stalks.

   c. **Stripping** of the jute fiber from the stalk is done by both men and women.

   d. **Drying and storing** the fiber is carried out by men and women.

   e. **Processing** jute fiber into rope and macrame wall hangers is done by women.

   f. **Processing** jute stalks into fencing or siding is done by men and women.

3. **Tree, Vine, and Vegetable Cultivation**

   a. **Plot preparation** is carried out by women. Mud must be dug, carried, and piled up to level the plot.
b. Planting, weeding, watering, and harvesting are all carried out by women.

4. Animal Production

Care of all animals is the domain of women. They are responsible for tending and caring for the animals as well as collecting animal fodder.

5. Craft Manufacture

Women manufacture a great many of the items and equipment used in and around the home: stoves, winnowers, mats, mattresses and quilts, jute hangers, fans, bamboo sidings.

6. Hut Construction

Men construct the huts and thatch the roofs. But women repair and maintain the huts. The mud floors must be resurfaced often, and the entire hut requires major repairs before the monsoon rains.

7. Household Maintenance

Women perform a great number of household maintenance tasks. They scavenge for tinder, wood, and other fuel. If cow-dung is available, it must be collected, molded into cakes or around sticks, and set to dry. Small droppings and waste are to be composted, and ash collected for replenishing the soil of the fields. In addition, women daily fetch water, clean the huts, stalls, and homesteads, wash the dishes and utensils, cook and serve meals, and run numerous errands.
8. Labor Force Maintenance

It is women who reproduce and maintain the labor force. Children are women's domain: feeding, tending, bathing, supervising and putting to bed. When male laborers are hired to work alongside the men, it is the women who must rise that much earlier to prepare that much more food for the laborers.

9. Artisan/Occupational Production

Women play integral production roles in different artisan/occupational communities. In the fishing communities, women weave the fish nets and dry and store fish both for consumption and sale. They prepare bamboo racks to dry the fish on. They must protect the fish from birds and other prey while drying. Women also prepare the earthen jars in which the dried fish are stored and sold. In the weaving communities, women spin and prepare the bobbins. And, in pottery communities, women model clay items.

10. Marketing

Marketing is the domain of men. The men do all the shopping for household items. Most critically, they do all the major selling of the household's agricultural and non-agricultural produce. Women can exert some control over the income from small-scale trade through their children within the village or at the marketplace, but all large-scale trade volume is carried out by men.
II. Women's Changing Economic Roles by Class

The division of labor by sex remains remarkably rigid and pervasive across class in Bangladesh. However, micro-studies show that the level and mode of women's work varies by economic class; that is, there are significant class differentials in the time allocated by women to production for home consumption, production for cash, and/or work for wages. Let me outline three broad classes of households of which women are integral members:

1. those below the subsistence level: that is, households which cannot subsist even given their female paid village labor and must deploy all members of the family to seek wage labor opportunities;¹

2. those at the subsistence level; that is, households which can subsist given their female unpaid family and paid village labor;

3. those above the surplus level; that is, households which can preserve (for status reasons) their women from paid village labor.

Moreover, a growing number of women are becoming heads of households and must, therefore, seek paid village labor and wage labor. Women are most

¹ For the purposes of this analysis I have classified:

1) paid village labor to include agricultural and non-agricultural labor for cash or kind inside the village and, therefore, traditionally female; and

2) wage labor to include agricultural and non-agricultural labor for cash or kind outside the village but including the fields of the village, and, therefore, traditionally male.
likely to become the heads of subsistence and below-subsistence households. For the purposes of this analysis, I will subsume the female heads of household as a sub-set of the below-subsistence class.

Women from surplus households work only as unpaid family labor and produce mostly for consumption. Women from subsistence households work as both unpaid family and paid village labor and produce for both consumption and cash. Women from below-subsistence households produce whatever they can for cash, work as paid village labor, and seek wage employment outside the village. I would argue from these predominant variations between classes of women that two policies to promote women's work in rural Bangladesh must be adopted: 1) to generate wage employment for the below-subsistence and head of household women; and 2) to increase the productivity of all women.

Women's Economic Need for Employment

There is a growing number of women in rural Bangladesh who require employment in the wage sector. For the female-headed and below-subsistence households, the traditional patterns of production, division of labor by sex, and kin and family support systems no longer assure subsistence. All members of these households require access to wage labor.

Estimates of de jure female-headed households (households headed by widowed or unmarried women) range from 6.5% to 16% of rural households. De facto female-headed households will range higher. Estimates of below-subsistence households range from 35-50%. One village study found
marginal (below 1 acre) and landless households to constitute 53% of all households. De facto landless households are now reported to be 35% to 40% in different areas. Given these figures, a minimum of 1.2 million women (6.5% of rural women over the age of 10), more likely 8 million women (40% of these rural women), are seeking wage employment in a labor market that has, to date, restricted female access.

Women's Economic Need for Increased Productivity

Since most of the detailed information on women's contribution under the traditional division of labor has only recently begun to appear in micro-studies, very little social and economic value has been placed on women's work in development policy and intervention. Women contribute substantially to national production, but they have, to date, received:

- no credit
- no inputs
- no training
- no technical assistance
- no extension services.

Development plans should recognize and support women's work to make them more productive. If subsistence-level households are not to slip below subsistence and if below-subsistence households are not to become increasingly marginal, the work of women in these households must be supported with inputs and services. With credit, for example, what women do at a subsistence (income-conserving) level can be scaled up to a commercial (income-generating) level. All women in the rural Bangladesh require services to support their productive work.
III. Constraints on Women's Work

Constraints on Employment

The main constraint on women's employment is the level of demand for their labor. Under the traditional division of labor by sex, Bangladesh women are excluded from wage employment in field activities and assigned tasks related to grain processing at the village level. Until recently, the strict segregation of male labor (in the fields and outside the village) and female labor (in the homestead and inside the village) had been as rigid as the division of labor by sex. Few women have ever competed with men in the wage labor market.

But women from below-subsistence households and female-headed households are now, out of necessity, entering that competition. But they carry the double disadvantage of being poor and women. One study shows that female heads of households find wage labor for 17% of total person-days, compared to 41% for male heads of households. For all types of income-generating work, women find work for 63% of person-days; men for 83%.\(^2\) Planners must recognize that these women need access to wage labor as much as men, because they share or carry equal dependency burdens.

Other constraints on women's employment have been brought about by certain capital intensive development interventions. The introduction of rice mills threatens to deprive a large number of women from one of the

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traditionally "female" paid employment options. Rice processing as paid village labor by women has provided a critical margin of income to many subsistence households. But that margin of income will be, and is being, taken away by the introduction of intermediate and high technology rice mills. The issue is not simply that the machine displaces women's labor and is controlled by men. The critical issue is that the mill displaces the labor of subsistence and below-subsistence women and is controlled by men from surplus households. Moreover, capital intensive interventions in the textile industry threaten the handloom sector which supports the greatest number of households, second only to the agricultural sector.

**Constraints on Productivity**

Although detailed information on women's productive roles has been presented in micro-studies, there is inadequate census data on rural women's work in Bangladesh because:

- data on households are biased towards the primary earner not household workers;
- data on employment do not recognize the productive, so-called "domestic," work of women; and
- data on households and employment do not recognize changing household structures and changing employment patterns.

There is an obvious need to redefine both statistical tools and development instruments in recognition of women's contribution to national production. Given their significant contribution to national production, women need credit, training, inputs and services as much as men.
IV. Policy and Program Recommendations for Promoting Women's Work

**Recommendations for Promoting Employment**

1. National measures be taken to promote investment in rural labor-intensive industries to absorb female labor.

2. National measures be taken to promote employment of women in public work, food-for-work, and other rural employment schemes to overcome sex segregation in the wage labor market.

3. National measures be taken to restrict introduction of rice mills unless ownership and control can rest in the hands of those women who subsist off earnings from rice processing.

4. National measures be taken to restrict capital intensive intervention in the textile industry to insure integrity of the handloom sector.

5. Grass-roots measures be encouraged to promote employment schemes for women in nonagricultural production.

**Recommendations for Enhancing Productivity**

1. Assessment should be taken of the present range of productive contribution by women with a view to a) enhance output/productivity; and b) transform subsistence-level productive activities to a commercial level;

2. Sources of credit, technical assistance, training inputs, extension services should be established to reach women.
In all of this, priority should be: 1) to give to those women most in need of enhanced employment and/or productive opportunities, that is, women from below-subsistence, subsistence, and female-headed households; and 2) to organizing these women in cooperatives, unions, or other groups to facilitate the mobilization of employment and productive resources.
SOME OBSERVATIONS OF THE PRODUCTIVE ROLE OF WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IN THE ANDES*

Amalia Alberti
International Development and Education Center
Stanford University

I would like to address two main issues: the first focuses on the productive role of women and the relationship of that role to development policy, and the second on the methodologies employed in the actual conduct of the research. Specific reference will be made to the central highlands of Ecuador where women have traditionally played an active role in subsistence oriented production as indicated in the accompanying tables. Let's take a moment to review them.

Sexual Division of Labor by Agricultural Tasks on Small Farms in the Central Highlands of Ecuador

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>Corn</th>
<th>Basic Crops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plowing</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting</td>
<td>F&amp;M</td>
<td>F&amp;M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeding</td>
<td>F&amp;M</td>
<td>M&amp;F occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilling up a</td>
<td>F&amp;M</td>
<td>M&amp;F occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topping b</td>
<td>F&amp;M occasionally</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting</td>
<td>F&amp;M</td>
<td>F&amp;M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processing for family consumption</td>
<td>F&amp;M occasionally</td>
<td>F&amp;M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sorting and storing)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale (usually of an entire lot)</td>
<td>M&amp;F</td>
<td>M&amp;F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seed selection</td>
<td>F&amp;M occasionally</td>
<td>F&amp;M occasionally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Shovelling earth up around the base of the plant to prevent it from falling over when exposed to strong winds or heavy rain.
b Removing the tassle and upper leaves from a corn plant after pollination but while the plant is still growing.

Source of tables: data collected in the field.

*Amalia Alberti, a Ph.D. candidate at Stanford University, is presently working on a dissertation tentatively entitled: "The Changing Roles of Women and Household Subsistence in Peasant Societies in Transition: A Case from the Central Ecuadorian Andes."
This table presents the sexual division of labor with respect to households comprised of at least one adult female and one adult male with access of up to approximately two hectares used for subsistence oriented agriculture. The male partner is frequently engaged in off-farm employment so that these landholdings are generally managed by the female partner. The agricultural decision-making is shared. (The results of the household survey, discussed below, show that 22% of the households have access to .5 hectares or less, 66% have access to 2 hectares or less, and 88% to 5 hectares or less.)

The second table lists those animals likely to be found on a small farm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th># found in average household</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>5-10 fully grown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea pigs</td>
<td>5-10 fully grown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbits</td>
<td>infrequently(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Most people could raise rabbits but prefer not to do so. They represent a higher risk: rabbits are more susceptible to disease than other small animals and cannot tolerate variations in their feeding schedule.

It is important to be aware that it is the woman's responsibility to insure that food for the livestock is available on a daily basis (keeping in mind that we are referring to small farms).
In the following discussion I intend to illustrate that despite the extent of the women's role in agricultural and livestock production, especially at the subsistence oriented level, that role is often entirely ignored, and at other times seemingly deliberately eroded through efforts presumably focused on development.

First, let's look at credit. Traditionally informal sources of credit have been available within the local community to those persons who are considered reliable, at times irrespective of their collateral. Gender, as such, is not a criteria.

When formal credit programs are introduced it is invariably the male partner who is required to sign the necessary forms although it may be the female partner who in fact has made all the preliminary arrangements for the loan, and who herself may qualify for credit independent of her male partner. Women who are widowed or who are single heads-of-household may apply. However, in these cases, a male, preferably related, must also sign as a guarantor for the loan. Formal credit programs exclude partnered women and restrict unpartnered women's direct access to credit. Nevertheless, in the event of the male partner's death, the woman becomes financially responsible for the debt.

As a second category, let's look at efforts focused on improving livestock production.

The first example recounts the experience of an investigator (Eduadorian university student affiliated with the Ministry of Agriculture) conducting an experiment to measure the effect of different types of feed on the weight gain of guinea pigs. The arrangements for the on-farm experiment were made by the male investigator with the male head-of-household. The last weekend of the
first month of the trial (designed for three months duration) 55 of the 60 guinea pigs died. They died of bloat. Bloat results when animals are fed grasses with an excessive moisture content. Unfortunately the investigator who was feeding the guinea pigs himself had been unaware of the practice the women follow of spreading out and drying the grasses before feeding the animals. It had rained; the necessary precautions were not taken. Consequently the guinea pigs died.

The investigator changed sites. This time he conferred with the woman of the household incorporating her knowledge into the management practices of the experiment. The trial was successfully completed. However, neither the details surrounding the failure of the first trial, nor the adjustments prompted by it, will ever be written up. The woman's role remains invisible.

The woman's role in agricultural and livestock production is again ignored when extension programs are offered in rural areas. Men attend; women do not. As I have correctly been told, women are never excluded. However, as I see it, the problem is that women are never actively included. Word-of-mouth is the normal means of communication. Male extension workers tell male farmers that a course is to be offered. The farmers tell their male friends. If a woman learns of the course at all it is probably as a male member of the household announces where he is going!

Third, let's consider efforts aimed at increased agricultural production, specifically through the use of new varieties of higher yielding seed. Though we will focus on a corn variety, there are parallel examples from around the world such as certain rice varieties in Asia.
In highland Ecuador the adoption of a higher yielding corn variety has met with resistance. The new variety produces more corn. At the same time it produces less plant matter thus providing less fodder for the livestock. On small farms the women are generally responsible to provide food for the livestock. The corn stalk fodder constitutes an emergency food supply for the livestock until other food sources become available (within the agricultural cycle). This is a labor-intensive survival strategy engaged in primarily by those households operating at a subsistence or below subsistence level. It is highly labor intensive because each plant is individually selected for topping according to its stage of maturity. Resistance to the new corn variety is coming mainly from those households within which the women who normally engage in this labor intensive survival strategy reside.

Unfortunately, agricultural research institutes do not generally consider the multiple utilities of crops. Their criteria tend to be telescopic, focusing on increased grain production to the exclusion of any other considerations. Hence, the negative feedback, independent of the context from which it derives meaning, is incomprehensible to the research institutes. If and when the multiple utilities of crops are taken into account some of the less visible dimensions of plant/animal interaction will be brought into view and some light shed on the hidden aspects of the woman's role in sustaining that cycle.

Finally, let's consider efforts to increase off-farm employment opportunities in rural areas. I know of a proposal which is under study to bus women and their young children -- because child care is to be provided -- to a factory to be built in a nearby community to process
Apple butter. Married women from near landless households are the stated target population for the jobs. It seems to me that this plan fails to take the partnered woman's role as caretaker of the animals and preparer of the food into account. If these additional responsibilities are recognized, it becomes apparent that young single women and possibly men will be the persons actually seeking these jobs, rather than married women.

To the extent that one of the project's goals is to increase the cash resources available to the family, the effect of the proposed project is questionable. If the male partner takes the job, then it is possible that the cash resources available to the family on a regular basis will increase since spouses tend to invest their income in the household. However, if it is the young single woman, that is to say, the daughter of the household, who takes the job, then the outcome of increased cash available to the household is doubtful. The reason for this is that each individual has the right to manage his/her own resources. Adult children living at home are not obliged to contribute cash to the family, though in fact those earning a wage generally do. However, they will contribute only a portion of their income. The remainder will probably go into savings for that individual, more than likely in the form of investment in an animal. So the ultimate effect on partnered women of this particular off-farm employment design, if it is put into action, may well be twofold: first, it may reduce the reserve labor directly available to the household to the extent that either the daughter and/or the male partner previously helped out; and, second, it
may well increase her workload in an absolute sense to the extent that the number of animals to be cared for increases.

What I wish to emphasize with this last scenario is the importance of planners having an awareness of socially assigned duties and responsibilities accorded to various household members fulfilling various roles. To name the target group of a project in no way assures that in practice that group will function in the expected manner. Either the population, in this case the community members, will adapt the project to suit its own circumstances, or, if the project is overly rigid, it may well fail.

Having recently returned from two and a half years in Ecuador, it has been suggested that I briefly discuss the methodology employed. In doing so I will first indicate that my husband, Tully Cornick, was also conducting research in the same area, his focus being the social organization of production. Consequently, in both the quantitative and qualitative techniques employed, we tended to complement each other. Our efforts to share responsibility for the tasks were not simply a reflection of our attempts to divide the work, but a recognition of the fact that each of us had access to somewhat different information be it by virtue of our genders, personalities, expressed interests, or the like.

Roger Kirkby, by profession a plant breeder, was also conducting research in a number of communities which included the same three communities in which Tully and I concentrated our efforts. Due to the nature of his research, his methodology differed; nevertheless, we often exchanged information informally, an opportunity I think we all agree was beneficial for each of us. But, then, one need not necessarily be
engaged in research to contribute to this information exchange. For example, on more than one occasion our now seven year old son drew attention to occurrences and views he was exposed to through contact with friends and neighbors that we might otherwise have never noticed. Much can be said for teams diversified by sex, age, and interests, provided that a willingness to exchange information and learn from each other exists.

With some searching, secondary data on an area can often be uncovered. In our case the most recent information available consisted of a survey of agricultural and livestock practices completed shortly before our arrival in country. Since there is no reference to gender, the survey gives no indication that women work in either agricultural or livestock production. We now know that they do. However, it was only after some time had been spent in systematic observation and purposive interaction in the research area that the extent of the participation of women in agricultural and livestock production became apparent. Therefore, from my personal experience, I cannot overemphasize the value of participant observation. This personal experience in the field provides the researcher with the opportunity to perceive dimensions about which s/he may not formerly have been aware. Put simply, "Until you've been in the field, you don't know what you don't know." At the same time the experience allows her/him to verify the existing data base. Once I became aware of the extent of women's work in agriculture and animal husbandry, I knew that the survey data, however accurate it might be, was incomplete. In addition, the first-hand exposure aids the researcher to
better formulate those specific questions s/he wants to ask, whether through a survey or a one-to-one exchange.

The incident I am about to relate is an aside, but for me it illustrated why it is important to try to do something oneself, even when it looks obvious. Perhaps I can convey some of that sense to you.

From our home in the research area -- clouds permitting -- we could see three snow-capped volcanoes. Their proximity, combined with an altitude of over 9,000 feet, means that the hottest equatorial sun rays are almost always accompanied by chilly winds. Therefore, local wisdom dictates that neither man, woman, nor child takes off any of the, at least two but usually three, shirts or sweaters worn beneath the shawl or poncho, though these latter are occasionally removed. Now, I enjoy hot, sunny days and they were rare. Hence, I made no effort to contain my delight at the sun's appearance. However, on one such day I happened to help a family hoe their potatoes for about an hour. As a result, I quickly learned why persons working outdoors had never seemed to share my pleasure in the warming rays. Demanding physical labor, hot sun, and chill winds not only make an uncomfortable combination, but when occurring together, are considered to be a major cause of illness. As a result, I learned to conceal my enthusiasm for those sunny days I was yet to experience in this dramatic Andean setting.

In addition to participant observation, Tully and I conducted time allocation studies with eight families for up to a one year period. We visited the households approximately every eighth day, taking turns in going whenever possible so as to capitalize on our access to different information. These families also became principal sources of our
participant observation experiences since we were invariably drawn into other activities while there to record the time allocation data. These people also became some of our closest friends.

Finally, Tully and I conducted a survey, a three part questionnaire administered to a stratified random sample of 71 households. Unless we knew beforehand that there was only one adult in the home, we went together. Tully interviewed the male and I interviewed the female partner. (For anyone who might be interested in more detail about either the time allocation study or the survey, I'll gladly discuss it with you afterwards.)

There are two points I wish to make in summing up. The first was alluded to earlier, namely, the importance of taking into account the various sub-groupings of women. I suggest that it is often an over-simplification and occasionally actually misleading to address ourselves in general to women, or, as in this case, even to peasant women. It is often critically important to distinguish among women on a number of variables including class, marital status, ethnicity, position on the rural-urban dimension, or whatever the relevant characteristics are with relation to the point in question. From the point of view of policy, the impact of certain decisions may not fall either directly or equally on all women but vary differentially according to their position with respect to these variables. We need to not only be aware of this, but also to provide and encourage active consideration of this information before the policy decisions are made.

Lastly, let us assume that policy decisions have been taken with the relevant considerations in mind. Then the next question becomes one of
who will implement these policies. As a case in point, in the central highlands of Ecuador cultural norms dictate that women do not frequently or freely associate with men outside their own families. When, in addition, a status differential is introduced, as is the case with ministry technicians, the resulting barriers to communication are further intensified. Therefore, it seems to me that conscious efforts must be taken to employ women at the professional level. Women can and should be involved both in the initial stages of self-conscious planning and in the subsequent implementation of programs actively incorporating women as participants in the development process.
FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND URBAN STRUCTURE:
The Case of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico

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Much recent attention has been focused on the increased use of female labor in so-called free production zones in newly industrialized countries. Excellent studies of the new female industrial labor force in countries such as Mexico, Malaysia and South Korea have suggested that the employment of female labor does not represent a solution to the unemployment and underemployment dilemmas which most of these countries face. Instead, it has the effect of enlarging the pool of industrial workers and therefore the number of people seeking employment. Another finding which can be derived from the case studies which have been done on this labor force in a wide range of socioeconomic settings is that the implications of female employment will vary. The culturally defined role of women in the household, the general level of economic development in the country and region in which the industrial activities are established, and, related to this, the employment options available to other household members, are among the factors which will determine the effect of female employment on the household and, by extension, the regional socioeconomy.

My research concerns a region where industrialization is occurring in the new mode, that is export-based, using a predominantly young female labor force, and heavily concentrated in the electronics industry. The
questions I am considering, however, are somewhat different from those which have been asked in those studies which have focused specifically on the female labor force. My questions derive, at least in part, from a recognition that women have always worked in industrial settings and that there is a significant history of industrialization using a predominantly female labor force. In light of this experience, some broader questions suggested themselves: 1) How does the introduction of this type of industrial development reflect changing production conditions in the world economy? 2) Given these new conditions, how does export-based industrialization affect the internal economy of the city or region within which it occurs? And, finally, 3) What are the implications of this type of industrialization for households in various occupational and income groups?

Before presenting some preliminary findings which relate to these broader questions, it might be useful to describe the particular case which has provided the basis for my inquiry. Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico has only evolved as an industrial city, a "little Detroit," as it has been dubbed, since the mid-1960's. Its history before that time can very simply be characterized as one of isolation from the major growth centers of the United States and Mexico, as a transfer point for the shipment of raw materials to the manufacturing centers of the Midwestern United States and as a labor depot for Mexican workers moving across the border to work in the United States. In the post World War II period in general and accelerating in the 1960's, a series of regional shifts in capital investment began to occur. In the United States, we tend to associate this regional restructuring of the national economy with the
rise of the Sunbelt. The basic economic processes contributing to the
growth of some regions and the decline of others were the centralization
of capital accompanying the growth of transnational firms and a set of
technological advances spurred by the necessity to increase productivity
and cut costs in an era of increasing global competition. As a
consequence of these two developments, a more discrete spatial
differentiation among labor forces and potential labor forces became
possible. One of the factors which hindered the location of manufacturing
in the El Paso-Ciudad Juarez area, transport costs, decreased in
importance. The other factor, its relatively unskilled labor force,
became an asset to those firms now able to decompose their production
processes into subprocesses requiring different skill levels. The
limited regional market also became an insignificant factor as regional
production became increasingly geared to a national or international
market.

Since 1960, manufacturing growth in the El Paso-Ciudad Juarez
metropolitan area has been concentrated primarily in two industries,
electronics and apparel. In both of these industries, a significant
portion of the new manufacturing plants are located in Ciudad Juarez. In
the case of electrical machinery, equipment and supplies, the proportion
of plants established in Ciudad Juarez is 80% of the total number of
plants established. The majority of firms locating plants in the region,
and in Ciudad Juarez in particular, are creating jobs, but only at the
low end of the production spectrum. Electronics assembly plants, such as
the five operated by GTE Sylvania in Ciudad Juarez industrial parks, may
be only small links in a complex corporate production and administrative
hierarchy. The plant receives parts from places as diverse as Penang or Singapore, assembles a consumer electronics product and ships it to the U.S. for sale. The plant's operations are controlled by a division headquarters in upstate New York or Connecticut and its products designed by a research and development team located in the "Research Triangle" in North Carolina. The plant is ultimately owned by a transnational giant such as Phillips, headquartered in the Netherlands.

The emergence of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico as an industrial growth area can thus be explained in terms of broad scale changes in the world economy which are creating a new international division of labor. In essence, the reason for the industrial boom in this area is the cost and quality of its labor force. Ciudad Juarez can provide almost an ideal workforce for industrial assembly operations as a result of a history of female employment, and a relatively high level of basic education in combination with adherence to the traditional values of the Mexican family. This advantage was noted by D.W. Baerreson in a book advertising potential plant operators. According to Baerreson, "...it is often the daughter working in an industrial plant who becomes the main source of family income. Some families are supported almost entirely by the income of such a daughter. When the father doesn't work, it happens not infrequently that the daughter earns more.... Loss of a woman's factory job can represent a serious financial blow to her family. Thus we find that the members of a worker's family cooperate to ensure that she performs properly."

Certain trends in the Ciudad Juarez economy appear to be strongly connected to the growth in production jobs for young women which has
occurred since the mid-1960's. First, the region is experiencing an economic boom as a consequence of the expansion of the sheer number of jobs available in the industrial sector and in ancillary industries, such as construction. Increase in total household income has also stimulated growth in the consumer goods sector. While there is strong evidence of sectoral diversification in the economy, there appears to be little vertical diversification. As a result, there are few opportunities for upward mobility within the confines of the regional labor market. These opportunities are in fact decreasing relative to the size of the fast growing population. Unemployment in Ciudad Juarez, defined in terms of people looking for work, has increased since 1970 as has the number of wage earners per family. Finally, the economic gap which has long divided Ciudad Juarez and El Paso is lessening. This does not imply that Ciudad Juarez is moving to a higher level of prosperity along with El Paso but that both are growing as low wage, high unemployment areas, with Ciudad Juarez marginally better off than previously.

The particular character of economic development in this region is not only reflected in the changing occupational structure but in the economic strategies of individual households. Preliminary findings in this area indicate that fewer opportunities for upward mobility through the labor market put more pressure on the household to exploit its resources in the spheres of production and consumption. As was the case with households in new industrial cities of earlier eras, the composition of the family, in terms of dependents and producers, is an important determinant of which households are able to survive and which derive some benefits from the industrial boom. The number of wage earners in a
household affects the options of its members in a highly volatile and uncertain job market and speculative housing market. This in turn influences what comes to be perceived as the optimal household and family composition. Over the long run, this form of industrial development may create conditions in which a large number of households are extremely vulnerable to shifts in the world market economy. For, in addition to dependence on jobs which are highly recession-sensitive, they lack opportunities for fallback family investments, such as those in land or small business.

Finally, what is suggested by the changes occurring in Ciudad Juarez and presumably in other export base platform sites is that the household and the position of women cannot be considered in isolation. The household is formed and reformed as its members interact with the broader socioeconomic and respond to the opportunities and constraints with which it presents them.
The topic does not lend itself to development policies in the developing world. Family policy in Europe and the United States are more welfare state policies involving a variety of programs dealing with family problems. Social innovations are not more than 100 years old and there is not an explicit or rationalized family policy. In 1880, the German Kaiser introduced the Bismarckian Welfare State. However, the Welfare State Act is much more recent, only since 1950, and funding was low.

Western Europe and the United States have very different conceptions of welfare and state than traditional societies. Half their resources have been set aside for future contingencies through such programs as social security and transfer payments. In pre-industrialized states, kinship and federal relationships provided in terms of need. There was claim on the kin group - non-market work role. With the rise of industry, those claims broke down. This dislocation gave rise to the welfare state as an attempt to protect people against the destruction of the marketplace. As women and children were out of the factory or out of the labor force, families became more vulnerable in depending on a single pay check. Welfare for subsistence was needed. Hence, the invention of a range of social insurance programs to insure against various kinds of risks. Workers organized self-help insurance which represented a threat in less loyalty to the state. Bismarck explicitly
designed programs that would promote loyalty to the state. Out of that interest and the backing of Social Democratic parties, unions, accident insurance, sick pay, old age, health care, unemployment insurance, maternity and later family allowances emerged.

Along with the development of state programs, there was also a parallel development of the private welfare state. In countries that have not had the most rapid growth of public programs, such as in the United States, the private welfare state has grown rapidly and now equals the public welfare state, although these programs do not say anything about equality of protection, etc. Development of the welfare state has been criticized by conservatives. They find a zero correlation between productivity and the rise of the welfare state. Changes and ferment in the past few years regarding the welfare state are related to rising female labor force participation. Demands have been made by mothers not to give up their traditional roles, as in Sweden which systematically responds to these changes. The high level of economic security in Sweden does not depend on labor force participation. A less alienating workplace and less sexually segregated work take into account the ethical point of view. In the United States, the state deals with individuals and not families.
PROBING FUTURE DIRECTIONS: RESEARCH AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

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Some of the WID concerns do not easily yield policy recommendations. For example, the concept of "patriarchy" is a good concept for organizing women, but what policies would it imply? Only sweeping social changes would help to eliminate patriarchy; no modest incremental policy changes could affect its existence. The concept of "labor reserve" presents a similar problem. It is hard to change a labor reserve from a policy point of view.

Since revolutions are very costly, rarely feasible, and rarely accomplish much, we do need to develop policy changes and tools to deal with these issues. We must think through the following:

What are our objectives?
What is distinctive about women?
What are the defined issues?

Two areas seem relevant to these questions.

1) Discrimination: how women are treated differently from and worse than men.

2) Women's historical childbearing responsibilities and role: The role, health, and wealth of women affect their children, too. As this role is emphasized or downplayed, it affects policies.

Discrimination is a very complex social phenomenon, including the labor market and services available, such as credit and agricultural
extension. Policymakers don't know much about women in these areas, and need more studies, even "descriptive" ones on women, such as Jane Guyer's presentation this morning. These studies must show the implications of policies. Many policies are the result of a lack of consciousness, not of a planned international division of labor or other difficult, malicious regulations. Data and studies can change consciousness, as shown over the last 20 years.

We can expect change in things like bad credit for women. Researchers need to document the role and increase of single-parent households headed by women around the world, as in the Marty Chen paper this morning.

Wage differentials on the order of 4 to 1, and general labor market discrimination are very difficult either to study or to change. The two sexes don't do the same work equally well, e.g., women are not as efficient at heavy "public works" projects. Women are paid based on their productivity, and since they can't do heavy work as well, they are paid less. Women may have more manual dexterity, and hence do better working in the electronics industry. Women and men do have different abilities. Policy could therefore support women by supporting industries where women have a comparative advantage. Studies could find out what those advantages and industries are. It is not useful to try to eliminate wage differentials that simply reflect productivity differentials.

It is women's incomes that support children. Westerners forget that men's incomes may not go to support children. Since some crops are
considered "women's crops," supporting research on how to grow them would benefit both women and children.

Comments

I am less optimistic about raising the consciousness of planners. Current changes have occurred because of world shifts in power, and so on. International institutions have an institutional capacity to deal with people. Focusing on women is a useful way to remind oneself that one must look at and work with the specifics of a people, who are differentiated.
The women's movement appears in some of its aspects as a political constituency, pressing for specific alterations in the structure of power and resource distribution: appointment of women to high office; affirmative action in jobs; equal pay for equal work.

But this claiming movement, and its demands, is supported by and brings with it more subtle and pervasive shifts in ideas. The categories of gender run very deep in the structure of society. Since these categories of gender are built on the basis of natural differences of sex, and since the social roles of women are structured pervasively around commitments to the personal and interpersonal, turbulence in the societal definitions of women's rights shakes the categories which we feel as most natural, most taken for granted. In the same way, the unsettling of the settled understandings of women's nature and natural role creates turbulence in the categories of thought in many areas, since gender, one of the basic societal categories, enters into conceptualization of many issues.

We call attention here to four areas in which the women's movement seems to be bringing turbulence, the disturbance of established categories. These are the questions:
What is work?  
What is politics?  
What is art?  
What is morality?

What Is Work? And How Do We Evaluate and Reward It?

By defining housework as an aspect of social role, as womanliness, we have made it invisible as work, not serious, not valuable. A growing body of literature, arising out of the women's movement, demands that we take housework seriously.

But in trying to take housework seriously, we struggle with the categories of economic measurement. The women's movement, linked as it is to the revival of Marxism in the United States, finds itself in particular difficulties with the Marxist distinction between "productive" and "non-productive" work which threatens to de-value not only housework (except, perhaps, childbearing and rearing) but the commercialized services which are the housewife's alternative. Thus we find the Australian economist Patricia Apps reinterpreting housework as economically valuable production and, by extension, arguing that planners should reinterpret housing not as consumption but as the productive capital.

Development economics which comes out of a feminist perspective is calling attention to the importance of women's productive activities in the non-monetized ("subsistence") sector of rural agriculture, and as unpaid workers in the cash cropping activities of rural families in the developing countries (Geyer, Papanek). In so doing, they invite us to
reconsider the economic accounting which skews the calculation of "economic progress" by measuring the increase in production for the market, and neglects the effects of this expansion of market production on procedures and consumers (often women) in the subsistence sector. This kind of turbulence has reached the level of institutional adjustments: the World Bank now demands appraisal of the effects of its projects on women. One may imagine that these efforts will tend to support more far-reaching demands for intellectual re-ordering, as for example the position that since measures of economic growth register the monetization of the economy as much as they do production of goods and services, we should develop more qualitative, and more critical, appraisal of what we have called "progress" (Donaldson).

Mainstream economists have managed rather comfortably with explaining rewards to labor via concepts of marginal productivity and human capital. The women's movement creates turbulence here also. It calls attention to the political and institutional aspects of wage-setting, and directs attention to the occupational division of labor as a societal process which can be argued about, and with respect to which claims can be made. "Wages" and "jobs" become conceptually problematic.

What Is Politics?

"I would ask her to prepare bath for me. She would pretend to demur but she would do it just the same." In beginning a book on Sexual Politics with this quotation from a novel by Henry Miller, Kate Millett
redefined politics. Women have brought control of the human body, sexual choice, even positions in intercourse into politics.

But if we define politics, as Kate Millet does, as "power-structured relationships: arrangements whereby one group of persons is controlled by another," we shall see that this women's view of it extends into many areas. There must then be a politics of landlords and tenants; a politics of doctors and patients (as indeed Sclar tells us); a politics of teachers and students; a politics of social workers and clients.

What Is Art?

It has been noted, in thinking about housework, that one would rarely think of food preparation and serving as a subject for serious aesthetic criticism; the one philosopher of aesthetics who has tried it obviously thought of his attempt as a radical innovation. Feminists are probably somewhat less likely than the average American to think of cookery as a subject worthy of serious consideration by an intelligent person.

Nevertheless, feminism may also create some turbulence in the category of "art," and, specifically, the boundary between "art" and "craft."

In the working categories of daily life, it is evident that a painting by Josef Albers is art; a patchwork quilt, on the other hand, craft. But how do we know this? Indeed, the comparison is obviously structured to raise the issues, as the two works represent rather similar aesthetic principles.
The art historian Douglas Fraser is quoted (Cordry 1980) as distinguishing art and crafts as follows: "objects of paramount importance" usually associated with "high spiritual values" can be regarded as art; utilitarian objects produced by "slow repetitive" processes are classified as crafts. In the main, art is created by men, crafts by women.

Let us think about quilts in the context of this way of distinguishing arts from crafts. We would have to note, first, that the two have at the outset very different relationships to the world of art interpretation. The quilt has its placing in the domestic world of women, the Albers painting in the men's world of galleries and art criticism. If the women who made quilts and the relatives and neighbors who admired them saw in them "spiritual values," these interpretations also remained within the domestic sphere. When quilts were first collected they were thought of by museums and historians as a craft in the framework of folk technology: an ingenious adaptation to materials shortages in a cold climate, and an expression of the maker's skill in construction. When quilts became "taken up" as folk art, they were experienced in the context of functionalism in art; it was geometric quilts which were admired, as an instance of the same "form follows function" doctrine which animates Bauhaus interior design and Nervi's writings on the beauty of bridges. As fashions shifted in the art world, representational and appliqué quilts also came to be admired as an ebullient folk art.

But we have a folk art identified not with its makers, but with its collectors.
The current interest in quilts brings forward some additional themes. It is both aesthetic and feminist. We now have books and a film embodying interviews with quilters; these serve both to bring forward the "spiritual component" in the intentions of quilt makers, and the (oddly unnoticed) fact that if there is folk art, there must be folk artists.

And is it so much more tedious to make a quilt than to paint an Albers or Vasarely?

What Is Morality?

Carol Gilligan, at Harvard, has been re-interpreting morality from a feminist perspective.

Her starting point was the "stages of moral development" elaborated by Lawrence Kohlberg on the model of Piaget's stages of intellectual development. In this scheme, the highest stage is represented by human rights, principles of general societal applicability: nearer to Kant, nearer to God, as one might say. Gilligan finds that women's moral reasoning takes another path. She tells us that "women's development can be traced through the evolution of a distinct moral language, the language of selfishness and responsibility, which identifies the moral problem not as one of fairness and rights, but rather as one of obligation and care. The infliction of hurt is considered to be selfish and immoral as the fulfillment of moral responsibility." From the women's perspective the morality of rights is not a higher stage than the morality of caring; they are different perspectives. While a masculine perspective, like Kohlberg's, may see women's moral judgments as
"inconclusive," "the morality of rights and non-interference may appear from a women's perspective as a frightening justification of indifference and unconcern."

Thus it turns out that gender differentiation underlies even the categories of moral judgment, and when the women's movement creates turbulence, the turbulence will extend to this area also.
Development is too often considered to be the same as modernization, which is a component of capitalism. We need to question our definition of development. The consequences of this outlook are the following:

Women are seen to be subordinate, and are not remunerated well because of childrearing burdens and discrimination. But when does childrearing become a burden and does it have to be one?

People are now realizing that gender is a major variable to study. This causes a reformulation of one's thinking. There are still few tools to measure women's non-remunerated economic contributions. We must redefine economy in a less market-oriented way.

Women's subordination is due to her ability to reproduce and rear children. Therefore the answer to discrimination stemming from this is to monetize this area. Daycare and more equal education and sex education are helpful, but are not sufficient, because even though more women work for money now, their wages don't improve.

My research at the Mexican-American border showed 1) a global trend exemplifying the relations of LDC's and DC's, in which U.S. men manage Mexican women making high-tech electronic products in an "international partnership." There are high production quotas and not very high wages. Electronics is the precursor to the rest of the world market, and typifies both light and heavy industry: e.g., the redefinition of skill levels to produce "deskilling," and fragmentation of jobs; and the
greater centralization of control, with there being parallels in males and DC's as controllers, and females and LDC's as being controlled.

Such industrialization does 1) provide jobs, and 2) incorporate women into the labor force without the women having to actually become prostitutes or housemaids, as they would have done without these new jobs. These industries mix abundant DC capital with abundant LDC labor. Although women are said to be getting more autonomy, etc., from this work than they would otherwise have, still they are not receiving a fair wage, compared to DC workers. Such wage comparisons are appropriate since this is an international work force. The MNC's just go to any country where there is high unemployment so they can get a better choice of workers. Since these women are usually the primary wage earners in a family, and their men are unemployed, how does this affect our notion of patriarchy and how it is carried out?

Therefore, in order to increase our knowledge of gender as a social construct, we must closely examine the basic principles of economics and politics. We cannot, for example, assume that remuneration increases the workers' autonomy. Gender is as important as race or class in analysis.

With regard to the definition of productive work, there are conflicts between more technical and more general definitions. Concerning wage differentials, one must consider both the demand for and supply of labor, both between and within sectors. Women are preferentially hired for various social and political reasons in certain jobs, e.g., they are politically vulnerable. Women must be docile laborers if their other options are prostitution, and if they are the primary wage earner in the family.
The state is very selective in what policies it chooses to implement, so one must also do grass roots mass organizing to make a dent. One must study people at the grass roots level.

Comments

1) One must consider traditional male and female socialization. Because of this, change may be rapid in one area, such as women working, and slow overall, because, for example, men don't start raising the children when their wives work.

2) In research, jobs are taken as a given whole, but one should analyze the tasks that make up a job.

3) One must look at who held jobs before women held them. Maybe jobs are deliberately made to be non-comparable and thus to permit unequal wages.

4) The work force is being "feminized" for all workers.
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I am speaking from a non-capitalist, Southern, agricultural perspective. We must look at the totality of women's global exploitation. The individual woman has multiple interacting sources of exploitation. Third World women are at least doubly oppressed. In the Third World, childbirth is the main source of women's short life span. Policymakers must contact women at all social levels, so that women can make their own choices. The few women policymakers must be vehicles for the masses of women, even though these women policymakers have little autonomy, since men still control the cash everywhere. Male policymakers won't see women as both women and poor, just as poor. Developed country women must learn the language of LDC women, act as translators for LDC women to the patriarchs, and must not duplicate the patriarchy's priorities. We need feminist priorities in development. Though developed country women may face paralysis of the will (due to tiredness) and of the intellect (due to a lack of new ideas), they must encourage themselves and keep on.

At the U.N. Development and New International Economic Order (NIEO) Conference in May to July of 1980, there was very little feminist consciousness. For example, the NIEO calls for the abolition of developed country barriers to LDC textiles. Yet, developed country aid

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repeatedly forgets to deal with such areas as the handloom sector of textile production, which is the female sector. We need to arrive at a women's view of all types of areas, such as reforestation and energy development.

Concerning research priorities:
1) First, we should think of what our priorities should be.

2) Then we must act at all levels in all countries. The women's (and others') alternative structures movement is excellent. We also need direct feminist interventions, such as the women's deforestation protest in North India.

We do need to follow an incremental reform strategy, but that alone will only result in equality for men and oppression for women.

Comments
1) We need less emphasis on an exclusively patriarchy-type of analysis. Instead, we need to integrate patriarchy and other types of class analysis.

2) Patriarchy may be the broader phenomenon, with class oppression (such as in feudalism and capitalism) being just variants of that phenomenon. Because this patriarchy analysis is relatively new, we need an extra focus on it now to make up for lost time.

3) It's not important which is biggest or first, patriarchy or capitalism; instead, we should just recognize that they interact, and that the important things are the specific natures of societies.
4) How do we keep our research from just gathering dust? We must do documentary films and journalism, etc., to keep our research from gathering dust. The right kind of good research must be made to penetrate people's consciousness.

5) Women must be well trained and well organized for power. An economic analysis alone doesn't consider and hasn't yet figured out how to analyze women and childbearing, which women do while working a "regular job"; such childbearing is a literal "reproduction" of the society.