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Regional Conference on Education,
Vocational Training and Work
Opportunities for Girls and
Women in African Countries

Rabat, 20-30 May 1971

FACTORS AFFECTING EDUCATION, TRAINING
AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN
WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

1. During the past decade women themselves, men, governments and international agencies have articulated their awareness of the actual and potential role of women in development, and have launched both special and integrated programmes to advance it. The question before this Conference is how to increase the involvement of women in economic and social development, in the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services toward the final objective of creating better lives - with greater freedom and well-being - for members of the family, of the local community and of the nation as a whole. It is also the question of how to develop and put to full use human resources, especially of girls and women, in order to expedite the provision of this better standard of living for the maximum number of persons.
2. At Addis Ababa, in 1969, the Regional Meeting on the Role of Women in National Development succeeded in examining a very wide range of factors - including civic, political and socio-economic - which are instrumental in the slow development of African human (women) resources and their effective utilization for national development. The general recommendations which issued from the Addis Ababa meeting provided an opportunity for the Preparatory Conference, in Berlin in 1970, to identify the specific question of "education, training and work opportunities" as the crucial issue for more intensive consideration by this second Africa regional meeting. Thus, the general observations and the conclusions of the Preparatory Conference ^{1/} are intended to shift the focus of the attention of this Conference, from a mere critical examination of the problems facing the countries of Africa to a more purposeful consideration of what concrete actions and measures need be taken at the national, regional and international levels, in order to accelerate the promotion of education, vocational training and work opportunities for girls and women, within the context of national development.
3. This paper discusses the topic of the plenary session: Factors affecting education, training and work opportunities for girls and women within the context of development. Part I considers various underlying influences on the education, training and employment of girls and women, including historical and contemporary factors; policies and programmes of governments; policies and programmes of international and national public and voluntary agencies; and woman's own self-image and men's perceptions of the role and status of women. Part II is an outline of three areas relevant to the theme of the Conference: (1) education and training as preparation for employment; (2) employment of women: general observations, rural employment, urban employment; and (3) social services related to work. Part II covers the topics proposed for the three committees of the Conference. In the annex, questions are posed to stimulate committee discussion; they are

^{1/} See Berlin Conference document, "Women in Economic and Social Development in Africa", 6-10 July 1970 (Vols. I and II).

based upon the conclusions and recommendations of earlier conferences. In each section, the question is asked: what are the priority areas and programmes for increasing women's participation in national development? (Priority areas and programmes are defined as those which affect the largest number of people and/or have a demonstration or stimulation effect which provokes change throughout the society).

PART I - UNDERLYING INFLUENCES ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT
OF GIRLS AND WOMEN WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT

A. Historical influences

4. Many factors have influenced the distinctions based upon sex which prevail in the division of labour in Africa. These have affected women's role in varying degrees, in different parts of the continent; and, with greater or lesser subtlety, have tended to mould the attitudes of men toward women and of women toward their own role. Historically, they include the economic necessities of the subsistence economy, cultural and religious traditions, and the attitudes, beliefs and practices of traders, colonial administrators and missionaries. A subsistence economy, with its nearly total dependence on the inconsistencies of nature, tends to dictate certain clearly defined roles; and, in Africa, these generally gave specific and separate duties to males and females 1/. Cultural traditions have a strong impact on sex roles in society; and the tenets of various religions in Africa, define different status and tasks for women. Colonial agents, traders and missionary persons, mostly from the western world, introduced their own cultural concepts of the role of women, and are identified as contributors to women's loss of status in Africa 2/.

5. These historical factors and the attitudes which they provoked need recognition if change is to be effected at all and with the least possible violence to persons and their lifeways. This paper acknowledges the primary importance of attitudes when choices of how and where to involve women in economic development are made. Attitudes vary from country to country and from place to place. This Conference may find it important to detail some of them, since they tend to underly every discussion and influence every decision as regards the development and function of institutions of the society. They may or may not have foundation in reality; and where they act as constraints on the modernization process, they can be changed or modified if sufficiently compelling alternatives are presented and appropriate measures are adopted.

B. Contemporary influences

6. While attitudes evolve historically, they are also in process of formation every day. Among the contemporary influences which derive from and form attitudes on the education, training and employment of girls and women, three have been major topics of discussion in earlier conferences: (a) the policies and programmes of governments; (b) the policies and programmes of international and national public and voluntary agencies functioning

1/ Margaret Meade, in Male and Female, London 1950, notes the existence of both male and female ruled societies in pre-industrial societies.

2/ Ester Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development, New York, 1970, Part I.

in Africa; and (c) woman's self-image and the perception of men as regards the role and status of women. The policies and programmes of governments and of national and international organizations are themselves largely influenced both by the historical influences noted above and by the contemporary situations. Thus, contemporary policies and actions are subject to change, as the Conferences at Addis Ababa and Berlin and those of the Commission on the Status of Women and others have clearly recognized. Similarly, the attitudes of men toward women and of women toward their own role in national development are subject to change. In fact, this change is already increasingly evident in our contemporary African society.

(a) The policies and programmes of governments

7. The Berlin Preparatory Conference concluded that women should "get into the planning machinery both at the national and international levels" and "take a more active part in institutions concerned with economic and social development", ^{1/} in recognition of the influence of policies and plans on the future role of women in development. In this regard, the Conference may wish to consider and suggest specific actions and measures by which such greater participation of women in the process of development planning and programming could be brought about, at the national level. It would also be pertinent to take into account the following contemporary situational factors:

- that in most African countries, there are yet no appropriate machinery: for identifying manpower needs and training requirements; for programming the training of nationals (men and women) to meet these requirements; and for formulating realistic policies and programmes for the more effective utilization of available human resources, whether in the rural or in the urban sector;
- that the large reserve of the African woman labour force is to be found in the rural sector;
- that there is at present a dearth of social and demographic statistics regarding the structure and characteristics of the national labour force and, in particular the needs and potentialities of women; and
- that there exist, in many African countries, discriminatory customs and legislations, which prevent women from playing their full role in family, community and national affairs and/or which deny women the right to certain types or conditions of employment.

^{1/} Berlin Report, op. cit., Volume I, paragraph 72.

(b) The policies and programmes of international and national public and voluntary agencies functioning in Africa

8. The Addis Ababa Conference recommended that "closer co-operation among the activities of the United Nations bodies in the field of women's programmes should be encouraged"^{1/}. The United Nations General Assembly, in January 1971, adopted a resolution on a programme of concerted international action for the advancement of women, ^{2/}on the basis of a study initiated some years ago. Evidence of co-operative efforts among United Nations agencies concerned with the advancement of women on the level of policy and planning is clear from the UNICEF paper made available to this conference - an "assessment of projects for the education and training of women and girls for family and community life" ^{3/}undertaken jointly by UNICEF, the United Nations Social Development Division and FAO. Participation of international agencies and non-governmental organizations at this conference and those which preceded it also testify to a shared concern, on the highest levels. But this conference has set for itself to look at the action level, to "evaluate on-going women's programmes of the United Nations family of organizations and of OAU, in Africa, to consider the overall impact and effectiveness of such programmes ... and ... ways and means of achieving more effective regional and international co-operation ..." ^{4/}. The task is a very specific one, and it is possible to accomplish it here. There are three levels for consideration: (1) the international - including the United Nations Social Development Division, the Commission on the Status of Women and the specialized United Nations agencies (WHC, FAO, ILO UNESCO, UNICEF); (2) the Africa regional level, including ECA, OAU and regional women's organizations; and (3) the national level, including governments and voluntary associations. (Examples of the activities at all levels are given in this and the other papers before this conference).

9. In addition to the work of governments and of the international agencies, there exists for consideration that of international voluntary institutions, which have, for example, been credited with "some of the best work in rural development at the stage of initial breakthrough from traditional subsistence farming to a more modernized form" ^{5/}. Their rural work has included agricultural and land settlement schemes, education and training, family health and nutrition, child care services, youth schemes, famine and refugee relief, and research activities. Are these missions, foundations, volunteer programmes and voluntary agencies, as well as national agencies, such as the German Foundation for Developing

^{1/} Report of the Regional Meeting on the Role of Women in National Development, Addis Ababa, 17-26 March 1969, paragraph 104.

^{2/} A/RES/2716 (XXV).

^{3/} I/CEF/Misc. 169.

^{4/} Addis Ababa Report, op. cit., paragraph 139.

^{5/} Project Statement on a Proposed Symposium on Rural Development in the 1970's, UNECA, 15 January 1971.

Countries, SIDA, etc., in sufficiently close co-operation with international agencies and national governments and voluntary associations to effect a "concerted action for the advancement of women", particularly in education, vocational training and work opportunities? Is co-operation between the international and regional United Nations agencies satisfactory?

(c) Women's self-image and men's perception of the role and status of women

10. Men, women, governments and international agencies appear now to have accepted the principle that woman-power is essential to development; but there remain obstacles in practice. The Addis Ababa Conference agreed that "some customs and traditions tend to reduce women to second class citizens, even though most rights have been granted to women by law" 1/. Second class citizens are known to lack self-confidence (in any country or situation), and so to narrow their self-perception of their possible roles in the society. Women on every continent are re-examining the sources of their submission - looking at the historical and contemporary influences which shape it. Women of Africa are asking whether present attitudes of men and women toward participation of women in economic development are based upon fact or myth? Was women's role in traditional societies one of production and distribution of goods for the society? How does this compare or contrast with her modern role? Was her role altered by the influences of traders, colonialists and missionaries? What is the impact of the modern (industrialized) influences? Are attitudes toward participation of women in the modern sector different in rural than in urban areas? Are there differences between men's attitudes toward women and women's toward themselves? Do attitudes of adults vary from those of youth? Are university women - faculty and students - aware of their potential influences as members of the small group of educated persons in the society?

11. Given the facts of contemporary attitudes and the forces which form them, the Addis Ababa Conference noted that it is women themselves "who can improve their position by organizing themselves into a force and taking the initiative in every field in which they want changes to be made" 2/. It identified many fields in which manpower is important, and emphasized that young women should receive preference in training and education, and that leadership training is necessary. Within the context of national development, it remains for this conference to establish priority areas where women's training will have the greatest influence on attitudes and on development itself. What are the most critical fields where women will influence policy and programmes for participation of women during this development decade?

1/ Addis Ababa Report, op. cit., paragraph 88.

2/ Addis Ababa Report, op. cit., paragraph 83.

PART II - EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SERVICES

- (1) Education and training as preparation for employment
(See also annex, for suggested questions for Committee I)

12. Participation in the production and distribution of goods in a modern society demands new knowledge, most often dependent upon literacy as a minimum of education. The Berlin Conference noted the "key importance of education and training" (90). Independent African countries have recognized the need for educating their daughters, particularly in the formal education streams, and so the percentage of girls enrolled in primary and secondary schools rises annually, although it is less satisfactory at university level. Table 1 illustrates these trends. Opportunities for literacy training are offered to adult women - often with government, voluntary organizations and UNESCO assistance. But this recognition is not often extended to vocational education which would prepare girls and adult women for economic participation, as can be seen in Table 2.

13. In the professional fields, training areas most open to women are those which follow from their responsibilities as wives and mothers, such as teaching, nursing and social work. Few women are trained for business, industry or administration, or for modernization of their economic roles as farmers, craftsmen and marketers. The latter are roles which previously contributed to women's status in the community and, more importantly from the perspective of this seminar, to development of people, of the nation. In some instances, education and vocational training are clearly labelled "for men only"; in other cases, girls and women themselves fail to request admission to specialized schools, or to demand extension services ^{1/}.

14. Studies of formal education which demonstrate that parents give educational preference to their sons because education is understood as preparation for employment ^{2/} have special implications in the field of vocational education. Parental and governmental reasoning, although not always articulated, is straightforward: girls are expected to marry, and home-making and motherhood tasks can be learned at home; women are not expected to be wage-earners. At least in part because of these attitudes, education for economic development is in effect reserved almost exclusively for boys and men. This fact is demonstrated more particularly in this paper in discussion of rural and urban employment.

^{1/} See Berlin Report, op. cit., Volume II. ILO Document: "The Employment and Vocational Preparation of Girls and Women in Africa", page 78 and following.

^{2/} Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, "Traditional Attitudes Towards Women: A Major Constraint on Rural Development". Paper presented to the 1970 Universities of East Africa Social Science Conference, Dar-es-Salaam, 27-31 December, page 49: "If working at a wage-earning job is incompatible with the traditional expectations of women, such a value of education automatically serves to exclude girls from consideration". See other studies also.

Table 1: Estimated female enrolment by level of education and by major areas and regions, 1950, 1960 and 1967

Africa	Year	Girls as percentage of total enrolment (Both sexes)			
		All 3 levels	First level	Second level	Third level
Western Africa	1950	23	23	21	11
	1960	34	35	25	12
	1967	37	38	30	15
Eastern Africa	1950	33	33	23	8
	1960	36	37	30	14
	1967	39	40	31	17
Middle Africa	1950	7	6	16	-
	1960	28	28	22	3
	1967	33	35	23	7
Northern Africa	1950	30	31	24	11
	1960	34	36	28	17
	1967	35	36	28	22
Southern Africa	1950	50	51	44	36
	1960	50	51	47	33
	1967	50	51	50	34
Africa (total)	1950	30	30	30	21
	1960	36	37	31	21
	1967	38	39	32	23
World Total	1950	43	43	41	32
	1960	43	44	42	33
	1967	43	44	43	37

Source: Statistical Yearbook, UNESCO, 1969.

Table 2: Percentages of girls in total enrolments in technical and vocational education in Africa

	<u>From 0 - 10%</u>	<u>From 10 - 20%</u>	<u>From 20 - 30%</u>	<u>From 30 - 40%</u>	<u>From 40 - 50%</u>	<u>50% and over</u>
Upper Volta	3	Ghana 10	Congo (Dem. Republic) 21	Ivory Coast 33		
Nigeria	4	Somalia 14		Senegal 33		
		Mali 15	Malawi 24.5	Dahomey 37.5		
Songo (Brazza.)	7.5	CAR				
		Guinea 19.5				

Source: UNESCO report to United Nations Commission on Status of Women (E/CN.6/498 of 2 January 1968, Table 1).

15. Decisions and recommendations at the Addis Ababa and Berlin Conferences recognize these realities about education and vocational training for women; they provide a broad base for selection of priority action areas at Rabat. Those seeming particularly relevant to our topic are: ("A" refers to the Addis Ababa Conference, and "B" to that of Berlin, Volume I; paragraphs in the respective reports are indicated by the numbers):

- In the general field of education and training, "top priority" should be afforded the training of trainers (A 111); training and promotion efforts should be concentrated on the young (B 76); youth employment and education schemes should involve girls equally with boys (B 83); the ILO programme for Africa Jobs and Skills is endorsed (B 74); "modern and effective leadership training" is an absolute essential (B 93); Africans should be trained in techniques of writing in order to produce instructional materials (A 129; B 93); all education and training should be integrated into national development (A 107), and it should include social, civic and economic studies (A 131);
- In the field of vocational training, technical and educative skills in commerce are stressed, such as book-keeping and the clerical arts - noting that these are specially important for the "self-employed, mostly illiterate women and girls" in both rural and urban areas (B 99); women need training for industry (B 93); training should be based upon manpower planning (B 96) and experimentation undertaken through pilot projects (B 92); vocational and career guidance should be included "alongside vocational training" (B 94) as well as in schools (A 112, 128); included in this training should be courses on psychology, family planning, rights of girls and women in employment, and social responsibilities (B 98); the number and variety of vocational skills need increase (A 105); governments and chambers of commerce, should take special responsibility for vocational training, the latter for executive and managerial personnel (A 120, 121); women should be trained in home economics and as home helpers (A 118);
- In the rural areas "new forms of prevocational training" need special attention, and may be developed through pilot projects (B 92); the integrated approach to rural development should make rural living more attractive (B 100); income-related activities for women need stress (B 75); it is "absolutely essential" to train rural personnel together with farm and village women who receive their services (B 101);
- Adult education and literacy training are major ingredients of manpower development and deserve serious planning (B 108 and 116); literacy training needs to be functional, geared to the environment of the students (B 109, 111); both literacy and other adult education need specially trained staff, new methods and modern materials (B 114, 115); literacy is particularly important in rural areas (A 106).

(2) Employment of women: General observations
(See also annex, for suggested questions for Committee II)

16. Education and employment opportunity are interrelated. Experts connect women's lag in participation in economic development to their lower level of literacy and of formal and non-formal education plus the limited field of employment possibilities open to them ^{1/}. As technology entered agriculture and international commerce dominated market trading, as colonial civil servants were replaced by African personnel, as businesses sought to localize their staffs, men have, on the whole, assumed the new roles. Only in the few professions identified for women - nursing, teaching, social work - are women working in any numbers in the modern sector, as is seen in Table 3. The specialization of labour which indicates and accompanies development has become a male prerogative in both rural and urban areas. Employment must necessarily relate to development planning, but existing manpower projections can be deceptive. They seldom recognize the needs of very small industries and trades such as those which women often undertake; and, in addition, they do not always include either the potential for expansion of these or the possibility of stimulating new efforts. These facts received recognition at Addis Ababa and at Berlin, where creation of new employment possibilities was stressed.

17. In the reports of the two Conferences, Governments are urged:

- to control prices of goods in order to assist illiterate women in particular (A 124); the traditional interest of African women in small business and industries is to be encouraged, and growth points should be examined and expanded (B 91); women's and other private organizations are admonished to help their members with funds to start businesses (A 124), and to help business women channel their profits into development (A 125); women workers are urged to take part in trade union movements and employers unions, and market women to form their own syndicates (A 134); more women should join chambers of commerce and industry (A 127); trained persons should register at employment agencies (A 117).

^{1/} Berlin Report, Volume II, op. cit., page 80.

Table 3: Women in the professions

Country	Percentage of all adult women occupied				Percentage of women of all personnel				Women in the professions as percentage of all women in non-agricultural occupations
	as teachers	as nurses	in other professions	in all professions	in teaching	in nursing	in other professions	in all professions	
<u>Africa South of the Sahara:</u>									
Ghana	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	22	61	10	20	2.5
South Africa	0.8	0.8	0.2	1.8	50	93	13	42	7.6
Kenya	0.3	a	a	a	23	a	a	a	a
<u>Region of Arab Influence:</u>									
Sudan	0.1	0.1		0.1	14	32	1	8	8.7
Morocco	0.3	a	a	0.4	15	a	a	13	6.7
Libya	0.3	0.2		0.5	16	31	3	14	10.9
United Arab Republic	0.5	0.1		0.6	30	100	3	22	18.3

Source: Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, page 126.

a = No information is available.

Rural women

18. Rural women participate least of any group in the cash economy. When land reform, extension services, co-operatives, credit measures, cash crops are introduced, women are most often passed by. Even though they are farmers to as great and often to a greater extent than are men, they are seldom identified as "farmers"^{1/}. Women are included in community development services, most often health, nutrition and home-crafts; rural training centres accept women, and in particular wives, to train them in domestic sciences, but seldom for improved farming. Yet a great proportion of the continent's food is produced by women, and only a tiny proportion of participants in the wage sector of agriculture are women, as Table 4 demonstrates.

Table 4: Sex distribution of agricultural wage labourers

Country	Female agricultural wage labourers as percentage of all adult women	Percentage of women among agricultural wage labourers
<u>Africa South of the Sahara:</u>		
Sierra Leone		5
Liberia		4
Ghana		6
South Africa	2	10
Mauritius	7	20
Uganda		2
Kenya	2	27
<u>Region of Arab influence:</u>		
Sudan		4
Morocco	1	5
Tunisia		2
United Arab Republic	1	4

Source: Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, page 68.

^{1/} It is notable that at the regional rural development conference held in Moshi, Tanzania, October 1969, the one woman of all participants and observers attending was a Swedish volunteer who happened to live in the area.

19. To the credit of voluntary agencies, governments and international organizations this situation is now changing. In Mali, rural training centres include agriculture in programmes for both young men and young women; in Senegal, women are in training as extension officers to work with women farmers, to cite two examples. Community development programmes in English-speaking Africa are moving toward economic emphasis. Voluntary associations are encouraging organized production of handicrafts, and ILO has completed surveys of local handicrafts in Libya, Mauritania and Botswana. The United Nations Social Development Division, together with FAO and UNICEF, is assessing United Nations assisted programmes for women and girls in twenty countries - most of them in Africa. Beginnings exist, but the conclusions at Addis and at Berlin, which follow, make it vitally clear that more activity is necessary, and that priorities need establishment at Rabat:

- Emphasizing that most women live in the rural sector, planning and action related to women's employment there are stressed (B 70); and the importance of women's participation in co-operative societies, marketing, transportation and finance are emphasized, as is the need for quality products (B 77), and women's need for help in food production, storage, preservation, marketing (B 79); the "importance of extension services ... and especially of female extension workers" is urged and the necessity to educate men to allow their wives' participation in these areas noted (B 80); the necessary balance between food and industrial production is stressed (B 78); most essential is to relieve the burdens on rural women who carry water and wood, and produce to markets - these sap their energies and lessen their potential contribution to development (B 14, 22);
- Small-scale cottage and rural industries are an important focus of both Addis Ababa and Berlin Conferences (A 101, 102, 110, B 91); ILO is requested to organize a regional seminar on the role of handicrafts in Africa, and ECA is asked to join with other United Nations agencies to establish a Regional Training Institute for African Handicrafts; women need more encouragement, training and guidance for small-scale industries.

Urban women

20. Because economic development implies movement from subsistence to commercial agriculture and agro-industrial activities, urban women will be an increasingly important segment of the population. Yet of all their traditional roles and activities, those which remain for the majority of women in urban areas are housekeeping and child-rearing; no longer do they contribute to production as they had done in the rural sector. Relatively few women are employed in the modern sector factories and offices, as Tables 5 and 6 show. It has already been noted that they are strongly represented only in the "female" professions. Women do, however, predominate in trade and commerce in selected countries - mostly in West Africa, as is demonstrated in Table 7.

Table 5: Percentage of women in total labour force in selected major occupational areas

Country	Year	Professional, technical and related workers	Administrative, executive and managerial workers	Clerical workers	Sales workers	Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers not classified elsewhere	Services, sport and re-creation workers
Ghana	1960	19.7	3.1	7.4	80.4	25.9	29.1
Liberia	1962	26.6	9.1	12.8	35.1	3.4	12.7
Libya	1964	13.8	1.1	6.4	1.3	11.2	6.7
Mauritius	1962	41.6	4.1	23.8	7.9	5.4	54.3
Morocco	1960	14.9	3.2	25.6	4.0	19.6	27.3
Sierra Leone	1963	26.6	8.9	16.0	46.6	9.2	6.5
South Africa							
(Rep. of							
White pop:	1960	38.2	9.3	51.8	37.5	6.7	26.7
Others:	1960	48.8	6.1	9.5	12.0	4.2	71.5
Southern Rhodesia	1961	36.0	6.5	66.4	44.3	4.2	41.9
South West Africa	1960	38.1	8.6	43.6	33.4	1.1	65.0
UAR	1960	22.3	47.8	4.6	5.6	3.5	14.9

Source: 1967 Yearbook of Labour Statistics, International Labour Office, Geneva, pp. 138-150.

Table 6: Women in industrial occupations

Country	<u>Percentages of women:</u>	
	in family labour force in industrial occupations	among employees in industrial occupations
Sierra Leone	15	2
Liberia	8	2
Ghana	39	3
Mauritius	9	4
Morocco	25	15
United Arab Republic	7	2

Source: Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, page 109.

- Note:
- Family labour force includes own-account workers (including employers) and family aids;
 - Industrial occupations include home industries, manufacturing industries and construction activities. Clerical, administrative and sales personnel in industries are excluded.

Table 7: Women in trade and commerce

Country	<u>All women in trade and commerce as percentage of:</u>		
	all adult women	total labour force in trade and commerce	<u>Women trading on own-account as percentage of all women in trade and commerce:</u>
Sierra Leone	3	47	75
Liberia	1	35	78
Ghana	15	80	94
Nigeria ^{a/}	b/	46	b/
Mauritius	1	8	47
Sudan		8	b/
Morocco		4	48
Libya			b/
United Arab Republic		6	81

Source: Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, page 88.

^{a/} Eastern region only.

^{b/} Urban areas only.

21. Attitudes discouraging employment of women in cities most often rely first upon statistical figures and projections of national unemployment, stating that there is insufficient employment opportunity for the available men and inferring negation of the possibility of employing women in any numbers. The second prevailing argument against employment of women in town centres on the need for special benefits such as maternity leave, crèches, prohibitions on night work, etc., which, when combined with the "equal pay for equal work" regulations cause employers to calculate the extra costs of hiring women. Private employers of labour, municipalities and governments have not yet, to our knowledge, assessed the comparative cost of benefits for women workers vis-à-vis either the quality aspects of production of certain goods or the costs of urban expansion - it could prove cheaper and more pragmatic for governments and other employers to assume the extra costs of hiring women. Working wives would also raise the family income, compensating at least in part for the higher costs of housing and food in the cities. Additionally, work done by women within their own houses or in small neighbourhood factories could solve two other problems - care for infants and small children, and fear on the part of men that their wives will be demoralized by employment in offices and factories.

22. Increasing recognition of the importance of employing urban women is evident. In Libya, for example, the Government provides day care centres, part-time employment, etc. Governments, national aid-giving associations and voluntary groups may each claim credit for assistance in establishing centres for clerical, hotel, dressmaking and industrial training in Sierra Leone, Kenya, the Central African Republic, Morocco, Ghana, Madagascar and other countries. Urban projects for training, upgrading and employing women are more advanced than are those for rural women, yet the proportion of women as contrasted with that of men remains tiny, and national reports presented at Addis Ababa and other conferences indicate that attitudes of subtle or overt discrimination against women persist in areas of urban employment.

23. Many points relevant to employment of urban women have been mentioned in the earlier section of this paper (Employment of women: General observations) where entrance of women at all levels of business, industry, commerce and government is insisted upon.

- The Addis Ababa and Berlin Conferences urged opening of new areas for participation of women in the urban sector, and stressed the importance of attitudes, of educating husbands, trade unions, and the community in general to accept women's role (B 75); it is noted that certain industrial fields are underpaid (B 86); short courses should be offered for both educated and illiterate business women (A 123); in-service training is strongly supported - as is noted under vocational education.

(3) Social services in relation to employment
(See also annex, for suggested questions for Committee III)

24. Definition of development as having a social goal obtained by both economic and social means guides the approach to provision of social services. If full use of available human resources - both men and women - is essential to hasten the process of development, then provision is needed to allow women to fulfil both their social role in the bearing and rearing of children for the society and their economic role in production and distribution of goods for the society. To employ its woman-power in this way the society has the duty to care for mothers during their time of child-bearing and to care for their children while they are working in the school, office, factory or hospital, or on the farm. Women's voluntary organizations across Africa have promoted the crèche or nursery school for both its protective and its teaching purposes; some governments, employers and international agencies have assisted. But employers often continue to hesitate to hire women for fear of the extra cost of benefits such as these; they do not yet see them as useful to the total society 1/.

25. Provision of social services relevant to employment

- has received strong support at Addis Ababa and at Berlin, where examination of the distribution of social welfare services provided by industries themselves and by governments and community and voluntary associations is urged (B 104); family planning is accepted as a normal part of health and welfare services including community centres, day care centres, hostels, and women's clubs (A 97); national policies for establishment, organization, registration and supervision of day care centres are strongly recommended (A 100) as in extension of day care services to children of all working mothers (B 105); employment possibilities and conditions that would be conducive to staying in employment (especially in rural areas) should be looked into (B 82); the role of social welfare personnel in industry towards the needs of women and girls - both in and outside commercial firms and industries - needs assessment (B 106); towards increasing the numbers of women employees, governments and employers should draw up conditions of service for women, including days off, yearly holidays, minimum wage information, etc., (A 116); the problem of social stratification, of the gap between the "elite and the masses" needs to be solved, in particular in rural sections (B 85).

1/ Perhaps it is now the task of voluntary organizations to convince their governments to provide social services and to demand support of these by private employers, either directly or through taxation.

SOME CONCLUSIONS: PRIORITIES FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

26. This paper has noted the traditional role of women as producers and distributors of goods in the society, and their apparent forfeiture of that role as technology and specialization bring modern influences. Accepting that attitudes are formed over long periods of time, it is expected that changes toward more full participation of women in economic development necessitate careful argumentation in the context of the total development of the society. But the initial conviction that involvement of women will hasten development is already had by women themselves, men, governments, and international bodies; there remains selection of priority areas and actions which will speed this full use of human resources toward development.

27. Decisions and recommendations have been made at Addis Ababa and Berlin toward education and training of girls and women, toward their participation in self-employed or wage labour positions in national development. Vast numbers of potential and actual employment possibilities are enumerated in the reports of the two Conferences. To effect these objectives, national studies on womanpower (now commenced by ECA) were urged as a basis for an ECA Expert Group Meeting (now scheduled for 1974) and the United Nations Social Development Division meeting (scheduled for 1972) which precedes it. The Commission on the Status of Women will convene a conference to follow the conclusions of this Rabat Conference, later in 1971. The Addis Ababa Conference asked United Nations bodies to assist governments to undertake socio-economic studies toward planning education and training programmes for women (A 104) and urged governments to set up National Commissions on the status, needs and rights of women (A 130). ECA, OAU and other United Nations family organizations were asked to hold technical meetings which bear on the contribution of women to development (A 138). The end purpose of this effort is that in "all programmes designed for the advancement of women, there is the need to work for the general improvement of the community and nation, and not merely for individuals and the family", (A 115).

28. With these guidelines, this Conference has set for itself the evaluation of existing programmes, setting of priorities for continuing and new efforts, and formation of a Standing Committee of Women to direct and evaluate the work (A 139).

Annex. SUGGESTED QUESTIONS FOR COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE I: EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Intended for inclusion here are: (a) formal education: primary, secondary, university (courses of enrolment, mature age entry schemes, professional schools, certificate as well as degree courses), equivalency schools for adult (primary and secondary); (b) vocational education: teacher training, adult education, agricultural extension, community development, industrial and commercial, civil service, business, administrative, etc., (c) adult education: literacy, understanding national development, skills for commercial farming, marketing, poultry-keeping, book-keeping, etc. (Note that in-service training is considered by Committee II, as a part of the discussion of employment).

QUESTIONS: A. General

1. Are percentages of women among students, teachers and administrators achieving satisfactory increase at all levels and in all types of education? If not, is the situation due to failure of women to request entry, to discouragement of women who seek to enroll, or to other factors? At what levels and in what types of education should maximum effort be made to involve women? Can change best be stimulated by voluntary organizations, governments, international agencies, by change of policies, or by the example of pilot projects?
2. Are there specific priority areas for change of attitudes toward education of women? Are successful means of effecting this change known?
3. Are women in universities, secondary schools, vocational training and technical schools made aware of the problems and social responsibilities in their employment? Given financial structures in education, how can vocational guidance be offered?
4. How can "top priority" be offered to training of trainers? Which fields are most important? Who should be responsible for "modern and effective leadership training" and how can it be effected?
5. Are women in training for civil service positions at all levels?
6. Are specific programmes of governments, of the United Nations family of organizations, of international voluntary associations and of national aid-giving agencies relevant to fields of education needing immediate attention because they either: (a) provide persons for key roles, or (b) have a demonstration or stimulation effect which provokes change throughout the society?

B. Vocational and Adult Education

1. Do training programmes recognize potential as well as actual work possibilities, that is, are they directed toward creating as well as filling employment roles?
2. Are women included in development plans for integrated rural development, on both the planning and action levels, as recipients of development assistance? Are women trained as extension workers to modernize women's farming methods, crops, animal husbandry, etc.? Are rural workers trained "together with local women" rather than in isolated environments?
3. What training is available to assist the "self-employed, mostly illiterate women and girls" in both rural and urban areas to improve their business and other skills? Are effective training programmes available as models? How can these be made available on a mass basis?
4. Are adult education and literacy actually recognized as "major ingredients of manpower development" - essential to the total development effort in particular among the vast numbers of persons in the rural areas? Are they directed toward "income related activities" in both urban and rural areas?
5. Is adult literacy truly "functional"? Does it serve the pragmatic needs of local women to support themselves when necessary and contribute to national development?
6. What proportion of students in urban adult education institutions are women, preparing for: secondary school equivalency, professional and sub-professional certification; secretarial and other business work?
7. Are women trained for industrial employment? administration? for management and executive as well as for skilled and unskilled jobs?
8. Is adult education (other than that which is work-related) available to employees in factories, government offices, and other places of work?
9. What are the priority areas in vocational education which will stimulate change in the society?

COMMITTEE II: WORK OPPORTUNITY AND EMPLOYMENT
(including in-service training)

QUESTIONS: A. General

1. Women were very active in the production and distribution of goods in the earlier societies; has this role been abdicated as would appear to be the case, as technology has entered production? Why are women not involved in large numbers in specialized fields? Are attitudes of men toward women or of women toward themselves involved? Is manpower planning involved? Where is the most strategic point of entry to involve women in modern work - in industry, business, modern farming, professions, civil service?
2. Does consideration of women as manpower resources in development planning, necessitate participation of women in the development planning processes of governments? Are women available and active in these posts?
3. Are efforts made not only to hire appropriate persons but also to create new employment possibilities? To make production labour-intensive? Are the small industries and trades run by women in urban and rural areas recognized in development planning as having the possibility of expansion?
4. What factors discourage potential employers from hiring women? Are these valid? Can they be changed by law, persuasion, other means?
5. Are women participating in, in-service training for civil service and in the private sector?
6. Are women's and other organizations assisting their members with funds to start businesses? Are women starting their own syndicate, and can such be increased by organized movements? Where should the responsibility lie?
7. Do women join trade unions, co-operatives, credit unions, etc.? Do they register at employment agencies? Are there special facilities for girls and women?
8. Are the United Nations and other international and national agencies directing their efforts toward more full participation of women in economic life?
9. What areas deserve immediate attention because they either:
(a) provide persons for key roles, or (b) have a demonstration or stimulation effect which provokes change throughout the society?

B. Rural Women

1. Do development planners recognize the burdens of rural women (carrying water and wood, transporting goods to market, etc.) as slowing national development?
2. Do rural women receive encouragement and support for participation in co-operatives, receipt of credit, extension services, etc., on the same bases as men? Are young women participating in these? Are they enrolled as farmers as well as homemakers in rural training centres?
3. Are cottage and other small-scale industries actively encouraged with financial support when necessary, with production planning for quality and quantity, etc.?
4. Are women on new settlements considered as "farmers" equally with men? Are women employed in agricultural extension as well as community development?

C. Urban Women (Note: Social policies and specific services are considered by Committee III)

1. Are attitudes against hiring urban women in modern employment explicit or implicit? How can they be changed? Do women apply for jobs in factories, businesses, etc.? Where does one begin to encourage women themselves as well as employers, husbands, the community to involve women in modern employment?
2. Are new areas for participation of women in urban employment being explored? Are home-employment and part-time employment possible?

COMMITTEE III: SOCIAL POLICIES AND SPECIFIC SERVICES RELATED
TO EMPLOYMENT, HEALTH, SOCIAL WELFARE, ADULT
EDUCATION AND SPECIAL PROTECTION MEASURES

QUESTIONS: A. Social Policies

1. Do social policies of government and the private sector consider social services as necessary support to women's economic participation? For example, does government itself provide and does it demand of private employers that provision be made for care of children while the mother is at work, benefits during childbearing, etc.?

2. How is the problem of the "gap between the elite and the masses" being approached? by law? persuasion? Is it discussed in schools, and by women's organizations, etc.?
3. In rural planning, are small as well as large farms considered for their economic value? and their social necessity?
4. Are women's organizations supported by government in their economic and social development efforts?
5. Is "the distribution of social welfare services provided by industries themselves and by governments and community and voluntary organizations" being examined? Are universities potential resources for this examination?
6. Are women allowed to own, inherit, buy and sell land?
7. If "equal pay for equal work" legislation exists, is it enforced in practice? Are employment policies integrated for men and women?
8. What social policies deserve immediate attention because they have a demonstration or stimulation effect which provokes change throughout the society or provides persons for key roles? Are governments, United Nations agencies, national and international associations cognizant of these?

B. Social Services

1. Are social welfare workers oriented to the needs of women and girls in and outside their employment? Is family planning information offered within these services?
2. Is the health of rural women considered as a priority area? Are rural women offered assistance to lighten their physical burdens and so to increase their productivity and the well-being of their families?
3. Do any of the laws for "protection" of women workers reflect discrimination against employment or advancement of women? What are the priorities for protective legislation?
4. Are conditions of service, benefits, etc., known to women and girls seeking employment, and employed?
5. Are laws and customs prohibiting and protecting women in employment known to women's organizations, university women, etc.?

6. Are day care services for working mothers provided by law? -
In practice? Are family allowances available to women as well
as to men?
7. Are social services generally directed toward the economic
participation of women with men, as well as to social needs?