Commonwealth Economic Papers: No.22

Women and Structural Adjustment

Selected Case Studies Commissioned for a Commonwealth Group of Experts



Commonwealth Secretariat

Commonwealth Economic Papers: No.22

Women and Structural Adjustment

Selected Case Studies Commissioned for a Commonwealth Group of Experts

Economic Affairs Division
Commonwealth Secretariat
Marlborough House
London SW1Y 5HX

October 1991

© Copyright 1991

Printed and published by
The Commonwealth Secretariat

May be purchased from
Commonwealth Secretariat Publications
Marlborough House
London SW1Y 5HX

ISBN 0 85092 381 6

WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT - SELECTED CASE STUDIES

PREFACE

For many Commonwealth developing countries, stabilisation and structural adjustment have been a necessary part of life in recent years, but most of these countries' governments have been concerned about the adverse effects these programmes have been having on those of their people who are in vulnerable positions. Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs considered that women were particularly adversely affected by some of the measures and in 1987 they recommended an expert group be set up to study the impact of structural adjustment on women. Their recommendation was supported by Commonwealth Finance Ministers and approved by Commonwealth Heads of Government.

A Commonwealth Expert Group was set up in 1988 and presented its report, **Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s**, in June 1989. At the Group's first meeting its members recognised that the lack of sex-disaggregated data and the scarcity of studies on the effects of adjustment measures on women were important constraints, not only to their work but to the formulation of more effective and beneficial government policies.

To help fill this lacuna, the Group asked the Commonwealth Secretary-General to commission some case studies. Nine such studies were commissioned with generous financial support from CIDA, UNICEF and UNDP. They were carried out mainly by local researchers in Bangladesh, Jamaica, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The researchers collected and analysed available data on the impact which the stabilisation and structural adjustment policies had on women in each of their four main roles (producers, home managers, mothers and community organisers). The studies provided data on the policies adopted, assessed their impact on women, and made recommendations and suggested priority actions to improve the situation of the women concerned. The authors called for gender-sensitive adjustment programmes; for more gender-disaggregated data to be collected by officials sensitised to make this possible; for better monitoring of the status of women; for enhancing their role in production through improved access to inputs and support services as well as to education and training; for any cuts in social services to be selected so as to minimise their impact on women; for women and girls 'at risk' of malnutrition to be targeted in special programmes; and for women's organisations to be more involved in decision-making.

The case studies provide much needed information from selected Commonwealth countries which have implemented various types of stabilisation and structural adjustment package with differing degrees of success. They give useful insights into the recent developments and experiences of relevance. These are brought together in a final study which carries out a comparative review, focusing on the main issues raised earlier and pointing to the gaps which remain to be filled by future research.

It is hoped that the studies will stimulate interest in what is a vital aspect of the ongoing efforts of policy-makers to enhance the design and implementation of stabilisation and structural adjustment policies and programmes for the general good, including the good of those who make up about half the adult population.

B Persaud
Director and Head
Economic Affairs Division

Page

1. WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: THE CASE OF BANGLADESH
Simeen Mahmud and Wahiduddin Mahmud 1

2. THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF JAMAICA
Sonja T Harris assisted by Derick Boyd 35

3. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA
Kamal Salih
Mei Lung Young 77

4. THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN IN NIGERIA
B Onimode 149

5. WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: THE SRI LANKA EXPERIENCE
Swarna Jayaweera
Patricia Alailima
Chandra Rodrigo
R A Jayatissa 181

6. THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAMME
Anna K Tibaijuka 251

7. THE IMPACT OF STABILISATION AND STRUCTUTRAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Ralph Henry and Gwendoline Williams 287

8. IMPLICATION OF ECONOMIC REFORMS FOR WOMEN IN ZAMBIA: THE CASE OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM, PROGRAMME, 1983-87
Alison Evans 323

9. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN ZIMBABWE: ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN
R S Maya 365

10. A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF COUNTRY STUDIES ON WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT
(Bangladesh, Jamaica, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia and Zimbabwe)
Susan Joekes 397

WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT - THE CASE OF BANGLADESH

Simeen Mahmud
Research Fellow, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies

Wahiduddin Mahmud
Professor of Economics, Dhaka University

March 1989

WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: THE CASE OF BANGLADESH

		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	5
	1. Structural Adjustment in the Eighties - the Bangladesh Setting	5
	2. Gender Issues in Structural Adjustment	7
II.	WOMEN IN BANGLADESH: CURRENT STATUS AND TRENDS	7
	1. Aspects of Female Disadvantage	7
	2. Female Employment: Magnitude, Pattern and Poverty Linkages	10
III.	EFFECTS OF MACRO-ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING ON WOMEN	16
	1. Policy Reforms in Agriculture	16
	2. Public Food Distribution and Food Security	17
	3. Trade and Industrial Policy Reforms	19
	4. Human Resource Development and Poverty Alleviation Programmes	23
IV.	POLICY PERSPECTIVE	25
	ANNEX: Additional Tables	28

LIST OF TABLES IN TEXT

1.	Key Macro-Economic Indicators, 1980/81-86/87	6
2.	Real GDP Growth by Sectors, 1975/76-86/87	6
3.	Key Indicators of Female Disadvantage	9
4.	Composition of Labour Force and Labour Force Participation Rate by Sex and Residence, 1974, 1981, 1984/85	11
5.	Capital Intensity, Labour Productivity and Wage Rates in Rural Industries	15
6.	Trends in Foodgrain Availability and Public Food Distribution	18
7.	Pattern of Exports and Growth of Non-Traditional Exports, 1980/81-86/87	21
8.	Public Expenditures on Education, Health and Family Planning, 1980/81-85/86	24

Page

LIST OF TABLES IN ANNEX

A.1. Some Key Incentive Indicators of the Bangladesh Economy, 1980/81-85/86 28
A.2. Trends in Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), Crude Birth Rate (CBR) and Total Fertility Rate (TFR), 1979-86 29
A.3. Mortality Rate per 1,000 Children Aged 1-4 Years by Sex, 1979-86 29
A.4. Mortality Rate per 1,000 Population by Age and Sex in the Matlab Area, 1979 and 1983 30
A.5. Proportion of Female-Headed Households in Rural Bangladesh by Farm Size, 1988 30
A.6. Education Enrolment Rate by Level and Sex, 1973, 1980 and 1985, 31
A.7. Rural and Urban Distribution of Female Population by Economic Category, 1974, 1981 and 1984/85 31
A.8. Proportion of Women Involved in Productive Work by Primary Occupation and Farm Size, 1988 32
A.9. Women Beneficiaries in Targeted Food Distribution and Rural Works Programmes 32

BIBLIOGRAPHY 33

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Structural Adjustment in the Eighties - The Bangladesh Setting

The international recession in the early eighties seriously eroded Bangladesh's growth prospects. There was a collapse in the price of jute - the main export crop - and a simultaneous stagnation of external aid receipts on which the country is almost uniquely dependent. In the face of unsustainable external and fiscal deficits, a wide-ranging programme of stabilisation and structural adjustment was initiated along the guidelines of the World Bank and the IMF. The adjustment efforts have been aimed at remedying the macro-economic imbalances, improving the supply response and allocation efficiency of the economy, and achieving a satisfactory rate of economic growth within the constraints of a less favourable external environment and resource position.[1]

The main thrust of the policy reforms under the structural adjustment programme has been towards expanding the role of the private sector and relying increasingly on market forces to allocate resources. In the industry and trade sectors, the major policy reforms include denationalisation, relaxation of direct controls on private investment, rationalisation of tariffs, provision of export incentives and a move towards a relatively free exchange rate regime. In agricultural policy, there have been major shifts towards privatisation of investment in irrigation, withdrawal of input subsidies and provision of producer incentives through farm price support. In the public food distribution system, the reforms are aimed at reducing subsidies on food rations, increasing the allocations for programmes serving the poor and relying increasingly on market-oriented instruments for price stabilisation. In the area of fiscal management, efforts were made to restrain public expenditures and mobilise additional revenue, while a loan recovery programme was launched in the financial sector to restore credit discipline. Finally, consistent with the objective of the structural adjustment programme, the Government is also committed to strengthening efforts at poverty alleviation and human resource development.

The key indicators of Bangladesh's macro-economic performance during the eighties are presented in Table 1. (Annex Table A.1 shows the changes in the important incentive or price indicators.) The external deficit has been reduced from a range of 10-12 per cent of GDP to about 6 per cent (a level which can be financed by normal inflows of concessional aid). This adjustment has been achieved mainly through a decline in the ratio of investment expenditures to GDP. The adjustment process has also involved shifting to lower budgetary deficits and a lower level of imports, both as a proportion of GDP. Compared to the late seventies, there has been a slowdown in the growth of both agricultural and manufacturing production (Table 2). Real GDP growth, averaging about 4 per cent per year, was below the economy's potential poverty-related needs. The slowdown in economic growth in the eighties, however, has been a complex phenomenon and it is not easy to determine the contribution of different causative factors, such as the adverse international environment, the fiscal and credit restraints, the poor supply response of the

---

[1] The policy reforms have been primarily the results of donors' interventions which were made effective through aid conditionality.

TABLE 1. KEY MACRO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS, 1980/81-86/87

	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87
As % of GDP at current market prices							
Imports 1	18.5	20.2	19.8	17.0	16.3	15.3	15.4
Exports	5.7	5.5	6.5	5.9	6.1	5.9	6.2
Net factor income from abroad 2	2.5	2.2	4.0	3.5	2.1	3.0	3.5
Current account deficit 3	10.3	12.5	9.3	7.6	8.1	6.4	5.7
Gross fixed investment	15.9	15.0	13.6	12.3	12.5	11.8	12.4
(Private)	(9.5)	(8.9)	(7.3)	(6.7)	(7.2)	(6.3)	(6.0)
(Public)	(6.5)	(6.1)	(6.3)	(5.6)	(5.3)	(5.5)	(6.4)
National savings 4	5.6	2.5	4.3	4.7	4.4	5.4	6.7
Government revenue	9.3	9.4	8.8	8.2	8.6	9.2	9.0
Government expenditure 5	18.4	18.1	20.0	17.3	16.1	16.4	17.1
Budget deficit	9.1	8.7	11.2	9.2	7..5	7.3	8.1
Growth rates (% annual)							
GDP (real)	6.8	0.8	3.6	4.2	3.6	4.4	4.5
Export (volume) 6	11.4	4.0	4.8	4.7	-3.4	11.0	21.4

1 Includes net payments for non-factor services.

2 Mainly includes workers' remittances; also shows net investment income including interest payment on public foreign debt.

3 Net capital inflow, estimated as imports minus exports minus net factor income from abroad.

4 Estimated as gross fixed investment minus current account deficit.

5 Includes both current expenditure and development outlay.

6 At constant 1980/81 prices.

Source: Estimated on the basis of official data in the Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, various issues, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS); also data compiled by World Bank, Asia Country Department I.

TABLE 2. REAL GDP GROWTH BY SECTORS, 1975/76-86/87
(% growth per annum, constant 1972/73 prices)

Sectors	Five-Year Average of Annual Growth Rate		Annual Growth Rate		Sectored Share of GDP (%)
	FY 76-80	FY 81-85	FY 86	FY 87	FY 86
Agriculture	3.7	2.8	3.4	1.6	46.3
(Crop sector)	(4.1)	(2.5)	(4.4)	(1.5)	(36.4)
(Others)	(2.6)	(4.1)	(0.0)	(1.9)	(9.9)
Manufacturing	4.9	2.5	1.8	7.4	10.0
(Large scale)	(5.6)	(2.2)	(1.0)	(11.0)	(5.6)
(Small scale)	(4.0)	(2.9)	(2.9)	(2.9)	(4.4)
Construction and utilities	8.0	11.2	3.0	8.6	5.6
Services	9.5	4.8	6.6	6.7	38.1
GDP at market prices	5.8	3.9	4.4	4.5	100.0

FY 76 stands for the financial year 1975/76 and so on. Sectoral share of GDP for 1985/86 is at constant 1972/73 prices. Estimates for 1986/87 are provisional.

Source: Estimated from official data reported in Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, various issues.

economy and an increased frequency of natural disasters (e.g. floods and cyclones).

2. Gender Issues in Structural Adjustment

The wide-ranging economic reforms that have been introduced under the structural adjustment programme are bound to have important implications on the absolute and relative status of the poorer and more vulnerable segments of society. Since women in Bangladesh represent a distinctly disadvantaged population group, the effect of macro-economic restructuring on women is of particular concern. Indicators on health, nutrition, education and economic performance all point to female disadvantages that result in a high gender-specific wastage of human resources. Because of these gender inequalities and discriminations that cut across class distinctions, acute poverty at the margin is likely to be hitting hardest at women. To a large extent, therefore, the effect of structural adjustment on women is closely linked with its effect on poverty levels in general.

There are, however, many aspects of structural adjustment that are likely to affect women other than through changes in general poverty levels. Restraints on public expenditures may adversely affect the fundings for social services programmes that particularly benefit women (such as in the education and health sectors). Women beneficiaries are of course directly affected by changes in budgetary allocations for targeted relief and poverty alleviation programmes. In a wider context, women's role in production and their income-earning opportunities may be affected in many direct and indirect ways by the pattern of economic growth that is promoted under structural adjustment - particularly in respect of technological changes, sectoral supply responses and the export-orientation of the economy. The gender issue here is how to make the macro-economic adjustment process more sensitive to the needs of women so as to enable them to enhance their contribution to, as well as benefit more from, the adjustment process.

In the following section, we present an overview of women's position in Bangladesh and attempt to highlight those aspects of female employment that may help to establish the causal links between macro-economic restructuring and economic opportunities for women. In Section III, the policy reforms in the major areas of macro-economic management are discussed in the light of their likely effects on women. Lastly, Section IV presents a policy perspective in the Bangladesh context, considering how the adjustment process can be made more responsive to the needs of women.

II. WOMEN IN BANGLADESH: CURRENT STATUS AND TRENDS

1. Aspects of Female Disadvantage

Women in Bangladesh suffer from marked discriminations and denials in almost all aspects of their lives. Although women's economic contribution is substantial, it remains largely unacknowledged because of their lack of control over productive assets and their limited access to product and factor markets. Consequently, women in general are relegated to the position of home-maker and child-rearer and remain locked into high fertility patterns which diminish their well-being, damage the nutrition and health of children, and frustrate national goals of human resource development.

Table 3 presents some key indicators of female disadvantage in health, nutrition, education and employment. There are fewer women than men, reflecting higher female mortality rates. In fact, the disadvantage for women begins from early childhood and continues throughout life. The natural advantage in survival rates universally enjoyed by female babies at birth is quickly reversed so that, among children aged 1-4 years, mortality rates may be about 70 per cent higher for females than for males (see also Tables A.3 and A.4 in the Annex). Although malnutrition among children is pervasive, a higher percentage of girls than boys become severely malnourished, and it is clear that throughout childhood girls are never really able to catch up nutritionally with boys. A large part of these differentials in mortality and nutritional status is now recognised as being the outcome of sex-biased behaviour within the family in terms of allocation of resources like food and medical care.[2]

With an early age at marriage, women undergo a long reproductive period resulting in a high fertility rate (Annex Table A.2). Maternal mortality, which is as high as 6 to 7 deaths per 1000 live births, accounts for a large proportion of the deaths of all women of child-bearing age (Chen et al, 1974; Koening et al, 1986). Most maternal deaths can be linked to poor nutrition, repeated pregnancies and potentially preventable complications. Survey findings also show a high incidence of morbidity, malnutrition and calorie intake deficits among pregnant and nursing mothers (UNICEF, 1984; Chowdhury et al, 1981).

Female-headed households without access to land represent perhaps the most vulnerable poverty group in rural Bangladesh (Alam, 1985). According to the 1981 Census, about 17 per cent of rural households and 15 per cent of urban households are female-headed; but the proportion is likely to be much higher among the landless households - about 25 per cent according to one estimate (see Annex Table A.5).[3] Several demographic factors can be linked to this phenomenon such as a high incidence of widowhood at relatively early ages (because of early age of marriage of girls), the gradual decline of the extended family system resulting from increasing land alienation, and higher frequencies of divorce and abandonment among poorer households. Consequently, women's earning capacity is a matter of survival for a large (and, perhaps, increasing) proportion of rural households (Mahmud and Hamid, 1989).

Women in rural Bangladesh are found to work typically more hours per day than men, if work is defined to include both directly productive activities and household maintenance activities. The estimates of average work hours per day, according to time-use studies, fall in the range of 7 to 10 hours for men and 8 to 12 hours for women (Khuda, 1981; Cain, 1979; Farouk 1980; Halim and Hossain, 1983). Although the economic contribution of women is substantial, they have little control over family earnings. Because of

---

[2] For a survey of empirical evidence on this, see Mahmud and Mahmud (1985); also Chen and D'Souza (1981).

[3] According to the 1983/84 Agriculture Census, nearly half of all rural households are either landless or operate only marginal farms (of up to 0.5 acre size).

TABLE 3. KEY INDICATORS OF FEMALE DISADVANTAGE

Indicators	Male	Female
Percentage share of population, 1981 Census	52	48
Mortality rate of children aged 1-4 years (per 1,000)		
Matlab area, 1979	16.1	27.6
Matlab area, 1983	21.9	37.0
Mortality rate of adults aged 15-44 (per 1,000)		
Matlab area, 1979	2.0	3.3
Matlab area, 1983	2.0	2.8
% of rural children under 5 with weight for age below 60% of standard, 1981-82 1	8.3	17.4
% of rural children with weight for height below 80% of standard, 1981-82 2		
0-4 years	15	25
0-11 years	13	19
Calorie intake as % of requirement, 1981-82 (rural)		
Adults (20-39 years)	101	96
Pregnant	-	90
Lactating	-	90
Pregnant and lactating	-	71
Adult literacy rate (% of population aged 15 years and above), 1981	39.7	18.8
Education enrolment rates (% of standard age groups), 1985		
Primary (6-10 years)	73.0	51.0
Secondary (11-17 years)	18.0	9.0
Higher (18-21 years)	10.0	2.5
Labour force participation rate (population aged 10 years and above), 1983-84	78.5	8.0
Average wage rates of day labourers (Taka/day), 1983-84		
Agriculture	14.7	7.1
Non-agriculture	18.1	7.2

1 Severe or 3rd degree malnutrition by Gomez classification.
2 Acute malnutrition or wasting by Waterlow classification.
Sources: Mortality rates are based on data from the Demographic Surveillance System (Matlab area) of the International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research (ICDDR, B). For child malnutrition and adult calorie intake, 1981-82 Nutrition Survey of Dhaka University; see Mahmud and Mahmud (1985). Literacy rates are from 1981 Population Census. For wage rates and labour force participation rate, 1983-84 Labour Force Survey; see also BBS, 1987 Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh. For enrollment rate estimates, see Table A.6 in the Annex.

their seclusion women have very few opportunities to earn and command an independent income. For those who seek employment outside the home (usually the very poor or destitute women), the employment opportunities are limited to relatively low-paid and low-status work.

The adult literacy rate for females is about half that of males, at about 19 per cent. Only about half of eligible girls go to primary school, compared with three-fourths of boys, and the proportion of female students in total enrolment declines sharply at higher levels of education (Annex Table A.6). Women have only a tiny representation in skilled and professional jobs in the organised sector. The share of female employment in the civil service is only 6-8 per cent despite the Government's declared intention to increase it (Khan 1988).

2. Female Employment: Magnitude, Pattern and Poverty Linkages

Female labour force participation

Population censuses and labour force surveys, using the conventional definition of labour force participation, grossly underestimate women's involvement in productive work. The proportion of females aged 10 years and above included in the official enumeration of the labour force has ranged from 4 per cent in the 1981 Population Census to about 8 per cent in the 1984-85 Labour Force Survey (Table 4; see also Annex Table A.7 for the composition of the female population by economic category.) The major problem with the conventional measurement of labour force participation lies in defining what constitutes productive work (and in classifying accordingly women's status as unpaid family workers vis-a-vis being housewives). There is a tendency to consider women's productive work as part of their domestic work, even when such work is directly income-earning or contributes to added value. Potential women-workers are also easily excluded from estimations of the labour force because of the seasonal and casual nature of female wage-employment.[4]

The true picture of women's work involvement is only revealed by the few in-depth studies which have specifically looked at this issue. One such study by Schaffer (1986a) places 18-32 per cent of women in the economically active category - about half the rate for men in the areas studied. Based on data from a large-scale village survey on women, Rahman (1986a) has found the proportion of women wage labourers as a percentage of male labourers to vary between 21 and 54 per cent. In another recent country-wide survey of rural women, about half of the women respondents were found to be engaged in some kind of remunerative employment (Safilios-Rothschild and Mahmud, 1989; see Annex Table A.8). These findings suggest widespread labour force participation of rural women, although the figures do not say much about the intensity of work or the degree of underemployment.

Pattern of women's employment

Traditionally, women's productive roles in Bangladesh have been largely home-based. In rural households, their activities typically include post-harvest processing of crops, food processing, poultry and livestock husbandry, homestead gardening, and craft work of various kinds. These

---

[4] On this, see Rahman (1986a) and Mahmud and Hamid (1989).

TABLE 4. COMPOSITION OF LABOUR FORCE AND LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE BY SEX AND RESIDENCE, 1974, 1981, 1984/85

Year/Source	National		Rural		Urban	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(% of total civilian labour force)					
1974 Census	96	4	87	4	9	0
1981 Census	94	6	82	5	12	1
1984-85 LFS 1	91	9	78	7	13	2
	(Labour force participation rate; %)2					
1974 Census	80.3	4.0	81.1	3.8	73.7	5.8
1981 Census	78.2	5.1	79.0	5.0	73.2	6.8
1984-85 LFS 1	78.2	8.2	78.8	7.4	74.2	12.1

1 Labour Force Survey.

2 Labour force participation rate is the proportion of population aged 10 years and above in the labour force.

Source: Estimated from data reported in Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987.

home-based activities (in which most of the labour inputs are provided by women) generate a significant share of household income, as is shown by both household survey data and national income accounts (BRAC, 1983; Hamid, 1989). Post-harvest processing of crops at the household level has been the single major source of employment for rural women. It has been estimated that homestead-based processing of paddy could generate an average of 50 days employment per year for every active-age rural woman (Hariss, 1979; McCarthy, 1980). However, because of the rapid spread of mechanised milling, female employment in paddy processing has been declining since the late seventies - perhaps at a rate of 2-3 per cent annually in terms of the number of work days lost (Ahmed, 1982; Scott and Carr, 1985; Mahmud and Hamid, 1989). Rural industries, mostly located in the homestead, are also an important source of employment for women; nearly one-third of the workforce employed in rural industries are women (BIDS, 1980).

The type of work of rural women and its contribution to household income varies by season and by household income status.[5] Access to land determines the scope of work in family farming so that women in some land-owning households may get overworked during the busiest rice-processing season (Khuda, 1981). On the other hand, women from landless households work fewer hours at home because they have less resources to manage and less food to cook. Women who seek 'outdoor' wage employment apparently do so only under extreme subsistence pressure. A large proportion of female wage workers are destitute women belonging to households with no active male members; but the majority are now coming from households in which the male earnings are insufficient to meet the subsistence needs. Recent survey findings show that between half and two-thirds of functionally landless rural households have women wage workers. Thus, women's wage earnings have become essential for the viability of a large number of rural households (Rahman, 1986a; Westergaard, 1983; Halim and McCarthy, 1983; Chen, 1986a, 1986b).

Most women wage workers in rural areas find casual employment, often on a daily basis, in various homestead-based activities such as paddy-husking and processing of other crops and domestic help.[6] Also, about a fifth of female workers employed in rural industries work as hired labour (BIDS, 1981). Recent survey data, however, indicate a change in the type of jobs for which women are hired. In many areas, women are increasingly moving into different kinds of field agricultural activities which re traditionally performed by men (see Annex Table A.8). Some seasonal wage employment for rural women is also now generated by public works programmes, although the volume of employment generated falls far short of demand.[7]

Very little is known about the pattern of women's work involvement in urban areas. Small-scale surveys on slum dwellers in Dhaka suggest that,

---

5 For survey findings on this, see Begum and Greeley (1979), Westergaard (1983), and Safilios-Rothschild and Mahmud (1989); also see Annex Table A.8.

6 Nearly one-third of female labour unit in home-based processing of paddy is provided by hired female labour, Ahmed (1982).

7 About 10 per cent of total seasonal work-days of employment for female wage workers was found to arise from such projects in two survey areas, see Rahman (1986a).

while single male migration continues, increasing numbers of destitute women and families are migrating as a unit to urban areas. Most urban female workers are in the informal sector, in activities such as brick-baking and construction work, backyard craft-work, piece-work of different kinds and domestic help. Small factories in peri-urban areas also provide some additional unskilled work for women. The organised manufacturing sector has traditionally provided employment for only a small number of urban female workers, particularly in food processing, pharmaceuticals and factory-based handloom weaving.[8] Nevertheless, the recent growth of the modern export-oriented garment sector has changed the situation quite dramatically, as we shall discuss later. Female participation in the urban professions has been limited, but there are growing opportunities for women in the health and education sectors and as field development workers.

Supply versus demand factors

Survey findings from rural areas suggest that the female wage labour market is characterised (even more so than the male labour market) by a high degree of underemployment and a highly elastic supply of labour (measured in terms of, say, effective-person years). There are very large seasonal fluctuations in employment, and women wage labourers in many areas may find employment for no more than one-third of the days in a year.[9] However, the volume of employment may increase sharply, even two- to threefold, in response to higher demand, as can be observed by the difference between developed and backward villages (Rahman, 1986a; Solaiman, 1988; Halim and Ali, 1986). Clearly, the real constraints to expansion of female wage employment stem both from inadequate demand for women's labour and from the institutional barriers against women's entry into the mainstream wage labour market (Adnan, 1988).

Regarding the supply of female wage labour, it is useful to distinguish between the female participation rate in wage employment and the intensity of employment per worker (the former being a proxy indicator for labour supply only in the stock sense). Survey findings suggest that the female participation rate in wage employment (as also in self-employment) responds positively to increased opportunities for such employment. On the other hand, it is also evident that the participation rate is negatively related to family income - especially to the level of male wage earnings.[10] Depending on the relative strength of these two opposing forces, simultaneous shifts in demand in both male and female labour markets may change the female participation rate in either direction. It is not surprising, therefore, that in making comparisons between agriculturally

---

[8]According to the latest published results of the Census of Manufacturing Industries of the BBS, only about 11,000 female workers are reported to have been employed in medium- and large-scale manufacturing industries during 1982-83, constituting less than 3 per cent of total employment in these industries.

[9] See Rahman (1986a); Khuda (1981).

[10] Female wage earnings compensate for, although inadequately, low male earnings so that, among the labour-selling households those having female wage workers are found to have the least income; see Rahman (1986a).

developed and backward villages, the findings of different studies are not similar regarding the variation in the proportion of women who work as wage labourers; however, the daily wage rates and the intensity of work per female wage worker are invariably found to be higher in the developed villages (Hossain, 1988; Solaiman, 1988; Rahman 1986a).

It may be noted that an increase in women's participation rate in the wage market, per se, cannot tell us whether it has resulted from the 'demand-pull' or the 'supply-push' factors discussed above; but the implications for female wage earnings and the general poverty level can be quite different in the two cases. It also follows that even if labour markets for male and female workers remain segregated, a contraction in male employment opportunities is also likely to have an adverse effect on the female labour market through the 'supply-push' factor. As has been noted earlier, there are signs that the social barriers to women's participation in the mainstream labour markets (such as in field agricultural activities) are beginning to give way. If this trend continues, female wage workers will be increasingly drawn into the common pool of underemployed labour and will be therefore more directly affected by changes in the overall employment situation.[11]

Given the present pattern of sex-segregated labour markets, the growth of demand for female labour will greatly depend on the sectoral composition of growth in the economy and the nature of technological developments. Survey findings clearly show that the spread of the modern seed-fertiser-water technology in crop production can have a very favourable effect on the demand for female labour. Employment opportunities are created not only directly in agricultural activities, but also in the rural non-farm sector through agriculture-income-induced demand for non-farm products (Hossain, 1988). The average work days per woman increases both for female family members and for hired labour, but the increase is much larger for the latter (Solaiman, 1988).[12]

While the spread of the technology for developing high yielding varieties (HYV) has the potential for increasing the volume of employment for wage-earning women, the technological changes in other areas can have large displacement effects on labour. We have already noted this effect from the rice-milling technology; but the displacement is, in fact, far larger for hired labour than for family labour so that the estimates at the aggregate level would not reveal the potential severity of the effect on poor wage-earning women (Mahmud and Hamid, 1989). Technological changes in manufacturing activities can also adversely affect female employment opportunities. Among rural industries, female employment is clearly concentrated in the low-capital-intensive low-productivity activities (Table 5). In spite of the very low labour productivity, these activities can remain viable because of the low wage rates of female workers (and the implicit low 'reservation' wage of female family workers). The lower representation of

---

[11] For a review of the estimates of underemployment in the Bangladesh economy, see Mahmud (1987).

[12] It is, of course, true that in the case of unpaid family helpers, the technology resulting in high yielding varieties has merely increased the workloads for women without giving them any apparent gender-specific benefit.

TABLE 5. CAPITAL INTENSITY, LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY AND WAGE RATES IN RURAL INDUSTRIES
(arranged in descending order of female labour participation)

Industry	Percentage of Female Workers	Capital per Worker (Taka)	Value-Added per Labour Day (Taka)	Wage Rate per Day (Taka)
Coir rope	64.3	145	4.07	2.41
Fishing nets	63.3	265	4.78	4.04
Mat making	62.8	465	5.21	3.98
Pottery	47.0	799	11.76	11.07
Oil pressing	42.5	1,006	12.58	7.40
Handloom weaving	37.6	1,594	15.07	11.66
Tailoring	20.4	4,982	27.51	12.13
Dairy products	9.8	3,076	23.42	15.24
Carpentry	4.4	3,009	19.88	16.07
Blacksmith	2.4	760	15.77	11.83
Jewelry making	2.1	1,283	18.67	8.60
Gur making	nil	711	20.02	16.42

Sources: Rural Industries Survey, 1979-80, BIDS (1981); Hossain (1987).

female workers in the relatively more productive activities is probably explained by their lack of skills, lack of command over capital resources, and the fact that the more capital-intensive activities are usually based outside the homestead. Technological changes towards more capital-intensive processes and products can therefore potentially displace female employment.

III. EFFECTS OF MACRO-ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING ON WOMEN

1. Policy Reforms in Agriculture

The major agricultural policy reforms under the structural adjustment programme have included: (i) gradual withdrawal of input subsidies, especially on fertilisers; (ii) initiation of a compensating farm price support programme; and (iii) privatisation of ownership of irrigation equipment (all kinds of tube-wells and power pumps). Previously, most irrigation equipment was publicly owned and used to be rented out to farmer groups at subsidised charges. While the subsidy on rental charges has been substantially reduced, it has been largely compensated for by a subsidised equipment sale programme. Thus the structure of incentives in the case of irrigation has tilted heavily towards the subsidised privatisation of irrigation equipment (Rahman and Mahmud, 1988; Osmani, 1985; ASR, 1989).

One of the most visible effects of these reforms has been a marked decline in the share of agriculture in the government's development outlay - from over 30 per cent in 1980-81 to less than 20 per cent in 1986-87. This is mostly explained by the withdrawal of fertiliser subsidy and by the fact that public water control investment declined in real terms (Mahmud, 1988). Because of the withdrawal of subsidy, the prices of agricultural inputs have risen faster than those of paddy, thus dampening farmer incentives to adopt HYVs and use modern inputs more intensively.[13] The Government's paddy procurement programme, because of its many weaknesses, has also failed to play effectively its role of supporting farm-gate prices in good harvest years. In addition there was a credit squeeze in the agricultural sector because of the credit recovery drive launched as part of the monetary sector reforms. While the disbursement of agricultural credit had grown rapidly up to the early eighties, there has been a sharp fall since then - to the extent that net disbursement was negative in 1985-86 and 1986-87. This partly explains why the sales of irrigation equipment have sharply declined after an initial spurt in the early eighties.

The above factors appear to have played a part in the slowdown in agricultural production in the eighties (Table 1), quite apart from the effects of frequent natural disasters (such as floods and cyclones). The reforms are also likely to have been biased against smaller farmers who have been relatively more responsive to incentives for HYV adoption in the past compared to larger farmers (Mahmud and Muqtada, 1988). Because small farmers are in food deficit and face a severe credit constraint, they are adversely

---

[13] As a result of the price reforms, the domestic prices of both rice and fertiliser are now near the level of international parity prices, ignoring annual fluctuations (Annex Table 1). However, in the case of rice, the parity has been achieved mainly because of the sharp fall in world prices in the eighties, while the domestic paddy price has in fact risen less rapidly than the general rate of inflation, Rahman and Mahmud (1988).

affected both by higher input costs and by higher support prices for paddy. There is also some evidence that the policy of privatising irrigation equipment is adversely affecting the utilisation rate of installed facilities as well as small farmers' access to irrigation (Parthasarathy, 1989).

The poor post-reform performance of the agricultural sector, which mainly reflects sluggish growth in paddy production, is a matter of great concern for policy-makers. Macro-economic projections of the Bangladesh economy show that sustained growth in foodgrain production over the medium term will be crucial for supporting the balance of payments, improving food security and generating employment opportunities (Mahmud, 1987). We have already discussed survey evidence showing the favourable impact of the spread of HYV technology on female wage employment. Income-earning opportunities are created for women directly in post-harvest operations (and increasingly in agricultural field operations) as well as indirectly through derived demand for the products of non-crop agriculture and cottage industries.

The bias in agricultural policy against small farmers can also have adverse effects on women. As noted earlier, the incidence of female-headed households is much higher among smaller farm-size classes, so that the reforms have an indirect gender bias as well. As regards demand for female wage labour, it may be argued that a lower productivity growth for smaller farms may not have much direct effect on such demand (which mainly originates from large farms). However, there are likely to be supply-side factors working to the disadvantage of both male and female wage workers. Small farms, beside their contribution to agricultural production, absorb a large proportion of the underemployed labour force. The lower the growth of farm income for small and marginal farmers, the greater will be the number of workers joining the rank of wage labourers as the population pressure on land increases. Even if the initial impact is only on the male wage labour market (since female wage workers come mainly from landless households), the supply-side factors will eventually affect the female wage labour market as well (through linkages with the level of male wage earnings as discussed earlier). There may, however, be innovative approaches to redressing some of these adverse effects, such as through providing credit to small farmers or organising women's groups to own and operate irrigation equipment on a commercial basis. Such programmes have already been initiated, although on a very limited scale.

2. Public Food Distribution and Food Security

The Government's management of the domestic food situation has significant effects on farmers' incentives, food security and poverty alleviation. To achieve its food policy objectives, the government intervenes in the markets for foodgrains (rice and wheat) by using a variety of instruments such as domestic procurement, import, rationing, and relief and market stabilisation operations. As part of structural adjustment, the public food distribution system (PFDS) has been undergoing a process of transformation. An important objective behind restructuring the PFDS is to reduce the food subsidy and eventually to limit it to the vulnerable population groups. Another important objective is to rely increasingly on market-oriented instruments (e.g. sales-cum-procurement) to stabilise food prices.

The major channel of public food distribution so far has been the subsidised sale of foodgrains through the rationing system (Table 6). It is widely recognised that this system has been not only urban-biased but has

TABLE 6. TRENDS IN FOODGRAIN AVAILABILITY AND PUBLIC FOOD DISTRIBUTION

	Five-Year Average 1		Annual Data		
	FY 76-80	FY 81-85	FY 85	FY 86	FY 87
Per capita foodgrain availability (ounces/ day) 2	15.20	15.76	16.2	15.2	15.5
Government distribution:					
Million tons	1.84	2.02	2.58	1.54	2.12
% of total availability	13.91	13.21	15.59	9.76	12.73
Percentage shares of distribution categories:					
Ration sales	81.4	66.0	56.6	47.4	53.5
Market sales	2.7	6.3	8.1	9.0	12.1
Food for work	13.0	20.3	17.8	25.0	22.6
Vulnerable group programmes 3	3.0	7.4	17.5	18.7	11.7

1 In the case of percentages, estimated as the ratio of five-year averages of the respective variables.

2 Foodgrains include rice and wheat. Availability is estimated as net supply from domestic production (i.e. 10 per cent deducted from gross production for seed, feed and wastage and adjusted for crop cycle overlap with fiscal year) minus government procurement plus government distribution.

3 Mainly consists of feeding programmes for women and children; also includes other relief operations.

Source: Food Policy and Monitoring Unit, Ministry of Food; Rahman and Mahmud (1988).

largely failed in targeting its benefits to the poor. Under the present reforms, the share of the rationing channel in the PFDS and the subsidy on food rations have been progressively reduced (by raising the ration prices and reducing ration quotas). At the same time, there has been a significant increase in the allocations for the non-monetised channels which serve rural landless workers and destitute mothers and children. The scope of open market operations has also been expanded to some extent.

Judged from the point of view of maintaining stable food supplies and food prices, the Government's record of food management appears to have improved considerably in the eighties. Despite poor crops and frequent natural disasters, acute food shortages have been avoided by arranging timely imports and pursuing an active food stocks policy. Compared to the seventies, not only has per capita foodgrain availability improved but the annual and seasonal fluctuations in foodgrain prices appear to have become more moderate (Rahman and Mahmud, 1988). This would have a favourable impact on food security, thus benefiting the nutritionally vulnerable age-sex-income groups such as mothers and children belonging to poor households.

The more direct benefit for the poor has, of course, come from the expansion of the targeted food distribution programmes. The Food for Work (FFW) programme is now an important source of seasonal employment for rural landless workers, generating more than 100 million man-days of work during the dry season (with an estimated beneficiary population of between 2.5 and 3 million). Female participation in the FFW projects has been rather limited, but two recent modified FFW programmes - the Post-Monsoon Rehabilitation Programme and the Road Maintenance Programme - are now specificially targeted to rural female workers. However, the major channel for distributing food to the women and children nutritionally at risk is the Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) programme which has, again, expanded considerably in recent years. The VGD, together with the above two FFW programmes, is now reaching directly over 600,000 of the most distressed and vulnerable women each year, and thus supporting a much increased beneficiary population (Annex Table A.9).

Under the VGD, a mother of children under five years of age, without a supporting husband, receives daily take-home rations for two years. The scope of the programme has been expanded beyond food to include training in such areas as basic health and literacy and support for income-generating activities. Evaluation suggests that the VGD, as well as the special FFW programmes for women, are reaching the target population and that social rehabilitation goals and basic welfare needs are being met (WFP, 1986; CARE International, 1986). The beneficiaries, though, still constitute only a small proportion of the total target population and the amount of assistance provided is usually inadequate to lift the family to a self-sustaining earning status or to have a large nutritional impact. A more fundamental problem in the case of take-home rations is that the actual number of beneficiaries is larger than intended, since the food will be shared by the entire family (which also raises the question of biases in intra-family distribution). However, some degree of age-sex-specific targeting is automatically achieved by concentrating on families which are female-headed and have many young children.

3. Trade and Industrial Policy Reforms

The reforms in the industry and trade sectors have been major elements in the macro-economic restructuring in the eighties. The Government

has sought to expand private sector participation in manufacturing through denationalisation of publicly owned enterprises and relaxation of direct controls such as investment sanctioning and import-licensing. Previously, most private investments in the organised sector required prior approval; this now applies only to a few large projects seeking long-term loan-financing. In the trade sector, the reforms are aimed at liberalisation of imports, rationalisation of tariffs, provision of export incentives and moving towards a flexible exchange rate regime. While an increasing proportion of imports has been diverted to the secondary free exchange market (known as the WES market), the official exchange rate has been successively adjusted towards the free market rate (Annex Table A.1). These reforms are intended to improve the competitiveness and export-orientation of the domestic manufacturing sector.

The performance of the manufacturing sector in the eighties has been discouraging on the whole, with the large-scale sector growing at little more than 2 per cent annually on average, compared with about 6 per cent during the late-seventies (Table 2). On the other hand, the official index of manufacturing production understates the growth rate to some extent (because of using out-dated commodity weights) and does not reflect the rapid expansion in the new export-oriented industries such as ready-made garments and fish and shrimp processing. During 1980/81 to 1986/87, non-traditional exports grew in real terms at an average annual rate of 22 per cent, and their share in total export earnings rose from 18 to 47 per cent (Table 7). In the traditional manufacturing sector, growth has been affected by several adverse factors, such as weak external demand (in the case of jute textiles), depressed money incomes due to a slowdown in agricultural growth, as well as a tight monetary environment and the constraint on private investment imposed by the credit recovery drive.

The most visible gender aspect of structural adjustment in the manufacturing sector has been the phenomenal expansion of urban female employment in the export-oriented garment industry. The industry has an overwhelmingly female work force (80 to 90 per cent), and recent figures suggest that these female workers may number around 200,000. About 60,000 to 80,000 of them may be permanently employed while the others find temporary work from time to time.[14] This would mean that the garment workers accounted for about 4 to 5 per cent of the urban female population of economically active age. Yet because of the excessive expansion of capacity in the early eighties and the subsequent imposition of quota restrictions by Bangladesh's trading partners, there have also been frequent temporary closures of the garment manufacturing units, resulting in cycles of lay-offs and re-employment of workers. The women made redundant find it difficult to revert to their earlier status (Adnan, 1988). Many women tend to remain locked into apprentice grades. Nevertheless, the average wages earned are

---

[14] There is considerable uncertainty regarding these estimates because of lack of data and the high 'birth' and'death' rates of garment manufacturing units. The figures vary widely among different sources, such as the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMA) and the Inspector of Factories and Establishments; see Khan (1988).

TABLE 7. PATTERN OF EXPORTS AND GROWTH OF NON-TRADITIONAL EXPORTS, 1980/81-86/87

Items	Value in Current FOB Dollar Prices (US$ million)				Share in Total Exports (%)	
	80/81	82/83	84/85	86/87	80/81	86/87
Traditional exports 1	583	533	672	571	82.0	53.2
Non-traditional exports	128	153	262	503	18.0	46.8
Ready-made garments	3	11	116	299	0.4	27.8
Fish and shrimp	40	72	87	136	5.6	12.7
Other	85	70	59	68	12.0	6.3
Total exports	711	686	934	1,074	100.0	100.0

1 Traditional exports include raw jute, jute goods, tea and leather.

Source: Official trade statistics of the Bangladesh Bank and Planning Commission.

still quite high compared to alternative opportunities available for women.[15]

The rapid expansion in frozen fish and shrimp exports has also contributed to an expansion of female manufacturing employment, since the proportion of female labour is substantial at the processing stage.[16] Surprisingly, however, the export boom in non-traditional items has been mostly limited to garments and processed fish. Exports of such items as handicrafts and handloom products, which can expand female employment opportunities, have remained negligible. Among traditional export items, only that of leather has increased rapidly, but female employment is not known to be significant in leather tanning and processing. On the other hand, there is little prospect for an export-led growth of the tea industry which is a major employer of female labour.[17]

The reforms in import tariffs have been intended to reduce the existing rates of protection considerably and to achieve uniform lower levels across import-substituting industries. Reforms in this area are still under way and have been too recent to have a discernible effect on the growth of the industries involved. The case of the textile industry, though, deserves to be specially mentioned. The handloom sector, which accounts for most of the domestic weaving capacity, provides employment to roughly a million workers, of whom more than one-third are estimated to be women (Mahmud, 1987; BIDS, 1981, 1988). Imports have been liberalised so far only for fabric types which compete mainly with domestic mill-made or powerloom cloth. The main handloom products (women's saree and men's lungi) are still subject to complete import bans, although withdrawal of all such bans and quantitative restrictions on textile imports have been proposed under the structural adjustment reforms (TIP, 1985). Handloom products are already subject to considerable competition from smuggled Indian fabrics (especially saree fabrics), so that a liberalisation of such imports can seriously jeopardise the growth prospects in the industry. On the other hand, it has been argued that the domestic handloom industry has a potential comparative advantage and that it deserves both price support and non-price interventions aimed at strengthening the industry, such as in respect of improved production capabilities and better product design and quality. Interestingly, this provides an example where maintaining the existing level of protection may be desirable both for realising longer term comparative advantage and for expanding employment opportunities, especially for women.

Apart from import liberalisation, a more serious threat to female employment opportunities may have arisen from the liberalisation or 'decontrol' of private investment and its likely effect on technology choice. The policy environment surrounding the private sector in fact started to

---

[15] An average female garment worker earns Taka 800-1100 per month. In the 1983-84 Labour Force Survey, average weekly earnings of urban wage-earning and salaried persons were found to be Taka 120 for males and Taka 59 for females.

[16] It is estimated that roughly 70 per cent of cleaning and washing and 20-30 per cent of processing is done by female workers.

[17] About 70,000 female workers are estimated to be employed in tea plantations and processing; see Khan (1988).

change from the late seventies with liberal loan sanctions, tax concessions and various supply services being provided to private investors. Since then, rapid expansion has taken place in some of the so-called 'free sectors' such as rice milling and powerloom textiles (Sahota, 1989). We have already noted the adverse impact of the mechanised rice milling technology on the employment opportunities for rural women. Similarly, the rapid growth of powerloom production of cloth poses a problem for the expansion of the handloom sector. During the period 1977/78-86/87, cloth production from handlooms is estimated to have grown at an annual trend rate of 3 per cent, compared with 4 per cent for that from large-scale mills and 34 per cent for that from medium-scale powerlooms (Chowdhury, 1989).[18] Within the handloom sector itself, there has been a shift away from home-based production towards large-scale factory-based production, which has again been to the detriment of the employment opportunities for female weavers (BIDS, 1988).

4. Human Resource Development and Poverty Alleviation Programmes

Consistent with the objective of the structural adjustment programme, the Government has emphasised its commitment to strengthening efforts at poverty alleviation and human resource development. Since women have been recognised as a disadvantaged group, particular efforts are to be made to expand education and health care for them and to improve their access to productive resources and employment opportunities. To this end, a number of programmes targeted at women are now being implemented by government agencies and NGOs, with active support from donors. In addition, women will benefit from the overall education, health and family planning programmes as well as from special components in many other development programmes.

In spite of the Government's commitment, public expenditure outlays for human resource development programmes have remained extremely low. Public expenditures on education and health in recent years have been the equivalent of 3 to 4 US dollars per year per person, representing around 2 per cent of GDP.[19] These levels, which have remained virtually stagnant during the eighties, are among the lowest in the world and certainly well below what would be required to provide for minimum standards. The available evidence also suggests that those in the disadvantaged population groups have benefited less than the average person from the existing mainstream programmes. Within the health sector, for example, there has been a tendency to neglect maternity and child health (MCH) services, although some steps have been taken recently to redress this imbalance.

Among the targeted poverty alleviation programmes for women, we have already discussed the Vulnerable Group Development programme and the women's Food For Work Programme. Besides them, considerable progress has been made in recent years in expanding the programmes for organising rural women - especially those belonging to landless and female-headed households - into various income-generating activities. These programmes, implemented by government agencies as well as NGOs, are aimed at strengthening women's

---

[18] However, because of the narrow initial base of powerloom production, about 70 per cent of total cloth production was still accounted for by the handloom sector in 1986/87.

[19] The expenditures include both recurrent and capital expenditures.

TABLE 8. PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION, HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING, 1980/81-85/86

	80/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86
Per capita public expenditure (Taka/constant 1973/74 prices)						
Education and training	16.73	15.34	15.84	16.76	14.47	18.73
Health and family planning	7.76	7.25	7.87	8.79	8.97	7.60
Total	24.49	22.59	23.71	25.55	23.44	26.33
Public expenditure as % of GDP (current prices)						
Education and training	1.40	1.34	1.34	1.57	1.50	1.52
Health and family planning	0.65	0.63	0.64	0.72	0.74	0.61
Total	2.05	1.97	1.98	2.29	2.24	2.13

Public expenditure figures are based on revised budget estimates as reported in BBS, Statistical Yearbook (various issues); the general wholesale price index (1973-74=100) is used as the deflator.

economic capacity through skill training, credit provision and savings mobilisation; very often literacy, health and family planning components are also included. The Grameen Bank (which is partly owned by the Government) has developed a well-known model of rural banking to create self-employment opportunities for the assetless poor, especially women (Hossain, 1988b; Rahman 1986b). Evaluation suggests that, in the case of well-designed programmes, the income-earning capacity of their participants has increased, and family planning practices as well as the school attendance rate of children have been encouraged. However, the coverage of these programmes is still rather limited. For example, the female membership of the Grameen Bank, which had reached 346,000 by 1988, would still constitute only about 1.5 per cent of rural females aged 15 years and above and, thus, roughly 3-4 per cent of the target group of women belonging to landless households.

Because of lack of reliable time-series data, it is not easy to assess the country-wide impact of policies and programmes on the status of women, particularly in respect of poverty alleviation and human resource development. Estimates based on the recent rounds of the official Household Expenditure Survey, as well as of real wage movements, suggest that poverty increased in the early eighties but has diminished somewhat since (Rahman, 1988; see also Annex Table A.1 for real wage indices). Data on demographic variables again indicate some improvement since the early eighties. For example, the child mortality rate (for both sexes) seems to have been declining in recent years after reaching a peak in 1983; however, no similar trend is discernible from the data on infant mortality (see Annex Tables A.2 and A3). The fertility rate is, again, showing some downward trend. The attendance rate at the primary school stage has slightly improved during the eighties for both boys and girls (Annex Table A.6).

IV. POLICY PERSPECTIVE

The foregoing discussion points to the major areas of policy intervention in making the structural adjustment process more sensitive to the needs of women. Generally speaking, gender concerns will carry more conviction if they can be related to, and integrated with, the overall development strategy pursued under structural adjustment. There is wide agreement among development planners and policy-makers about the need for an employment-oriented poverty-alleviating growth strategy for Bangladesh, on grounds both of social equity and of economic efficiency. Measures aimed at enhancing women's economic capabilities clearly fit into this growth strategy, again on both equity and efficiency grounds. Unfortunately, explicit gender concerns in economic planning and policy-making have so far been largely limited to the delivery of social services like family planning, thus ignoring women's potential productive roles.

All medium-term projections of the Bangladesh economy show the importance of accelerating the growth of agricultural production for generating employment and improving food security. Unlike in many other developing countries, agricultural policy reforms in Bangladesh have in fact worked to the disadvantage of the farm sector in terms both of producer incentives and of the Government's budgetary allocations for agriculture (Demery and Addison, 1987; ASR, 1989). The effects of the policy reforms should therefore be carefully reviewed, particularly in respect of their bias against small farmer groups (which include disproportionately large numbers of female-headed households). Provision of credit to small farmers and the leasing of government-installed irrigation facilities to small farmers'

co-operatives have been suggested as remedial measures, but they will require overcoming many institutional problems (ASR, 1989).

A relatively high rate of growth in the basic rice economy as envisaged would create diversified demand for agricultural products having high-income elasticities of demand (i.e. fish, poultry, milk, fruits, etc.). Intensified homestead production of these items can substantially expand women's income-earning opportunities as well as contribute to family nutrition and food security (Safilios-Rothschild and Mahmud, 1989). Results from experimental projects suggest that women's access to credit, inputs, know-how and other support services are crucial factors in the intensification of homestead agricultural production. The traditional research, training and extension services are, however, neither designed to reach women farmers nor suitable for adopting an integrated farming system approach. This may partly explain why the potential of agricultural growth outside the main field crops has so far remained mostly unrealised. Innovative approaches to agricultural extension through female field staff and community volunteers therefore need encouragement and support.

The nature of technological changes under structural adjustment can have a strong impact on female employment opportunities. Female labour-intensive production is found generally to vary negatively with both the capital intensity of production and the size of enterprise, although there are important exceptions such as the modern garment-making industry which is large-scale but employs mostly females. Given the factor endowments of the Bangladesh economy, the technologies which are relatively capital-saving and labour-using are generally found to represent the more socially profitable options (at the appropriate 'shadow' factor prices).[20] However, mechanised techniques often have a cost advantage over the traditional ones, not only because of the substantial saving in wages but also because farms using mechanised techniques have usually better access to credit, markets, imported inputs and other government support services. A policy of liberalisation and active support towards private investment therefore carries the risk of promoting inappropriate technologies that would specially hurt female employment opportunities.

The tariff and exchange rate reforms under the structural adjustment programme are aimed mainly at correcting the distortions in the industrial incentive structure by making the effective rates of protection more uniform (as between, say, export-orientated and import-substituting industries). But ensuring mere 'neutrality' in government interventions on prices (which is what the reforms aim at) may not be sufficient for redressing the disadvantage of the unorganised small-scale sector in relation to the organised large-scale sector. The case of the handloom industry, which illustrates the need for providing selective protection as well as for non-price supports to labour-intensive technologies having potential comparative advantage, has already been cited. The upgrading of traditional technology in some cases,

---

20 The higher social profitability of traditional technologies in comparison with the more capital-intensive ones is not necessarily based on the assumption that the shadow wage for female labour is less than that for male labour. In fact, given the very large degree of underemployment in Bangladesh, the opportunity cost of both male and female labour should be close to zero; Mahmud (1987).

such as in food processing and handicrafts, can lead to an improvement in quality so that the products can successfully enter urban and even export markets. Since skill development is an essential component of such technology upgrading, the extent to which women can benefit from the expanded employment opportunities will depend on their access to higher skills. Skill training for women is necessary in a more general context in order to enable women to move into more productive and remunerative lines of activity.

A number of group and co-operative approaches, such as those of the Grameen Bank and some NGOs,have proved successful in enabling assetless women to undertake productive activities, thereby enhancing their capacity to respond to economic opportunities (Rahman, 1986b; Hossain 1988b; Lily, 1986; Schaffer, 1986). Such 'bottom-up' group approaches are specially important in helping women to overcome their disadvantaged status by circumventing some of the social structures placed on women's activities. As noted earlier, the programmes have reached only a small fraction of the target population; the replication and expansion of the successful programmes therefore merit continued and larger support, from the Government and donors. However, as the programmes expand in coverage, they are likely to come up against demand-side constraints and will need to be increasingly linked to macro-economic and sectoral policies as well as to local planning (Mahmud, 1987). It will also be important to outgrow the current focus on sex-stereotyped low-productivity activities in order to exploit wider employment opportunities for women. The policy areas that will need greater attention are: providing skill training, co-ordinating credit activities with marketing, making larger loans, and organising collective enterprises to reap economies of scale.

While making efforts at restraining public expenditures, it is essential that the Government not be distracted from its commitment to poverty alleviation and human resource development. The feeding and Food for Work programmes targeted at the most vulnerable women are proving effective in rescuing them from destitution; they therefore merit continued support, sufficient for expansion. It is also essential to expand social services in priority areas such as primary education, adult literacy and basic health care. The problem is not, however, merely one of making more funds available. It also involves strengthening the delivery system and creating effective demand for the services. Here again, the NGOs have provided many useful models and approaches which can enrich ongoing or future Government programmes. Expansion of social and development services specially targeted at women can also create employment opportunities for relatively educated women as field workers and teachers and in junior management (Khan, 1988; Jiggins, 1987).

Finally, there is need for a systematic monitoring and assessment of the effects of structural adjustment on women. At present, there is little capacity in the government agencies to incorporate gender concerns in development planning and policy-making or to assess the impact of investment programmes on women. To a large extent, this is also true of employment and poverty monitoring in general (Mahmud, 1987). Efforts should therefore be made for strengthening and reorienting the national statistical system to cater to the needs of an employment-oriented gender-sensitive development strategy. To devise meaningful employment policies, it will be particularly important that the emerging trends in female involvement in productive activities be truly captured in the official nationwide labour-force surveys. There is also scope for generating more gender-related information from the regular national censuses and surveys such as the agricultural censuses and

TABLE A.1. SOME KEY INCENTIVE INDICATORS OF THE BANGLADESH ECONOMY, 1980/81-85/86

	80/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86
Domestic inflation rate (%) 1	8.0	16.1	2.4	15.9	17.1	4.5
Exchange rate (Taka per US$):						
Official rate	16.34	20.04	23.76	24.95	26.06	30.85
Secondary market rate 2	20.11	22.79	24.12	27.16	29.29	32.74
Premium of secondary rate over official rate (%)	23.7	13.6	1.4	8.9	12.8	9.4
Commodity terms of trade (1979/80 =100) 3	77.7	66.1	74.9	87.0	109.0	83.3
Ratio of domestic prices to world prices 4						
Rice	0.60	0.62	0.93	0.98	1.08	0.99
Fertiliser (urea)	0.56	0.63	0.73	0.67	0.68	0.86
Index of real wages (1974=100) 5						
Agriculture	93	89	94	103	120	116
Small-scale rural industries	118	118	154	163	169	185

1 Based on the official general wholesale price index (1973-74=100).

2 Refers to the secondary exchange market in which the exchange rate is allowed to move freely.

3 Estimates by Asia Country Department I, World Bank.

4 Estimates by Rahman and Mahmud (1988). World prices are import parity prices (domestic wholesale level) at the ruling official exchange rate.

5 Refers to daily wages (without food) of unskilled workers. Real wages are estimated by applying rural consumer price indices. Estimated from data reported in BBS, Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh.

TABLE A.2. TRENDS IN INFANT MORTALITY RATE (IMR), CRUDE BIRTH RATE (CBR) AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATE (TFR), 1979-86

Year	IMR (per 1,000 live births)		CBR (per 1,000)		TFR (per woman)	
	Matlab Area	Bangladesh	Matlab Area	Bangladesh	Matlab Area	Bangladesh
1979	118.0		40.9		5.88	
1980	114.0		41.2		5.87	
1981	114.5	111.5	39.5	34.6	5.53	5.04
1982	118.3	121.9	40.7	34.8	5.63	5.21
1983	112.5	117.5	38.3	35.0	5.28	5.07
1984		121.8		34.8		4.83
1985		111.9		34.6		4.71
1986		116.6		34.4		4.70

Estimates for Bangladesh are from Bangladesh Demographic Survey and Vital Registration System of BBS; see BBS, Statistical Yearbook, 1987. Estimates for the Matlab area are from the Matlab Demographic Surveillance System of the ICDDR, B. The estimates for CBR and TFR refer to the whole survey area in Matlab including the MCA-FP project intervention area, while the IMR estimates refer only to the non-intervention area.

TABLE A.3. MORTALITY RATE PER 1,000 CHILDREN AGED 1-4 YEARS BY SEX, 1979-86

Year	Matlab Area		Bangladesh	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1979	16.1	27.6		
1980	16.5	28.0		
1981	16.2	28.3		
1982	15.8	31.7	20.5	23.9
1983	21.9	37.0	25.5	22.0
1984			14.4	19.8
1985			13.0	16.2
1986			9.7	14.1

Explanatory notes same as for Table A.2. The estimates for the Matlab area refer to the whole survey area including the MCH-FP project intervention area.

TABLE A.4. MORTALITY RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX IN THE MATLAB AREA, 1979 AND 1983

Age (in years)	1979			1983		
	F	M	F/M Ratio	F	M	F/M Ratio
Under 1 *	114.0	118.7	0.96	111.5	100.9	1.11
1-4	27.6	16.1	1.71	37.0	21.9	1.69
5-14	3.3	2.7	1.22	3.2	2.3	1.39
15-44	3.3	2.0	1.65	2.8	2.0	1.40
45-64	13.5	18.9	0.71	13.8	18.1	0.76
65+	84.1	68.3	1.23	80.2	80.6	1.00

* Per 1,000 live births.

Source: Estimated from Matlab demographic surveillance data of the ICDDR, B.

TABLE A.5. PROPORTION OF FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN RURAL BANGLADESH BY FARM SIZE, 1988

	Farm Size (in acres)					
	Landless	Up to 0.5	0.5-0.99	1.00-2.49	2.50+	All Sizes
Female-headed households as % of all households	25.0	16.7	10.7	8.8	3.9	15.0
Share of farm size class in all rural households (%)	15.6	47.9	14.4	15.5	6.5	100.0

Source: Data reported in Safilios-Rothschild and Mahmud (1989) taken from "Women in Agriculture Survey", Agriculture Sector Review, 1988.

TABLE A.6. EDUCATION ENROLMENT RATE BY LEVEL AND SEX, 1973, 1980 AND 1985
(percentages of standard age groups)

	1974	1980	1985
Primary level (6-10 years)			
Male	79.0	70.0	73.0
Female	41.0	46.0	51.0
All	60.0	58.0	60.0
Secondary level (11-17 years)			
Male	27.6	19.0	18.0
Female	7.9	8.0	9.0
All	18.1	13.0	14.0
Higher level (18-21 years) *			
Male		9.0	10.0
Female		3.0	2.5
All		6.0	6.0

* Enrolled students in higher education could be older than standard age group. Enrolment rates for primary level are likely to be overestimates because of the tendency of official records to inflate the number of enrolled students.

Sources: Population Census, 1974 and 1981; BBS, Bangladesh Education in Statistics, 1985; BBS, Statistical Yearbook (various issues).

TABLE A.7. RURAL AND URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE POPULATION BY ECONOMIC CATEGORY, 1974, 1981 AND 1984/85
(Thousands)

	Rural			Urban		
	1974 Census	1981 Census	1984/85 LFS 1	1974 Census	1981 Census	1984/85 LFS 1
Total female population	33.7	37.4	42.2	3.1	6.2	5.7
Population aged 10 years and above	21.4	24.5	29.0	2.1	4.3	3.9
Civilian labour force	0.8	1.0	2.2	0.1	0.3	0.5
(a) Employed	0.7	0.9	2.0	0.1	0.3	0.4
(b) Unemployed	0.1	0.1	0.2	- 2	- 2	0.1
Not in the civilian labour force	32.8	36.4	26.8	2.9	5.9	3.4
(a) Housewives	16.4	18.8	22.2	1.3	2.6	2.5
(b) Inactive 3	4.1	4.7	4.6	0.6	1.4	0.9

1 Labour Force Survey, 1984-85.

2 Negligible.

3 Does not include children under 10.

Source: BBS, Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh, 1987.

TABLE A.8. PROPORTION OF WOMEN INVOLVED IN PRODUCTIVE WORK BY PRIMARY OCCUPATION AND FARM SIZE, 1988 [1]

Primary Occupation	Farm Size (in acres)				
	Landless (up to 0.04)	Marginal (0.05-0.49)	Small (0.50-2.49)	Medium and large (above 2.5)	All Sizes [2]
Agricultural field work on own farm	7.2	21.1	23.8	7.4	17.2
Agricultural field work as wage labourer	22.8	15.0	1.5	0.8	12.2
Other agricultural work [3]	9.3	11.6	13.3	7.8	11.2
Total agricultural employment	39.3	47.6	38.5	16.0	40.6
Non-farm employment	17.8	12.7	4.7	1.6	11.0
Total work involvement	57.0	60.3	43.3	17.5	51.5

[1] Calculated as per cent of total number of women in the respective farm size class; based on information on 3,948 women consisting of wives of male heads of female heads or households.

[2] Estimates for all size classes may not be representative of Bangladesh because of likely over-representation of the landless and small farm size groups in the sample.

[3] Includes homestead agriculture, livestock and poultry, rice husking and other agricultural processing.

Source: Estimated from data reported in Safilios-Rothschild and Mahmud (1989).

TABLE A.9. WOMEN BENEFICIARIES IN TARGETED FOOD DISTRIBUTION AND RURAL WORKS PROGRAMMES

Programme [1]	Coverage/Year	Women Beneficiaries (thousands)	Direct Benefits
Road Maintenance	Nationwide 1985-86	60	Tk.12 per day all year
Post Monsoon Rehabilitation	Nationwide 1985	35	4.65kg of wheat 4 days per week Sept.-Nov.
Vulnerable Group Feeding [2]	Nationwide 1986-87	450 [3]	31.25kg of wheat monthly over 2 years per mother [4].

[1] These are all ongoing programmes, but the information in the table refers only to a specific year.

[2] Now called Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) Programme.

[3] Does not include the children. The VGD reaches approximately another 25,000 women in training centres and 60,000 women and children through institutional feeding programmes.

[4] Others with two or more children whose husbands cannot work.

Source: Jiggins (1986).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adnan, S. (1988) "Birds in a cage: Institutional changes and women's position in Bangladesh", paper presented at IUSSP conference on Women's Position and Demographic Change in the Course of Development (Asker, Noway), 15-18 June.

Ahmed, J. (1982) "The Impact of new paddy post-harvest technology on the rural poor in Bangladesh", in M. Howes and M. Greely (eds.), Rural Technology, Rural Institutions and the Rural Poorest, CIRDAP (Dhaka) and IDS (Sussex, England).

Ahsan, R., et al. (1986) The Role of Women in Agriculture, Centre for Urban Studies, Dhaka University.

Akhter, F. (1985) "Women in slums: living conditions and opportunities", UBINIG, Dhaka.

Alam, S. (1985) "Women and poverty in Bangladesh", Women's Studies International Forum, Vol. 8, no. 4, pp 361-74.

ASR (1989) Bangladesh Agriculture: Policies and Performance, Main Report, Bangladesh Agriculture Sector Review, UNDP (Dhaka).

BBS (1988) Labour Force Survey, 1984-85, Final Report, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

BIDS (1981) Rural Industries Study Project - Final Report, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (Dhaka).

____ (1988) Report of the Bangladesh Handloom Sector Study, Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies.

BRAC (1988)Who Gets What and Why: Resource Allocation in a Bangladesh Villiage, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (Dhaka)

Begum, S. and Greely, M. (1979) "Rural women and the rural labour market in Bangladesh: an empirical analysis", Bangladesh Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 2. no. 2.

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF JAMAICA

Sonja T. Harris
assisted by Derick Boyd

December 1988

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF JAMAICA

	Page
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	39
I. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL ISSUES - VULNERABLE GROUPS AND WOMEN	40
1. Introduction	40
2. Historical Development	40
3. The Changing Status of Women in Jamaica	42
II. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES	43
1. Major Features of the Jamaican Economy, 1950-1987	43
2. Structural Adjustment in the 1980s	44
Main objectives of the structural loans, 1982-84	45
Financial stabilisation measures of 1984-85	46
3. Jamaica's Economic Performance in the 1980s	47
4. The Social Well-Being Programme	47
III. THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES ON WOMEN	48
1. Impact on Female Employment	48
Formal employment of women	48
Women in self-employment	49
Women in professions	49
Women in agriculture	50
2. Income of Women	51
3. Impact of Policies in Health, Education and Social Services	52
Health services	53
Education	54
Transport divestment	55
Housing policy	56
Food Aid Programme	57
Characteristics of social policy in the 1980s	57
4. Selected Demographic Features and Women's Response to Economic Conditions	58
5. Small Scale Enterprises	58
Female traders	59
Established small businesses	59
Access to credit	59
The National Development Foundation	60
IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	60
1. Summary of Findings	60
2. Evaluating the Effects of Structural Adjustment	61
3. Recommendations	64

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Table	1.	Jamaican Structural Adjustment Loans	65
	2.	Selected Macro-Economic Indicators	65
	3.	Social Well-Being Programme: Estimated Expenditure, 1989/90-92/93 (Prior to Hurricane Gilbert)	66
	4.	Unemployment by Gender, 1975-87 Yearly Average	66
	5.	Gender Distribution in Public Sector Professional and Administrative Groups, 1987-88	67
	6.	Gender Distribution in Public Sector Management Group, 1987-88	67
	7.	Index of the Median Income Earners, 1974-80 (1974 base)	68
	8.	Share of Income Accruing to the Decile Groups of the Population 1958, 1975 and 1984	68
	9.	Ratios of Selected Health Personal to Population	69
	10.	Expenditure in Two Polyclinics, 1984/85	69
	11.	Infant Mortality Rates Per 1000 Births, 1972-86 (Selected Years)	70
	12.	Population Distribution by General and Educational Attainment, 1986	70
	13.	Students Registered for First Degree Certificate or Diploma Courses at UWI, by Faculty and Gender, 1978/79-1986-87	71
	14.	Cambridge 'O' Level Entrants and Passes, 1979, 1985, 1986	72
	15.	Public/Private Sector Housing Units Construction, 1976-81, 1985	72
	16.	Percentage Cost Increase of Major Construction Materials, 1980-85	73
	17.	Selling Price of 1000 sq.ft. Town House, 1980, 1983-85	73
	18.	Jamaica Emigrants to Canada by Gender, Selected Years	74
	19.	Female Prisoners, 1982-87	74
	20.	Births to Teenage Mothers, 1977-1985	75
	21.	Comparison of Selected Demographic Indicators on Women, Jamaica and Canada	75
	22.	Distribution of NDF Clients by Age and Gender	76
	23.	Distribution of Loans to NDF Clients	76

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report on the impact on structural adjustment policies on women in Jamaica represents an exercise important not only to women's development but to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of any country's economic policies. To assess the impact of policies on women is to assess their impact on the entire country.

The data base on women in Jamaica is available mostly in raw form, and valuable information from banks, government departments and private sector organisations is lost because final data are presented in a gender-neutral or male-biased way.

The history of Jamaica depicts the extent to which political and economic structures have bred inequalities between the races, classes and more recently the sexes. Patriarchy was imported with the colonial process and survived emancipation (1838) and Independence (1962), as the religious, political, legislative, educational and financial institutions introduced into Jamaica based their strength on male dominance.

The underlying cultural form is, however, heavily matriarchal, especially in managing the family and the community economy. Women in Jamaica, as in other countries, may work harder than men in a multiplicity of tasks, but are ascribed a subordinate position with respect to access to rewards, resources and power.

Section I discusses the social and historical antecedents to Jamaica's situation of persistent poverty, counter-balanced by extreme wealth. Women have emerged only in the last century, and particularly since the economic industrialisation of the 1950s, as a distinct group among the urban, rural and landless poor. Their status is changing in some dynamic ways as they now command the major share of the country's distributive trades. However, they are less in control of the direction their lives are taking than were women of previous generations because the economy is now led by international forces over which women have minimal control.

Section II outlines the economic factors from the 1950s which, combined with the social forces delineated in Section I, resulted in the type of economic recovery policies introduced into Jamaica during the 1980s. The role of the IMF and World Bank in Jamaica's structural adjustment policies sets this period apart from the pre-Independence years. Servicing of external loans now extracts almost 50 per cent from all foreign exchange earnings to the nation. The quantity and quality of the resource base for social and economic development have been severely curtailed as a consequence.

Section II analyses, from different sectoral perspectives, the impact of the adjustment policies on women's employment status, income, access to social services, and participation as owners in resource development. Women's activities in small scale enterprises, agriculture, industry are discussed in this section, as well as the effects of trade, housing and credit policies on their choices and status. A brief assessment of the Food Aid and Social Well-Being programmes - the Government's attempts to cushion the effects of structural adjustment on vulnerable households - is also included. In

addition the section presents an interpretative analysis of women's response to economic conditions during the 1980s.

Section IV offers an evaluative summary of findings on the mixed and contradictory effects of adjustment on women's lives. It raises many more questions than it draws conclusions. The recommendations therefore represent the beginning of the assessment exercise needed to inform social, cultural, and physical scientists on which development model and process work best for a country like Jamaica. Such an assessment needs to be conducted regularly to be meaningful, and must place value on the dual contribution to economic life from the people's own productive efforts and cultural responses, as well as from the quality of national policies and programmes.

I. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL ISSUES - VULNERABLE GROUPS AND WOMEN

1. Introduction

Any meaningful assessment of the policies and programmes which aim at effecting structural changes in Jamaica, a country characterised by deep social divisions and a long history of political and economic dependency, must be contained in a framework which provides for an understanding of the socio-cultural as well as the economic reality which prevailed prior to their introduction. The paper therefore begins with a brief review of the historical development of the society and seeks to trace important trends and changes in the organisation of labour, the fate of vulnerable groups and in particular the role of women over the last 400 years in Jamaica.

Against this background, the paper examines, from available empirical data, such issues as the extent to which economic stabilisation policies of the 1980s have had any fundamentally beneficial effects on the fate of groups which have remained at the base of the social and economic structure throughout the history of the country. The analysis is, of course, severely limited by the non-experimental methodology. which does not enable significant comparative data to be brought to bear on the problem. More importantly, as anticipated, the absence of data on the situation of vulnerable groups and women has prevented more meaningful description of the condition of these groups before and during 1981-88.

2. Historical Development

For 400 years Jamaica has been struggling with the task of carving a functional social structure out of a past based on forced labour, structural inequalities, ethnic and racial divisions and minority power. Many of the contradictions which exist in Jamaica today result from longstanding undercurrents of resistance by one set of interest groups against another.

Patterns of dependency and self depreciation arising from the oppression of this period before independence continue to influence aspects of the contemporary Jamaican work ethos. Similarly, the fundamental patterns of social stratification which characterise Jamaican society today also result from factors endogenous to the socio-economic order of this period. Such factors include: white European control of the means of production which was transferred later to their mulatto offspring; descendants of enslaved Africans - a consistent 80 per cent majority excluding mulattos - remaining at the

lowest level of the social order (labour joined by Indian peasants); Chinese and middle eastern workers who struggled, from humble beginnings, to separate themselves economically from the black majority, emerging as an entrepreneurial class supported by English bank loans; an unequal system of land distribution and ownership, from which the black majority has not yet found redress and which by the 1970s had resulted in 1 per cent of farmers owning approximately 60 per cent of arable land and 70 per cent of farmers owning only 20 per cent and an imbalanced income distribution system, described as one of the world's most unequal systems.

By the early 1950s employment in the sugar plantations had declined and those workers who continued to leave the land in search of wages had formed a large pool of vulnerable households. Land settlement schemes were introduced in an attempt to build up the agricultural base, increase economic opportunities, and food production. Land reform was not extensive enough to reverse the trend of growth in the size of the under-class, however.

At the same time, bauxite mining was introduced into rural Jamaica and "screw-driver" industries, cushioned by liberal tax incentives to foreign investors, sprang up in the urban centres. The sudden industrialisation of the economy resulted in an acceleration of urbanisation, deepening the differences between rural and urban incomes, options and values as well as the distinctions between classes and racial groups which had characterised the country from the beginning. The obvious effects of industrialisation during this period were ghetto sprawl, landlessness related to the sale of family land to bauxite companies, mass migration to Britain, high rural and urban unemployment, and an intractable surplus of female labour.

The only solution for the poor, except migration, was to move into independent self-employment. This process entailed various forms of survival strategies, including the more negative behaviours of trickery (Anancyism), pseudo-medicine (Obeah), and hustling.

The introduction of imported modernisation into the economy had mixed effects on the values and attitudes of the people. On the one hand, a large number experienced significant improvement in their standard of living, particularly those who were direct participants in the process. There was a major expansion in opportunities for education and technical training to prepare youth for industrial development and, of course, for Independence, which was achieved in 1962. This allowed young people to enter new occupations, which conferred on them higher status than that of their immediate forbearers and imbued them with a value system which digressed significantly from the values and traditions associated with the agrarian culture and the plantation society.

One result was the widespread abandonment of small-farm agriculture. Although peasant farming offered the opportunity for food self-sufficiency, it also carried painful memories of slavery and attracted very low levels of cash compensation relative to the new industrial occupations. Consequently, able-bodied young men (and some women) of peasant origin migrated to towns or emigrated to Britain and North America, thereby weakening the kinship ties of the extended farm family and creating new family forms such as the female-headed household. This period also marked the beginning of an era when the role and status of women was significantly modified.

3. The Changing Status of Women in Jamaica

As the 300 years of slavery proceeded in Jamaica, there was a significant breakdown of the African patterns of family, community and clan order and the consequent erosion of traditional roles and status of the female. Nevertheless, women managed to retain certain traditional activities that formed the basis on which free peasant society was constructed in the early emancipation period. At the same time, some family order was restored as men and women resumed a shared household in a family-based farm economy. But this too was interrupted at the turn of the 20th century by the migration of males to Central and North America.

One important role which survived the ravages of slavery was the women's conjoint economic responsibility for the production of food and management of the subsistence plot. The women, as in West African culture, also had responsibility for marketing home products and agricultural produce in specially convened slave markets. This permitted retention of an economic skill - "higglering" - which informs present-day petty trading and internal agricultural marketing activities, in which women continue to predominate.

Another was that women continued the African tradition of bearing the social responsibility for the family. The female struggled to maintain ties with her children as well as with her mother and often succeeded in retaining a type of three-generational family order, in which the male, who under conditions of slavery moved from estate to estate, had only a visiting role.

Inequality, rather than complementary, in the roles of men and women, became more apparent during the early colonial period as English patriarchy, through legislation, began to affect family life. Emerging common law in England was imposed on the colonies without taking into consideration difference in customs and practice. At a later stage of British rule, although Jamaican women became eligible to vote at the same time as did the men, various aspects of the legislation continued to confer greater status on men. Married women also enjoyed a superior position and this, together with regional, colour and educational differences, contributed to the creation of two classes of women, with one becoming the servants of the other.

Between 1940 and 1970, middle class women emerged as the educational system, which had no legal or social barriers to female participation, produced teachers and nurses in numbers substantial enough to form a new social stratum. Thus the social relations between the members of Jamaican society began to reflect, in addition to longstanding class and colour differences, more complex distinctions as this new professional group became juxtaposed against the under-paid, uneducated servant workers. In addition the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy forced many women to seek employment in other areas, as domestic and service workers in urban homes, hotels and to some extent in factories.

Many of the economic policies of the 1970s were generally re-distributive in design and were, moreover, targeted specifically at women. It was felt that channelling income to women rather than men guaranteed a higher standard of living for the poor household. Women's status, relative to

income and experience, did therefore improve as a result of innovative programmes. Such programmes included:

- the special employment programme. This employed some 15,000 women directly and 35,000 on a temporary basis, mostly in street cleaning, day care and agriculture;

- the National Youth Service. This involved annually some 4000 secondary school graduates (males and female) in government programmes in health, education, agriculture and public administration;

- the JAMAL literacy programme. More females than males graduated from this, although significantly more males participated;

- the Community Health Aide Services. By 1977 this had provided employment to some 1100 women in primary health care and clinic services; and

- the Caribbean Women's Bureau (established in 1975).

Important liberal legislation was also introduced during this period, such as: the Maternity Leave Law; the Status of Children's Act, which equalised all children's inheritance status and rights regardless of parents' marital status; the Equal Pay Compensation Act; and a minimum wage law designed to protect workers who earned less than J$20 weekly up to the mid 1970s - the vast majority of them being women.

Public sector assistance to vulnerable households, especially those with female heads, was not, however, complemented by similar efforts in the private sector. The latter's labour requirements were not met from the pool of unskilled surplus labour and companies' promises to take workers from the public sector programmes and train them were not kept. Much of the labour became a burden to the Government by the end of the seventies, when the economic crisis emanating from declining domestic production and growing balance of payments deficits became acute. Consequently, the rate of unemployment among women remained high throughout the next decade.

It was the women's own efforts, borne of their long-standing traditions in marketing, that provided an outlet for excess female labour. At a time when import restrictions curtailed formal sector trade, thousands of females entered the informal trading sector, giving the poor new income levels as well as some social mobility and reinforced the emphasis on foreign-made clothing and values, trends which became even more evident in the 1980s.

II. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES

1. Major Features of the Jamaican Economy, 1950-87

Two major phases are discernible in the Jamaican economic experience since World War II. The first phase, covering 1950-73, was one of considerable growth. In real terms (1974 prices), GDP increased by 322 per cent, growing from J$530.8 million to J$2240.6 million. There was not a single year of negative growth over this 23-year period.

The second phase, 1974-87, was characterised by a significant overall decline. The recorded GDP in 1987 was J$1967.5 (1974 prices), 12 per cent less than in 1973. There was negative economic growth in nine of the 14 years between 1974 and 1987.

Certain features of the Jamaican economy are worthy of note. The first is the declining share of agriculture in GDP. This fell from 24 per cent in 1950 to only 7 per cent in 1969, before stabilising at around 9 per cent during the 1980s. Yet about 40 per cent of Jamaican households have consistently relied on agriculture for earning a living.

The second noteworthy feature is the high degree of export concentration. Major structural changes occurred in the economy as a result of the development of the bauxite industry from 1952. From the beginning, this industry rapidly came to dominate the export sector, accounting for 60 per cent of total merchandise exports in 1969 and 78 per cent in 1980. The industry had therefore long been the major source of foreign exchange, before being dislodged by tourism in recent years.

The third feature of the economy is the consistently high level of unemployment. While there has been some variation, the unemployment rate exceeded 20 per cent for much of the period since World War II. Although the economy grew rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s, it did not absorb a significant number of the unemployed into formal employment. During these two decades the total number of employed workers grew by approximately 1.8 per cent per annum while the growth of the economy averaged nearly 6 per cent.

Employment in Jamaica has also been associated with a high degree of income inequality, the fourth notable feature. Income distribution data for 1958 and 1972 show that the bottom 40 per cent of households earned about 8 per cent of the national income in those years, with nearly 50 per cent going to the top 10 percentile group of households.

The fifth feature relates to the demographic changes and their impact on economic parameters. The rate of increase of the Jamaican population has been quite rapid, due in considerable part to the dramatic decline in the death rate which fell from 15 per 1000 in 1940 to approximately 6 per 1000 in 1980. Official statistics show that infant mortality declined from 52 per 1000 in 1960 to 13 per 1000 in 1982.

2. Structural Adjustment in the 1980s

The poor performance of the Jamaican economy in the early 1980s necessitated the implementation of a strong monetarist package under IMF auspices in January 1984 (Boyd 1988). The stabilisation measures were expected to improve the balance of payments, contain price inflation, stimulate domestic savings and so lay the foundation for sustained economic growth.

In addition the World Bank financed three Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs) to Jamaica, totalling US$191.4 million over the three years 1982-84 (see Table I). The primary objective was to improve the Jamaican export performance.

The SAL programme was designed to complement the 1981/82-83/84 IMF Extended Fund Facility (EFF) programme, which provided loans of SDR537 million inclusive of funds from the Enlarged Access Facility and the Compensatory Financing Facility. Both emphasised the need for import liberalisation, reduction in the fiscal deficit, progressive divestment of certain public enterprises, and exchange rate devaluation.

Main objectives of the structural adjustment loans, 1982-84

The initial loan, SAL 1, covering 1982, was aimed at achieving the following:

(i) elimination of controls over the market system by a progressive liberalisation of import restrictions, permitting growers to market their crops (other than sugar and bananas) independently of the marketing boards, and leaving prices to be determined by market forces;

(ii) promotion of export agriculture, particularly bananas, sugar, Blue Mountain coffee and cocoa;

(iii) provision of incentives to promote non-traditional exports;

(iv) phased elimination of import restrictions on the manufacturing sector and promotion of enterprises and sub-sectors whose exports are competitive at international prices;

(v) promotion of foreign investment;

(vi) management and conservation of energy demand and encouragement of alternative energy sources;

(vii) promotion of tourism through action programmes;

(viii) a target budget surplus of at least one per cent of GDP by fiscal year 1983/84;

(ix) divestment of government ownership/operation of commercial enterprises;

(x) public enterprises (Air Jamaica, Jamaica Omnibus Service, National Hotel and Properties, etc.) to attain financial viability and be relieved of current account subsidies by 1982/83, and other subsidies by 1983/84;

(xi) maintenance of a public sector investment programme at or below 15 per cent of GDP in fiscal years 1982/83 and 1983/84;

(xii) introduction of a three-year rolling investment programme for 1981/82-83/84 with priority given to export-oriented sectors and labour-intensive sectors, and to import substitution in food and energy;

(xiii) adoption of exchange rate policies that promote export competitiveness.

The SAL II funds received to 1983 were used for the purpose of focusing more closely on balance of payments management and exchange adjustment policies, in collaboration with the IMF; maintaining the general thrust of SAL I with less emphasis on deregulation and greater emphasis on increasing the level of public sector savings and improving the viability of public enterprises; and initiating a project to strengthen and modernise core agencies of the Central Government and improve the budget system/process along performance-oriented lines.

During 1984 SAL III funds were used to: restore the Export Development Fund; activate a tax reform programme; re-design trade/industrial policies based on a comparative advantage and incentive study; start a study to project the island's energy needs up to the year 2000 and consider the use of coal as an important substitute source of energy for oil; and further strengthen the financial institutional structure by establishing an Export-Import Bank for mobilising external trade credits and providing financial services to support the manufacturing export sector.

Financial stabilisation measures of 1984-85

A major financial stabilisation programme, supported by quarterly drawings from a fund of SDR64.0 million (US$67.2 million) which was provided under an IMF Standby Agreement (subject to Jamaica passing quarterly performance tests), was launched in January 1984. Its main elements were:

(i) a ceiling of 12 per cent imposed on the increase in commercial banks lending to the private sector during 1984;

(ii) an increase of 4 percentage points, to 40 per cent, in the liquid assets ratio of commercial banks;

(iii) an increase, in stages, from 5-10 per cent in the cash reserves ratio of the commercial banks;

(iv) a redefinition of the liquid assets of commercial banks so as to exclude their foreign currency float (resulting from the lag between purchases and sales of foreign currency transacted by the banks on their own accounts);

(v) an increase from 10 to 15 per cent in the liquid assets ratio of non-bank financial intermediaries so as to keep their credit expansion in line with the overall targets for the system as a whole;

(vi) the introduction of a deposit scheme whereby all bona fide requests for foreign exchange payments had to be accompanied by a local currency deposit equivalent to the foreign currency demand at the prevailing exchange rate;

(vii) in order to prevent interest rates paid on deposits from getting too far out of line with the inflation rate (which would act as a disincentive to savers) and also to utilise the interest rate

mechanism as a restraining factor on the growth of demand; the Bank Rate was increased from 11 to 13 per cent; the Bank of Jamaica's rediscount rates were increased by 2 percentage points; the minimum interest rate on savings deposits was increased from 9 to 11 per cent; and the maximum lending rate of building societies was increased from 14 to 16 per cent;

(viii) public auctioning of foreign exchange through the Bank of Jamaica was arranged on a twice weekly basis;

(ix) by reducing public expenditure, 6,200 posts were removed from government employment, public services were significantly cut back, fees were introduced for services that had previously been free and existing charges were increased.

3. Jamaica's Economic Performance in the 1980s

Overall, there have been some improvements in the Jamaican economy since 1985. This is not to say that considerable problems do not remain. What is clear, however, is that certain macro-economic indicators show significant improvements for the economy as a whole although it should be observed that the improvements rest upon a very fragile base.

Since the implementation of a more effective growth-oriented policy approach in 1986, the expansion of the economy has quickened significantly. During 1986 and 1987 real GDP grew by 1.9 and 5.2 per cent respectively (Table 2). These increases followed two years of negative growth rates during the height of the stabilisation period of 1984-85.

The fiscal accounts have shown dramatic improvements, moving from a deficit of nearly J$1 billion in 1983 to a small surplus of J$6.1 million in 1987, the first surplus for well over 20 years. It has to be noted, though, that this was achieved at the expense of government expenditure in social services, especially in health, education and housing, (Boyd 1987).

The decline in the international bauxite/alumina market in the 1980s had an adverse impact on Jamaica. Bauxite and alumina production declined, and foreign exchange inflows from exports fell from $314.0 million in 1981 to a low of $138.7 million in 1985, but recovered to $193.0 million in 1987 (Table 2). Income from the bauxite levy fell from $193.0 million in 1981 to $95.3 million in 1987.

Tourism showed significant growth. Visitor arrivals have doubled since 1980 and visitor expenditure was estimated to be US$595 million in 1987, 147 per cent over the 1980 figure.

For individual households there is likely to have been a net loss overall, up to 1988. Although some have undoubtedly improved their welfare over the 1980s, many households, especially the poorer ones, have not so far experienced any benefits from the adjustment policies.

4. The Social Well-Being Programme

At the start of fiscal year 1988/89 the Government introduced a comprehensive social development programme, called the Social Well-Being Programme (SWP), to redress the historical deficiencies of the social services

that had been aggravated by the cutbacks resulting from adjustment. The objective of the SWP is to address the fundamental rehabilitation needs of the sector, securing improvements in efficiency and the effectiveness of social services expenditure.

The SWP is one of the Government's most significant policy initiatives in recent years since it was designed to complement the financial stabilisation and structural adjustment processes and thus focus the third pillar in its overall economic management programme.

Prior to hurricane Gilbert in September 1988, the planning of the SWP was in the process of being fine-tuned. The programme covers the main social services sectors. In the first phase the budget for the four-year period 1989/90-92/93 was estimated at J$7.26 billion. Table 3 shows the budgeted expenditures for each of the sectors.

The SWP will have to respond to additional problems brought on by the hurricane. The hurricane has not changed the fundamental character of the social development needs in Jamaica; it is not so much that new areas of deprivation have been opened up but that the extent of the existing ones has been amplified.

III. THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES ON WOMEN

1. Impact on Female Employment

The vulnerability of women to poverty as a result of the lack of employment opportunities is not a new phenomenon in Jamaica. Their labour status has always been characterised by higher unemployment, more underemployment and a higher incidence of unpaid labour than men. Women between 14 and 24 years, women of childbearing age, female heads of households (40 per cent of all households) and women forced into early retirement constitute the most vulnerable groups, particularly in the light of their low skill level and labour value.

A primary goal of structural adjustment policies is to increase production and employment and to make better use of the country's under-utilised productive capacity. Priority has been placed on tourism and export manufacturing - including bauxite and export agriculture - which would generate rapid and substantial foreign exchange earnings, and simultaneously provide expanded job opportunities.

The findings of this analysis indicate that the female unemployment rate declined in the five years to 1987. After peaking in 1979 and 1982 at 44 per cent and 40 per cent respectively, it had fallen to 30.3 per cent by 1987 (Table 4).

Formal employment of women

Opportunities in service occupations, sales, the distributive trades and factory operations, particularly in the garment sector, accounted for much of the change in women's employment. The emphasis on employment generation for women was accompanied by a large-scale skill training programme to prepare women for work in Export Free Zones (EFZs) and local garment manufacturing businesses with contracts for export. This particular programme, which arose

out of the structural adjustment scheme, doubtless benefited women at the base of the economy in terms of increasing skills and experience and providing some income.

The programme has, however, done very little to change the dualism already existing in the labour market vis-a-vis gender and wage levels. Women in garment manufacturing are among the country's lowest paid workers, earning a net average of US$18.00 weekly. A study on "Garment Workers in Jamaica" by the Joint Trade Union Research Development Centre links recent demonstrations by female employees in the EFZ with alleged poor working conditions, communication problems between workers and supervisors, repressive work methods, and violation of the Maternity Leave Law.

There is also evidence to suggest that the intractable problem of female unemployment has not been greatly alleviated as a result of structural adjustment. In spite of the 25 per cent decrease in unemployment since 1982, there has been a 33 per cent decrease in the job-seeking rate. This means that some women have been withdrawing from the labour market at the same time as others are obtaining jobs. In addition, fewer women than men have entered the labour force (Table 4).

Furthermore, the unemployment rate for women aged 14-24, who are primarily untrained school-leavers, increased from 66 per cent to 72 per cent between 1980 and 1985, averaging 69 per cent for the period. The unemployment rate for their male counterparts was only 34.5 per cent in 1982.

Women in self-employment

The quest for self-employment has been a traditional coping strategy for both men and women in Jamaica. The Labour Force Surveys of the 1970s indicated significant growth in the number of persons involved in such occupations, particularly during recessions. This trend has continued into the 1980s. Between 1980 and 1987, the number of women in independent occupations increased from 91,200 to 114,000 while the number of men increased from 208,000 to 238,900.

There is evidence to suggest that structural adjustment policies have stimulated informal sector participation, and government programmes such as Solidarity of Self-Start, which provide seed capital for micro-enterprises, have helped those who have been displaced by public sector cutbacks or who already have ongoing independent occupations. The compensatory programme alone does not account for the growth in the size of the sector. Another possible explanation, certainly in relation to the growth of informal distributive trading, is that deregulation policies have reduced the barriers to importation and encouraged small traders to ply between Jamaica and various regional ports in order to supply the local market demand for imported goods. This has created income-generation opportunities for thousands of women, who now form an employment category called Informal Commercial Importers. Over 24,000 females entered the distributive trades between 1980 and 1987, and there was a 30 per cent increase between 1980 and 1985.

Women in professions

One decidedly positive feature in employment trends for women in the 1980s has been their growing visibility and numerical strength in management

and in the professional, technical and executive group (Table 5 and 6). At the same time, it has been pointed out that the large size of this group is due in part to the strong representation of the traditional female professions, such as teaching and nursing, and that in fact only 8 per cent of the total female labour force falls in this category.

A recent study of social class mobility in Jamaica (Gordon, 1987) confirms that there has been substantial redistribution of both the male and female labour force over the period of a generation. The significant finding was that while both men and women have moved upwards in the class structure, there has been considerable net mobility of women. The extent to which female mobility can be directly attributed to recent policies is questionable, however, since the study is based on data collected in 1985. It appears that women's present visibility in high status occupations is a result of trends which began at least 10-15 years earlier.

Other indicators, however, such as the presence of only a handful of women in politics and on the Boards of companies, suggest that women's executive skills are still not being much utilised in important resource control and policy-making positions. Moreover, economic stabilisation policies have led to widespread redundancies and uncompensated layoffs of professional staff in the public sector. In 1984 alone 8,000-10,000 people were displaced. Many of the workers were in transport, health, public administration and agriculture. The following groups of women were most severely affected : young temporary workers in the civil service; young untrained teachers; young community health aides; young agricultural extension workers; older office attendants; and senior civil servants, nurses and teachers, forced into early retirement.

Women in agriculture

In 1985, agriculture continued to be the dominant occupation of the labour force, accounting for 30.9 per cent of the total, 35.7 per cent of those employed and 22 per cent of the employed females. It remained the third most important occupation for the female work force, ranking closely behind services and distributive trades. However the importance of agriculture in providing employment for women has declined. Between 1985 and 1987 8,200 or 7.2 per cent of women employed in agriculture left the sector; the number of employed males leaving the sector during the same period was only 1,400.

Agricultural policies adopted in the 1980s provide some background to the movement of female labour out of the industry. The emphasis of the administration on : agricultural exports; divestment of inefficient nationalised elements such as sugar and bananas; diversification of agriculture to include new and expanded areas such as inland fish farming, winter vegetables and horticulture; and the establishment of a monitoring and technical assistance agency (Agro 21). But these policies, designed as they were to reduce costs and increase foreign exchange earnings, have so far brought only mixed returns.

The divestment of viable sugar factories and closure of inefficient ones meant that three of six factories with combined losses of J$24 million closed by the end of 1984. Co-operative structures introduced into the sugar industry in the 1970s were also dismantled and multinational sugar conglomerates were invited to manage again the three remaining state-owned

factories. Women, who represented only 25 per cent of the industry's workforce and were concentrated in the "temporary field gang" category, received no compensation when displaced, even after years of service. The effects of the dislocation, separation from families and trauma experienced by displaced women (for example 600 female workers from the Gray's Inn Sugar Estate, in 1984 and 1985) have yet to be assessed.

The privatisation of the banana industry in 1985 has not yet resulted in production recovering even to the levels of the late 1970s. Output for the first quarter of 1988 was only 8862 metric tons. Boxing plants were closed in three parishes, displacing the workers there, 90 per cent of whom were female. Since then, of course, the devastation wreaked by Hurricane Gilbert in September 1988 has greatly worsened the industry's situation.

In 1988 (first quarter), while food output in the domestic and traditional export subsectors recorded modest increases over the same period of the previous year, that in the non-traditional subsector, especially winter vegetables, declined both in volume and value. Overall, government investment in large-scale agro-businesses, e.g. joint venture schemes in producing winter vegetables, had not yet brought returns, or justified the policies undertaken.

Data on women's productive contribution only to the agricultural sector are not available, nor are there any about the landless female labourers who are involved only seasonally in the industry. Although the latter rear livestock and keep kitchen gardens perennially, they are not counted as sector workers. The fact that the involvement of women in agriculture is seen as secondary to their family role contributes to the lack of information on their access to and use of land, credit and technical information, the extent of this specialisation and expertise, and the amount of income they derive from their work. Male/female differences in training, skill levels, farm practices and output levels are therefore unclear.

What is evident is that projects targeting women's enterprises in agriculture are perceived as being outside the sector's mainstream activities. These projects are usually funded by international donor agencies, and are not necessarily brought within the ambit of the Government's development programme within the sector, such as the Integrated Rural Development Project.

The neglect of small-scale agriculture is paralleled by that of rural infrastructure - especially water supply and 40 per cent of households, mostly rural, receive untreated water or have no water supply at all except from rivers.

2. Income of Women

It is difficult to discuss Jamaica's labour income profile. As Derick Boyd points out in his book, Economic Management, Income Distribution and Poverty in Jamaica From 1973 to 1985, the only year for which reliable data are available on income distribution is 1975. In analysing the 13-year period, Boyd uses the impact of government policy on relative distribution of the GDP to determine income trends. Using 1974 as bench mark, he gives evidence of the decline in the value of labour incomes in the latter part of the 1970s (Table 7) and the erosion of gains from the earlier period when incomes had shifted from profits to wages.

Somewhat surprisingly, compensation to employees increased in 1980-82, after the adoption of stringent adjustment policies. But by 1984 there was a reduction of real incomes (public sector wages) and an increase in the share of GDP accounted for by self-employment and the operating surpluses of firms.

The 1984 Household Expenditure Survey indicated a continuing decline in the share of national income going to the top 10 per cent income group and an increased share going to the poorer groups (from 12.8 per cent in 1958 to 20.5 per cent in 1984). However, as Table 8 shows much of this redistribution occurred before 1975 and there was not much movement from 1975 to 1984. Per capita GDP fell from J$1,069.5 in 1975 to $803.3, at constant prices, in 1986. At the same time there was a dramatic increase in the cost-of-living. The Jamaican dollar devalued from J$1.78 to J$5.50 per US$1.00 during 1983-85. This meant that for poorer families who spent more than the national average of 55 per cent of their income on food, the minimum wage of $10 weekly in 1984, $52 in 1985 or $72 in 1988 could not purchase even half of that basket of food whose nutritional value had been recommended by Caribbean experts. This basket cost $120.63 per week in 1984 and $175.00 in 1986.

The economic recovery policy also meant increasing tax revenue, removing price subsidies on basic commodities, increasing customs duties on imported capital goods and raw materials for manufacturing and on imported consumer goods (especially those brought in by the informal sector women traders),and an increase in fines (especially for traffic violations).

The consequences of these measures have been mixed. Many low-income women have been protected from tax payments since the income tax reform of 1986, which introduced a J$8,580 per annum income starting point for payment of tax. On the other hand, the stamp duty payable on imported consumer goods, at up to 40 per cent of purchase value was considered exorbitant by informal commercial importers, 70 per cent of whom are women. (Cultural Development Institute study "Women's Activities in the Informal Sector", 1988).

The conclusion is that vulnerable groups with low incomes have been negatively affected by increases in the cost of living and the decline in real income. Data do not permit measurement of the specific experiences of women, and this is an area where reliable information is required if policies are to be assessed in a meaningful way.

3. Impact of Policies in Health, Education and Public Services

There is little doubt that the social welfare of the population was sacrificed during the 1980-87 period of adjustment introduced to achieve financial stabilisation. Until the economy expanded, the Government did not feel able to meet demands from the social services sector.

An important component of the adjustment strategy was to effect savings in public sector expenditure. This was achieved by means of:

- civil service layoffs, especially in the social services - health, education and social security - where females predominate;

- divestment of nationally-owned enterprises, eg. hotels, transport and banks; and

the introduction of wage freeze in the public sector.

These measures affected women negatively, especially those employed in the professional category of the public service whose income did not increase, and those who were displaced without redundancy payments, due to lack of job tenure or union status. They resulted in a concomitant inability of nurses, teachers and professional civil servants to support either themselves or their households, to become home-owners, or to acquire new skills during this period. Above all, of course, they inevitably led to a reduction in the quantity and quality of services offered in health, education, housing and transportation, as well as increased costs for all these services.

Health services

The health budget has fluctuated between 6 and 8 per cent of the fiscal budget since 1970s. Per capita expenditure in real terms has decreased significantly due mainly to the escalation in local costs of imported drugs and other supplies after devaluation.

Another important feature affecting the performance of the health sector has been the continued shortage of personnel. This started in the late 1970s and has only recently been somewhat alleviated, following an increase in 1987 of 329 employees in key positions.

The pressure on the registered nurses, for example, has been severe, both in community health, where 500 of the 1000 supportive health aides were laid off in 1983-84, and in hospitals where expenditure cannot keep pace with needs. Moreover, as shown in Table 9, the ratio of nurses per head of population had fallen sharply by 1986, which in itself gives some indication of the deteriorating conditions in the health service.

The decision to rationalise the health care system has resulted in cost-savings to government but reduced services to the poor. Thus, five inefficiently operated small rural hospitals were converted into polyclinics and the costs of service delivery were thereby reduced. However, the data given in Table 10 clearly indicate that the 43 per cent savings achieved in two of the new polyclinics were at the expense of support services, (eg. ambulances and communications) needed to make the rationalisation programme not only cost-reducing but cost-effective.

Per capita expenditure on health care fell from J$70.00 in 1981 to $47.00 in 1985, a 22 per cent reduction. Further, the decrease both in capital expenditure and in real incomes for doctors and nurses, had consequences not only for morale within the profession, but for the quality of health care available to the poor, particularly children and women.

Derick Boyd has demonstrated that the percentage of children under four years showing signs of malnutrition, increased from 38 per cent to 41 per cent between 1978 and 1985. Malnutrition, and malnutrition combined with gastroenteritis, represent a growing cause of admissions to the Bustamante Children's Hospital; between 1978 and 1985 admission rates for these cases rose from 1.9 per cent to 3.7 per cent and from 1.6 per cent to 4.7 per cent respectively.

Another indicator, of growing concern to health administrators, is the increasing incidence of accidents, poisoning and violence as a cause for hospitalisation of children under ten. In 1985 accidents, poisoning and violence ranked as the primary cause for hospitalisation of children in the five-ten years age group and as the third cause for hospitalisation of those under five years. Moreover, the Ministry of Health has reported that among the hospital cases of children aged two-ten years, accidents, poisoning and violence are becoming a significant cause of morbidity and mortality. These data, which confirm other evidence that child abuse is on the rise, suggest that parental neglect or emotional disorders within households, or both, are critical social problems today.

In summary the following trends impacted negatively on the access of poor households to health care in the 1980s:

- the displacement of health workers, including non-technical support staff;
- the shortage of supplies (eg. bed linen) and deterioration in maintenance of clinics and hospitals;
- the hospital fees introduced for in/out-patients;
- closure of some hospitals, which has meant many patients have to spend more money and time in travelling greater distances in order to receive treatment;
- low allocation in the national health budget to health education and nutrition surveillance as part of preventative care, as the budget focuses mainly on family planning for women and on immunization as the most effective means of ensuring child health;

Education

In education, too a wage freeze and deterioration of capital stock have created havoc in a sector Jamaican families consider to be of prime importance.

Women, as a proportion of the total teaching force, fell from 90 per cent in 1984/85 to 78 per cent in 1986/87. The percentage of female educators declined most noticeably at the secondary and tertiary levels. Thus, at technical high schools in 1985, 48 per cent of teachers were men, the highest proportion of males at any level. Although the total number of teachers declined only slightly, from 18,193 in 1979 to 18,047 in 1987, the ratio of teachers to students worsened and the rapid turnover in teaching staff had negative consequences for the students' ability to pass their examinations.

Females outnumber males at every level of education (Table 12). However, at the College of Arts, Science and Technology, which females dominate in four fields - Institutional Management and Food Science (87 per cent), Technical Education (63 per cent), Commerce (62 per cent), Science (61 per cent) - males predominate in Building (86 per cent), Engineering (96 per cent) and Computer Sciences (58 per cent).

At the University of the West Indies (UWI), a similar pattern occurs (Table 13). Here males predominate in the Natural Sciences, Engineering and Agriculture though the number of men in Agriculture dropped sharply after 1983.

The low rate of student registration at the UWI in 1984-85 (Table 13) is striking and seems to be related to household response to the several economic pressures of that period. Yet in 1986-87, when fees were introduced into tertiary-level institutions and students had demonstrated for several weeks, the numbers admitted did not reflect a serious shortfall.

The Student Loan fund wss simultaneously expanded to help students meet the additional cost of their education. But the hidden effect of the cess is to reduce access to higher education of students from low-income households, estimated at 45 per cent of the student body. This is not obvious in the numerical strength of the student body because the demand for places from families that can absorb the increased cost continues to be high. The Task Force appointed by the Prime Minister in 1986, soon after the students demonstrated in objection to the cess, stated in its report that contrary to popular belief there was really no free education in Jamaica. Interviews carried out by the Task Force revealed the real strain experienced by mothers keeping children in university, send them food and cutting their own expenses to give them "a better start". Students, too, spoke of having to share books, beg for food and lodgings, and miss lunches, even before the boarding grant was withdrawn. Furthermore the potential earnings opportunities lost to households when the offspring remain students are an incalculable indirect cost of education to poor families.

The effects of low morale among teachers and the deterioration in the quality of teaching can be seen in the smaller number of students passing 'O' level examinations in 1986 compared with 1985, though this might also be attributable in part to the fewer students actually sitting the examination that year (Table 14).

At 16 per cent of recurrent expenditure (compared with 20 per cent earlier in the 1980s), public investment in education is large for a country the size of Jamaica.

Transport divestment

A critical enterprise divested by the Government in 1981 was the Jamaica Omnibus Service (JOS). This provided employment for some 2,000 workers, an estimated 20 per cent of whom were females. The job structure experienced in other parts of the economy repeated itself here, in that females worked in the lower-paid job as cleaners, bus conductors and clerical staff. At the top of the JOS hierarchy were the maintenance staff, mostly mechanics, and the senior managers, categories in which no women were employed. In 1979, a few women were taken on as drivers but the experiment was not maintained.

By the late 1970s the expenditure level of the JOS had exceeded revenue for three out of five years and though the deficit had decreased from J$1.8 million to J$306,000 by 1977 it was still at an unacceptable level. It was coupled with inadequate maintenance of an ageing fleet (40 per cent of the buses were inoperative in 1977) and the encroachment of illegal minibus

operators "pirating" routes, leading to a steady decline in the number of passengers using the JOS. The result was a Government decision, in the early stage of economic restructuring, to divest the enterprise and return it to private ownership and management. As a consequence, some 400 women were displaced.

There are currently ten transport packages operated by nine package holders in the Kingston metropolitan area. Only one package holder and manager is female, and only two packages are managed jointly by men and women. No female conductors have been re-absorbed into the privatised bus system and all drivers are of course also male. JOS's own attempt to manage two of the transport package quickly ended in failure.

Housing policy

The construction industry, though recording high growth in 1982, has shifted its focus away from the public sector - financed housing construction. The private sector too has drastically reduced its contribution to low- or middle-income housing construction. Even with what appears to be inflated figures on housing construction costs, Table 15 indicates the trend towards a decrease in available housing stock.

As Derick Boyd has discussed, the consumer price index shows that the price of housing in rural areas between 1981 and 1985 increased by 115 per cent and in the capital city the increase was 95 per cent. In reality, however, housing prices increase by as much as the market can bear : thus, because of continuing high demand, the price of a given unit had increased by 200 per cent in 1981 and by another 150 per cent in 1987.

Increasing costs (Table 16) and decreasing availability of supplies, combined with the intensifying pressures of demand from Jamaicans returning home after emigrating in the 1970s, all contributed to forcing the price of housing upwards and reducing many emerging middle-income families to substandard accommodation (Table 17).

The National Housing Trust (NHT) was established in 1976 to provide housing to low- and middle-income families. All public sector workers contributed, by automatic salary deductions. From 1976 to 1983, approximately 9,700 persons benefited under the NHT loan programme, 38 per cent of whom were women. Low income and insufficient income security contributed to women being a relatively small group of NHT beneficiaries. Approximately 60 per cent of all joint accounts under the NHT involved women as the principal beneficiaries, but they needed joint collateral in order to qualify for mortgage loans.

The role of the NHT changed in the 1980s and the number of low-income beneficiaries declined. For the 70 per cent of working women who qualify under NHT policy for mortgage loans, and are not eligible for other institutional loans, the depression in the NHT production level is very hard to accept. The preference of low-income persons for high-cost block and steel construction material and the small proportion of non-home owners (13 per cent in a Credit Union survey) who own their own land, make the solution to the housing market problems elusive at least in the short run. The gap between affordable deposits on housing (Credit Union Survey showed this to be J$2,700 for most of those surveyed and J$10,000 for 13.5 per cent of them), the median

income of J$7,459 for credit union members and J$9,839 for families) and the cost and availability of housing cannot be closed unless there is some give in either supply or demand factors.

Food Aid Programme (FAP)

The FAP represented the most important component of the Government's welfare programme up to 1987. Patterned on the US Welfare and Food Stamp Programme, it provided stamps to the poorest families whose health and well being were at risk due to the effect of the Government's economic policies on their purchasing power. Pregnant and lactating mothers, school children, the elderly and the very poor were targeted for assistance. (This group accounts for half of the population and when all children under 18 years are included the proportion of persons dependent on the FAP becomes very alarming.)

However, the initial allocation of $20 per person (household) every two months reached only one-fifth of the target group by the end of the first year of the programme and did little to cushion vulnerable households from the effects of structural adjustment. These were severe, given the extent of the price increases in basic commodities like cornmeal, milk, flour, the frequent unavailability of food considered staples by the poor, e.g. codfish, and the unbalanced diet and low quality of the food consumed by the poor as they become separated from their agricultural base.

Characteristics of social policy in the 1980s

Social development policy is therefore significant in the 1980s, if only in the breach. It is characterised by:

- delayed timing of programme design
- reduced government control
- transfer of much of the responsibility for the cost of structural adjustment to the private sector
- separation of welfare policies from economic growth policy
- a strategy emphasising welfare rather than development.

The intent, therefore, was to redirect public expenditure to social welfare only after some stabilisation in the economy occurred, and as a consequence the Social Well-Being Programme was not introduced until 1988.

On the other hand, throughout the 1980s the role of the voluntary social services has steadily expanded, due to increased support from the private sector and international donor agencies as well as private fund-raising efforts. Thus programmes in school repair, social and children's services, sports, and care for the handicapped and elderly, were all initiated and sustained by private efforts, while public expenditure in the social sector was being reduced.

The Council of Voluntary Social Services, in existence since 1940, has also benefited from a new association with United Way of Jamaica and has become more independent of government and more management-oriented to reflect the climate of modern industrial growth. The United Way funded 75 projects (in health, agriculture and skills training) between 1985 and 1988, benefiting an estimated 2,000 persons, the majority of them being women.

4. Selected Demographic Features and Women's Response to Economic Conditions

Demographic data in three key areas would appear to suggest that while many Jamaican women are reacting to their situation by trying to escape from it, others are making an effort at self-management.

The tendency to escapism is illustrated by the data on emigration which, during the 1980s, indicate a rate which accelerated more for women than for men (see example of emigration to Canada in Table 18). Female migration from rural to urban areas is likewise a continuing trend, but additional data are necessary here.

In a sense the resort to crime may also be taken as a manifestation of the attempt to escape from unsatisfactory conditions. The number of women who are sent to prison increased sharply in 1986 and 1987 (Table 19). the causes have not yet been investigated but it would seem obvious that there is need for new strategies to be developed within the Department of Corrections.

The effort towards achieving better self-management is illustrated by the fact that women in all child-bearing age groups are tending to have fewer children. Many of the younger ones today make no secret of their unwillingness to have a child strictly "for the man's sake". The crude birth rate of 27 per 1000 in 1980 declined to 25 per 1000 in 1985.

Emigration coupled with a decreasing birth rate has had the net effect of curtailing overall population growth, thus relieving some of the pressures on the national resources, given the inability of the labour market to absorb much of the unskilled labour surplus. Jamaica has had an average growth in population of only 1.5 per cent since 1960, and approximately one million Jamaicans (including offspring born abroad) live in the USA, UK and Canada.

From the selected indicators given in Table 21, it can be seen that the status of Jamaican women in relation to education and life expectancy is not much worse than for women in an industrialised country such as Canada, although the incidence of maternal mortality is uncomfortably high.

The demographic profile provides only preliminary data, which lends itself to guarded interpretation. There is certainly no cause and effect relationship between structural adjustment and women's status, as indicated above. Women's own survival strategies need further investigation before any of the indicators provided above can be considered as conclusive.

5. Small-Scale Enterprises

There are an estimated 40,000 small-scale non-farming enterprises in Jamaica, employing some 80,000 persons. Davies and Fisseha, in their analysis of this sector (1980), estimate that 35 per cent of these are manufacturing establishments.

Growth in self-employment and in the employment capacity of small-scale enterprises started in the late 1970s and has continued throughout the 1980s. During the same period the number of large-scale businesses,

especially in manufacturing, contracted, as industries such as footwear, have been unable to compete with cheaper imports under the present market liberalisation policies.

The small-scale enterprise sector comprises various types and sizes of enterprise. Several associations also interface with them, but there is no central umbrella agency and many businesses are not part of an association. The most viable enterprises within this sector are female traders and established small enterprises.

Female traders

Female traders, formerly street-based, are now housed in government-owned arcades and small shops, where rentals are affordable. Government policies have resulted in the formalisation of this group : the traders are now required to contribute to the national revenue through customs duties; they now have communication links with the established Chamber of Commerce and even purchase goods for some merchants, thus reducing costs to formal retailers; and they have also established links with the banking sector.

The high visibility and effective organisational base of the United Vendors Association, estimated to have a membership of 10,000, have further enhanced the status of this group in recent years.

These women traders with a mean educational level at 10th grade, currently earn on average about $500 a week, which far outstrips the amount of income that can be earned from any other form of female employment. As a result, they have achieved greater social mobility for themselves and their families, and this is indeed the 'success story' of the 1980s.

Established small businesses

The number of small businesses specialising in non-traditional manufactured goods for export grew by 15.4 per cent in 1985-86, as a result of various export credit incentives provided under the Export Development Fund. Within this group are the well established small businesses like those run by furniture craftsmen whose output for both the domestic and export market has increased.

Women who work in other industries - e.g. in EFZ manufacturing, earning from $90 to $200 per week - still view trading in foreign-made clothing as a possible alternative, especially given the lack of job security and the stress and health-risk factors inherent in the export-zone structure.

Access to credit

In general it can be said that women's access to credit facilities has been constrained by the following: high interest rates at commercial banks; conservative thinking among women towards risk-taking; the existence of women's own collective savings system, called "partnerships", which is an Afro-Caribbean system of money management operated by informal "bankers" whom the members know and trust; the relatively small proportion of women who meet eligibility requirements for loans, e.g. possession of land titles; and the small proportion of women whose sole income is sufficient to meet monthly mortgage payments. Thus female-initiated applications for loans usually end

up as joint loan applications. It may also be noted that lack of information has meant lack of demand by potentially eligible women.

Any assessment of women's credit eligibility is hampered by the lack of data on male/female use of credit facilities. Nevertheless, it is known that banking policy within specialised or non-commercial lending institutions, such as the Agricultural Credit Bank, People's Cooperative Bank and the Jamaica Agricultural Development Foundation, is favourably disposed to female loan applicants, since they have demonstrated a reliable pattern of business management and loan repayment. But the proportion of loans granted to women is still small, although short-term loans are being extended to many female traders whose ability to repay is now clearly recognised.

The National Development Foundation

The National Development Foundation (NDF) is the institution most accessible to small-scale entrepreneurs. Of the 10,308 clients who received technical assistance in 1987, 36 per cent were women. Of the 1,202 enterprises funded, 35 per cent of the loan clients were women. Although there is a bias towards males, who own a greater share of existing businesses, in the rural region where the NDF has a branch office, almost 40 per cent of all the female-managed businesses are clients there, indicative of the potentially active role women can play in rural economic life.

However, the NDF programme has made its most significant impact on female employment within the funded enterprises. The number of women working full time in these enterprises increased from 310 to 911 and the proportion of jobs occupied by women, working both full and part-time, increased from 29 per cent to 37 per cent of all employees. This is explained by the fact that the largest numbers of businesses funded, over 80 per cent, were in the services sector including garment manufacturing, shops, restaurants and laundries. Agricultural enterprises received 16 per cent of the loans disbursed as of June 1988.

The NDF loan facility has had a positive effect on income level : 63 per cent of its clients earn a gross income of $10,000 per annum as against 13 per cent prior to loan approval; and 71 per cent earn less than $150 per week prior to loan, compared to 51 per cent subsequent to receiving loans. Loans range from less than $2,000 to over $25,000 and clients are fairly evenly distributed in their use of loans of different sizes (Table 23).

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Summary of Findings

The foregoing analysis has suggested that in Jamaica the structural adjustment of the 1980s had the harshest impact on low-income households, including those headed by women. Its main findings are as follows:

(i) per capita income reduced in real terms compared to the 1970s;
(ii) increases in the Consumer Price Index for food, shelter and utilities, ranging from 20 per cent to 100 per cent, especially in 1984;

(iii) reductions in real terms in national budget expenditures on health, education, and agriculture, resulting in lay-offs, hospital closures and deterioration of school facilities;
(iv) a wage freeze imposed on public sector workers, especially civil servants, teachers and nurses;
(v) a significant reduction in housing stock and in new housing construction, demanded by low- and middle-income households, as building materials escalated in cost;
(vi) a higher rate of female emigration and crime, as evidence of escapism and despair among women.

The rural population remains in the lowest socio-economic group; the Government's efforts to promote rural development have led to benefits for the business sector of rural areas but not for workers who manage domestic agriculture. Women in the rural areas are disadvantaged in their access to information, services and credit.

On the other hand, structural adjustment policies created new employment opportunities for women in sectors such as :

(i) the export processing zone, especially in garment manufacturing;
(ii) commerce, especially in real estate and insurance; and
(iii) informal distributive trading, where women now hold a high profile position and command incomes which have contributed to their families' greater social mobility.

Other new opportunities which have emerged as a consequence of the restructuring of the economy - e.g. through loans to agricultural and other small business enterprises - are not seized by women in large numbers, due to lack of access to relevant information and constraints inherent in their traditional social patterns. This is changing, but slowly. Female traders' use of banks for legitimate foreign exchange transactions and short-term loans is an important feature of the new business relations being established in the current climate.

2. Evaluating the Effects of Structural Adjustment

It is clear from our above evaluation that the effects of structural adjustment policies are in some respects contradictory, and where clear benefits are discernible in the short run, questions as to their sustainability arise. Our assessment has in fact led to far more questions than provided answers.

We have concluded that aspects of the structure of the Jamaican economy have experienced some change and that the overall economy has demonstrated the capacity to reverse the trend of negative growth. However, this analysis has shown that throughout the period of adjustment, no substantial beneficial change has occurred in the lives of the majority of those persons classified as belonging to the vulnerable group. In fact, the data suggest that the size of this group may have increased, that their dependency on the State for food has become institutionalised and that there is evident deterioration in access to essential health and education services.

Structural adjustment has therefore made little or no contribution towards solving the endemic problem of the Jamaican economy - how to alleviate pervasive poverty.

Looking at the society from the historical perspective with which this paper began, we have determined that the characteristic features of the social structure remain intact, despite the shifts in the structure of the economy. The growth of the small-scale entrepreneurial class, which had started to emerge earlier may, however, be regarded as a notable feature. The liberalisation of imports has no doubt encouraged the development of this particular social stratum and all the indications are that its activities have led to real economic progress and the establishment of financially viable enterprises.

At the macro-economic level, it is difficult to predict whether the observed growth trends are indeed sustainable. The small island economy of Jamaica is inherently dependent and therefore vulnerable to even small changes in the North American economy. The export-led economic model assumes that labour deployment in the EFZs and in tourism will result in long-term opportunities for employment. However, the basis for the viability of these enterprises is low-cost labour. In the long run, it appears that the pool of labour deployed in these sectors will continue to live at the margin of society. Thus the historical imbalance in living standards which fuels class tensions will no doubt remain a feature for some time to come.

In so far as women are concerned, our analysis suggests that some modification in role and status had occurred in the 1970s, when significant legislative amendments were enacted, although little permanent economic progress was achieved. During the 1980s, a few women were able to gain access to employment and training opportunities but their earnings could not be said to be sufficient to enable any real change in their living conditions. The noted increase in the numbers of women in management was found to have occurred as a result of trends which began at least one generation earlier, more directly as a result of policies of the 1970s rather than any developments which might be associated with structural adjustment.

Women involved in the small-scale sector have reaped the most evident direct benefit in terms of income, with longer-term benefits of social mobility and enterprise development being an additional tangible outcome. The issue that needs to be investigated here is the extent to which the investment patterns of these beneficiaries from structural adjustment will contribute to their development as a community, or whether they will be used in such a way as to maintain the underdevelopment of these households within the overall socio-economic system. In other words, do these households spend proportionately more on consumer goods than on expanding and sustaining their businesses or family assets? Clearly, more data are needed on the real impact of structural adjustment on family income, roles and values. There is evidence of a new driving force within Jamaican families, pushing them towards the acquisition of modern skills and material goods. Our tentative hypothesis is that traditional forms of female-dominated enterprises, e.g. in informal trading, are causing new forms of family business to evolve and are affecting the whole economy.

The introduction of the government programmes to enhance the social wellbeing of the poorest groups, as well as of society at large, raises serious questions. The Food Aid Programme raises questions of increased dependency. The timing of the new Social Wellbeing Programme makes analysts wonder whether another approach to policy implementation might not have produced more benefits at less cost. Could, for example, policy-makers have

implemented a mix of social and economic policies to achieve the same long-term effect, rather than dealing with economic and social development policies separately? Much depends on the success of the Social Wellbeing Programme. However, in order to measure its impact over time, it will be necessary to organise systematic collection of data on relevant indicators, using gender-sensitive approaches. Failure to do this will leave the question of the efficacy of structural adjustment as a means of achieving development in struggling countries open to debate between politicians.

Finally, the economic model adopted for the modern era has not incorporated the best Jamaican traditions. It has relegated small-scale farming to a marginal role and under valued the contribution of rural households to economic development. Meanwhile, access to imports has encouraged the taste for goods and services which the average rural household cannot afford. If the objective of the existing model is to create a North American type of society, strategies to expand the resource base and to share the proceeds of development more equitably will have to be implemented. If other objectives are implicit, these must be articulated in a manner which provides the marginalised groups with a basis from which to direct their efforts to become an integral part of the quest for progress.

Adverse macro-economic conditions and keen inter-sectoral competition for public funds have reduced the Government's ability to continue to expand the social services. At the same time, the potential contribution of households is also limited by the current financing arrangements. At the other extreme are households which benefit from structural adjustment policies or who take advantage of new opportunities. However, at present the productivity pattern of the Jamaican people indicates a dual economy, structured with low-income workers at the base and a few financial controllers and owners of the means of economic production at the pinnacle. This inherent dualism is paralleled by conspicuous consumption at one extreme and endemic poverty and deprivation at the other. Given this state of affairs, productivity levels are necessarily low.

The recently enhanced mobility of women occurs mainly in management, sales and the self-employed trades. In terms of status, the female-dominated professions of the 1940s and 1950s - teaching, nursing and public sector administration - now carry little of their earlier prestige.

In fact, while employed in such professions, many of these women engage in part-time trading activities either at work or at home, and many travel to Miami or pay a relative to do so, in order to shop. Prestige lost is income gained, and the distributive trades are becoming a major equalizer within a class-conscious society.

Women, as policy makers or in positions where they can influence policies face great challenges : to contribute to the shaping of policies which benefit both women and men in acquiring new skills but not at the expense of cultural forms which give family life its strength. Strong kinship patterns are now emerging from the international trade of women in the informal sector. Family businesses which future generations can inherit and expand may yet emerge as a key trend from this period of Jamaica's history.

3. Recommendations

1. Continuous and intense training is needed for government-employed middle-managers, to sensitise them to the need to collect gender-specific data for planners and policy-makers. In this way, the country can be informed in greater depth on: the status of vulnerable households; the hidden human resources latent within the economy; new labour movements; and the quality and impact of independent power management by women.

2. The Bureau of Women's Affairs, acting in close collaboration with both the recently established umbrella Association of Women's Organisations and the Planning Institute of Jamaica, should work to centralise a data base on women. All economic and social data now need to be desegregated by sex, and all programmes assessed for gender impact. A more strategic location for the Bureau and the inclusion of an economist or demographic planner on its staff could also strengthen the Bureau's institutional capabilities and enable it to play a distinctive role.

3. The media need to adopt a specific policy to translate and publicise what the gender-related data base implies for Jamaica's future productivity and for the kind of economy towards which it is moving. They should also publicise opportunities available to women, e.g. on access to small business loans.

4. Future government strategies need to focus on improved labour productivity and greater use of indigenous resources, in addition to the emphasis of economic adjustment. The latter strategy should not be pursued at the expense of labour or or viable local manufacturing industries.

5. Rationalisation of crucial services - such as transport, preventive health care, water supply and sanitation - and recognition of the need for medium-term subsidies rather than abrupt privatisation. In this way, low-income families will have a better chance to survive inflationary shocks and to contribute to national prosperity.

6. The management of the community-building process has been neglected in the implementation of free market trade policies. There is need to identify and strengthen the local institutions that can help people address community issues and to develop, through participative involvement in select programme-planning, a personal stake in their country's economic success. Women should be encouraged to serve as community managers, in the forefront of this movement.

Table 1: Jamaican Structural Adjustment Loans

Loans	Years	Amount (US$M)
SAL 1	1982	76.2
SAL 2	1983	60.2
SAL 3	1984	55.0

Source: Planning Institute of Jamaica, "Quarterly Economic Report", Vol.1, No.3, 1984 and Vol.2, No.1, 1985

Table 2: Selected Macro-Economic Indicators

	GDP J$m (1974 prices)	Rate of GDP growth	Inflation	Fiscal balance[a]	Bauxite/alumina foreign exchange and inflows		Visitor Arrivals	
					Prod. levy	Total	Exp.	Nos.
		%	%	J$m	US$m	US$m	US$m	m
1980	1,827.8	-5.8	28.2	na	na	na	241.7	0.5
1981	1,876.7	2.7	11.9	na	193.0	314.0	284.3	0.6
1982	1,897.8	1.1	6.5	na	135.5	286.1	337.8	0.7
1983	1,942.2	2.3	11.3	-966.0	121.3	252.6	399.2	0.8
1984	1,925.0	-0.9	27.8	-425.1	116.4	220.2	406.6	0.8
1985	1,835.2	-4.7	26.0	-331.6	66.3	138.7	406.8	0.8
1986	1,870.1	1.9	14.8	-262.1	72.1	165.3	516.1	1.0
1987	1,967.4	5.2	6.7	22.8	96.5	217.7	594.9	1.0
1988	1,979.6	0.6	8.3	-705.7	102.9	229.9	525.0	1.0

[a] Overall Deficit (Net of Amortization); data are for fiscal years beginning in year shown.

Source: Planning Institute of Jamaica. "Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica," various issues;

Table 3: Social Well-Being Programme: Estimated Expenditure, 1989/90-92/93 (Prior to Hurricane Gilbert)

Sectors	J$M	US$M
Health	1,092.3	199.0
Nutrition and Poor Relief	2,145.2	390.0
Education	789.2	143.0
Employment	378.9	69.0
Housing	2,104.0	383.0
Water and Sewerage	750.0	136.0
TOTAL	7,259.6	1,320.0

Source: Social Well-Being Programme, Government of Jamaica, 1988.

Table 4: Unemployment by Gender, 1975-87 Yearly Average (percentages)

	Males	Females	Female Job-Seeking Rate
1975	11.4	31.5	13.2
1976	13.4	33.2	14.2
1977	15.8	34.6	13.2
1978	14.1	36.0	16.3
1979	16.7	40.2	18.5
1980	16.3	39.6	16.2
1981	14.4	38.7	15.7
1982	16.2	40.6	21.1
1983	16.2	38.3	18.4
1984	15.8	36.6	16.5
1985	15.6	36.0	17.9
1986	15.0	33.7	15.4
1987	13.0	30.3	12.8

Source: Labour Force Survey, Statin.

Table 5: **Gender Distribution in Public Sector Professional and Administrative Groups, 1987-88 (numbers)**

Group	Males	Females
Natural, physical & social sciences	115	69
Applied sciences, architects, engineers	72	1
Electronic data processing programme	18	19
Judicial/legal lawyers, clerk of courts	46	35
Medicine	131	83
Clerical	265	393

Source: Ministry of Public Service.

Table 6: **Gender Distribution in Public Sector Management Group, 1987-88 (numbers)**

Group	Males	Females
Permanent Secretaries	18	6
Senior Management	144	132
Upper Middle Management	515	689
Accounting	238	426

Source: Ministry of Public Service.

Table 7: **Index of the Median Income Earners, 1974-80 (1974 base)**

Years	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Index	100.0	114.4	107.3	103.6	99.2	78.6	75.8

Source: Economic Management, Income Distribution and Poverty in Jamaica, Derek Boyd, 1988.

Table 8: **Share of Income Accruing to the Decile Groups of the Population, 1958, 1975 and 1984 (percentages)**

Decile Group (in ascending order of income)	1958	1975	1984
0-10	0.6	1.3	1.32
10-20	1.6	2.8	2.89
20-30	2.5	3.9	4.14
30-40	3.5	5.1	5.38
40-50	4.6	6.3	6.77
50-60	6.2	7.9	8.38
60-70	8.3	9.9	10.46
70-80	11.5	12.5	13.17
80-90	17.4	16.9	17.57
90-100	43.8	33.3	29.93

Source: Household Expenditure Survey, 1984.

Table 9: **Ratios of Selected Health Personnel to Population**

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1986
Doctors	1:3553	1:3538	1:5314	1:5808	1:6666
Dentists	1:18925	1:19827	1:22000	1:22800	1:17540
Nurses	1:802	1:743	1:868	1:1090	1:1428
Midwives	1:8149	1:5314	1:1309	1:4219	NA
Community Health Aides	1:5786	NA	NA	1:1794	1:2564

Note: PAHO recommended ratios: doctors - 1:910, dentists - 1:2857, nurses - 1:769.

Source: Economic & Social Survey 1977 and 86.

Table 10: **Expenditure in Two Polyclinics, 1984/85**

Hospitals converted to Polyclinics	F/Y 1984/85 (12 months)	Average per month	April-Dec. 1985 (9 months)	Average per month
	J$	J$	J$	J$
ISAAC Barrant				
Total	1,038.026	86,502	317,802	35,311
on supplies and materials	89,690	7,474	17,168	1,907
Buff Bay				
Total	1,247,643	103,970	636,143	70,682
on supplies and materials	137,405	11,450	58,821	6,535

Source: Ministry of Health.

Table 11: **Infant Mortality Rate Per 1000 Births, 1972-86**
(Selected years)

1972	30.9
1973	26.2
1974	25.9
1975	23.5
1976	20.3
1977	15.1
1983	12.1
1984	13.2
1986	19.0

Source: Economic and Social Survey 1977, Statistical Abstract 1984.

Table 12: **Population Distribution by General and Educational Attainment, 1986**
(numbers)

All Parishes	Nursery Infant	Primary	Secondary	University	Other	None
Males	40,744	187,756	74,215	2350	11,435	625,223
Females	43,416	183,570	83,848	3383	17,771	653,195

Source: Statistical Abstract 1986.

Table 13: Students Registered for First Degree Certificate or Diploma Courses at UWI, by Faculty and Gender, 1978/79–1986/87 (numbers)

	Arts & Gen.Sci.		Law		Soc. Sci.		Nat. Sci.		Educ.		Agri.		Medicine		Engin.	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1978-79	116	523	50	67	228	221	420	296	9	41	33	20	107	64	166	1
1979-80	106	519	51	56	246	229	399	300	11	47	31	25	101	61	160	3
1980-81	117	490	54	50	224	257	378	312	14	49	41	18	131	75	144	5
1981-82	119	465	54	57	280	318	434	334	23	61	41	21	122	73	144	10
1982-83	119	507	52	58	286	330	448	360	26	66	40	12	122	81	144	13
1983-84	129	517	53	61	326	342	512	373	32	93	15	8	119	85	148	17
1984-85	30	108	16	25	64	74	130	68	16	48	2	1	30	20	29	2
1985-86	149	503	45	70	227	333	518	379	41	98	9	6	115	86	144	19
*1986-87	145	458	43	68	238	348	445	346	41	84	6	6	113	83	143	13

* Cess introduced.

Table 14: **Cambridge 'O' Level Entrants and Passes, 1979, 1985, 1986**

Year	Entrants (numbers)	Passes	Passes (percentages)
1979	NA	NA	39.4
1985	31,419	9,947	30.1
1986	24,453	8,454	34.6

Source: Statistical Abstract, 1986.

Table 15: **Public/Private Sector Housing Units Construction, 1976-81, 1985 (numbers)**

	Public Sector	Private Sector	Total
1976	4638	3214	7852
1977	4384	2453	6837
1978	4601	275	4876
1979	3653	1320	4973
1980	1959	1284	3243
1981	1785	466	2251
1985	1915	59	1974

Source: Economic and Social Survey, 1986.

Table 16: **Percentage Cost Increase of Major Construction Materials, 1980-85**

	Jan. 1980-1983	Jan.-June 1983-1984	Jan.-June 1980-1985
Cement	26.7	80.0	136
Cement Blocks	45.2	94.8	182
Lumber	6.6	68.6	80
Electrical	20.9	50.3	81

Source: Housing and Finance Ministry, 1986.

Table 17: **Selling Price of 1000 sq. ft. Town House, 1980, 1983-85**

Date	Price of Unit $
January 1980	129,173
January 1983	171,296
June 1984	241,996
January 1985	273,861
June 1985	295,840

Source: Housing and Finance Ministry, 1986.

Table 18: **Jamaican Emigrants to Canada by Gender, Selected Years**

	1979	1980	1984	1985
Males	1490	1460	987	1185
Females	1709	1701	1492	1735

Source: Statistical Abstracts, 1980-86.

Table 19: **Female Prisoners, 1982-87**

Year	Number
1982	65
1983	59
1984	68
1985	67
1986	104
1987	142

Source: Department of Corrections.

Table 20: **Births to Teenage Mothers, 1977-1985**

Year	Total Births (1)	Births to Mothers 19 Years and Under (2)	Column (2) as percentage of column (1) (3)	Births to Mothers Under 15 Years (4)	Births to Mothers 15-19 Years (5)
1977	59,927	17,065	28.5	416	16,549
1978	57,765	16,063	27.8	406	15,657
1979	58,552	16,532	28.2	439	16,093
1980	57,385	15,736	27.4	405	15,331
1981	58,049	15,715	27.1	335	15,380
1982	59,079	15,807	26.7	361	15,446
1983	61,436	16,332	26.6	396	15,936
1984	57,240	14,912	26.1	358	14,554
1985	54,876	13,732	25.0	289	13,443

Source: Figures represent live births by date of occurrence and not date of registration. Registrar General's Department.

Table 21: **Comparison of Selected Demographic Indicators on Women, Jamaica and Canada**

Categories	Jamaica 1965	Jamaica 1985	Canada 1985/86
Females per 100 people			
Total	109	103	99
Age 0-4	100	97	101
Female life expectancy			
(years)	67	76(1986)	80
Males	64	71(1986)	73
Births attended by Health staff (percentages)	na.	89(1984)	99
Maternal Mortality (per 1,000 live births)	na.	102(1980)	2
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	49	19	8
Education: Females per 100 males	na.	97	-
Primary	na.	97	93
Secondary	111(1970)	106	95

Source: The World Development Report, 1988.

TABLE 22: Distribution of NDF Clients by Age and Gender (percentages)

Age-Groups	Male	Female
25-29 years	22	14
30-34 years	21	26
35-39 years	19	22
40-49 years	20	19
25-49 years	82	81
Over 49 years	18	19

Table 23: Distribution of Loans to NDF Clients

Size	Percentage of total
Loans under $2,000	7
Loans of $2,000 - 5,000	25
Loans of 7,000 - 10,000	16
Loans of 10,000 - 15,000	14
Loans of 15,000 - 25,000	14
Loans over 25,000	11

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA

Kamal Salih

Mel Ling Young

MALYASIAN INSTITUTE OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH

June 1989

77

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA

		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	83
II.	OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC POLICIES, 1960-88	83
III.	ADJUSTMENT POLICIES IN THE 1980s	85
	1. Industrial Policy, Foreign Investment and Tariff Policy	86
	2. Growth, Fiscal Deficits, External Debt and Stabilisation Policy	87
	3. Tax Reform, Deregulation and Privatisation	89
	4. Structural Change and Employment Policy	89
IV.	IMPACT OF SECTORAL CHANGE ON WOMEN	92
	1. Employment of Women by Sectors	92
	2. Occupational Structure of Women in the Economy	95
	3. Employment Status of Women	96
	4. Unemployment Among Women	96
V.	IMPACT OF THE 1985 RECESSION AND RECOVERY ON WOMEN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS	97
	1. Nature of Recession and Its Impact on Women Workers	98
	2. Impact on the Families of Retrenched Workers	99
	3. Recovery and Response in the Semiconductor Industry	101
VI.	IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE CUTBACKS	105
	1. Fiscal Policy and its Implications for Poverty Eradication	105
	2. Female Participation in the Government Sector	106
	3. Graduate Unemployment	108
VII.	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES	110
	1. The Need for Gender-Sensitive Data	110
	2. Incorporating Women in National Development Strategies	111
	3. Women in the New Economic Policy after 1990	113
	4. Gender-Sensitive Strategies to Ameliorate any Adverse Impacts of Structural Adjustment	114
VIII.	CONCLUSION	115

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Table	1.	GDP by Industrial Origin, 1981-88	116
	2.	National Accounts, 1981-88	116
	3.	Federal Government Revenue and Expenditure, 1981-88	117
	4.	Balance of Payments, External Debt, Savings and Investment, 1981-88	117
	5.	Direct Foreign Investment, 1970-88	118
	6.	Prices, Exchange Rate and Unemployment Rate, 1981-88	118
	7.	Labour Force, Employment and Unemployment Targets, Malaysian Plans 1961-90	119
	8.	Sectoral Distribution of Employment, 1970-88	119
	9.	Average Growth of Sectoral Employment, 1970-88	120
	10.	Distribution of Female Population Aged 10 Years and Over in the Experienced Labour Force by Industry, 1970 and 1980	120
	11	Female Employment by Sectors, 1982-86	121
	12.	Female Employment by Sectors and Ethnicity, 1982 and 1986	121
	13.	Distribution of Total Female Employment by Ethnic Groups, 1982-86	121
	14.	Female Employment by Sectors and Ethnicity, 1982 and 1986	122
	15.	Female Employment by Area and Ethnicity, 1982-86	122
	16.	Female Employment by Areas and Sector, 1982 and 1986	122
	17.	Female Employment by Ethnic Groups, Areas and Sectors, 1982	123
	18.	Female Employment by Ethnic Groups, Areas and Sectors, 1986	123
	19.	Females in Experienced Labour Force Aged 10 Years and Over by Occupation, 1970 and 1980	124
	20.	Female Employment in the Urban Sectors by Occupation, 1980-86	124

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA (contd)

		Page
21.	Female Employment in the Rural Sector by Occupation, 1980-86	125
22.	Female Employment in the Urban Sector by Race and Occupation, 1980 and 1986	125
23.	Female Employment in the Rural Sector by Race and Occupation, 1980 and 1986	126
24.	Female Employment Status, 1970, 1980-86	126
25.	Malay Female Employment Status, 1981-86	126
26.	Chinese Female Employment Status, 1981-86	127
27.	Indian Female Employment Status, 1981-86	127
28.	Retrenched Workers by Sector, 1983-85	127
29.	Peninsular Malaysia: States Most Affected by Retrenchements in 1985	128
30.	Workers Retrenched by Employment Category, 1983-84	128
31.	Federal Subsidy Expenditures, 1976-85	129
32.	Federal Government Development Expenditures by Sector, 1971-90	129
33.	Federal Government: Operating Expenditure Revisions, 1980-88	130
34.	Federal Government: Development Expenditure, 1980 - 88	131
35.	Number of staff in the Government Sector by Sex, 1980-87	131
36.	Annual Growth Rate of Staff in the Government Sector by Sex, 1981-87	132
37.	Distribution of Females in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87	132
38.	Annual Growth Rate of Total Number of Staff in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1981-87	132
39.	Distribution of Staff by Salary Groups and Sex, 1980-87	133

Page

40. Female-Male Ratio in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87 133

41. Distribution of Posts Occupied by Officers in Division 1, 1968, 1978 and 1988 134

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Real GDP Growth, 1981-88 135

2. Current Account Balance, 1981-88 135

3. Net Long-term Capital Flow, 1976-88 136

4. Real GDP/GNP Growth, 1972-87 136

5. Federal Government Deficit, 1973-88 137

6. Exchange Rate Index, 1980-87 137

7. Price Indices, 1981-88 138

8. Balance of Payments, 1981-88 138

9. Target and Actual Unemployment Rates and Real GDP Growth Rate, 1966-90 139

10. Annual Growth Rate of Staff in the Public Sector by Sex, 1981-87 139

11. Distribution of Female in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87 140

12. Female-Male Ratio in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87 140

13. Registration of Unemployed Professionals, 1975-86 141

14. Monthly Average Employment in Electronic Industry, Penang, 1977-84 141

BIBLIOGRAPHY 142

I. INTRODUCTION

A study of the impact of structural adjustment on women in Malaysia must be set against the vast changes that have taken place in the country over the last three decades in economic, social and political terms which have affected the position of women, whether negatively or favourably. While the overall economic position of women has improved during the period, through increased access to education and employment, and reduction in poverty levels, women, together with the poor, are the most vulnerable to the effects of external shocks in the form of commodity price collapses and changes in the terms of trade, economic recession, and adjustment policies adopted in response to these changes. The analysis therefore has to separate the effects of longer-term structural changes, which on balance may have affected women in Malaysia favourably in economic terms, as against their vulnerability to short-term cyclical factors and gender-neutral policy adjustments.

In spite of the importance of these effects, there is a surprising lack of concern for women's issues in economic policy-making in Malaysia, although the overall level of rhetoric and apparent activity has been high. There is no clearer evidence of this than the dearth of data on women in official statistical publications and analysis. Much of the economic policy in the last two decades has been concerned with distributional issues along ethnic lines and socio-economic groups rather than in gender-specific terms. A national policy on women is only now being formulated. The retrenchment of female production workers in the free trade zones (FTZs) during the 1985 recession dramatised the vulnerability of women in the new work force, but still produced no significant policy changes regarding women in industry. This gap in economic and social policy-making must be rectified as the country considers the shape of policies to be introduced after the New Economic Policy (NEP) expires in 1990.

In this paper we will examine briefly the major structural changes in the Malaysian economy during the last three decades (Section II) and the adjustment policies that have been introduced, particularly in the eighties (Section III). In Section IV, we try to extract from whatever data are available the impact of sectoral change on women in terms of labour force participation, industrial and occupational shifts, employment status and unemployment. Section V examines the impact of recession and recovery on women industrial workers. Section VI analyses the impact of government expenditure cutbacks. In the final Section, some suggestions aimed at more sensitive treatment of women in economic policy-making are put forward in relation to the formulation of development strategy and its impact on women for the coming decades.

II. OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC POLICIES, 1960-88

Structural change in the Malaysian economy may be conveniently divided into three periods: the 1960s, the 1970s and the 1980s[1]. These periods coincide with changes in policy or policy emphasis in the adjustment

---

[1] This section is extracted from Salih (1988).

process in response to changes in external economic conditions as well as in domestic requirements.

The early years of the sixties, soon after Malaysia gained Independence, were associated with the vent-for-surplus model of development for a country which has a strong primary export base. Diversification of agriculture was encouraged and the primary export base extended. The Government's role in the economy was minimal and facilitory. In the middle of the sixties a limited import substitution phase was initiated, aimed at providing light manufactured goods for the nascent urban market and the plantation sector. The transition to import substitution was, however, quickly exhausted due to an internal market limited in terms of absolute numbers and also constrained by a highly skewed income distribution which the import substitution strategy tended to reinforce. Although import substitution led to small-scale secondary engineering spinoffs in the urban areas, it was unable to generate sufficient employment to absorb the increasing labour force toward the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. It was at this time that the export promotion drive through FTZs and other incentives were introduced under the 1968 and 1974 Acts. The rapid growth in this type of industrialisation in the 1970s until the early 1980s was remarkable (Table 1).

In the seventies, the basically neo-colonial model of transitional growth of the previous decade was changed with the introduction of the NEP. While new land development was implemented through various authorities such as the Federal Land Development Authority, and through a number of regional development bodies, a new industrialisation strategy was introduced in the early seventies to reduce economic dependence on primary commodities and to create more jobs. Besides an increased state participation in the economy through state development corporations and public enterprises, industrial export expansion was promoted through the granting of generous tax holidays and subsidised infrastructure facilities to transnational corporations (TNCs) in the FTZs established all over the country. These TNCs took advantage of the tax incentives as well as of the availability of cheap labour, and contributed to much employment growth during the period. The public sector grew rapidly on the basis of revenues generated by the commodity export boom of the period (Table 2).

The upshot of these policies has been the emergence of complications in the investment thrust in Malaysia's current multi-prong industrialisation strategy, in which elements of primary export promotion (a vent-for-surplus orientation), import substitution and industrial export promotion (FTZ-type) are being promoted at the same time. This mix of different elements was also compounded by the introduction of the heavy industries strategy in the early eighties, undertaken through the Heavy Industries Corporation (HICOM) and much investment by government to take advantage of the country's energy resources. Complications were therefore bound to appear, in the form not only of policy conflicts relating to the income, employment and fiscal effects of simultaneous promotion of these strategies, but also of difficulties arising in the application of policy instruments. The lack of success in several of these strategies is due as much to problems of implementation, including managerial mistakes, as to policy inconsistencies.

The impact of the recession of 1985, which had begun as early as 1982, brought home forcefully the folly of the HICOM strategy and the

narrowness of Malaysia's manufactures export drive in the seventies and early eighties. The HICOM strategy, as well as other government spending, led to an explosive growth of the country's external debt and debt-service burden and, with the implementation of the NEP, to an ever widening federal government overall deficit (Table 3). It also resulted in a six-year current account deficit in the balance of payments. Private investment was either sluggish or in decline up to 1986, and real GDP growth plunged rapidly to -1 per cent in 1985 on account of an across-the-board drop in commodity prices. There was much retrenchment of labour across all sectors (Figure 1, Figure 2 and Table 4).

The economy has since recovered remarkably from the 1985 recession (Figure 3). By 1988 the real growth of GDP registered 8.2 per cent. This was due as much to the rebound of commodity prices as to renewed demand for manufactured exports. The recovery owed much to internal adjustment by the Government to counteract the economic downtrend. Austerity measures were introduced in public expenditure, resulting in the federal current account deficit being brought into balance, with a modest surplus in 1988, a year ahead of schedule. Through refinancing and prepayments the foreign debt burden was reined in, with the debt-service ratio reduced from 18 per cent in 1986 to 15 per cent in 1987 (Table 4). At the same time the Malaysian ringgit was allowed to depreciate along with the US dollar against all other major currencies, and this made the country's exports, particularly of manufactured products, more competitive. By 1987 the current account balance registered a surplus of more than M$6 million.

To stimulate private investment growth, the foreign investment code and the equity limits for domestic private investment were liberalised in September 1986. In the longer term, the shift to a bigger role for the private sector was encouraged through privatisation and contraction of the public sector. The tax reform package incorporated in the 1989 Budget (including the reduction in corporate tax and the introduction of various incentives for export promotion and the development of the construction, agriculture and small- and medium-scale industrial sectors), as well as changes to the labour codes, are all contributing to a strengthening of the recovery and expansion through economic restructuring in the medium- to long-term. In addition, the new, long anticipated, initiatives in economic policy, which in 1990 will succeed the 1970 NEP, should enhance further the economic fundamentals in Malaysia and contribute to a strengthened economic outlook.

The impact of these structural adjustment policies is crucial, particularly on the medium- and long-term prospects for economic growth and development. Much still depends on how the policy adjustments are implemented, and on the external economic environment. In the latter case the presence of protectionist measures, the threat to the removal of privileges under the Generalised System of Preferences, and the likely prospects for commodities, will have much influence on the direction and pace of economic restructuring in the country.

III. ADJUSTMENT POLICIES IN THE 1980s

The recession of 1985 had brought out forcefully the basic structural weaknesses of the Malaysian economy, namely : the narrow industrial base; the over-large public sector and fiscal deficit; over-regulation and the negative

impact on private investment; a huge debt overhang; an over-valued exchange rate; and the existence of a skills and technology gap. Due to the severity of the recession's impact, policy measures were introduced to promote economic recovery and to set the basis for sustained growth through economic restructuring in the 1990s. The adjustment pressure in the latter half of the eighties was such that the redistribution objective of the NEP which aimed to restructure society and eradicate poverty during the period of 1970-90, had to be put on hold in favour of the promotion of growth.

The major policy areas in the structural adjustment process over the last ten years, but most particularly since 1985, are discussed below. These policies are aimed at liberalising the Malaysian economy in order to arrive at a new formula for the mixed economy of the last two decades that will place it on a new footing over the next 20 years.

1. Industrial Policy, Foreign Investment and Tariff Policy

The implementation of the new industrial strategy under the NEP in the seventies focused on three principal areas. The first was the promotion of manufactured exports through foreign investment in the FTZs and granting generous tax incentives through the Investment Incentives Act of 1974 and the Locational Incentive Act of 1978. The main aim was to create employment, particularly for the vast numbers of rural youths entering the labour market towards the latter half of the seventies. Secondly, regulations were introduced through the Industrial Coordination Act and the Petroleum Development Act to reduce foreign ownership in the domestic sector under the restructuring goal of the NEP. The target was to increase 'bumiputra' (indigenous) ownership of corporate wealth from 1 per cent in 1970 to 30 per cent by 1990 and to reduce the foreign share from about 70 to 30 per cent, with the rest to be held by non-bumiputra Malaysians. The third area was for government to participate in directly productive activities through the establishment of public enterprises. These are given either direct grants, loans or government guarantees, and number nearly 900.

At the same time, as mentioned earlier, the Government adopted a heavy industries strategy through HICOM and participated through joint-ventures and investment in the national car project (Proton Saga), cement plants, an iron and steel mill (Perwaja), gas projects, and the pulp and paper industries. These projects were financed mainly by foreign borrowings and the total financial exposure of the Government in these off-budget agencies ran into billions of ringgit.

The record of these ventures was dismal. Most government companies suffered heavy losses. Only a few managed recently to return a profit and those are now for sale through the privatisation programme, or are to be restructured if their long-term viability can be proven, or face liquidation. On the other hand, the foreign investment in the FTZs created new jobs and, together with the public sector, helped absorb a large number of youths (Salih, et al.; 1985; Salih and Young, 1989). Investment was concentrated mainly in electronics and textiles; nearly 70 per cent of the manufactured exports in the early eighties were from these two industries. There was, however, little linkage between those industries and local firms (Salih and Young, 1988). Moreover, as already noted, the substantial government investment in the heavy industries strategy, along with the expansion of the public sector, resulted in a huge fiscal deficit that had to be financed

through foreign borrowings. This shot up from 1981/82 onwards, and the debt-service ratio approached the critical zone of 20 per cent. With the recession of 1985, but beginning much earlier, direct foreign investment also began to dry up (Table 5).

Besides capping the external borrowing requirements and schemes to cut the size of the public sector, changes had to be made to the foreign investment codes and to the direction of industrial policy. These changes have been introduced in a number of ways. In industrial policy, a rationalisation of government participation in industry is taking or has taken place, through changes in management and the policy of privatisation and asset sales. At the same time no new public enterprise will be established. Secondly, a renewed emphasis has been given to small- and medium-scale industries, particularly to take advantage of industries relocating off-shore due to the rising yen, the Taiwan dollar and the Korean won. The Industrial Master Plan adopted in 1983 had also identified new areas of manufacturing to be promoted, particularly in resource-based industries that are both domestic- and export-oriented.

In the area of private investment, the foreign investment requirements, in terms of equity participation and labour, were relaxed in September 1986 in order to encourage more direct foreign investment, while investment missions abroad were stepped up. The Location Incentive Act was changed with the introduction of the 'corridor concept' whereby firms are allowed to locate freely, including along the more developed western corridor. In terms of domestic private investment, the equity limits for compliance with the employment restructuring regulations under the Industrial Coordination Act were raised from M$500,000 to M$2.5 million. Interest rates were kept low to promote investment, since loan demand had been sluggish since the recession (Table 4).

In terms of tariff policy, effective protection rates, which range from -95 per cent to over 300 per cent, were rationalised and now reflect a much narrower band. Import regimes, however, had been relatively liberal compared to some of the other Asian NICs.

2. Growth, Fiscal Deficits, External Debt and Stabilisation Policy

The Malaysian economy, being open and extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices and the demand for its manufactured exports, had until 1979 tracked the growth pattern of the US and Japanese economy (Figure 4). In 1980, as the world was marching into another recession, the Malaysian Government adopted 'counter cyclical' measures so as to maintain economic growth consistent with the NEP. Thus when the US growth path dipped, Malaysia was able to maintain its growth and for the first time manifested a divergence from the US path. Indeed it began to follow the Japanese trend, until the collapse of commodity prices and slower growth in both the US and Japan caused the recession of 1985.

In a sense the Malaysian authorities delayed taking the necessary adjustment measures, as did other developing countries facing a decline in external demand. This was necessitated by economic as well as political reasons. Apart from the counter-cyclical moves, economic planners under the directives of a new administration had also felt that it was timely for the economy to take a "big leap forward" into a higher level of

industrialisation. Thus, between 1980 and 1982, public expenditures rose markedly (Table 2) as the Government launched many infrastructural and heavy industrial projects (construction of highways, bridges, building complexes, car project and cement plants) without taking into account the economic consequences that would follow. Public sector consumption grew by 13.3 per cent in 1981 and by 8.7 per cent in 1982 while public sector investment grew by 4 per cent in 1981 and by 20.7 per cent in 1982. Consequently, the economy experienced a considerable widening of the external imbalance (the increase in import/export ratio in the face of world recession), and the Federal Government deficit as a percentage of nominal GNP rose sharply to 19.81 per cent in 1981 (18.72 per cent in 1982). Parallel to the above, and given the domestic resource constraints in the economy, the external borrowing of the Federal Government also rose sharply in order to finance the ambitious projects launched in the early 1980s. Faced with these imbalances and concern over the possibility of a crowding out of private investment, major fiscal adjustment efforts were undertaken from mid-1982 in an attempt to reduce public sector expenditures by restructuring and shelving major development projects and investment plans. As a result of the Government's austerity drive the deficit as a percentage of GNP began to decline steadily, from just under 20 per cent in 1981 to 6.6 per cent in 1988 (Figure 5).

As a consequence of the turn round in the current account balance in 1987, the Government began to look inward to the domestic market to finance its debt obligation. For the first time in the eighties, the national foreign debt, which had risen to more than M$50 billion by 1986, representing nearly 77 per cent of GNP, declined to 68 per cent in 1987 and is expected to have declined further in 1988. The debt-service ratio also had been capped at below 17 per cent. This achievement was made possible by refinancing and prepayments in 1987, through the drawing down of the foreign reserves and the shift from foreign to domestic sources of funds to finance the government deficit.

In recent years, monetary policy has been largely accommodative and its major objective is to promote long-term low inflationary growth, especially by stimulating private investment, maintaining a low interest rate regime by lowering the cost of funds, and by ensuring adequate liquidity through active interventions in the money market. Recent developments in the financial system, battered in the early eighties by a series of financial scandals and bank failures requiring rescue by the Government, have been characterised by a high liquidity position in the market and a very low deposit rate. Despite the marked decline in the deposit rate, the average lending rate has not followed suit, reflecting a downward stickiness. In view of the above, one of the stance of monetary policy is aimed at reducing the differential between the cost of funds and the loan rates. Liberalisation and deregulation of the banking system, as well as the introduction of a number of measures in the 1989 Budget, are expected to encourage financial deepening and increased competition and efficiency in the whole financial system.

The external payments position was also helped by the effective depreciation of the ringgit against the currencies of Malaysia's major trading partners (Figure 6). This made Malaysia's exports more competitive, as reflected in the rebound of exports during the recent recovery. Price increases have remained low, with the consumer price index rising by 1.5 per cent in 1987 and not expected to increase beyond 3 per cent in 1988 according to Treasury forecasts (Figure 7). The ringgit is now considered slightly

undervalued, and pressure on the general price level is being felt through imported inflation, as reflected in the rising producer price index (Table 6). But a tight monetary policy could keep the inflationary threat in check. The overall balance has gone into surplus, with the economic recovery and subsequent expansion (Figure 8). This position could be maintained if external demand remains buoyant.

3. Tax Reform, Deregulation and Privatisation

The stagnation in domestic private investment, aggravated by the property market slump of 1984, and the greater involvement of the Government in the economy in the 1970s and early 1980s, are now forcing the Government to reconsider its role. As early as 1982 it announced a privatisation policy to reduce the fiscal burden and stimulate private investment. At the same time a series of measures were introduced to deregulate the financial system, although still undertaken cautiously because of recent financial troubles, and attempts made at industrial deregulation through a number of tax measures. The recent reduction in corporate tax rates is aimed not only at bringing these into line with the tax burdens in the neighbouring countries, and thus maintain competitivenes vis-a-vis foreign investment, but also at stimulating private investment. The shift toward the market through this 'supply side' initiative should give the needed impetus to an investment-led growth, thus cushioning some of the negative effects of a possible world economic contraction in the near future.

This shift to an internal engine of growth, while remaining tied to external demand, represents a strong indication of the need to ameliorate the externally-induced economic instability endemic in Malaysia's previous economic structure. Together with further economic liberalisation measures, such a move should contribute to better and sustainable long-term growth prospects for the economy.

4. Structural Change and Employment Policy

The changes in the labour force growth and employment targets are shown in Table 7, together with the expected unemployment levels and the actual unemployment experienced in the various five-year plans. These figures are plotted graphically in Figure 9 against the growth of real GDP over the eighties to show the effect of the recession of 1985. The setting of employment growth targets (and implicitly the unemployment level) in each of the five-year plans obviously followed the actual unemployment level experienced at the end of the previous plan. The stubbornness of unemployment in spite of the 1986-87 recovery is quite obvious from Figure 9.

With the exception of the recession in the mid-1970s, that decade had been one of rapid growth, fuelled by high prices for primary exports. Thus, total employment grew at an annual average of 3.7 per cent. It had been argued that the public sector was the main engine of growth in Malaysia during the 1970s and early 1980s. For example, government consumption expenditure (at constant prices) grew by 25 per cent in 1980 while public gross capital formation grew by 38 per cent during 1980 and 41 per cent during 1981. Private sector investment also increased, reaching a high of M$13.3 billion in 1984, with an average of M$11.7 billion per annum during 1980-84. Total employment grew at an average of 3.7 per cent per annum between 1970 and 1980 while the labour force grew at 3.5 per cent in the same period. Consequently,

unemployment fell from 7.5 per cent in 1970 to an unprecedented low of 5.7 per cent in 1980. During these boom years there were even labour shortages in construction and estate work, and the phenomenon of abandoned land became a reality.

However, with the beginning of the recession in the mid-1980s, the employment situation came under great pressure. Since 1984, the government consumption expenditure has been reduced and was expected to increase only marginally in the late 1980s. Public gross fixed capital formation was estimated to have been cut by 25 per cent in 1987, and by 14 per cent in 1988 (Ministry of Finance, 1987). Likewise, private gross fixed capital formation dropped by 19 per cent in 1985 and a further 30 per cent in 1986. It is estimated to have been reduced to M$7.9 billion in 1988, 41 per cent below the average of 1980-84 (Ministry of Finance, 1987).

The boom years, when unemployment was reduced, came to an end in the early eighties. The rate of unemployment rose from 5.7 per cent in 1980 to 8.5 per cent in 1986; other estimates put the rate higher, at nearly 10 per cent (MIER, 1987a). Although unemployment declined marginally as a result of the 1987-88 recovery, the important point is that the rate increased towards the end of the 1980s and surpassed the pre-1970 level. It is instructive to review the situation.

The structure of employment by sectors and the average growth during 1970-88 are shown in Tables 8 and 9, respectively. Five features are of note. First, there was a major shift of employment from the primary sector to the secondary sector, particularly into manufacturing and construction in the 1970s and early 1980s. While agriculture, forestry and fishing accounted for more than half the total workforce in 1970, it is expected to have declined to about 35 per cent in 1988. The growth in employment in this sector increased by less than 1 per cent per annum in the 1970s, and recorded a negative rate in the early 1980s. Mining, as part of the primary sector, accounted for only 2.6 per cent of total employment in 1970 and is estimated to have declined to 1 per cent in 1988; with the closure of tin mines and retrenchment of more workers, employment in the sector fell by an average of 0.8 per cent annually in the 1970s to 5.3 per cent in the early 1980s.

Secondly, employment in the secondary sector grew from 11.7 per cent in 1970 to 22 per cent in 1985 but is expected to have slackened to 20.6 per cent in 1988. The manufacturing industries created most jobs, especially in the 1970s. Their share of total employment increased from 9 per cent in 1970 to 15.6 per cent in 1980, following average growth in employment of 9.6 per cent per annum in the 1970s. The labour-intensive electronics and textiles industries contributed most. However, subsequently the limited absorptive capacity of this sector resulted in meagre growth in employment - of 1 per cent per annum during 1980-85. With world-wide recession and the vulnerability of the export-oriented manufacturing sector to overseas fluctuations, there was widespread retrenchment of workers in 1985 and 1986. By 1988, manufacturing is expected to have contributed 14.5 per cent of total employment.

Thirdly, construction registered the highest growth of all sectors, until the recession and property market slump of 1985. The buoyancy of this industry resulted from large public investment in infrastructure as well as private construction activities in high-cost housing, office space, hotels

etc., which contributed to annual average growth of 11.4 per cent in the 1970s and 7 per cent in the early 1980s. So fast was the growth that there were severe labour shortages, creating the need for immigrant labour - about one-quarter of 350,000 construction workers were Indonesians (Gil, 1987: 7). However, with construction activity turning sluggish in the mid-1980s, employment in the industry fell between 1985 and 1988.

Fourthly, the declining momentum of the secondary sector in the mid-1980s resulted in a shift towards the service sector as an avenue of employment generation. The share in total employment of the service sector increased from 20.6 per cent in 1970 to 27 per cent in 1985 and is expected to have increased to 28.4 per cent in 1988. Commerce (which encompasses wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants, finance, insurance, real estate and business services) has been and will continue to be an important job-creating sector. In addition, employment in the transport, storage and communications industries grew by 4.1 per cent per annum in the 1970s and 4.8 per cent in the early 1980s; however by the mid-1980s its growth had slackened to 1.7 per cent due to the cutback in development expenditure in the public sector.

Fifthly, in the 1970s and early 1980s, the Government was the major source of new employment. The rate of growth of government employment was 5.7 per cent per annum during 1970-80. In the early 1980s, much of the expansion occurred as a result of a massive recruitment drive to fill vacancies in the public sector. However, with the growing problems of government financing and the intention of streamlining the administrative machinery, steps were taken to check recruitment. Consequently, annual average growth slackened from 5.7 per cent between 1970 and 1980 to 1.3 per cent between 1985 and 1988.

The weak employment position expected over the next few years is due to the relatively low absorptive capacity of the Government and of the private sector, especially in manufacturing and construction which traditionally were significant providers of jobs. The situation is further aggravated by the rapidly growing number of new entrants into the labour market, creating for the first time serious rates of unemployment among graduates and diploma-holders. Furthermore, uncertainties in business resulting from the October 1987 stock market crash have dimmed the outlook for employment.

Many of the job opportunities are expected to come from manufacturing and services. In manufacturing as a result of expansion in export-oriented industries such as electronics and electrical appliances, textiles, wood-based products and rubber-based products; and in the services sector, as a result largely of the entry of retrenched workers and youths into petty trading where low entry and exit barriers make a favourable niche for the unemployed. Employment in the other sectors, except construction, is expected to increase only marginally; the construction industry is unable to generate more job opportunities due to the continued sluggish building activity throughout the country.

The employment situation beyond 1990 is clouded by uncertainty. Its growth depends very much on the performance of the economy following restructuring. A strategy aimed at giving greater focus to employment generation is required for the next ten years. The new Outline Perspective Plan should incorporate a number of strategies towards achieving this objective within the framework of economic restructuring of the Malaysian economy towards the year 2000.

IV. IMPACT OF SECTORAL CHANGE ON WOMEN

How do we assess the impacts on women of these structural adjustment policies in Malaysia over the last decade or so? This is quite difficult. It is not possible to link the separate policies to their impact on women in any direct causal way since these policies tend to reinforce each other and some of their impacts are indirect. Besides, there are severe data limitations. The best one can do at this juncture is to examine the various changes in the position of women in the economy and try to relate them to the relevant policy or policies in a general way. These impacts may be considered in turn.

1. Employment of Women by Sectors

As discussed earlier, the Malaysian economy has undergone significant structural transformation since the sixties as part of the policy of diversification adopted to reduce the effects of economic instability due to over-dependence on a few primary products. These structural changes, especially in the seventies, have had a significant impact on overall employment and particularly on female employment. This Section examines sectoral shifts in the female labour force participation as it responds to both structural change and adjustments[1].

Female employment as a proportion of total employment has increased only slightly since 1970, from 32.3 per cent to 33.2 per cent in 1980, and 34.8 per cent in 1986. The sectoral shifts in female employment are shown in Tables 10 and 11. Females used to be the most highly concentrated in the agricultural sector where they accounted for 61 per cent of female employment in 1970, but in line with the shrinkage of employment in this sector, the proportion of the female workforce employed in it had fallen to 32.5 per cent in 1986.

Meanwhile, changes in the Malaysian economy, as reflected in the urban industrial structure, saw the growth of the government, manufacturing and the commercial sectors.

This set in train rural-urban migration, initially of Malay males to employment in the public and informal service sectors (McGee, 1969) and later of educated Malay males and females to both the public sector and various industries (Young, 1979; 1982). It was only in the mid-seventies that migration of young female Malay school-leavers began to gain importance.

Many factors contributed to the decline of female employment in agriculture. Within the rural areas, the rising levels of education since the sixties produced a new cohort of girls who were no longer prepared to take up traditional agricultural pursuits. In the seventies most of them found work in the labour-intensive manufacturing sector, particularly in textiles and electronics (Salih et al., 1985; Ariffin, 1981; Young, 1987). Of importance too was the continued draw of the service sector, particularly in government,

---

[1] Originally, the data for 1970 and 1980 were not comparable owing to different classifications. However, to resolve this inconsistency, the 1980 data were reclassified using the 1970 classifications.

which expanded its intake of females in the late seventies and early eighties. The restaurant and hotel business as well as the sales sector also witnessed immense expansion during these boom years. The informal sector continued to absorb the less educated. Thus the proportion of Malay female employment accounted for by the agricultural sector dropped from 47.6 per cent in 1982 to 41.9 per cent in 1986 (see Table 12).

Conversely, there has been a rising trend of female employment in manufacturing, whose contribution rose from 7.3 per cent in 1970 to 15.7 per cent in 1980 and 20.8 per cent in 1983, before declining slightly in 1984-85 due to the economic recession which affected textiles and electronics. The buoyant economic situation of the seventies, coupled with the establishment of FTZs to woo the participation of TNCs, mostly in the manufacture of textiles and electronics, helped to ensure the generally high absorption of women in the manufacturing sector during this period.

Female employment in the services sector also accelerated in the eighties, accounting for 46.7 per cent of all females employed in 1986 (see Table 11). Within the sector, growth was strong in community and personal services; and in wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels. This is not surprising as the less educated and less skilled women have often opted for domestic and similar work in hotels and as sales persons. As mentioned earlier, the least educated have often become part of the urban informal sector, not only as hawkers but in a range of service jobs. An analysis of the ditribution of female workers by enthnicity within the different sectors also highlights the relative differences between the racial groups.

The ethnic element is particularly important in Malaysia because of the Government's policy under the NEP, which seeks to eradicate economic and social differences between the different ethnic groups. More specifically, it aims to shift Malays from rural areas and therefore from traditional low-income agricultural jobs to urban modern sector jobs where they are under-represented. This tendency for different ethnic groups to find their own occupational niches is manifested in many countries with a colonial or immigrant legacy. In the case of Malaysia, Malays constitute about 54 per cent of the population, and make up about 80 per cent of the rural population. In contrast, the Chinese (32 per cent of the population) and to a lesser extent the Indians (9 per cent) have tended to live in urban areas, engaged in urban occupations. It is only since the seventies that the Malays employed as government servants, and later in manufacturing, have become a significant proportion of the urban population. This is one of the major impacts of the NEP introduced in 1970 to increase the participation of 'bumiputras' in the modern industrial and commercial sectors.

The distribution of female employment by ethnic groups is shown in Table 13. It is consistent with the racial distribution of the population. Between 1982 and 1986 the proportion of female employment accounted for by Malays increased a little while that by Chinese and Indian declined slightly.

Tables 12 and 14 show the sectoral and ethnic distribution of employed females. They indicate that Malays tended to be less widely distributed within the different sectors compared to the Chinese and Indians. Thus, in 1982 Malay females were disproportionately represented in the primary sector, especially in agriculture where 47.6 per cent of them were employed compared to 17.2 per cent of the Chinese. Employment in the secondary sector

is dominated by the Chinese and Indians, with a lower proportion of Malays than of their counterparts. Over 55 per cent of the Chinese were in services in 1982, mostly in the wholesale, retail trade and restaurant and hotel sector, while some 20 per cent of the Malays were in the community and personal services sector. But what is disguised in the last figure is that whereas the Malays were mostly in Government service, the Chinese were in domestic work.

By 1986 the pattern remained the same, although the proportion of Malays employed in services rose by (5 per cent) as it did in the government and the sales and restaurant sectors (by about 3 per cent). The proportion employed in manufacturing did not increase significantly as the recession caused massive retrenchments in textiles and especially in electronics. The proportion of Malay women employed in agriculture fell from 47.6 per cent in 1982 to 41.9 per cent in 1986 whereas those of Chinese and Indian females in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors declined only slightly in this period, while increasing considerably in the services sector.

However, the main point to emphasise is that the gains of the employed females are in line with the aims of the NEP - out of agriculture and into the modern sectors of business and industry. A similar trend may be observed in Table 14. Such a pattern, although in recent years showing a more even distribution between the different ethnic groups, is reflective of the national sectoral distribution (see Tham, 1977; Young, 1982).

The movement out of agriculture and into services and industries is also reflected in the distribution of females employed by stratum (rural or urban), from 1982 to 1986 (Tables 15 and 16). As most Malays still live in rural areas, it is not surprising that Malay females constitute the majority of rural dwellers, at around 68 per cent throughout the period. What is relevant to the discussion on structural adjustment are the slight fluctuations between the years, with higher proportions in rural areas during the recession years of 1984/85 and a concomitant decrease in proportion during the economically more buoyant years of 1982 and 1983 as well as in the economic upswing of 1986. This may be due to urban Malay females returning to rural areas to take up farm work during the depressed years.

Despite their high concentration in the rural areas, the trend of Malay female employment in urban areas is rising. The proportions of Chinese and Indian women employed in the rural areas remain constant, at around 21 per cent and 9 per cent, respectively. The nature of rural-urban distribution of employed women becomes more explicit when sectoral trends are examined.

Not surprisingly, agriculture is the main activity in the rural areas and accounted for 56.5 per cent and 48.1 per cent rural female employment in 1982 and 1986 respectively (Table 16). In the urban areas, the manufacturing and services sectors (specifically community and personal services; wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels) absorbed most of the employed urban females. Again, this reflects the shift out of agriculture and into the commercial and industrial sectors.

The ethnic distribution of females employed within the various sectors in urban and rural areas in 1982 and 1986 are shown in Tables 17 and 18. A comparison shows that Malays are less diversified than Chinese and Indians, especially in the rural areas where in 1982 the agricultural sector

absorbed the bulk of employed Malay females (60.6 per cent). In contrast, the Chinese women are better distributed across the sectors in both rural and urban areas. However, thee was a decline over the years for the three main ethnic groups employed in agriculture in rural areas. The proportion of all three ethnic groups employed in the wholesale and retail trade, restaurant and hotel services sub-sectors rose during the first half of the eighties.

An examination of the ethnic groups by stratum points up certain differences. Malay females tend to concentrate in the agricultural sector in rural areas while their counterparts in the urban areas work in the manufacturing and services sectors, mainly in community and personal services and in the wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels. A high proportion of the Chinese females are employed in the manufacturing and services sectors in both the urban and rural areas. However, Indian females in the rural areas are concentrated mainly in the agricultural sector while those in urban areas are in the manufacturing, community service and personal services sectors.

2. Occupational Structure of Women in the Economy

An analysis of the occupational structure of women will provide some insights into the type of work in which women are involved. The occupational structure of the female labour force in 1970 and 1980 is shown in Table 19. The data are extracted from the 1970 and 1980 Population Censuses. As indicated in the table, there were increments over the decade in the proportions of female workers in each of the occupational groups, except agriculture, whose share declined from 66.8 per cent in 1970 to 46.3 per cent in 1980. This is consistent with the pattern of economic development in the country, discussed above.

Large increases were registered in the proportion of women employed as clerical and related workers (4.1 per cent in 1970 and 11.1 per cent in 1980, mostly due to the expansion in the government sector) and as production and transport equipment operators (10.4 per cent in 1970 and 17.6 per cent in 1980, a result of the growth in manufacturing). A marginal increase in the proportion of employed women accounted for by the professional and technical category has been due to the increase of females in the teaching and nursing professions. There has also been some growth in the sales category, and administrative and managerial positions.

In urban areas, women are concentrated mainly in the occupational categories of production, transport equipment operators and labourers, clerical and related workers, and service workers. Among the non-agricultural occupations in rural Malaysia, a high proportion of females are employed as production, transport equipment operators and labourers.

The ethnic composition of employed females within the different occupational groups in urban and rural sectors is shown in Tables 22 and 23. In urban areas, the proportion of females employed in agriculture and as production, transport equipment operators and labourers decreased for all three ethnic groups. Each experienced an increasing proportion of employees in administrative and managerial posts. The largest gain was in the proportion of Malay females employed as service workers, while the proportion of Chinese employed in this category experienced a slight decrease during 1980 to 1986. In the corresponding period, the proportion of Malays and Chinese

employed as professional, technical and related workers registered a marginal increase but that of Indians in this category declined.

In rural areas, the proportion of Malay females in employment declined only in agriculture (Table 23); gains were most conspicuous in service occupations. The proportion of Chinese females employed in agriculture declined, whereas that in most other occupations was higher in 1986 than in 1980.

3. Employment Status of Women

In line with the above patterns, females have also been shifting out of traditional informal types of job into the modern wage sector. However, the recession obviously affected this trend. In 1970, 37.7 per cent of the female labour force were unpaid family workers, while 36.9 per cent were in the employee category (Table 24). However, by 1980 unpaid family workers had decreased by 17.9 per cent of the total and the proportion has subsequently remained at around 22 per cent (Table 24). The proportion of employees increased from 37 per cent in 1970 to 53.6 per cent in 1980 and to around 60 per cent by the mid-eighties. This further supports the evidence of movement out of agriculture (mostly from family run farms) into the urban wage sector. The proportion of female employers declined from 2.3 per cent in 1970 to 0.9 per cent in 1986. For the own-account worker category, the survey data show an increase from 16.7 per cent of the total in 1981 to 17.2 per cent in 1986.

An analysis of the female employment status among ethnic groups reveals interesting trends in the period 1982-86 (Table 25). For Malays those classified as employees had increased from 48.6 per cent in 1981 to 50.3 per cent in 1986, in line with their movement to government and manufacturing. Unpaid family workers declined by about 1 percentage point, reflecting migration from traditional rural occupations to the urban modern sector. The category of employer registered a small increase in the period.

In contrast, there has been a drop in the proportion of Chinese and Indian female labour classified as employees (Table 26 and 27). For both groups, the proportion of those categorised as employers and unpaid family workers increased. The proportion of unpaid family workers remained constant for the Chinese, but increased for the Indians.

The above reveals that more Malay women are now engaged in the industrial and services sectors in urban areas compared to previous years. However, due to the limited job vacancies in the modern sector, more Chinese and Indians may have been forced into the informal sector, to work as employers or own-account workers.

4. Unemployment Among Women

The characteristics of the unemployed in Malaysia are detailed in the 1970 and 1980 Censuses of Population (Department of Statistics, 1977: 418-422; 1983: 121-125). Unemployment is heavily concentrated among young people, most of whom are first-time job seekers aged 15-19 years. The incidence of unemployment is higher amongst women than men in every age group in both urban and rural areas (Kaur and Chua,1985). As will be seen below, women suffered most from the economic downturn in the export manufacturing sector, especially in electronics and textiles. The beginning of the recession in the mid-1980s was when women's employment came under greatest pressure.

The structural adjustment policies adopted by the Government in the eighties, and the clear signals sent to the private sector, have had a mixed impact on employment growth, viewed from both the short- and the long-term perspective. The Government forecast in the 1989 Budget that with the implementation of various measures, and given the more favourable outlook for the world economy, the unemployment rate was expected to decline from 8.1 per cent in 1988 to 7.9 per cent in 1989. This marginal reduction prompts the question "Is unemployment the price we have to pay for structural adjustment and the promotion of economic recovery and growth through private investment?"

The problem of rising unemployment became a major issue of public policy when recession occurred in 1985. The debate centered on how to deal with a problem which arose from a classic deficiency in aggregate demand. It pitted those in favour of fiscal restraint (in view of the large government deficit that had developed over the eighties), against those who called for a Keynesian-type "pumping-priming" of the economy through a reflationary programme to solve unemployment, as put forward in the UMNO Youth Movement's National Recovery Plan (MIER, 1987b). The so-called 'reflation debate' (Karim, 1987) was resolved in favour of fiscal discipline. However, the persistence of high unemployment, and the better outlook for government revenue associated with the post-1985 recovery, led to a review of this position. It resulted in the adoption in the 1989 Budget of a selective reflationary programme through an increase in allocation for development expenditure under the Fifth Malaysia Plan.

This short-term stabilisation measure could not be sustained for long without putting at risk the measures to reduce the Federal deficit and maintain fiscal discipline, which were a major part of the structural adjustment policies in the latter half of the period. But even with the better economic performance associated with the 1987/88 recovery, the general unemployment rate was not expected to decline much, officially projected to reduce only from 8.1 per cent in 1988 to 7.9 per cent in 1989 (Ministry of Finance, 1988). The explanation for this unemployment "stickiness" must be sought in deeper structural causes. Apart from technological choice and mismatches, the present persistent unemployment has also to be seen in relation to the rationalisations occurring at the micro-level as times cut costs by trimming their workforce and redeploying labour in response to the recession and the government's adjustment policies. This process is still continuing as firms begin to absorb the implications of the 1989 Budget initiatives in order to take advantage of rising demand in the present recovery, improve efficiency and regain profitability.

Unfortunately, the impact on women's employment of these developments, in particular the structural adjustment policies associated with the anti-recession measures, is not directly measurable. The lack of gender-specific statistics in a handicap that has to be overcome if more gender-sensitive employment measures are to be devised. The most useable information on female unemployment resulting from recession and adjustment policies comes from case studies such as the one below on electronics workers.

V. IMPACT OF THE 1985 RECESSION AND RECOVERY ON WOMEN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Perhaps nowhere is the negative impact on women of the recession more obvious than that on women industrial workers. In Malaysia this is aggravated by several factors. Firstly, the bulk of the female industrial workforce are

in export-oriented industries, notably textiles and electronics. Secondly, these are labour-intensive industries with an overwhelmingly large proportion of their workforce comprised of females. Thirdly, electronics (mostly semiconductors) is notoriously sensitive to technological change and market conditions and is consequently subject to marked economic fluctuations. Women workers are particularly vulnerable to adjustments to counter their effects.

1. Nature of the Recession and Its Impact on Women Workers

The four year recession beginning in 1982/83 reversed the pattern of labour absorption in the Malaysian economy. Together with the slump in commodity prices and in the property market, and with the Government's austerity drive to reduce the budget deficit, industry also entered a general economic downturn. There are three features of the recession which affect employment and retrenchment, and therefore labour experience (see Salih and Young, 1985).

First this recession proved to be very severe, with large numbers of workers reported to be retrenched - 69,781 between 1983 and 1985 (unpublished statistics, Ministry of Labour and Manpower, 1986[1]). In the primary sector the Malaysia Trade Union Congress (MTUC) estimated that 16,000 workers had been retrenched from estates, particularly the rubber estates, between 1984 and 1987; between December 1984 and May 1985, 6,000 were laid off. In the mining industry, tin was badly affected, and the workforce was reduced from 40,080 in July 1980 to 22,761 in April 1985.

Of particular interest is the extent to which women have been affected. In electronics, about 30,000 workers were retrenched, over 6,000 being laid off between August 1984 and March 1985; and a further 4,200 between April and September 1985; retrenchment continued unabated until the end of 1985, tailing off by March 1986[2]. In textiles - another area of concentration for women workers - the workforce was reduced to 23,000 by December 1982. Services, especially hotels, was another sector where women were affected by the downturn which resulted in a fall in the number of international and local tourists (Utusan Pengguna, 1985). Other industries affected were rubber products, cars, plywood, matches, tractors and games.

Secondly, unlike the retrenchment of the mid-seventies many workers have been laid off in the primary sector such as mining and agriculture, further pointing to the basic structural problems. This is borne out more clearly by data in Table 28 which show the extent of reported layoffs by sector between 1983 and 1985. Manufacturing was worst hit, its proportion of retrenched workers rising from 31.5 per cent at the beginning of the recession to 63 per cent in 1985. The primary sector, too, witnessed a high proportion of retrenchments. Those in the agricultural sector alone registered 41.6 per cent in 1983 as commodity prices fell and workers in rubber and oil palm estates were made redundant. The proportion retrenched in the mining and

---

[1] The estimated figure by MTUC for the same period was 106,000 (New Straits Times, 6 May 1986).

[2] A survey of English-language newspapers such as The Star and New Straits Times showed that there was a news item on retrenchment practically daily in September and October 1985.

quarrying sector increased from 12 per cent in 1983 to 20.0 per cent in 1985. Many tin mines closed in the face of low prices, while quarrying declined with recession in construction.

Thirdly, there is a close relationship between the types of occupation and their geographic location (Table 29). Perak was worst hit by retrenchment because of closures of tin-mines, textile factories and wood and wood processing facilities. Similarly, Penang had the largest proportion of retrenched workers in manufacturing, due to the slump in electronics and textiles in the FTZs (The Star, 14 April 1986). The severity of the recession meant that retrenchment affected not only the lower-level occupations but also the technical and supervisory levels, clerical and related workers, and even management (Table 30). However, the unskilled and the lower occupational categories constituted the bulk of those laid off. Factory workers, both skilled and unskilled, accounted for half those retrenched, and if general workers are included, the proportion rose to over 80 per cent. And this is the area where most female workers are concentrated.

Fourthly, the sex distribution of retrenchment is determined by the type of industry. The manufacturing sectors most affected between 1983 to 1985 were selected for analysis. In the electrical/electronics sector 76 per cent of those retrenched were women; in textiles the proportion was 72 per cent (calculated from Ministry of Labour data, 1986). By contrast, in wood and wood products and rubber products/chemical products most of those retrenched were males, around 75 per cent and 90 per cent respectively.

The Malays were particularly badly affected in electronics, where over 64 per cent were retrenched (in comparison to 21 per cent of the Chinese) and in wood and wood products where 63 per cent were laid off (compared to 34 per cent of the Chinese).

2. Impact on the Families of Retrenched Workers

To get a better idea of the impact of retrenchment on female workers and their families, data were drawn from household histories of 50 Malay families with working daughters living in rural areas around Penang (the Universiti Sains Malaysia - University of British Columbia Project on Household Responses to Industrial Change).

To gauge the potential impact of retrenchment on production workers' families, the roles these women play in relation to their family are first indicated[1]. It is clear that before joining the factories they have undertaken sibling-minding and housework (see Young and Salih, forthcoming). Many of them, because of poor economic backgrounds, had been withdrawn from school so that their mothers could be released to work for money, and their male siblings (sometimes older) to remain at school. After they became factory workers - some as early as 16 years of age (the minimum legal age for formal employment) - their monetary contributions helped to buy consumer durables (ranging from furniture to blenders), take responsibility for educating the siblings (especially tuition fees and repeat classes), pay for house repairs and provide presents such as clothes for family members.

---

[1] Parts extracted from Young and Salih (forthcoming).

An interesting aspect of how families have become dependent on the contribution of siblings is the regularity of their working daughter's incomes, so different from the irregular income from village work. What started as a response by girls to opportunities in the factories so as to assist their economically depressed families became a position of increased responsibility as their families became more dependent on their incomes. Thus it was not unusual for them to say that they wanted to ensure that their younger siblings got the chance to continue school so that they could get better and more secure jobs than factory work. There were even cases where younger siblings married before the working daughter, who had delayed marriage, like the working daughters of Hong Kong (Salaff, 1981).

The girls' role as income-contributers also gave them an important part in family decision-making, depending on the length of time the girl had worked , and the extent of the family dependence on her contribution. Obviously, in a family where both the parents worked and the eldest child was in a factory, even with a string of young siblings, the family was not as economically depressed as one where the parents were too old to work. Similarly, a family where the older children were contributing to the household income, with a few younger children at school, was still better off than one where all of the children were still at school. A household was at its most vulnerable where a couple were totally dependent on a working daughter. In an environment where state support for the welfare of the aged hardly exists, the children of such households become important as investments for old age.

Case studies of women workers in the electronics industry show that the electronics worker, if retrenched, will not be able to assist a family which has begun to find her contribution very crucial. The data reveals that the income from these women can no longer be lightly dismissed as mere secondary income for a household. In many cases it had become vital, especially where the husband suffered ill-health or had died, or had divorced or deserted the women, leaving dependent children.

These case studies were based on family histories. Such an approach, integrating the demographic and economic development of each member of the household as a totality, is able to isolate more clearly the impact of an economically stressed period on women. In such difficult times, the women adopt a series of strategies minimising household expenditure. When household incomes shrink, women, often as controllers of this income, are forced to cut back severely on education, food and other necessities, to the extent of affecting the health of babies. In extreme cases, infant mortality occurs. Households shrink to facilitate flexibility, particularly of food consumption and all other forms of expenditure. More members of the household are forced to work for an income, and this usually draws in the children who inevitably engage in informal sector types of work.

In their attempt to earn whatever income was possible, urban women were forced to take on whatever work it was possible to combine with child-minding and housework. Such income-generating activities are usually in the informal sector, to which these women with no capital requirements have easy entry. The activities can be classified into four groups. The first is manufacturing, usually involving piece-rate work ranging from jobs demanding little skill but which are tedious and repetitive, such as sticking together plastic flowers, putting plastic covers on diaries, sticking labels on

products, etc., to work with more skill such as tailoring. The second group covers a whole range of processing activities, especially foods, for example sorting out or grading dried fish, onions, etc. The third group concerns food production where women's skills in cooking or making cakes and other local tidbits and snacks are exploited. The fourth set of activities is selling services, usually in laundering and office/house cleaning.

3. Recovery and Response in the Semiconductor Industry

With the upturn in the electronics industry (which preceded that of the Malaysian economy) accompanied by other adjustments, the labour condition in the electronics factories started to take on a new complexion. Research (see Salih and Young 1988a; 1989) shows this had an important and far-reaching impact on female industrial labour. From 1983/84 onwards there has been a definite decline in the use of direct labour as a result of increasing automation and investment, particularly in the establishment of wafer fabrication plants. These changes have been impelled mainly by product and process technology innovation and by the shifting configurations of the market. They have in turn led to changes in labour conditions and in the labour market (see Salih et al., 1988; Salih and Young, 1989).

The effects on labour of technology deepening in the semiconductor industry in Malaysia - are reflected in increasing automation, backward integration (with the setting up of wafer fabrication plants), subcontracting, the incorporation of Just-in-Time (JIT) systems and customisation - have been considerable, particularly in terms of the twin practices of labour shedding and skill upgrading.

The changes which result from the growth in production and pace of technological advance are clearly reflected in the labour situation. This is important as over 80 per cent of the labour force are females. While the industry experienced both booms and slumps in response to structural and conjunctural adjustments in the world economy (Figure 14), there has been a definite trend towards decreasing the use of direct labour in the industry. The figure shows overall employment rising only slowly up to the early 1980s (despite rapid increases in production) and falling thereafter; the numbers of female production operators showed little trend at all during this period. The adjustments to capital deepening involve simultaneously several processes such as skill upgrading or reskilling, labour shedding and recontracting.

Labour reskilling and deskilling

During the first phase of the semiconductor industry in Malaysia, when TNCs had not invested much capital, there was need for large numbers of workers who had to be cheap and manageable. This meant that women were preferred, both for their manual dexterity and for their "docile" personalities, in the expectation that they would not resist long hours of monotonous and repetitive work on the assembly line. Little training was necessary as these tasks could be learnt in less than two weeks. The Malaysian Government actually wooed TNCs by highlighting in an advertisement, the "dextrous hands of the oriental female" and the docile and malleable personality of the Malaysian girls. No transferable skills were developed, although the girls did pick up a factory discipline which demanded a concept of time, regularity and reliability - the tenets of an industrial culture.

The research on these factory girls in the mid-1970s and early 1980s found them to be remarkably uniform in their characteristics (see for example: Lin, 1987; Lim, 1978; Ariffin, 1981; Salih et al., 1985; Daud 1985; Young and Salih, forthcoming; Tan, 1986). They were single, aged 16-24, with basic primary education, and holding their first job. These traits were similar to those of semiconductor workers in other Third World countries (see for example : Hancock, 1983; Eisold, 1982; Lim, 1980; Grossman, 1979; Herzog, 1980; Leung, 1986). In Malaysia they were mainly Malay girls from rural areas (Ariffin, 1981; Salih et al., 1985), a result mediating forces of the national and state governments with the owners of capital (see Salih and Young, 1987). To fulfil the two major prongs of the NEP[1] it was crucial for the Malaysian Government to increase the proportion of Malays in industry within urban areas.

Since the early 1980s the trend has been towards increasing investment in and the capitalisation of the semiconductor factories. A study by the UN Centre for Transnational Corporations (1986; 102-3) showed how the share of wages in total production costs continued to fall in the 1980s, reflecting the increasing capital intensity of the production process. Much of the former manual work of dicing, die-attaching, bonding, checking and testing is now automated and computerised. What had been a row of girls on one assembly line bonding through microscopes has been reduced to perhaps two girls manning several machines, each viewing the chips through television screens. The bonding process is now far more complicated, with more wires to attach as the chips become more sophisticated and in fact the chips themselves can no longer be made by hand, owing to miniaturisation and increasing complexity, as part of the very large-scale integration (VLSI) process.

An important consideration is whether there is skill upgrading among the production workers. According to management sources, such workers today require a maximum of one month's training. But unlike in the past, when they merely did repetitive tasks, today they may tend from eight to 30 machines. Often these machines work independently of the operatives, except when realignment is necessary. Nevertheless, they have to judge when a particular process is not done correctly (and this is in a context of "zero defects") and rectify it on the machines. In contrast to the workers in the first phase of the semiconductor industry, these ones control their own quality and have some concept of the final use of the products made. They are also capable of doing some simple programming. The companies now need girls who have completed at least basic secondary schooling because manual dexterity is increasingly being replaced with judgement qualities and sophistication in dealing with the machines. As a result, an increasing proportion of the labour force in the semiconductor industry is becoming more skilled.

Thus, while there are cases of deskilling as a result of automation, the same process also contributes to workers reskilling precisely because of the introduction of new machines, in line with the changing needs of the factory. As part of this rationalisation process supervisors are made redundant as the automated lines come directly under the supervision of the

---

[1] That is, to eradicate poverty (endemic in most rural areas where the Malay populace is located) and to eliminate the link between race, occupation and geographical location (most Malays were employed in the agricultural sector in rural areas).

engineers. As an example, National Semiconductor in Penang was expected to be fully automated by 1989, with mainframe control of wafer-cutting, bonding, moulding, and testing. The pilot-automated production line is in Santa Clara (see The Star, July 14, 1987), but discussions with management made it clear that the local input for this production line is quite extensive. The degree of local response has been suggested by Ernst (1987) as a reason why increasing automation does not necessarily lead TNCs to repatriate to industrialised countries. This form of automation allows greater centralisation of control, with emphasis on efficiency and streamlining of operations.

Generally, there is a change in the overall structure of employment by occupational and skill categories. There is a trend towards declining use of direct labour, and more absorption of skilled labour, especially of technicians and engineers. One result is that on a nation-wide basis the MAEI's total employment was expected to increase only marginally during 1987 (The Star, May 20, 1987). For example, one of the American captive semiconductor companies interviewed quoted direct labour as comprising 81 per cent of the company's labour force in 1976. By 1985 this had been reduced to 74 per cent. It is likely that the proportion of direct labour is lower for merchant producers because of their more competitive market and, consequently, higher automation.

The trend towards declining numbers of direct labour has important implications for female workers. First, fewer women will be involved; thus a major source of employment of female industrial workers in the last decade has gone. Secondly, the data shows that virtually all the skilled and technically advanced positions, such as those of technicians, tool and die makers, engineers, and others, are held by males. The critical question as to whether females are selected for technical training and promotion has been a sensitive one. The arguments of some of the personnel managers in these factories are the usual ones: that these girls are not career-oriented, they may leave after marriage, or at least after the arrival of the first child, and that on marriage they are obliged to follow their husbands, all pointing to their lack of permanence. However, these traditional, simplistic arguments have not taken into account that these girls are no longer fresh from school and have been in the workforce for over 10 years, may have married and even started families and yet have continued working. Even the argument that the female worker is less educated than her male counterpart does not hold true when an actual comparison is made.

Labour shedding practices

a) Temporary shut-downs, voluntary resignations and attrition

The short-term fluctuations in employment reflect various techniques used by firms to cut labour (Figure 14). One method is through compulsory shortening of working hours and days. Initially, staff are encouraged to take annual leave. When this is spent more drastic measures are employed, such as forced shut-down of plants for a few days per week. While some companies apply these measures to their lower level staff such as supervisors and operators, other firms do it across the board. It has been observed that when shut-downs are too frequent, some of the production workers are forced to resign and search for full-time jobs elsewhere because their take-home pay falls too low for survival in urban areas.

There have been cases where TNCs have used rather unscrupulous methods of labour shedding. For example, in one particular case in Penang, the company gave a "special offer" whereby workers were encouraged to resign voluntarily. They were then offered compensation if they resigned within the stipulated period, which was much less than that required in the official retrenchment benefits (Young Workers Education Project, 1983). To make sure that the "special offer" would be effective, workers were told that it was only valid for a limited number of days, and that if they were to leave or to become retrenched later, no such benefits would be available. The "special offer" was withdrawn after the required number of workers had resigned.

Temporary shut-downs in the name 'stock taking' have also been very common. While this helps the plant to tide over and adjust to short-term difficulties, it has severe repercussions on the income and subsistence of the women workers, who are paid only for the days they work. The more gradual process of labour shedding is in the form of natural attrition (as girls leave for various reasons, such as marriage, they are not replaced). Some companies in the Penang FTZ estimated a 10 per cent reduction in direct labour per annum as a result of this, a proportion also quoted by the Chairman of the MAEI (see The Star, May 20, 1987).

In addition to the shedding of labour by such means, managements periodically adopt job rationalisation schemes, in order to "reduce fat" as well as to streamline staff and line operations, thereby reducing labour costs. The tactic of job rationalisation involves the reduction of indirect labour (clerical, supervisory and even lower management workers), reassignment of workers, regrouping of line functions, and respecification of job descriptions. While these schemes may be necessary from the point of view of personnel management, they are often used as an excuse to get rid of older workers, who are considered less cost-effective.

b) Labour redeployment and subcontracting

The other effect on labour of the recession relates to the way companies adjust their labour deployment. Retrenchment is only the last solution, for most of these companies avoid it because of the bad publicity and image it creates, especially after the Mostek retrenchment exercise in 1986 which led production workers to picket the semiconductor industry for the first time (Lockhead, 1988). One practice which has emerged is job enlargement. To become more cost effective, workers now have to do more work, or a greater variety of jobs with a concomitant expansion of responsibilities. The number of shifts per day is now increased from three to four to cut down overtime, thus saving costs. There is also job rationalisation in terms of job conversion and downsizing, including redundancy strategies as workers are redeployed from less productive or superfluous work.

Certain types of work in the factory, such as cleaning, gardening, security, and the like, that is, work not directly related to the production process but formerly done by workers on the company's payroll, are increasingly being subcontracted. As a result the firm does not have to deal with associated labour difficulties, redundancy and possible efficiency problems, and the issue of hiring and firing workers is thus reduced to a contract between two companies.

Labour recontracting

An emerging phenomenon from these FTZ factories in Penang is that of recontracting labour (New Straits Times, December 30, 1986). This type of rationalisation was evident in the Business Conditions Survey (MIER 1987c) which showed hiring and firing of workers going on simultaneously among electronics companies. What this means is that after workers have been retrenched they are then rehired (when the need arises) on contract, for example for three months. The experience of the factory worker is not taken into account when she is re-employed, which means that from a wage of M$450 per month she may slip back to one of M$280. At the end of the three-month contract the firm has the flexibility of not signing another one with these workers if production orders do not warrant it. This eliminates all responsibility for redundancy and retrenchment compensation. Also the company need not provide the other allowances and benefits received by staff on its normal payroll. As a result of these activities, employment agencies, many illegal, have sprung up specialising in recontracting labour.

This form of exploitation is of some concern. Although the economy has picked up, many manufacturing companies which employ large numbers of women (textiles, electrical goods, timber and plastics) continue to exploit labour (The Star, June 12, 1989). The Employer's Association has said that such re-employment practices were within the law and that companies have to use them owing to the forecast of difficulties in longer-term performance. The Labour Department has responded by saying that a study of the recruitment methods used by the companies, their working conditions and benefits provided for workers, is now under way (The Star, June 13, 1989).

For the semiconductor companies, such practices can be linked to the use of JIT manufacturing processes where flexibility is of the utmost importance, and the objective of saving costs for the company by decreasing inventories and, in this case, by eliminating surplus workers easily. And, as mentioned earlier, inside the factory, JIT is part of the new strategy of flexible manufacturing (especially customisation) designed to cut down turnaround time, and therefore costs.

VI. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE CUTBACKS

1. Fiscal Policy and its Implications for Poverty Eradication

The dramatic rise in the Federal Government deficit in the early eighties, and in debt-servicing, had forced the Government to reconsider its spending targets for the latter half of the decade. Indeed, the looming fiscal crisis, presaged by the world economic slow-down and the foreign exchange implications of the ambitious development plans of the off-budget agencies, had led the Government in October 1983 to announce a three-year deficit reduction plan when proposing the 1984 Budget in Parliament. This involved an immediate cutback in operating expenditure and the reordering of the development budget priorities. Along with the Government hiring freeze, the most drastic cuts in current spending were in the Federal subsidy programmes, particularly in the subsidy on petroleum products (Table 31). The development budget allocation for the Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981-1985 (Government of Malaysia, 1981) were however increased, and moves to reorder priorities initiated towards the end of the plan period were too late to have any effect on the foreign debt raised to finance part of it (Table 32). The

onset of recession in 1985 made drastic cutbacks in development expenditure imperative for the following Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986-1990 (Government of Malaysia, 1986). The original allocation was reduced from M$71 billion to M$47 billion, through the shelving of a number of major projects. In 1986 a proposal was introduced to balance the current account budget by 1989, but the development budget was revised upwards to M$56 billion as part of the national recovery plan. Details of Government cutbacks for this period are given in Table 33 for the operating budget and in Table 34 for the development budget. Latest figures indicate that a modest Federal Government surplus was achieved in 1988, a year ahead of schedule (Ministry of Finance, Malaysia, 1988).

The impact on the poor as a result of these fiscal measures does not in general appear to be unfavourable, or at least the data are not sensitive enough to attribute any adverse effect to them. More pertinently, the gender-related dimension of the fiscal effect on poverty is not obvious. A Government report mentioned that the incidence of poverty rose from 24 per cent to 28 per cent in 1984 (Malaysia, Socio-Economic Research Unit). The difference between these and subsequent figures on poverty given by the Economic Planning Unit has not been satisfactorily resolved (see Government of Malaysia, 1986). But the rise in the incidence of poverty in 1984 could be attributed to falling commodity prices, at least for rural areas. It could be expected that the cutback of the subsidy on petroleum products, especially as it affects cooking oil, would have had some impact on the poor, and by imputation on women among poor households. Overall, the cuts in allocations for health and other social programmes, including rural development, have not been significant enough to cause a deterioration of the poverty level of women. The more significant impact is really in the rising unemployment among women, as we have seen above, and through this, on the income earning capacity of poor households during the recession and after.

2. Female Participation in the Government Sector

Difficulties in data[1] restrict the coverage of this section to the development of female employment in the Government sector during the eighties, although important changes began as early as the sixties.

Table 35 shows that Government staff grew at an average annual rate of 5.3 per cent from 1980 to 1987. Females made up less than one-third of the total - 27 per cent in 1980 and 31 per cent in 1987. Their growth has therefore been higher than that of males (Table 36 and Figure 11). Owing to the expansion launched by the Government in 1979, the number of civil servants had increased considerably in the early eighties. The expansion in the employment of females was nearly 3 percentage points above that of males between 1981 and 1986. The growth of female civil servants peaked in 1982 at 22.4 per cent and showed less than 1 per cent in 1987 due mainly to the recession which set in during 1984/85.

---

[1] The data used in this section are from the Central Staff Records of the Public Services Department. Established in 1977, the Central Staff Records only started collecting and computerising their data in 1980. Prior to that, such data were collected by the Ministry of Labour. Unfortunately, the classifications used by the two departments are not comparable.

As in the majority of countries, most females tend to be employed in the lower echelons of the occupational structure. Thus the increased participation of women in the public sector is not well distributed across the four divisional categories or salary groups of the government service (see Table 37 and Figure 12). Most are in Group C (which requires the Malaysian Certificate of Education and includes clerks, stenographers and technicians etc) and Group D (with lower educational levels and including manual workers). The main types of position occupied by women in Group C are as primary school teachers, nurses, stenographers, typists, and clerks, while women in Group D are mostly general workers such as cleaners. In 1980, these two categories made up 86 per cent of the total number of females employed, and 84 per cent in 1987.

The proportion of women in Group A (officers with a university degree and in posts mainly in the administrative and professional services) is growing slowly (from 7.2 per cent in 1980 to 8.9 per cent in 1987) as it is in Group B (from 6.5 per cent in 1980 to 7.0 per cent in 1987), where a diploma or Higher School Certificate is required. Overall, although the government sector has nearly one-third of female workers, nearly two-thirds of them are in the two lowest categories.

A comparison of the annual growth of employment of males and females within the salary groups in the eighties is shown in Table 38. That of females is higher than of males in each of the four groups. However, the proportion of females in each group remains relatively low, as indicated in Table 39. Thus while the proportion of females in Group A grew by 3 per cent in the eighties, that of males grew by 5 per cent. Again, although most of the females are concentrated in Group C (mainly as lower-level clerks) and, as is shown in Table 40 and Figure 12, the female/male ratio remained higher in this Group, their percentage was still only 14 in 1987.

To illustrate further the point that females tend to cluster in specific occupations, even in higher-level categories, Table 41 shows the distribution of selected positions held by female officers in Division I. Since the late sixties, most of them have been employed in the Medical and Health Service, Social Welfare, the National Archives and the Educational Service. This pattern is not too different from that in the other developing countries. It is explained by women's predominance as nurses, social workers and librarians and in the lower echelons of the teaching profession. From 1978 to 1988 there was a conspicuous increase in the number of women employed in the Department of Inland Revenue, where the female proportion rose from 24.8 per cent to 48.1 per cent, probably as a result of the rapid increase in petty administrative workers. The same pattern can be discerned in the Department of Statistics. Female participation in prestigious departments such as the Administrative and Diplomatic Service and the Ministry of Defence has remained low and without significant changes since the sixties.

What is important here in relation to structural adjustment is the impact of the freeze on government jobs in 1983 as a result of the recession and in response to a rapidly growing fiscal deficit. Unlike the private sector, and particularly the textiles and electronics industries where there were massive retrenchments, the Government did not retrench. Instead, it cut back on recruitment mainly in Groups C and D, where most females are found. Moreover, intake by the education and health services, deemed vital, continued to expand, albeit slowly. The growth of these two sectors, where most females

are concentrated, has therefore benefited women. There was also a freeze on salaries in the higher paid groups which consist mostly of males. With the economic recovery in 1987 and 1988, the Government readjusted civil servant salaries. The lower paid groups, where most of the females are located, got proportionately bigger increases owing to action by their unions.

3. Graduate Unemployment

A problem which gained much attention during the recession was graduate unemployment. While this is not an unusual phenomenon in Third World countries, it was new for Malaysia. This section briefly discusses the supply side of the problem, examining how many female graduates are involved and how they differ from their male counterparts. The demand side of the problem, the nature of employers requests' for graduates and the bias against employing women, is touched on at the end of the section.

The data were extracted from a sample of 6000 graduates and diploma-holders (also referred to as graduates) who had registered with the National Clearing House for Graduate and Skilled Employment (NCHGSE). This was set up in August 1988 to match the specifications of graduates with those of employers and to gather information for research on this segment of the labour force. While the sample may not be representative of unemployed graduates in the country as a whole (registering with the NCHGSE is not mandatory), it does provide some useful indicators.

Graduate unemployment is mainly the result of three factors. First, owing to the economic slow-down which forced the Government to freeze positions in 1983, many graduates (including government-sponsored ones) were thrown onto the job market. And government is a major employer: between 1980 and 1983 as many as one-third of all graduates recruited were employed by the Government (Sivananthiran, 1987:3). Secondly, the private sector not only cut back drastically on hiring but the employers were actively retrenching, thus putting more graduates into the pool of the unemployed. Thirdly, there may also have been an over-production of graduates. This may be viewed in three ways.

Because higher education has a very high premium in the country (partly the legacy of a colonial mentality and its obsession with white-collared jobs), Malaysians have tended to equate higher education with better jobs. The experience of the boom years, with the massive expansion of the public and private sectors, merely reinforced this belief.

The oversupply is also partly the result of education and skill mismatch. In other words, graduates are being produced which do not meet the market needs. For example, the supply of those with generalised social science degrees, pure science degrees, and administrative and civil engineering qualifications bears no relationship to the demand for skilled industrial workers such as tool and die-makers and specialised professions such as electronics and mechanical engineers.

Of the graduates in the sample, 47 per cent were females. Female registrants tend to be marginally younger than males, 18 per cent between 20 and 23 years compared with 16 per cent among males. Of the three ethnic groups the Malays have the highest proportion in this age group, about 18 per cent compared to less than 15 per cent among Chinese and Indians.

Three-quarters of the registrants are from the four local institutions, with another 15 per cent from institutions in the United States. More females are educated overseas than locally. And of the different races, disproportionately more Malay girls have been educated in foreign institutions. It is generally believed that females at universities, tend to read languages, literature, history, education, etc, compared to the male preference for sciences and practical subjects. This belief is not borne out in the sample, however. There are disproportionately more females in computer science, economics, finance, accounting, mathematics and statistics, and fairly large numbers in engineering, applied sciences, and agri-business, traditionally the bastions of male occupations. Yet many of the females in these disciplines are not absorbed owing to employers' biases. They thus remain unemployed. Further evidence of this is given in the discussion of employers' requests at the end of the section.

More males (56 per cent) than females have scholarships. Most of the scholarships (77 per cent) were government ones from JPA (Public Services Department). More males than females received higher valued scholarships.

A larger proportion of males (56 per cent) than females are given loans. Nearly 50 per cent of these loans are from MARA (a government trust agency), but only 38 per cent of them have been made to females. More males than females have received loans from the most valuable category (M$16,000 - 95,000).

Reflecting the general problem females face in getting work, a larger proportion of males have had at least two or three jobs before their current one. Again, similar to the national pattern, the Malays of both sexes have the highest proportions of graduates having held only one job. Male registrants within the three ethnic groups have had more working experience than have females, even though they are in the same age groups. This may imply that males find it easier to get placed, or at least to be given the offer of a first job.

Analysing the current jobs held by registrants, equal proportions (about 26 per cent) of males and females are management trainees. These are temporary jobs offered by big companies in an attempt to ease the graduate unemployment problem. The graduates are taken in at a low salary and given a chance to gain some 'hands-on' experience so that they become more employable when they return to the job market at the end of their training. However, if the other jobs are examined, the usual differences in the comparative occupational structures of males and females emerge.

More of the females (31 per cent) are in temporary and part-time work than are the males (23 per cent) and most of these are in clerical, production work, sales and teaching, the same types of job as in the national occupational structure. Females appears to be less selective than males about seeking higher level jobs. While 28 per cent of the males want a professional or technical job, only 19 per cent of the females do so. More females than males prefer administration, clerical and teaching positions.

Women are known to be less spatially mobile than men. This holds true in the sample as 70 per cent of the females are prepared to work anywhere in the country, compared with 86 per cent of males. The Chinese girls are the most adventurous, 57 per cent being prepared to work anywhere compared with 30

per cent and 35 per cent, respectively, of the Malay and Indian females. The reasons for this reluctance to take up a job anywhere for both sexes are related to family commitments including the need to look after old parents and to live not too far from home. As expected, most married females cannot leave their family to work in other parts of the country.

That women find difficulty in getting work, as evident at the macro-level in higher unemployment rates, is also demonstrated on the demand side when employers make requests for graduates from the NCHGSE. Of 245 such requests, only 9 per cent asked for females, compared with 32 per cent asking for males (the rest had no preference). As regards actual vacancies, only 4 per cent were for female positions compared to 28 per cent for males (68 per cent were for either sex). Women were wanted only in business services, insurance and finance, where they are popular as sales agents, or in administration and teaching. As expected, males are well distributed in all the industries; although predominant in the business services, insurance and finance sector, they were also wanted as banking officials.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES

1. The need for Gender-Sensitive Data

The inherent problem faced in this study is the inadequacy of data. Broadly, there are two aspects to this problem. First is the paucity of information. This is especially acute in areas pertaining to female involvement in the development process, the political arena, the business sector and in the informal sector including the 'putting-out system'. Without such basic material it is not surprising that time-series data sensitive enough to pick out the real impact of structural adjustments on women are not being prepared. Such longitudinal data must cover a long enough period to be meaningfully analysed, thus separating the effects of structural adjustment policies from development change. In other words, one should be able to study cycles in the economy and how global as well as national adjustments affect women in both the short and the long term. Such a study calls for an integrated analysis of a multi-level nature, separating the different forces at the international, national, regional and local levels.

Second is the problem of the limitations of the data that are available. Most of the data pertaining to economic activities and ownership of business enterprises, for example, are not differentiated by sex, rendering them useless in a study which is female-specific. This is particularly true of published government statistics, including those from the Department of Statistics which, among its other activities, is responsible for the national census. Ironically, perhaps more than any other discipline, demography has always included the sex-component (principally owing to its inherent interest in fertility issues where inevitably the sex variable is crucial), yet published census data are not sex specific. Often such tabulations have not been run, and even if they have, it has meant laborious extracting from reams of computer printouts. This highlights a critical issue applicable in most Third World countries: namely, that there is little concern for studies on women.

Even when the data are sex-specific, a host of other problems emerge. The classifications of the groups may be too general to make the analysis meaningful. For example, some of the occupational categories are so

broad that only a limited analysis can be done. Or, as in the case of wage surveys, some surveys only cover Peninsular Malaysia, leaving out East Malaysia, and thus are not nationally based. Where time-series data have been available they are often of too short a period to indicate a meaningful trend and they often leave out the seventies - an important period in Malaysia's development. Then, to aggravate matters, where longer time series data have been available, they are not differentiated by sex.

In the use of time-series data, a recurrent problem has been the changing of classifications, making comparisons extremely difficult, if not totally inappropriate. This occurred in the classifications of economic activities by the 1970 and 1980 Censuses and by the Labour Force Surveys of the eighties.

It is obvious that gender-specific data need to be collected, compiled and analysed more assiduously by the statistical authorities. The various agencies should also co-ordinate their data collection and standardise definitions for meaningful analyses of issues concerning women in structural adjustment.

2. Incorporating Women in National Development Strategies

The formulation of gender-sensitive development strategies to support the various roles and status of women in Malaysia's economy is related to the nexus of policies and programmes on employment, poverty eradication, technology development and the formulation of economic policy for the nineties. An opportunity to incorporate the perspective of women, in particular to enhance their economic status, exists in the studies now being carried out to draw up the national human resource development plan, the industrial technology development plan, and the small- and medium-scale industry masterplan, as well as in the work of the National Economic Consultative Council responsible for the formulation of the Post-1990 National Economic Policy. The implementation of the Industrial Master Plan (IMP), which aims to promote Malaysia's new industrial drive, needs some reformulation and fine-tuning that can accommodate some inputs relating to women's interests. The initiative to formulate a National Policy on Women should take cognizance of these developments. An effective lobby has to be established to inject greater sensitivity concerning the economic and social status of women in these new policy initiatives.

One of the strategies being proposed for the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-2000) as part of the Post-1990 National Economic Policy is for the revitalisation of agriculture and rural development. This is aimed at reducing the disguised or under-employment in the rural sector, checking the flow of rural-urban migration which has exerted great pressure on the urban labour market, and enhancing the living standards of the rural population . The direct impact of agricultural modernisation programmes on the position of women in agriculture is obvious. This is relevant for women workers not only in traditional and smallholder agriculture but in the plantations where they are also heavily represented.

The rural development programmes for providing basic infrastructure and other services can help to enhance the standard of living of rural households and to provide employment for the rural population. They will also need to stress expanding opportunities for increasing the sources of off-farm

incomes through rural small-scale industry. The fuller utilisation of female labour time will enhance family incomes. It has also been pointed out that the major beneficiaries of an existing rural credit scheme for the poor - Project Ikhtiar which is modelled on the Bangladeshi Grameen Bank - are women (Kassim, personal communication) and it has been found that the rate of repayment by women is far higher than by men. Strategies for poverty eradication through "last person first" programmes should increasingly focus on the role of women in the household economy.

A second strategy for the Sixth Malaysia Plan calls for the acceleration of industrialisation based on the IMP, giving greater emphasis on small- and medium-scale industries (SMIs). Besides contributing to employment growth, this strategy also lays the basis for the economic restructuring needed to raise Malaysia to a level of industrial development comparable to that of the Asian NICs. It also aims to promote entrepreneurship and accelerate economic growth through the deregulation of SMIs. Economic liberalisation, as part of Malaysia's adjustment strategy since the recession of 1985, has so far been carried out cautiously, but most evidently in promoting export-oriented manufacturing.

The strategy additionally calls for the acceleration of the flow of foreign investment, particularly in SMIs. This has been facilitated by the increasing wish of enterprises in Japan and the Asian NICs to relocate in ASEAN countries in the face of the rapid appreciation of the yen and the currencies of the Asian NICs. The spurt of foreign investment since 1987 has attested to the success of the move to relax Malaysia's foreign investment code and the active investment promotion programme of the Federal and State Governments, and will be further enhanced by the corporate tax reductions introduced in the 1989 Budget. These have contributed to the reabsorption of many of the female factory workers affected by the 1983/84 retrenchments. But, as a case study has shown, the recontracting of labour in the electronics sector and the practice of contract labour in other sectors (The Star, June 13 1989) are worrying developments as they tend to affect more women workers adversely. The question of greater employment security, especially in the new manufacturing industries, is an important issue for women in Malaysia.

A third strategy of human resource development is closely linked to the strategy of industrial restructuring. This aims to reduce skills mismatch, which will become more serious with industrial restructuring, especially as associated with the main problem of graduate unemployment, that of the skills gap, and with the lack of trained manpower at the technical and supervisory level. There are proposals for the development of a Skills Development Fund, for tax incentives to promote in-service training within industry, and for the establishment of new industrial, technical and vocational training centres. There is a tendency for a sex selectivity that is biassed against the increased participation of women in these training schemes, which aggravates the labour-shedding practices due to technology upgrading, as well as the possible displacement due to office automation, which is already apparent in some firms and industries. Thus a more gender-sensitive technology development policy has to be devised and faithfully implemented to counteract this bias.

A fourth strategy is that of promoting privatisation and rolling back the public sector, aimed at the enhancement of economic growth by fostering private sector investment to generate revenue and ease the financial burden of

Government. With privatisation, the Government will now have the opportunity to raise cash and ease its budget deficit without resorting to increased taxes or external loans. It is envisaged that privatisation will increase the efficiency of the previously government-owned corporations and have long-term impacts on labour transformation, despite any negative adjustments in labour which may be experienced in the short term. It is not clear however how privatisation will affect the economic position of women. But to the extent that it leads to retrenchment of workers in the privatised entities, the impact on women is likely to be at least as bad as on their male counterparts. This question has to be monitored on a case-by-case basis.

All these strategies, and the other structural adjustment policies discussed earlier, are aimed at putting the economy on a sound footing to help solve the industrialisation and employment problem Malaysia faces over the next ten years or so. The possibility that these policies may affect the economic position of women adversely cannot be ruled out if attempts are not made to take account of them directly in the formulation stage and to monitor them continuously over the period of implementation.

3. Women in the New Economic Policy after 1990

The post-1990 economic policy is being debated within Government and in the National Economic Consultative Committee. The final shape of the policy will not be known until 1990. But certain elements of the present NEP, established in 1970, are likely to be emphasised.

There are at least two schools of thought on what the future policy should be. The first considers that the country's economic performance has prevented attainment of the 1970 NEP's distribution objective, which was predicated on accelerated economic growth, and therefore would like to see a continuation of the present policy beyond 1990 until the poverty eradication and social restructuring goals are achieved. The second school insists that the NEP should be replaced in 1990 by a new policy which seeks to promote growth as the primary goal, with all its attendant policy adjustments, and with redistribution taking a back seat.

The debate ranges between these two schools of thought. Present indications and statements, notably the Prime Minister's opening address at the 1988 MIER National Outlook Conference, make it clear that elements of the 1970 NEP will continue in the post-1990 policy. The new emphasis, even new elements, will have to take account of the shortfalls in existing policy targets, and to the changed conditions of the nineties. In the final analysis, the controversy on the post-1990 economic policy will have to be solved in political terms through a process of consultation to arrive at a new social contract between the ethnic groups. In this way the 1990 NEP will provide a policy framework within which economic development strategies will have to be designed to fulfil the nation's goals.

The incorporation of women's issues in the post-1990 economic policy is crucial in the Malaysian context, as that policy will define and determine the various strategies which will be implemented for at least the next decade. Besides incorporating women's interests in the long-term development plan, as indicated in the discussion of those strategies, the case for women needs to be spelt out more clearly and definitively in the NEP.

4. Gender-Sensitive Strategies to Ameliorate any Adverse Impacts of Structural Adjustment

It is clear from the above discussion that a number of priority actions should be taken over the next decade to protect the interests of women in the planning, design and implementation of structural adjustment policies and to ensure their fair treatment. These are listed below:

1. There is an urgent need to establish a data base on women in order to analyse and monitor the effects of structural adjustment policies and to provide the basis for incorporating women in planning Malaysia's future development. This is particularly important for research, planning and monitoring activities in areas where women are most vulnerable to the adverse effects of structural adjustment policies. This vulnerability may be due to the critical role they play as producer, consumer or reproducer.

2. One crucial area is women in poverty groups. While data concerning the position of women among the poor are not available, it is safe to infer that, since poverty is mainly a household phenomenon, women will be well represented among the poverty groups. Poverty is still a major problem affecting some 18 per cent of total households in Malaysia in 1987. Thus it is imperative to monitor the impact of structural adjustment policies on the poor. Women among the rural poor are adversely affected by falling commodity prices and, along with those in urban areas, doubly so from cutbacks in government development expenditure and transfers such as subsidies and income maintenance schemes.

3. Another priority area, especially in a period of rapid industrialisation and changing labour conditions, is that women in factories be given special attention. Their problems came to a head during the retrenchments of 1983/84, but subsequent developments bear close watch. In particular, issues of labour education, the position of women in labour unions, and the problem of marginalisation of women workers on the shop floor as a result of technology conversion, add a new dimension of discrimination against women in the labour market. It is important that labour unions, including in-house unions, should have special programmes to lobby management and government to pay greater attention to this problem, especially in training and retraining schemes but also in wage compensation and benefits.

4. Rapid industrialisation in the seventies resulted in the relative decline of traditional agriculture, while the recession of the mid-eighties probably expanded the urban informal sector. Women are strongly represented in both sectors as agricultural and home-based workers. The promotion of income-generating activities is a priority issue in the longer-term adjustment programmes and policies of Government. A community-oriented approach would also complement the policy adjustments needed to cater to the needs of this segment of female labour.

5. Social welfare programmes are often affected by Government austerity measures to offset deficits. Women are particularly at risk when

such actions involve maternal and child health, and care must be taken to ensure this does not occur. (Fortunately, this item of social spending was not greatly affected by the budget-balancing programme of the Government in the recession.)

6. Another important impact on women is that of technology development. Rapid changes are occurring in the electronics and textile industries as Malaysia's export-oriented enterprises adopt high technology production methods, and other Malaysian manufacturers introduce more efficient techniques. These issues have to be properly treated in the Industrial Technology Master Plan.

7. There is also an urgent need to mobilise women's groups into an effective lobby so as to incorporate more gender-sensitive policies and programmes into the adjustment process and the longer-term development policy. As the Sixth Malaysia Plan is being prepared, and the National Economic Consultative council is deliberating on the post-1990 economic policy, effective representation of women's interests is crucial.

VIII. CONCLUSION

This paper has looked at the adoption of structural adjustment policies in the short term as well as the long term, and tried to separate out the different impacts on women in Malaysia. The task was hampered by the lack of gender-specific data readily available from official sources. Where possible the study has attempted to supplement the available statistics with findings from case studies and special research reports.

Based on the data available, the impact on women of structural adjustment policies in Malaysia has not, on the whole, been unfavourable except in terms of over employment. The need to reduce the fiscal deficit forced the Government to resist the temptation of "pump-priming" the economy in order to reduce unemployment, especially during the 1985 recession. However, the persistence of unemployment among women is aggravated by other Government policies such as the heavy industrialisation programme which had, in the first place, contributed to the rising external debt and, consequently, to the overall fiscal imbalance.

Structural adjustment policies have not yet run their full course as the Government has announced plans to continue to rollback the public sector and liberalise the economy in order to promote a larger role for the private sector. The recovery of the Malaysian economy since 1986 has been remarkable, due not only to the better performance of traditional commodity and manufactured exports, but also to the adjustment policies themselves. Thus, the unemployment rate was beginning to decline towards the end of 1988, and private investment, especially direct foreign investment, has started to create jobs in the manufacturing sector.

In spite of this, the Government's commitment to longer-term economic restructuring under the post-1990 policy is likely to continue to impact on different segments of the female population. Hence the need to insist on continued and greater sensitivity to the potential consequences which these adjustment policies may have for women in Malaysia.

Table 1
GDP BY INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN, 1981-88
(M$ million and percentages)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Agriculture	10,684	11,375	11,302	11,623	11,914	12,389	13,311	13,790
(% of total)	22.44	22.56	21.09	20.13	20.85	21.41	21.88	21.11
Mining	4,289	4,617	5,342	6,073	5,985	6,433	6,442	6,944
(% of total)	9.01	9.16	9.97	10.52	10.47	11.12	10.59	10.63
Manufacturing	9,155	9,668	10,429	11,711	11,263	12,111	13,663	15,781
(% of total)	19.23	19.17	19.46	20.28	19.71	20.93	22.46	24.15
Construction	2,367	2,598	2,867	2,988	2,738	2,355	2,077	2,098
(% of total)	4.97	5.15	5.35	5.17	4.79	4.07	3.41	3.21
Wholesale and retail	5,694	6,104	6,583	7,107	6,911	6,147	6,423	6,905
(% of total)	11.96	12.10	12.29	12.31	12.09	10.62	10.56	10.57
Government services	5,649	6,027	6,328	6,817	6,957	7,253	7,543	7,845
(% of total)	11.87	11.95	11.81	11.81	12.17	12.54	12.40	12.01
Growth rates (%)								
Agriculture	4.9	6.5	-0.6	2.8	2.5	4	7.4	3.6
Mining	-4.4	7.6	15.7	13.7	-1.4	7.5	0.1	7.8
Manufacturing	4.7	5.6	7.9	12.3	-3.8	7.5	12.8	15.5
Construction	14.6	9.8	10.4	4.2	-8.4	-14	-11.8	1
Wholesale and retail	5.8	7.2	7.8	8	-2.8	-11.1	4.5	7.5
Government services	23.8	6.7	5	7.7	2.1	4.3	4	4

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 2
NATIONAL ACCOUNTS, 1981-88
(M$ million and percentages)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Real GDP by demand aggregates ($ million)								
Domestic demand	50,422	54,328	57,003	59,355	55,342	49,721	51,519	56,810
Private sector	34,772	35,410	36,326	39,528	38,791	34,314	35,328	38,447
(as % of GDP)	73.05	70.22	67.80	68.46	67.88	59.31	58.06	58.84
Consumption	25,686	26,531	27,376	29,142	29,299	26,369	27,055	28,960
Investment	9,086	8,879	8,950	10,386	9,492	7,945	8,273	9,487
Public sector	16,148	18,440	20,232	18,875	17,813	16,192	15,357	16,501
(as % of GDP)	33.92	36.57	37.76	32.69	31.17	27.99	25.24	25.25
Consumption	8,784	9,552	9,989	9,500	9,417	9,536	9,676	9,926
Investment	7,364	8,888	10,243	9,375	8,396	6,656	5,681	6,575
% of Private to total investment	55.23	49.97	46.63	52.56	53.06	54.41	59.29	59.06
Ratio of total private to public	2.15	1.92	1.80	2.09	2.18	2.12	2.30	2.33
External demand (net)	-2,820	-3,898	-3,421	-1,614	1,808	8,138	9,327	8,528
Real GDP	47,602	50,430	53,582	57,741	57,150	57,859	60,846	65,338
Growth rate (%)								
Private sector								
Consumption	5.10	3.30	3.20	6.50	0.50	-10.00	2.60	7.00
Investment	4.10	-2.30	0.80	16.00	-8.60	-16.30	4.10	14.70
Public sector								
Consumption	13.30	8.70	4.60	-4.90	-0.90	1.30	1.50	2.60
Investment	41.50	20.70	15.20	-8.50	-10.40	-20.70	-14.60	15.70
External sector								
Exports	-0.80	10.70	12.30	13.80	0.40	17.80	10.00	15.50
Imports	5.60	13.80	9.00	6.50	-9.80	-2.20	8.80	22.60
Real GDP	6.90	5.90	6.30	7.80	-1.00	1.20	5.20	7.40

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 3

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1981-88

(M$ million)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Revenue	1,5806	16,690	18,608	20,805	21,114	19,518	18,143	21,448
Current expenditure	15,686	16,672	18,374	19,806	20,066	20,075	20,185	21,340
Current account deficit	120	18	234	999	1,048	-557	-2,042	108
Development expenditure	11,135	11,189	9,416	8,074	6,756	6,949	4,111	5,521
Overall deficit	-11,015	-11,171	-9,182	-7,075	-5,708	-7,506	-6,153	-5,413
External borrowing	3,419	4,894	4,569	3,093	956	1,348	-2,438	-2,773
Domestic borrowing	4,072	6,047	4,502	3,156	3,591	4,930	8,701	6,925
Change in assets	3,524	230	111	826	1,161	1,228	-110	1,261
As a percentage of GNP								
Revenue	28.43	27.96	28.40	28.05	29.31	29.41	24.08	26.32
Current expenditure	28.21	27.93	28.04	26.70	27.85	30.25	26.79	26.19
Current account deficit	0.22	0.03	0.36	1.35	1.45	-0.84	-2.71	0.13
Development expenditure	20.03	18.75	14.37	10.88	9.38	10.47	5.46	6.78
Overall deficit	19.81	18.72	14.01	9.54	7.92	11.31	8.17	6.64

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 4
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, EXTERNAL DEBT, SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT, 1981-88
(M$ million and percentages)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Balance of Payments ($ million)								
Trade balance	-243	-1,758	1,002	6,986	8,883	8,781	14,830	13,878
Exports	26,900	27,946	31,762	38,452	37,576	35,373	44,612	53,878
Imports	27,143	29,704	30,760	31,466	28,693	26,592	29,782	40,000
Net services and transfers	-5,390	-6,651	-9,119	-10,903	-10,405	-8,988	-8,725	-10,751
Current account balance	-5,633	-8,409	-8,117	-3,917	-1,522	-207	6,105	3,127
Capital account balance	5,931	8,432	9,210	6,560	4,229	3,384	-1,060	-696
Overall balance	-1,093	-614	-55	312	3,209	4,345	2,893	978
External debt								
Foreign debt ($ million)	15,368	24,283	31,815	37,245	42,307	50,714	50,855	46,702
Foreign debt/GNP	27.64	40.68	48.55	50.21	58.73	76.42	67.50	57.4
National debt service ratio	7.1	9.3	9.8	11.8	15.8	18	14.8	16.2
Savings and investment gap ($ million)								
Gross national savings	14,524	14,929	18,349	22,780	19,845	17,770	25,491	27,359
Gross capital formation	20,157	23,338	26,466	26,697	21,367	17,977	19,386	24,232
Savings/investment gap	-5,633	-8,409	-8,117	-3,917	-1,522	-207	6,105	3,127

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 5

DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT, 1970-88

(percentages)

Year	Growth/Decline	Remarks
1970	Base year	Continuous growth from 1970 to 1974.
1971	+ 6.6	Appeared that introduciton of NEP was not
1972	+ 4.6	much of a deterrent for foreign investors.
1973	+ 31.3	
1974	+ 219.5	
1975	- 37.5	DFI declined following enforecment of ICA.
1976	+ 15.5	After initial uncertainty of ICA and
1977	+ 3.0	several amendments, DFI improved strongly
1978	+ 15.9	again in spite of NEP and ICA.
1979	+ 8.4	
1980	+ 62.0	
1981	+ 43.3	
1982	+ 12.0	
1983	- 10.3	DFI declined
1984	- 36.9	Reasons - NEP? ICA? Recession?
1985	- 9.0	Competition/Recession
1986	- 25.8	Recession/Uncertainty/Competition
1987	+ 14.9	Recovery
1988*	+ 25.2	Return of Investment Boom

*Estimates and projections by Ministry of Finance.

Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

Table 6
PRICES, EXCHANGE RATE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1981-88

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Consumers' price index (1978=100)	109.7	116.1	120.4	125.1	125.5	126.4	127.8	131.2
% change	9.7	5.8	3.7	3.9	0.3	0.7	1.1	2.7
Producers' price index (1978=100)	127	123.9	126.6	131	128.2	120.3	124.7	132*
% change	3.8	-2.4	2.2	3.5	-2.1	-6.2	7.6	7.1
Exchange rate (MS/US$)	2.3033	2.335	2.3208	2.3433	2.4824	2.5808	2.519	
Unemployment rate (%)	5.0	4.7	5.6	6.3	7.6	8.5	9.1	9.4

* Jan.-July 1988

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 7

LABOUR FORCE, EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT TARGETS, MALAYSIAN PLANS 1961-90

(percentages)

Malaysia Plan	Labour force growth target	Employment growth target	Unemployment rate at end of plan Period Target	Actual
Second Five-Year Malaya Plan 1961-65	340,000*	340,000*	n.a.	n.a.
First Malaysia Plan 1966-70	14.3	15.0	4.3	7.3
Second Malaysia Plan 1971-75	17.1	17.1	7.3	7.0
Third Malaysia Plan 1976-80	17.7	18.9	6.1	5.3
Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-85	16.3	16.9	4.9	7.6
Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986-90	14.9	11.8	10.1	n.a.

* Labour force and employment targets were estimated in absolute figures.
n.a. - not available.

Source: Malaysian Plans, various issues.

Table 8
SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT, 1970-88

	1970		1975		1980		1985		1988	
	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)
Primary Sector	**1,863**	**55.7**	**2,003**	**49.8**	**1,991**	**41.4**	**1,964**	**35.9**	**2,112**	**36.3**
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	1,776	53.1	1,915	47.6	1,911	39.7	1,903	34.8	2,056	35.3
Mining	87	2.6	88	2.2	80	1.7	61	1.1	56	1.0
Secondary Sector	**392**	**11.7**	**608**	**15.1**	**1,056**	**21.2**	**1,207**	**22.0**	**1,201**	**20.6**
Manufacturing	301	9.0	448	11.1	786	15.6	828	15.1	845	14.5
Construction	91	2.7	160	4.0	270	5.6	379	6.9	356	6.1
Service Sector	**687**	**20.6**	**890**	**22.1**	**1,111**	**23.1**	**1,479**	**27.0**	**1,655**	**28.4**
Transport and communication	133	4.0	181	4.5	210	4.1	265	4.8	279	4.8
Commerce	554	16.6	709	17.6	901	19.0	1,214	22.2	1,376	23.6
Government services	398	12.0	520	13.0	658	14.4	820	15.0	852	14.6
Total employment	3,340		4,021		4,816		5,470		5,820	
Labour force	3,610		4,320		5,109		5,917		6,425	
Unemployment		7.5		6.9		5.7		7.6		9.4

Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

Table 9
AVERAGE GROWTH OF SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT, 1970-88
(percentages)

	1970-80	1980-85	1985-88
Primary Sector	0.7	-0.3	2.5
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.7	-0.1	2.6
Mining	-0.8	-5.3	-2.8
Secondary Sector	10.0	2.7	-0.2
Manufacturing	9.6	1.0	0.7
Construction	11.4	7.0	-2.1
Services Sector	5.0	5.9	3.8
Transport and communication	4.1	4.8	1.7
Commerce	5.1	6.1	4.3
Government services	5.7	4.5	1.3
Total employed	3.7	2.6	2.1

Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

TABLE 10
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES AGED 10 YEARS AND OVER IN THE 'EXPERIENCED' LABOUR FORCE BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, 1970 AND 1980

Industry	1970		1980	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	33,594	31.6	722,689	47.6
Agriculture products requiring substantial processing	325,691	29.8	n.a.	n.a.
Mining and quarrying	7,185	0.7	6,011	0.4
Manufacturing	77,634	7.3	238,920	15.7
Construction	4,841	0.5	29,715	2
Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	1,207	0.1	n.a.	n.a.
Commerce	55,363	5.2	n.a.	n.a.
Transport, storage and communication	4,834	0.5	10,064	0.4
Services	157,023	14.5	n.a.	n.a.
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	n.a.	n.a.	187,730	12.4
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	n.a.	n.a.	23,620	1.6
Community social and personal services	n.a.	n.a.	285,704	18.8
Electricity, gas and water	n.a.	n.a.	561	0.0
Activity not adequately described	100,637	9.5	12,016	0.8
Total experienced labour force	1,060,009	100	1,517,030	100

n.a.: Not available by this classification.

Sources: 1970: General Report, Population Census of Malaysia Vol. II.
1980: Population Census of Malaysia 1980.

TABLE 11
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS, 1982-86
(in percentages)

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Primary	37.40	35.25	35.09	34.04	32.75
Agric., forestry, hunting, fishing	37.07	34.81	34.79	33.80	32.46
Mining and quarrying	0.33	0.44	0.29	0.24	0.29
Secondary	20.97	22.27	20.59	20.19	20.57
Manufacturing	19.71	20.81	19.35	19.00	19.64
Construction	1.26	1.46	1.24	1.20	0.94
Services	41.63	42.48	44.33	45.76	46.68
Electricity, gas and water	0.11	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.06
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	17.10	18.02	18.35	19.13	19.26
Transport, storage, and communication	1.02	1.00	1.16	1.30	1.09
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	3.68	3.49	3.72	3.94	4.12
Community and personal services	19.71	19.88	20.98	21.33	22.13
Activity unknown	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01
Total (no.)	1,783,650	1,886,551	1,904,141	1,952,827	2,006,636

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 12
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS AND ETHNICITY, 1982 AND 1986
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others	
	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986
Primary	47.9	42.1	17.8	14.8	46.4	41.5	41.5	40.7
Agric., forestry, hunting, fishing	47.6	41.9	17.2	14.4	46.2	41.1	41.3	40.7
Mining and quarrying	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.0
Secondary	16.9	17.4	26.8	24.9	24.0	24.7	12.2	8.1
Manufacturing	16.4	17.0	24.5	23.1	22.2	23.9	12.2	7.8
Construction	0.5	0.4	2.3	1.9	1.7	0.8	0.0	0.3
Services	35.2	40.5	55.4	60.3	29.6	33.8	46.3	51.2
Electricity, gas and water	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	11.6	13.6	28.8	31.6	7.0	8.4	16.8	20.7
Transport, storage, and communication	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.5	0.8	1.0	2.4	1.4
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	2.2	2.5	5.9	6.9	4.4	3.6	5.7	2.3
Community and personal services	20.4	23.5	19.2	20.2	17.4	20.8	21.5	26.9
Total (no.)	995,230	1,134,544	609,975	859,838	169,154	179,343	9,291	12,254

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 13
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY ETHNIC GROUPS,
1982-86
(in percentages)

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total (no.)
1982	55.80	34.20	9.48	0.52	1,783,650
1983	55.83	34.28	9.43	0.46	1,886,551
1984	57.33	32.74	9.45	0.48	1,904,141
1985	56.75	33.47	9.22	0.56	1,952,827
1986	56.54	33.91	8.94	0.61	2,006,636

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 14
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS AND ETHNICITY, 1982 AND 1986
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others		Total	Total
	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986
Primary	71.4	72.6	16.2	15.3	11.8	11.3	0.6	0.8	667,167	657,125
Agric., forestry, hunting, fishing	71.7	72.9	15.9	15.0	11.8	11.3	0.6	0.8	661,235	651,280
Mining and quarrying	41.4	43.3	52.6	43.8	5.7	12.9	0.3	0.0	5,932	5,845
Secondary	45.1	47.9	43.8	41.1	10.8	10.7	0.3	0.2	373,944	412,842
Manufacturing	46.5	49.0	42.5	39.8	10.7	10.9	0.3	0.2	351,481	394,069
Construction	23.2	24.5	63.7	67.7	13.1	7.6	0.0	0.2	22,463	18,773
Services	47.2	49.0	45.5	43.8	6.8	6.5	0.6	0.7	742,539	936,669
Electricity, gas and water	57.3	59.2	39.8	36.7	2.9	4.1	0.0	0.0	1,998	1,195
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	38.0	39.8	57.6	55.6	3.9	3.9	0.5	0.7	305,055	386,574
Transport, storage, and communication	47.7	44.7	43.9	46.1	7.2	8.5	1.2	0.8	18,240	21,856
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	32.7	34.9	55.1	57.0	11.4	7.8	0.8	0.3	65,697	82,689
Community and personal services	57.7	59.9	33.3	31.0	8.4	8.4	0.6	0.7	351,549	444,068
Total (no.)	55.8	56.5	34.2	33.9	9.5	8.9	0.5	0.6	1,783,650	2,006,636

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 15
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY AREA AND ETHNICITY, 1982-86
(in percentages)

	1982		1983		1984		1985		1986	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Malay	34.6	68.3	36.6	67.3	36.2	69.5	35.5	69.2	35.8	67.8
Chinese	56.2	21.2	55.1	21.9	53.9	20.6	54.8	21.0	54.8	22.6
Indian	8.8	9.9	8.0	10.3	9.4	9.5	9.3	9.2	8.8	9.0
Others	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6
Total (no.)	662,218	1,121,439	702,777	1,183,771	695,413	1,208,730	720,411	1,232,417	706,706	1,299,932

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 16
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY AREAS AND SECTORS, 1982 AND 1986
(in percentages)

	1982		1986	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	4.19	56.49	3.74	48.07
Mining and quarrying	0.30	0.35	0.27	0.30
Manufacturing	28.21	14.68	24.61	16.94
Electricity, gas and water	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.04
Construction	2.10	0.77	1.43	0.67
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	25.18	12.33	27.73	14.66
Transport, storage and communication	1.90	0.51	1.90	0.65
Finance, insurance real estate and business services	6.58	1.97	7.81	2.12
Community services and personal services	31.39	12.76	32.40	16.54
Activity unknown	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01
Total (no.)	662,218	1,121,439	706,706	1,299,932

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 17
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY ETHNIC GROUPS, AREAS AND SECTORS, 1982
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	4.44	60.55	4.22	37.59	3.28	68.57	0.00	63.75
Mining and quarrying	0.49	0.17	0.22	0.97	0.08	0.26	0.00	0.30
Manufacturing	27.15	13.20	27.65	19.57	36.89	14.59	12.81	11.87
Electricity, gas and water	0.19	0.09	0.14	0.12	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
Construction	0.96	0.39	2.79	1.65	2.26	1.47	0.00	0.00
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	17.94	9.75	31.90	24.02	10.61	5.13	26.75	11.39
Transport, storage and communication	2.31	0.45	1.64	0.79	1.83	0.23	3.48	1.80
Finance, insurance real estate and business services	4.27	1.52	7.95	2.78	6.75	3.24	9.21	3.72
Community services and personal services	42.24	13.87	23.49	12.51	38.21	6.51	47.74	7.17
Total (no.)	229,085	766,150	371,867	238,108	57,988	111,167	3,278	6,014

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 18
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY ETHNIC GROUPS, AREAS AND SECTORS, 1986
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	4.30	52.63	3.52	28.70	3.03	61.12	0.41	67.60
Mining and quarrying	0.28	0.21	0.29	0.49	0.07	0.60	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing	23.63	15.14	24.17	21.61	32.28	19.49	11.27	6.13
Electricity, gas and water	0.16	0.04	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
Construction	0.60	0.35	2.08	1.59	0.78	0.81	0.91	0.00
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	20.41	11.59	35.00	27.14	12.91	6.04	18.65	23.80
Transport, storage and communication	2.07	0.52	1.73	1.15	2.26	0.38	1.76	1.22
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	5.60	1.66	9.26	3.86	8.04	1.22	4.13	1.22
Community services and personal services	42.95	17.85	23.85	15.39	40.55	10.33	62.87	5.70
Activity unknown	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total (no.)	253,009	881,534	387,138	293,358	61,953	117,391	4,606	7,049

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 19
FEMALES IN EXPERIENCED LABOUR FORCE AGED 10 YEARS AND OVER BY OCCUPATION, 1970 AND 1980

	1970		1980	
	No	%	No	%
Professional, technical and related workers	50,640	5.2	115,864	8.5
Administrative and management workers	745	.08	3,681	0.3
Clerical and related workers	39,114	4.1	151,334	11.1
Sales and related workers	47,057	4.9	98,634	7.2
Service workers	81,580	8.5	122,893	9.0
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, fisherman, hunters	642,708	66.8	632,010	46.3
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators, and labourers	100,373	10.4	240,918	17.6
Total	962,217	100.0	1,365,334	100.0

Sources: 1970: General Report, Population Census of Malaysia Vol. II (Table 2.13 Page 79).
1980: Calculated from 1980 Population Census of Malaysia.

TABLE 20
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE URBAN SECTOR BY OCCUPATION, 1980-86
(in percentages)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	12.21	12.29	12.40	11.14	12.43	12.81	13.22
Administrative and managerial	0.56	0.64	1.02	1.08	1.04	1.16	1.28
Clerical and related workers	21.15	23.22	23.83	24.74	25.01	24.86	23.85
Sales and related workers	13.37	11.41	11.74	13.16	13.78	13.77	14.37
Service workers	20.85	19.24	20.64	20.40	20.65	20.63	21.82
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry, fisherman and hunters	4.46	4.84	4.13	3.66	3.54	3.46	3.63
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	27.39	28.36	26.23	25.81	23.55	23.31	21.83
Total (no.)	479,616	624,107	662,220	702,775	695,412	720,411	706,703

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 21
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE RURAL SECTOR BY OCCUPATION, 1980-86
(in percentages)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	5.80	5.39	5.62	6.11	6.81	6.86	7.48
Administrative and managerial	0.23	0.09	0.12	0.25	0.29	0.23	0.38
Clerical and related workers	6.17	5.13	6.35	6.98	7.53	8.00	8.44
Sales and related workers	6.29	6.21	7.27	7.38	8.16	9.41	8.88
Service workers	6.91	7.07	8.35	8.73	9.64	9.72	10.53
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry, fisherman and hunters	58.84	60.70	56.82	53.36	52.41	51.31	47.71
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	15.78	15.41	15.47	17.18	15.16	14.47	16.57
Total (no.)	1,121,982	1,074,417	1,121,435	1,183,771	1,208,731	1,232,417	1,299,934

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

Table 22

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE URBAN SECTOR BY RACE AND OCCUPATION 1980 AND 1986

(in percentages)

	Total		Malay		Chinese		Indian and Others	
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	12.21	13.22	14.14	15.48	10.22	11.17	18.24	16.53
Aministrative and managerial	0.56	1.28	0.74	1.37	0.49	1.28	0.43	0.97
Clerical and related workers	21.15	23.85	23.92	22.17	21.50	26.00	10.42	17.70
Sales and related workers	13.37	14.37	9.57	10.16	16.29	18.37	7.62	7.10
Service workers	20.85	21.82	20.07	24.13	20.87	19.61	23.11	25.87
Agriculture animal husbandary and forestry, fisherman and hunters	4.46	3.63	5.72	4.26	3.91	3.27	3.88	3.30
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	27.39	21.83	25.83	22.42	26.72	20.30	36.30	28.53
Total (No)	479,616	706,703	147,482	253,006	284,831	387,138	47,303	66,559

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

Table 23

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE RURAL SECTOR BY RACE AND OCCUPATIONS, 1980-86

(in percentages)

	Total		Malay		Chinese		Indian and Others	
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	5.80	7.48	5.49	8.05	7.74	6.87	3.69	4.90
Aministrative and managerial	0.23	0.38	0.11	0.37	0.42	0.60	0.56	0.00
Clerical and related workers	6.17	8.44	5.61	7.41	8.73	13.74	4.42	3.29
Sales and related workers	6.29	8.88	5.22	6.66	11.95	17.29	1.35	4.79
Service workers	6.91	10.53	5.92	10.34	10.40	12.38	5.91	7.47
Agriculture animal husbandary and forestry, fisherman and hunters	58.84	47.71	63.57	52.35	40.10	28.28	67.63	60.56
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	15.78	16.57	14.08	14.81	20.66	20.84	16.43	18.99
Total (No)	1,121,982	1,299,934	754,659	881,538	247,177	293,358	120,146	125,038

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

Table 24

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1970, 1980-86

(in percentages)

Employment status	1970	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	2.3	2.6	0.60	0.67	0.84	0.62	0.77	0.94
Employee	36.9	53.6	59.01	58.28	58.75	61.06	59.92	58.75
Own account worker	18	23.9	16.73	17.78	19.06	16.35	16.70	17.20
Unpaid family worker	37.7	17.9	23.67	23.26	21.35	21.97	22.61	23.12
Seeking first job	5.1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..

Sources: General Report of the Population Census, 1970, Vol.1: 424; Population Census, 1980; Labour Force Surveys, 1981-86, Department of Statistics.

Table 25

MALAY FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1981-86

(in percentages)

Employment status	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	0.27	0.35	0.53	0.47	0.46	0.57
Employee	48.62	48.48	49.73	51.53	50.62	50.30
Own account worker	21.69	22.74	24.41	20.69	21.34	21.11
Unpaid family worker	29.41	28.44	25.32	27.32	27.57	28.01
Total (No)	948,500	995,200	1,053,300	1,091,700	1,108,200	1,134,500

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1981.

Table 26

CHINESE FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1981-86

(in percentages)

Employment status	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	1.20	1.34	1.42	0.98	1.44	1.69
Employee	67.52	65.67	65.50	69.35	67.88	65.16
Own account worker	12.22	13.44	14.41	12.46	12.41	13.81
Unpaid family worker	19.06	19.52	18.68	17.16	18.27	19.34
Total (No)	581,200	610,000	646,700	623,400	653,700	680,500

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1981-1986.

Table 27

INDIAN FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1981-86

(in percentages)

Employment status	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	0.31	0.06	0.51	0.22	0.22	0.39
Employee	91.18	89.66	88.81	90.61	88.89	88.46
Own account worker	3.27	4.02	3.77	3.56	4.00	5.02
Unpaid family worker	5.23	6.21	6.97	5.61	6.89	6.13
Total (no)	158,800	169,200	177,800	179,900	180,000	179,300

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1981-1986.

Table 28

RETRENCHED WORKERS BY SECTOR, 1983-85

(in percentages)

Industry	1983	1984	1985	Total (%)	Number
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	41.6	12.3	4.1	14.2	9,878
Mining and quarrying	12.1	13.9	20.0	17.3	12,066
Manufacturing	31.5	48.0	63.0	53.4	37,294
Electricity, gas and water	-	-	-	-	-
Construction	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	554
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	10.9	19.7	11.1	12.2	8,491
Finance, insurance and real estate	0.1	-	0.1	0.1	87
Community, social and personal services	2.6	5.1	1.0	1.9	1,358
Transport and storage	0.3	0.1	-	0.1	53
Others	-	-	-	-	-
Total (No)	16,668	9,269	43,844	-	69,781

Source: Unpublished statistics, Ministry of Labour and Manpower 1986.

Table 29

PENINSULAR MALAYSIA: STATES MOST AFFECTED BY RETRENCHMENTS IN 1985

States	Numbers retrenched	Industries most affected
Perak	10,120	Tin mining, textiles, wood, wood and wood products
Selangor	6,158	Tin mining, motor vehicle assembly, wood and wood products
Penang	5,550	Electronics, textiles
Pahang	4,402	Wood and wood products
Johor	3,466	Textiles, wood and wood products
Negri Sembilan	2,769	Electronics, wood and wood products

Source: Labour and Manpower Report 1986/87, (Ministry of Labour, 1986, p 118).

Table 30

WORKERS RETRENCHED BY EMPLOYMENT CATEGORY, 1983-84

(in percentages)*

Category of employment	1983 1st half	1983 2nd half	1984 1st half	1983/84 1st half % change
Management	1.8	0.8	4.7	-47.9
Technical and supervisory	8.8	5.8	23.3	-47.3
Clerical and related workers	5.6	3.8	12.3	-56.6
Service workers	2.8	2.9	3.2	-76.8
Factory workers (skilled)	39.1	15.0	24.4	-87.5
Factory workers (unskilled)	17.2	26.2	18.9	-46.1
General workers	24.2	45.4	13.0	-31.8
Total % No ('000)	100 4,036	100 1,465	100 805	-80.1

* These figures must be interpreted with caution as they are grossly lower than the ones issued by the Ministry of Labour and Manpower. However, this problem is not so serious here as they are only used to illustrate a pattern of retrenchment in the different employment categories.

Sources: Labour and Manpower Report 1981-82 - 1983-84, Ministry of Labour, 1981; 1983, Economic Report 1984-85, Ministry of Finance, 1984.

Table 31

FEDERAL SUBSIDY EXPENDITURES[1]

(M$ millions)

	TMP[2] 1976-80	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Operating Budget	1,027.8	165.9	713.9	944.4	981.0	1,360.3	437.7	289.6
Petroleum products	783.3	129.2	575.5	721.3	750.0	1,090.9	172.0	9.2
Textbooks	120.3	36.7	14.2	22.4	30.0	34.4	26.8	41.5
National Electricity Board	13.6	-	13.6	19.5	21.0	52.6	60.2	68.9
Paddy price support	110.6	-	110.6	181.2	186.0	182.4	178.7	170.0
Development Budget	595.2	132.3	258.2	262.1	306.8	313.2	295.9	147.1
Rubber replanting	215.9	48.4	87.9	54.7	100.9	95.3	74.9	33.6
Pineapple replanting	10.9	1.8	2.2	2	2.9	4.3	2.2	3.7
Agriculture/fisheries financial assistance	52.6	14.4	21.6	22.1	15.9	31.1	36.7	-
Vegetable price support	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	6.4	-
Agricultural inputs	126.7	26.8	99.9	118.2	97	90.0	75.8	74.8
Farm mechanisation	15.2	5.3	3.6	4.9	27.2	20.0	16.0	-
Coconut replanting	32.2	7.1	9.3	9.7	10.9	13.0	13.6	13.5
Crop diversification	71.6	18.4	17.9	13.7	15.6	17.0	0.8	-
Animal husbandry	5.4	1.7	1.6	15.7	17.5	9.8	11.8	13.1
Other	64.7	8.4	14.2	21.1	18.9	12.7	57.7	-
Total[3]	1,623.0	292.2	972.1	1,364.0	1,293.8	1,673.5	733.6	436.7
As % of GNP	0.9	0.7	1.9	2.5	2.2	2.6	1.0	0.6

1. Refers to identifiable subsidy schemes excludes a number of other schemes which appear in the development budget but are difficult to disaggregate.
2. Third Malaysia Plan.
3. Excludes interest rate subsidies to state and local governments, public and quasi public entities and co-operatives.

Source: Ministry of Finance.

Table 32

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES BY SECTOR[1]

(in percentages)

	2MP Actual (1971-75	3MP Actual (1976-80)	4MP (1981-85) Original allocation	4MP (1981-85) Estimated actual	5MP original allocation (1986-90)
Economic	66.9	64.0	57.9	60.5	76.1
Agriculture, rural and municpal development	24.2	22.1	21.3	16.3	17.1
Commerce and industry	19.3	15.3	13.8	13.6	14.1
Transport	16.6	13.4	10.5	15.1	15.6
Communications	2.4	5.4	3.9	5.2	14.1
Energy and utilities	3.9	7.5	8.3	9.9	14.3
Feasibility studies[2]	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.7
Social	17.5	17.1	16.3	21.5	13.1
Education	9.4	7.3	7.6	10.1	8.1
Health and population	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	0.1
Information and broadcasting	1.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1
Housing and sewerage	2.4	6.4	4.2	8.7	2.9
Culture, welfare and community development	0.9	1.3	2.0	0.6	1.0
Purchase of land	1.1	0.3	0.6	0.2	-
Security	13.8	16.7	23.9	16.9	6.8
Administration	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.8	4.0
Total[1]	100	100	100	100	100
M$ millions	7,415	21,202	39,330	46,320	69,000

(1) Columns may not sum due to rounding.
(2) Includes research and development.
MP Malaysia Plan

Source: Fourth Malaysia Plan, (1981) and Mid-Term Review of the Fourth Malaysia Plan, (1983), Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986 and Ministry of Finance.

Table 33

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: OPERATING EXPENDITURE REVISIONS, 1980-88

($ million)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
I. TOTAL									
(a) BE	10,868	14,600	17,319	17,079	19,016	21,538	21,954	20,739	21,236
(b) Actual	13,617	15,686	16,671	18,374	19,806	20,066	20,075	20,185	
(c) % Change	-25	-7	4	-8	-4	7	9	3	
II. Security									
(a) BE	2,232	2,648	3,315	2,995	3,255	3,691	3,882	3,229	3,408
(b) Actual	2,175	2,854	3,076	3,106	3,326	3,274	3,403	3,239	
(c) % Change	3	-8	7	-4	-2	11	12	0	
III. Social Services									
(a) BE	2,947	4,186	4,950	4,472	4,894	5,516	5,884	5,828	5,957
(b) Actual	3,292	4,067	4,404	4,217	4,645	5,038	5,429	5,612	
(c) % Change	-12	3	11	6	5	9	8	4	
1. Education									
(a) BE	2,055	2,808	3,256	3,060	3,365	3,772	4,050	4,047	
(b) Actual	2,228	2,726	2,991	2,915	3,183	3,473	3,743	3,862	
(c) % Change	-8	3	8	5	5	8	8	5	
2. Health									
(a) BE	715	907	1,067	870	956	1,111	1,193	1,100	
(b) Actual	698	855	916	836	931	1,008	1,098	1,073	
(c) % Change	2	6	14	4	3	9	8	2	
IV. Economic Services									
(a) BE	783	979	1,768	1,819	1,869	2,027	2,197	1,929	1,977
(b) Actual	765	1,307	1,960	1,518	1,730	1,799	1,975	1,702	
(c) % Change	2	-34	-11	17	7	11	10	12	
1. Agriculture and Rural Development									
(a) BE	342	339	858	744	795	844	905	881	
(b) Actual	148	523	763	720	771	852	805	812	
(c) % Change	57	-54	11	3	3	-1	11	8	
2. Trade and Industry									
(a) BE	68	259	386	495	446	474	600	453	
(b) Actual	196	348	609	261	357	485	423	360	
(c) % Change	-188	-34	-58	47	20	-2	30	21	
3. Transport and Communications									
(a) BE	352	361	420	475	517	596	594	514	
(b) Actual	287	346	517	454	490	457	695	463	2,145
(c) % Change	18	4	-23	4	5	23	-17	10	
IV. General Administration									
(a) BE	1,164	1,191	1,896	1,694	1,948	2,326	2,457	2,140	
(b) Actual	1,167	1,452	2,126	1,748	1,637	2,035	2,464	2,227	1,776
(c) % Change	0	-22	-12	-3	16	13	0	-4	
V. Transfers									
(a) BE	2,286	3,717	3,120	2,169	2,245	2,492	1,609	1,639	
(b) Actual	4,671	3,960	2,382	4,332	4,038	2,887	1,565	1,642	5,973
(c) % Change	-104	-7	24	-100	-80	-16	3	0	
VI. Debt Servicing									
(a) BE	1,456	1,879	2,270	3,930	4,805	5,486	5,925	5,973	
(b) Actual	1,547	2,046	2,723	3,453	4,430	5,042	5,239	5,763	
(c) % Change	-6	-9	-20	12	8	8	12	4	

BE Budget Estimate.

Source: Ministry of Finance, Unpublished Data.

Table 34

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE, 1980-88

($ million)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
I. TOTAL									
(a) BE	9,456	7,677	13,832	11,270	8,076	7,053	8,058	6,073	6,385
(b) Actual[1]	7,463	11,358	11,485	9,669	8,407	7,142	7,559	4,741	6,021
II. Security									
(a) BE	1,921	2,476	3,564	2,484	1,199	690	485	442	507
(b) Actual	1,222	1,839	2,065	1,726	1,005	629	384	333	507
III. Social Services									
(a) BE	1,555	1,244	3,332	2,522	1,461	1,634	2,635	1,525	1,577
(b) Actual	1,185	2,456	3,249	1,997	2,223	2,093	2,534	1,031	1,546
1. Education									
(a) BE	598	425	1,078	1,166	812	971	1,257	1,037	1,166
(b) Actual	558	791	1,082	988	1,009	872	1,064	810	1,102
2. Health									
(a) BE	146	134	144	189	170	180	161	93	126
(b) Actual	80	118	150	156	125	112	118	53	108
3. Housing									
(a) BE	670	252	1,428	627	340	315	965	243	149
(b) Actual	295	1,231	1,589	556	908	972	1,054	79	127
IV. Economic Services									
(a) BE	5,780	3,797	6,640	6,087	5,269	4,562	4,791	3,967	4,102
(b) Actual	4,833	6,813	5,967	5,779	5,061	4,303	4,538	3,255	3,769
1. Agriculture and Rural Development									
(a) BE	1,618	1,733	2,027	1,396	1,325	1,445	1,668	1,623	1,434
(b) Actual	1,138	1,481	1,550	1,187	1,122	1,287	1,144	924	1,175
2. Public Utilities									
(a) BE	925	272	1,046	1,474	1,378	1,044	996	873	690
(b) Actual	665	748	865	1,027	1,132	789	683	648	672
3. Commerce and Industry									
(a) BE	1,191	560	1,194	770	625	513	342	231	869
(b) Actual	1,554	3,091	1,143	1,291	685	557	523	622	780
4. Transport									
(a) BE	1,412	1,055	1,863	1,973	1,241	953	1,359	1,214	1,067
(b) Actual	1,031	1,272	1,970	1,652	1,193	1,052	1,408	1,046	1,105
5. Communications									
(a) BE	634	157	479	461	665	585	407	2	5
(b) Actual	428	202	420	610	916	601	765	-	5
V. General Administration									
(a) BE	200	160	296	177	146	167	147	139	199
(b) Actual	223	250	204	168	118	117	103	122	199

BE Budget Estimate.
1. 1988 figures are latest estimates.

Source: Ministry of Finance, Unpublished Data.

Table 35

NUMBER OF STAFF IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SEX, 1980-87

(in percentage as at 31 December of respective year)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Male	73.0	72.4	72.3	71.8	71.2	70.7	70.2	69.4
Female	27.0	27.6	27.7	28.2	28.8	29.3	29.8	30.6
Total (No)	488,729	532,794	647,975	677,148	697,689	709,184	717,124	701,255

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 36

ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF STAFF IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SEX, 1981-87

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Male	8.2	21.3	3.9	2.1	1.0	0.4	-3.4
Female	11.3	22.4	6.2	5.4	3.2	2.8	0.7
Total (No)	9.0	21.6	4.5	3.0	1.6	1.1	-2.2

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 37

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS, 1980-87

(in percentages)

Salary Group	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Group A	7.2	7.6	7.4	7.7	7.8	8.0	8.3	8.9
Group B	6.5	6.8	6.5	6.5	6.4	6.6	6.8	7.0
Group C	52.5	51.5	49.9	49.6	48.8	48.5	48.6	48.5
Group D	33.8	34.1	36.2	36.3	37.0	36.9	36.3	35.6
Total (No)	131,954	146,884	179,761	190,852	201,204	207,665	213,420	214,814

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 38

ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF STAFF IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS, 1981-87

(as at 31 December of respective years)

Salary Group		1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	Average Growth Rate (1980-87)
Group A	Male	12.4	19.4	7.4	4.8	3.3	3.5	2.7	7.5
	Female	17.9	19.5	10.1	7.5	5.7	6.7	6.9	10.5
	Total	13.9	19.4	8.2	5.6	4.0	4.5	4.0	
Group B	Male	8.3	24.1	3.0	1.0	4.7	3.0	0.7	6.2
	Female	16.3	16.4	6.0	3.9	6.8	6.1	3.9	8.4
	Total	10.9	21.5	4.0	2.0	5.4	4.1	1.8	
Group C	Male	6.7	23.5	3.3	1.3	0.2	0.2	-5.9	3.9
	Female	9.2	18.4	5.5	3.8	2.5	3.0	0.5	6.0
	Total	7.7	21.4	4.2	2.3	1.1	1.4	-3.2	
Group D	Male	8.4	20.2	3.8	2.3	0.8	-0.1	-3.4	4.3
	Female	12.2	30.2	6.3	7.4	3.0	1.1	-1.2	8.0
	Total	9.1	22.2	4.3	3.3	1.3	0.1	-2.9	

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 39

DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF BY SALARY GROUPS AND SEX, MALAYSIA, 1980-87

(in percentages)

Salary Group		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Group A	Male	4.8	4.9	4.9	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.5
	Female	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.7
Group B	Male	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.9	4.0
	Female	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1
Group C	Male	21.7	21.2	21.5	21.3	20.9	20.6	20.5	19.7
	Female	14.2	14.2	13.8	14.0	14.1	14.2	14.5	14.9
Group D	Male	42.8	42.5	42.1	41.8	41.5	41.1	40.6	40.2
	Female	9.1	9.4	10.1	10.2	10.7	10.8	10.8	10.9
Total (No)		488,729	532,794	647,975	677,148	697,689	709,184	717,124	701,255

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 40

FEMALE-MALE RATIO IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS, 1980-87

(per 100 persons)

Salary Group	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Group A	40	42	42	43	45	46	47	49
Group B	47	50	47	48	50	51	52	54
Group C	65	67	64	66	67	69	71	75
Group D	21	22	24	24	26	26	27	27

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 41

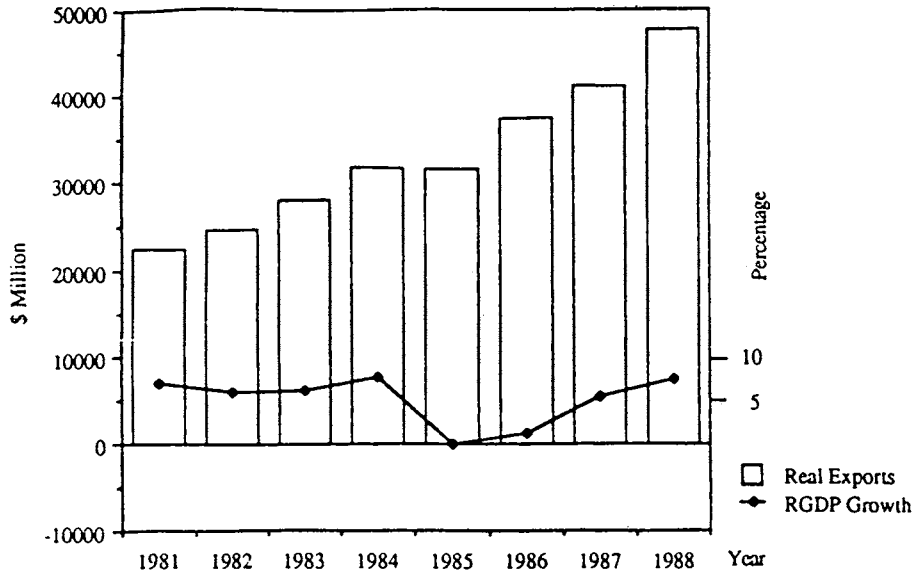
DISTRIBUTION OF POSTS OCCUPIED BY OFFICERS IN DIVISION 1, 1968, 1978 AND 1988

(percentages in brackets)

	1968		1978		1988	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Services						
Administrative and Diplomatic Service	10 (1.7)	571 (98.3)	85 (13.5)	545 (86.5)	39 (7.4)	491 (92.6)
Radio and Television	4 (3.11)	126 (96.9)	3 (3.3)	89 (96.7)	78 (26.6)	215 (73.4)
Fisheries Department	1 (4.5)	21 (95.5)	6 (10.7)	50 (89.3)	30 (17.5)	141 (82.5)
Department of Inland Revenue	2 (2.1)	94 (97.9)	70 (24.8)	212 (75.2)	526 (48.1)	658 (51.9)
Medical and Health Service	144 (17.8)	667 (82.2)	449 (19.5)	1,853 (80.5)	1,938 (36.7)	3,339 (63.3)
Public Works Department	2 (0.7)	285 (99.3)	22 (2.8)	771 (97.2)	180 (14.3)	1,077 (85.7)
Social Welfare	8 (30.8)	18 (69.2)	5 (12.5)	35 (87.5)	61 (36.5)	106 (63.5)
Statistics Department	4 (12.9)	27 (87.1)	14 (17.9)	64 (82.1)	52 (35.6)	94 (64.4)
Telecommunications Service	2 (1.7)	118 (98.3)	28 (9.4)	271 (90.6)	72 (17.6)	338 (82.4)
National Archives	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	7 (33.3)	14 (66.7)	33 (55.0)	27 (45.0)
Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperative Services	1 (7.1)	13 (92.9)	2 (9.5)	19 (90.5)	42 (23.9)	134 (76.1)
Ministry of Defence	3 (14.3)	18 (85.7)	5 (12.5)	35 (87.5)	52 (16.1)	270 (83.9)
Agricultural Service	4 (4.3)	89 (95.7)	- -	- -	49 18.9)	210 (71.1)
Education Service	50 (10.6)	420 (89.4)	1,777 (34.7)	3,338 (65.3)	9,980 (49.6)	10,146 (50.4)
Information Service	3 (6.5)	43 (93.5)	2 (6.1)	31 (93.9)	37 (29.8)	87 (70.2)
Corp. of Accountants Malaysia	2 (10.0)	18 (91.0)	15 (15.3)	83 (84.7)	52 (32.7)	107 (67.3)

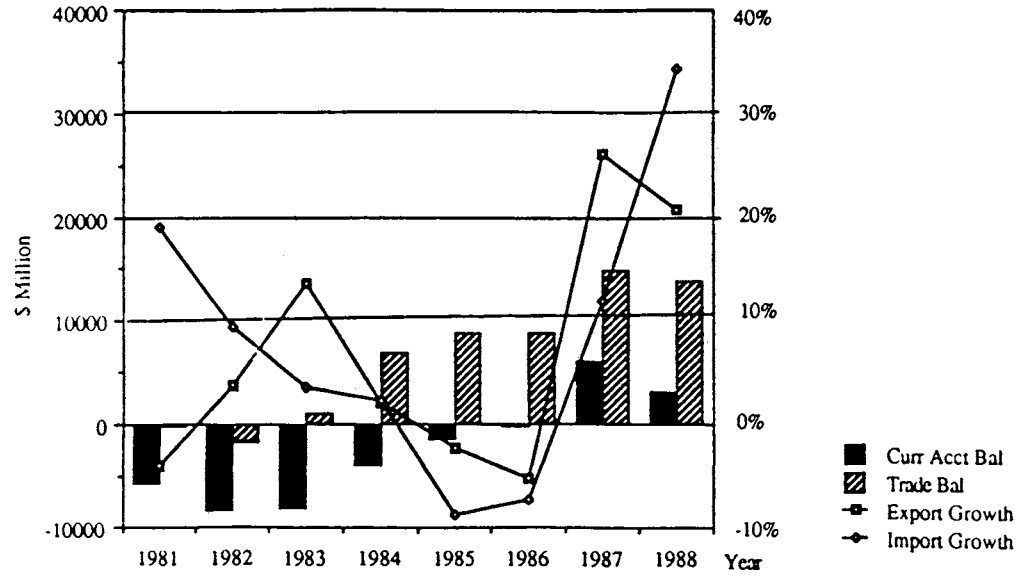
Sources: List of Federal Officers, Malaysia, 1968 and 1978; Central Staff Records, Public Services Department.

FIGURE 1
REAL GDP GROWTH, 1981-88
(1978 PRICES)



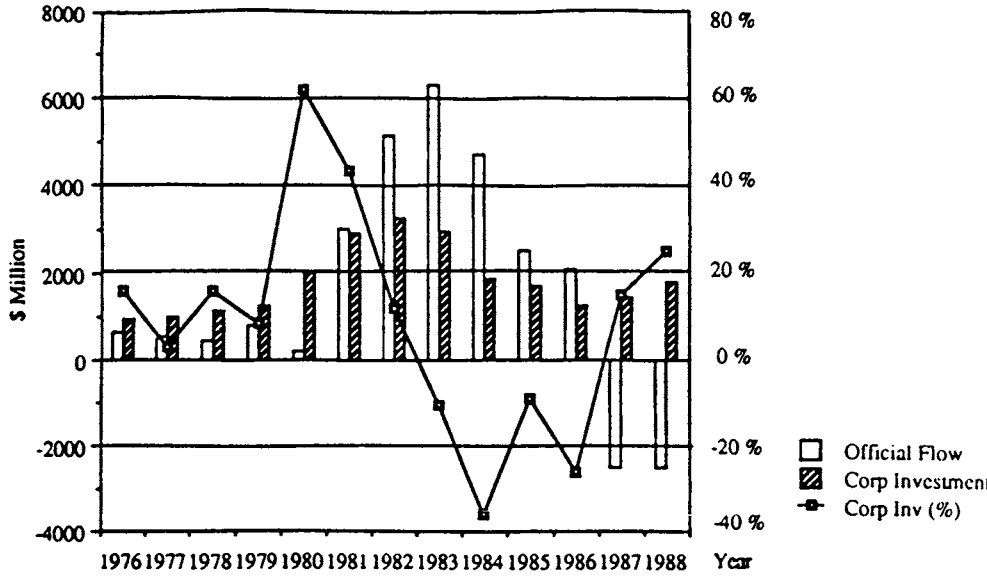
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 2
CURRENT ACCOUNT BALANCE, 1981-88



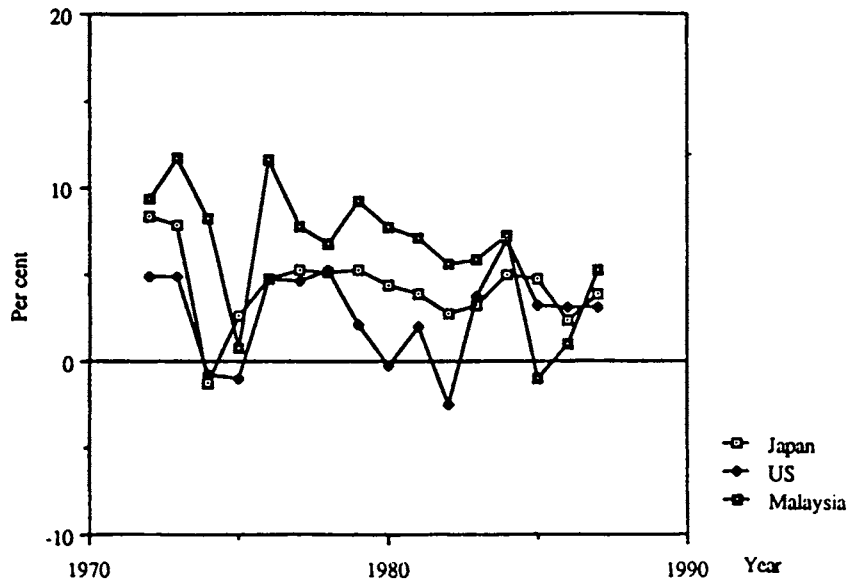
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 3
NET LONG-TERM CAPITAL FLOW, 1976-88



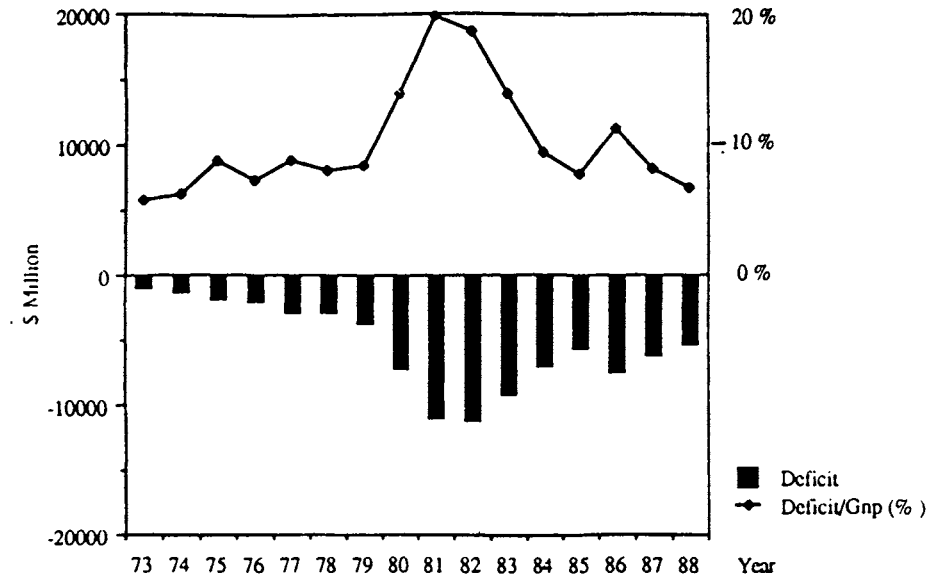
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 4
REAL GDP/GNP GROWTH, 1972-87
(1980 PRICES)



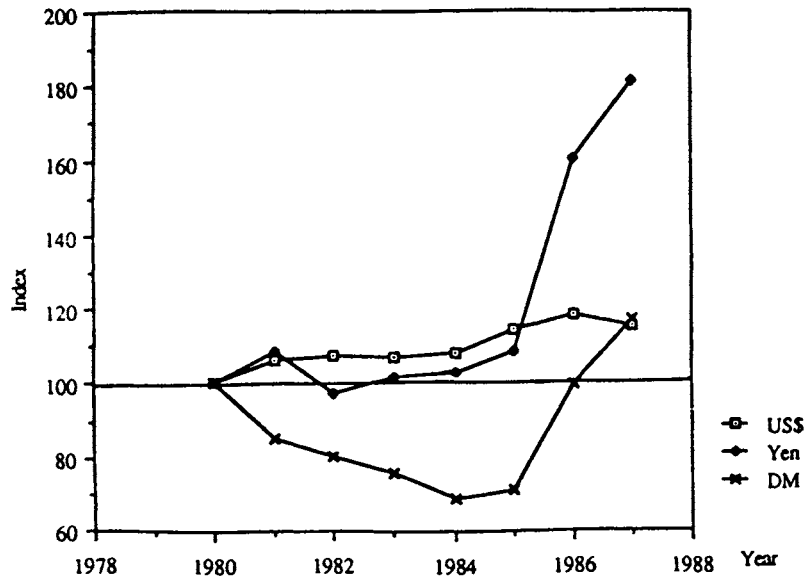
Source: Wharton Economic Forecasting Associates, Pennsylvania.

FIGURE 5
FEDERAL GOVT DEFICIT, 1973-88



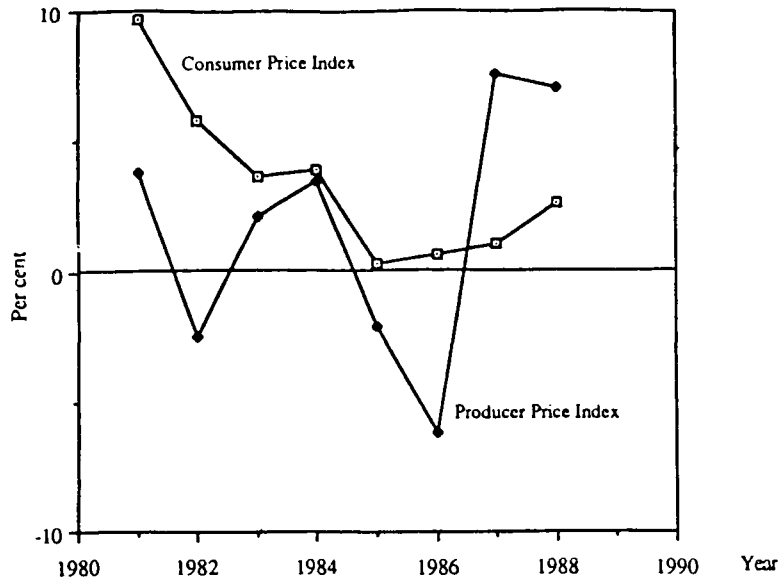
Source: Economic Report. Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 6
MALAYSIA EXCHANGE RATE INDEX, 1980-87
(1980=100)



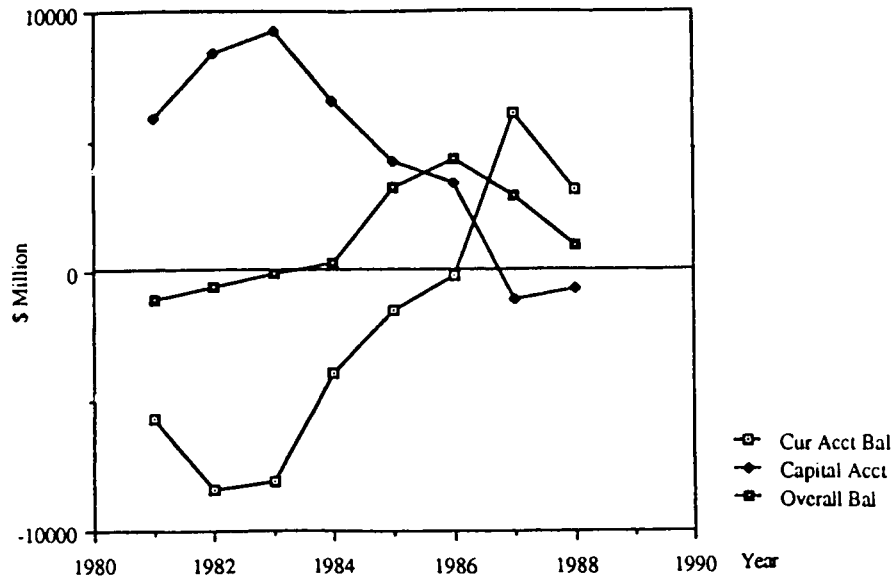
Source: Bank Negara Malaysia Annual Report 1987/88.

FIGURE 7
PRICE INDICES, 1981-88



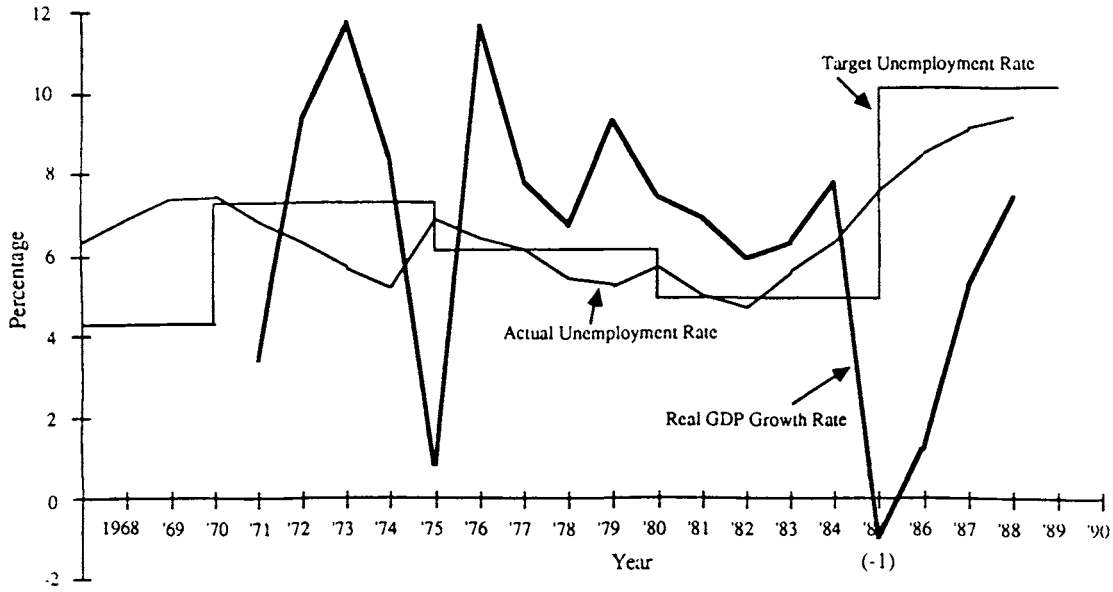
Source: Economic Report. Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 8
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, 1981-88



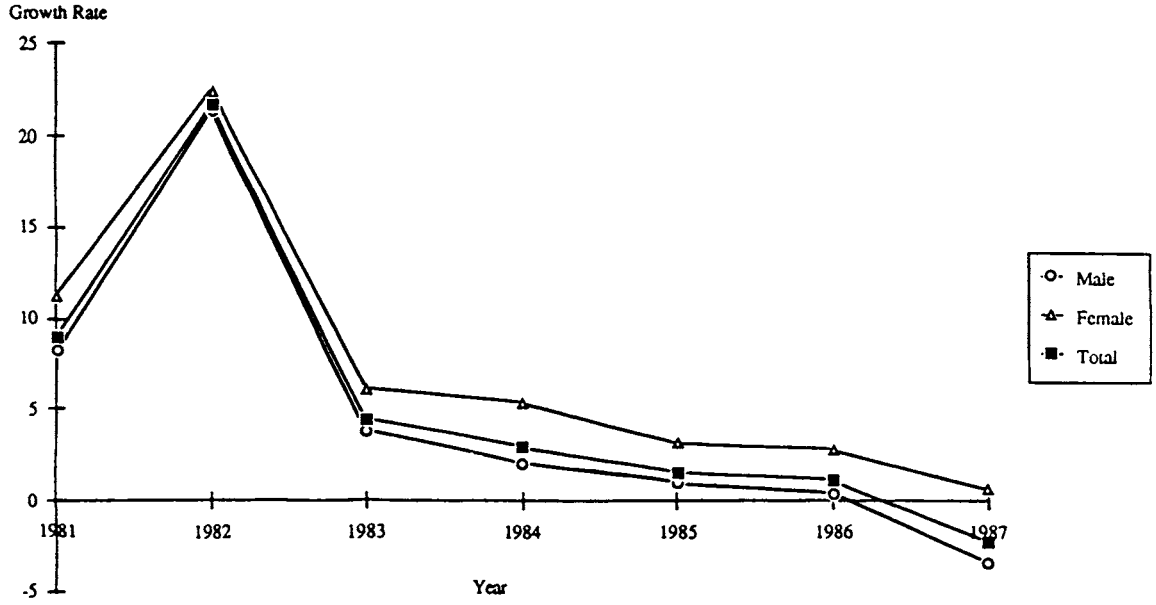
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues

FIGURE 9
TARGET AND ACTUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AND REAL GDP GROWTH RATE
1966-90



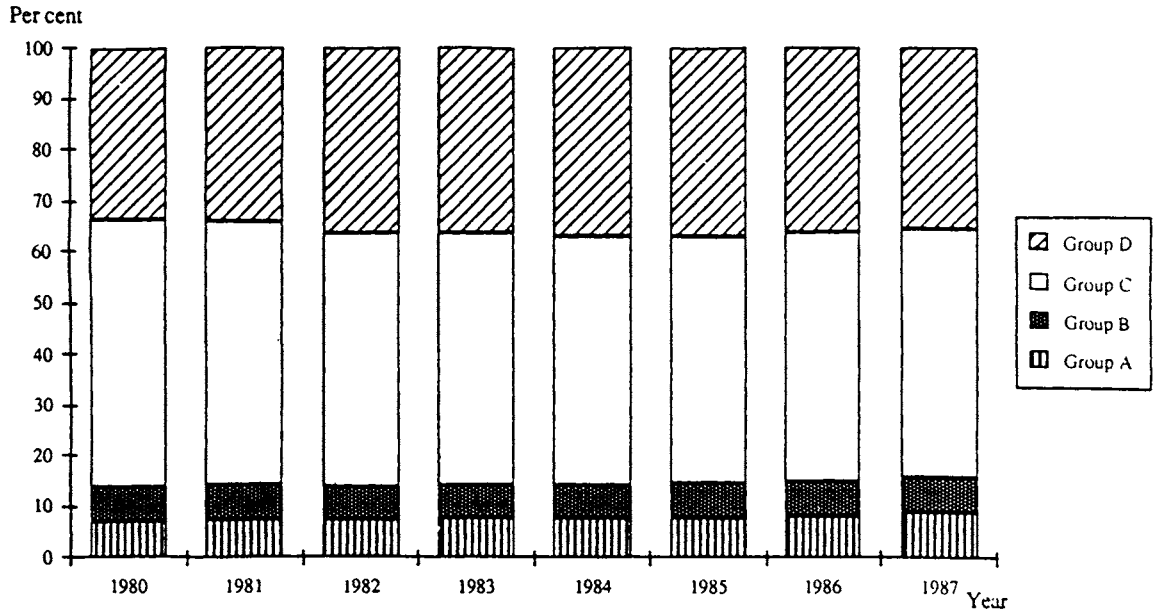
Source: Malaysia Plans, Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur, various issues;
Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 10
ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF STAFF IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR BY SEX
1981-87



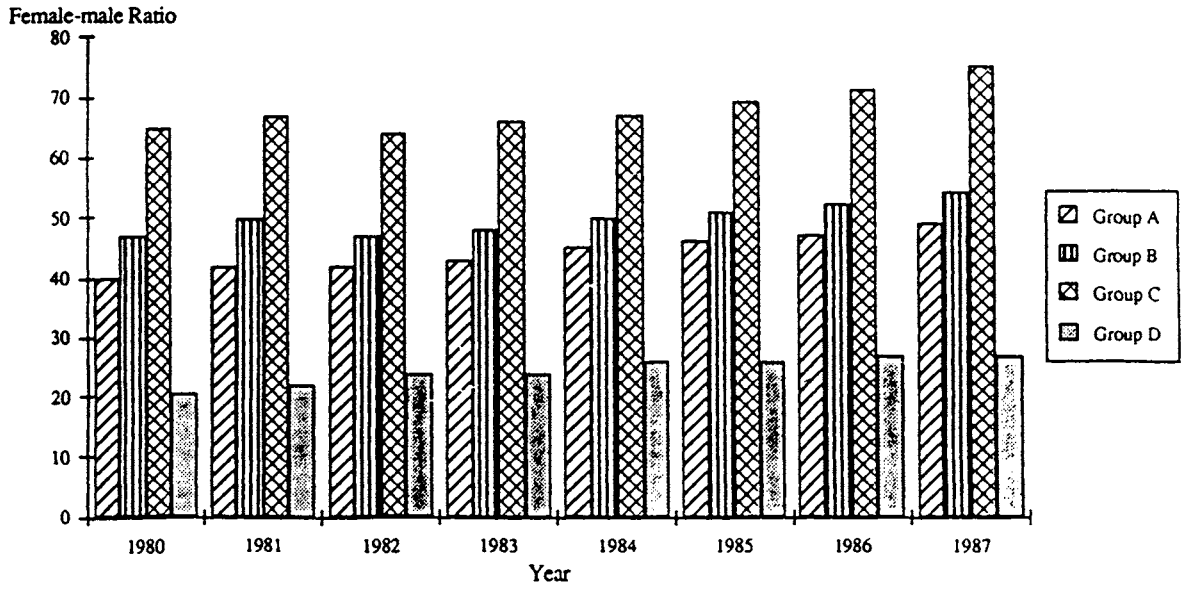
Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

FIGURE 11
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS
1980-87



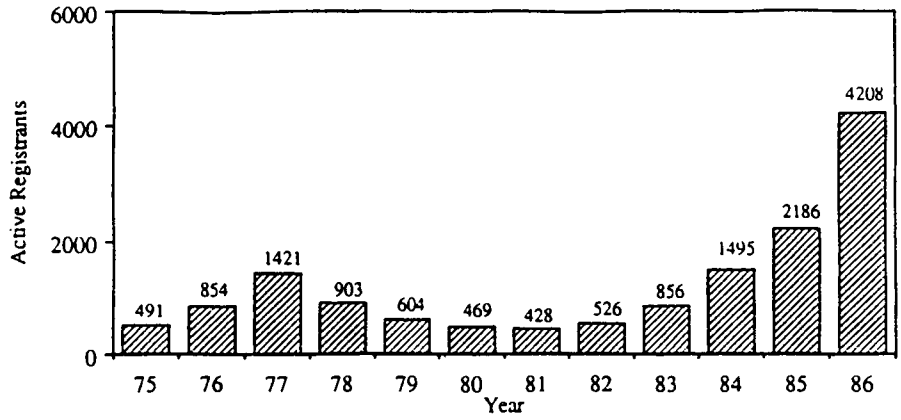
Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

FIGURE12
FEMALE-MALE RATIO IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR
BY SALARY GROUPS, 1980-87
(PER 100 PERSONS)



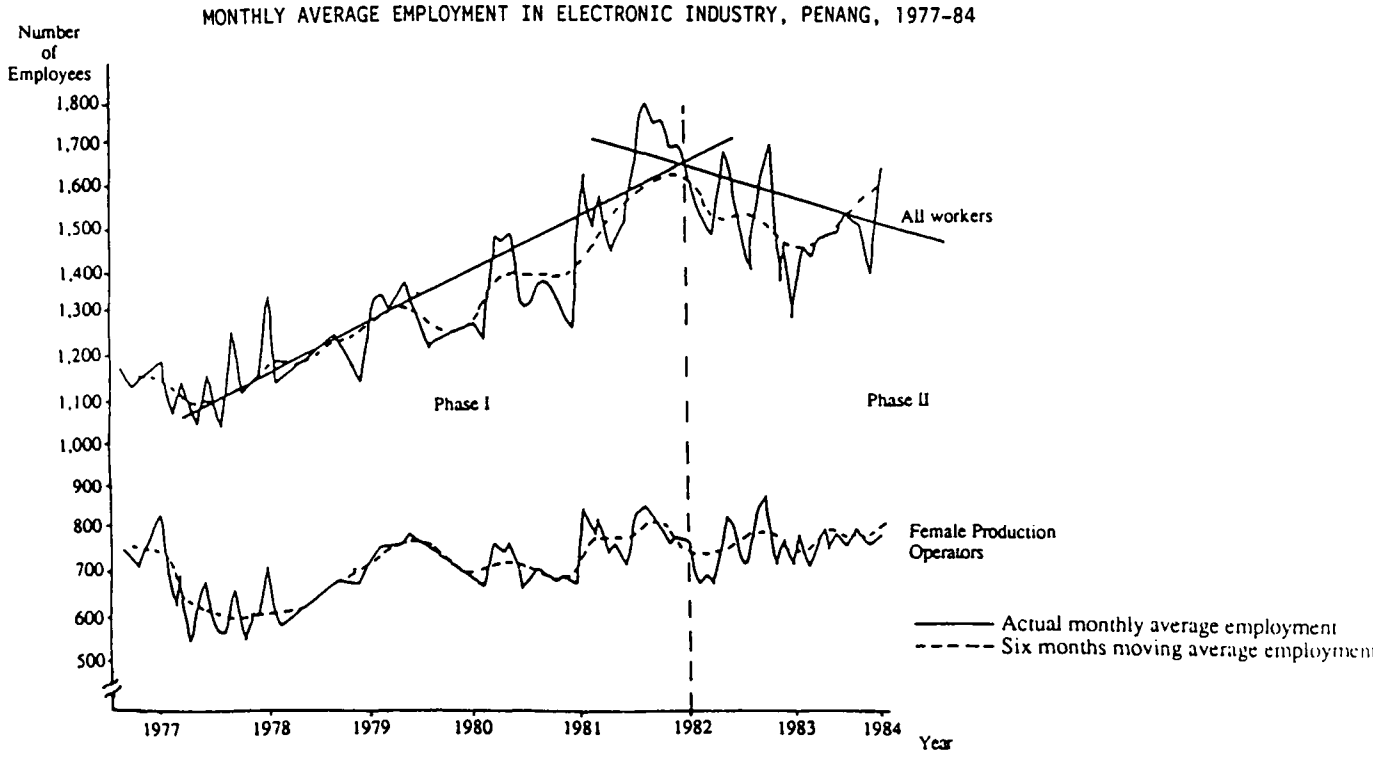
Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

FIGURE 13
REGISTRATION OF UNEMPLOYED PROFESSIONALS, 1975-86



Source: Professional Employment Bureau, Ministry of Labour.

FIGURE 14
MONTHLY AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT IN ELECTRONIC INDUSTRY, PENANG, 1977-84



Source: Derived from unpublished employment statistics, Labour Office, Penang. Cited in Salih and Young (1986:129).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Asian and Pacific Development Centre (1984) A Report on the Identification of Priority Research Issues on Women in Asia and the Pacific Regional Conference spnsored by APDC and the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries (SAREC), 27 February-2 March 1984, Kuala Lumpur:10-3

Ackerman, S.E. (1984) "The impact of industrialization on the social role of rural Malay women: A case study of female factory workers in Malacca" in Karim. Nik Safiah (ed) (1984) **Women: A Malaysian Focus.** Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1980) "Cultural process in Malaysian industrialization: a study of Malay women factory workers", Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego

Agarwal, Bina (1983) **Women's Studies in Asia and the Pacific.** Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur, November.

Ariffin (Jamilah) 1979 "Rural-urban migration of women and participation in the industrial development of Malaysia - a case study on the exploitation of women", paper presented at the Seminar on Women in Malaysia Today, University Kebangsaan Malaysia.

_____ (1979) "Women and work -- the position of women workers in the manufacturing industries in Malaysia", in **Proceeding of the International Seminar on Position of Women in the Third world.** India.

_____ (1980) "Industrial development in Peninsular Malaysia and the rural-urban migration of women workers: impact and implications", **Jurnal Ekonomi Malaysia.** 1 (1): 41-59

_____ (1981) "Industrialisation,, female labour migration, and the changing pattern of Malay women's labour force participation -- an analysis of interrelationships and implications", paper prepared for the Seminar on Population and Sectoral Development, Cameroon Highlands, Malaysia, 2-5 January.

_____ (1983a) "Women workers in the manufacturing industries", in Hong, Evelyn (ed.) **Malaysian Women: Problems & Issues.** Consumers' Association of Penang, Penang.

_____ (1983b) "Impact of modern electronics technology on women workers in Malaysia"' in Aziz U.A., Yip, Yat Hoong and Ling (eds.) (1984) **Technology, Culture and Development.** University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1987) "Women's participation in factory work and family survival strategy and the role of kinship ties", paper presented at the UNU Project Seminar on Women's Work and Family strategies, Kathmandu, Nepal.

_____ (1989) "A trend study of women's participation in the industrial development of Malaysia", paper presented at the Colloquium on Women and development in Malaysia - Implication for Planning and Population Dynamics.

_____ (forthcoming) "Terms and working conditions of women workers in the manufacturing sector in Malaysia"' in Ariffin, Jamilah and Smith, Wendy (eds.) (forthcoming) **Industrialisation and Women Workers in Malaysia.**

Arffin, Rohana (1988) "Malaysia women's participation in trade unions" in Heyzer, Noeleen (ed.)**Daughters in Industry.** Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur.

Bank Negara Malaysia, (1988) **Bank Negara Annual Report 1987/88.** Bank Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ **Bank Negara Quarterly Report.** Bank Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, various issues.

Chan, Lean Heng, Young, Mei Ling and Salih, Kamal (1983) "Women workers in Malaysia: TNCs and social contradictions", paper presented for the Seminar on Industrialisation and the Labour Process in Asia, Copenhagen Denmark, 26 - 28 August.

Daud, Fatimah (1975) "The participation of Malay women in business and industry in Kuala Lumpur"' M.A. thesis, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Daud, Fatimah (1985) **Minah Karan, in the Truth about Malaysian Factory Girls.** Berita Publishing, Kuala Lumpur.

Eisold, E. (1982) "Young women workers in export industries: the case of the semiconductor industry in Southeast Asia", Geneva, ILO, Mimeo.

Gill, Munjit Singh (1987) "The features of labour utilization and the problems of migrant and immigrant workers in the construction industry", paper presented at the Workshop on Current Issues in Labour Migration, Kaula Lumpur, 24-28 August.

Grossman, Rachel (1979) "Women's place in the Intergrated circuit", **Southeast Asian Chronicle** 66: 2-17.

Hamid Don, Fatimah (1976) "The status, roles and achievements of women in Malaysia", in Legaspi, Leonards Z. (ed.) **The Role of Women in Development: Seminar Papers and Statements.** University of Santo Tomas Press, Manila.

Hancock, Mary (1983) "Transnational production and women worksers" in Phizacklea, Annie (ed.) **One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour.** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London. 131-145.

Herzog, M (1980) **From Hand to Mouth: Women and Piecework.** Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Heyzer, Noeleen (1986) **Working Women in South-east Asia - Development, Subordination and Emancipation.** Open University Press, Milton Keynes, Philadelphia.

Heyzer, Noeleen and Tan, Boon Kean (1988) "Work, skills and consciousness of women workers in Asia" in Heyzer, Noeleen (ed.) **Daughters in Industry.** Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur.

Hing, Ai Yun, Karim, Nik Safiah, and Talib, Rokiah (eds.) (1984) **Women in Malaysia.** Pelanduk Publications, Petaling Jaya. Department of Amthoropology and Sociology, University of Malay, Kuala Lumpur. Hing, Ai Yun and Talib, Rokiah (eds.) (1986) **Women and Work in Malaysia.**

Hirchman, C. and Aghajanian, A. (1978) "Women's labour force participation and socio-economic development: the case of Peninsular Malaysia, 1957-970", paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, San Francisco, August.

Hong, Evelyn (1983) "Rural women in development", in Hong, Evelyn (ed.) **Malaysian Women: Problems & Issues.** Consumers' Association of Penang, Penang.

Karim, Abu Bakar (1987) "Structural adjustment and fiscal policy: the reflation debate", paper presented at the MIER 1987 National Outlook Conference, Kuala Lumpur.

Kaur, Jeswart and Chua, Kok Ching (1983) "Unemployment among woemen in Malaysia", in **Proceedings of the Seminar on Economic Activities of Women in Malaysia.** National Family Planning Board, Kuala Lumpur.

Khoo Siew-Ean and Pirie, Peter (1984) "Female rural-to-urban migration in Peninsular Malaysia", in Fawcett, James T., Khoo, Siew-Ean and Smith, Peter C. (eds.) **Women in the Cities of Asia.** Westview Press, U.S.A.

Lang Chin Ying and Sieh, Mei Ling (1989) "Women in business", paper presented at the Colloquium on Development in Malaysia: Implications for Planning and Population Dynamics, Kuala Lumpur, 10-12 January.

Lau Lee Peng (1979) "Women labour force in West Malaysia 1968-1974", Unpublished Article. Faculty of Economics, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. October.

Leung, wing Yue (1986) "The dark side of industrialisation", **Multinational Monitor,** October 22-23.

Lim, Lin Lean (1983) "The role of women in the Malaysian Economy", paper presented at the Malaysian Chinese Association Seminar on Women in the Eighties, Their Achievements and Challenges Ahead, Kuala Lumpur, November.

_____ (1984) "Towards meeting the needs of urban female factory workers in Peninsular Malaysia"' in Jones, G.W. (ed.) **Women in the Urban and Industrial Workforce: Southeast and East Asia.** The Australian National University Development Studies Centre Monograph No. 33, Canberra.

_____ (1984) "The role of women in population and development in Asian countries" in Schubnell, H. et al (ed.) **Population Policies in Asian Countries Contemporary Targets, Measures and Effects.** Drager Foundation, Republic of Germnay and Centre for Asian Studies, Hong Kong.

_____ (1988) "Effects of women's position on migration", paper presented at the Conference on Women's Position and Demographic in the Course of Development, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Oslo.

Lim, Lin Lean and Chan, Paul (1983) "Migrant workers in ASEAN: a review of issues and implications for government policies" **International Migration.** Vol. XXI (2).

Lim, Lin Lean and Shymala Nagaraj (1985) "Women's status, development and ethnic differentials in fertility in Peninsular Malaysia", paper presented at the Rockfeller Foundation Workshop on Women's Status on Fertility, Seven Springs, June.

_____ (1986) "The status of women in Peninsular Malaysia: definition and measurements", paper presented at the Rockfeller Foundation Workshopon Women's Status on Fertility, New York, July.

Lim,Linda Y.C. (1978) Multinational Firms and Manufacturing for Export in Less Developed Countries: the Case of the Electronics Industry in Malaysia and Singapore. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

_____ (1980) Women in the redeployment of manufacturing industry to developing countries, **UNIDO Working Paper on Structural Changes.** No. 18, UNIDO.

Lin, Vivian (1987) "Women electronics workers in Southeast Asia: the emergence of a working class" in Henderson, J. and Castells, M. (eds.) **Global Restructuring and Territorial Development.** Sage, London. 112-135.

Lochead, James (1988) "Retrenchment in a Malaysian free trade zone" in Heyzer, Noeleen (ed.) **Daughters in Industry.** Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur.

Malaysia, Department of Statistics (1977) **General Report Population Census of Malaysia 1970.** Volume 1. Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1983) **General Report of the Population Census 1980.** Volume 1. Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ **Labour Force Survey Report.** Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur, various issues.

Malaysia, Government of (1966) **First Malaysia Plan 1966-1970.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1968) **Mid-term Review of the First Malaysia Plan 1966- 1970.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1971) **Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975. Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.**

_____ (1973) **Mid-term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1976) **Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1978) **Mid-term Review of the Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1981) **Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-1985.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1983) **Mid-term Review of the Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-1985.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur

_____ (1986) **Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986-1990.** Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur.

Malaysia, Ministry of Finance, **Economic Report.** Ministry of Finance, Kuala Lumpur, various issues.

Malaysia, Ministry of Labour (1984) **Occupational Wages Survey, Peninsular Malaysia, 1977-1983.** Ministry of Labour, Kuala Lumpur

_____ **Labour and Manpower Report.** Ministry of Labour, Kuala Lumpur, various years.

Malaysian Institute of Economics Research (1987a) "National economic forecasts 1988- 1989", paper presented at the MIER 1987 national Outlook Conference, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1987b) **Towards a New Deal: Proposal for A National Recovery Plan** MIER, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1987c) **Business Conditions Survey Report.** MIER, Kuala Lumpur, September.

McGee, T.G. (1969) Malays in Kuala Lumpur City. Ph D. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

Mohd. Yatim. Mashitah (1983) "Employment of women in Malaysia", in **Proceedings of the Seminar on Economic Activities of Women in Malaysia.** National Family Planning Board, Kuala Lumpur.

New Straits Times, 1986: 6 May.

Ng, Cecilia C.S. (1987) "Agricultural modernisation and gender differentiation in a rural Malay community 1983-1987", in **Technology and Gender -- Women's Work in Asia.** Hopak, Kuala Lumpur.

Salaff, Janet (1981) **Working Daughters of Hong Kong: Filial Piety of Power in the Family?.** Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

Salih, Kamal (1988) "Structural adjustment for sustainable growth: the case of Malaysia", paper presented at the Economic Planning Agency Conference, Tokyo, 7 -12 November

Salih, Kamal and Chan Lean Heng (1985) **Report of the Training Workshop on Participatory Action Research to Promote Organisation among Women Piece Rate Worker.** ESCAP, Bangkok.

Salih, Kamal and Young, Mei Ling (1985) "Employment, unemployment and retrenchment in Malaysia: the outlook and what is to be done about it?, paper presented at the MTUC Conference on Unemployment and Retrenchment in Malaysia, Penang, 10 October.

_____ (1986) "The end of a miracle? Retrenchment and unemployment in Malaysia in the 80's, paper presented at the Canadian Council of South East Asian Conference, Ottawa, 10-12 October.

_____ (1987) "Social forces, the state, and the international division of labour the case of Malaysia" in Henderson, J. and Castells, M. (eds.) **Global Restructuring and Territorial Development.** Sage, London, 168-202.

_____ (1988a) "Economic restructuring and the future of the electronics industry in Malaysia", paper presented at the Seminar on Changing Dimensions in the Electronics Industry in Malaysia, Penang, 14-15 March.

_____ (1988b) "Economic recovery and employment growth: why is unemployment so persistent?", paper presented at the MIER 1988 National Outlook Conference, Kuala Lumpur.

_____ (1989) "Changing conditions of labour in the semiconductor industry in Malaysia"' **Labour and Society**, Volume 14, Special Issue on High Tech and Labour, Geneva.

Salih, Kamal, Young, Mei Ling, Chan, Lean Heng, Chan, Chee Khoon. Loh, Kok Wah and Tan, Lay Cheng (1985) **Young Worker and Urban Services. A Case Study of Penang, Malaysia. Final Report.** Participatory Urban Services Project, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, June.

Salih, Kamal, Young, Mei Ling, and Tan, Hui Gek (1987) "The unemployment crisis: can we solve it", paper presented at the MIER 1987 National Outlook Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 23-24 November.

Salih, Kamal, Young, Mei Ling and Rasiah, Rajah (1988) "Changing face of the electronics industry in the periphery: the case of Malaysia" **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research** 12(3): 375-403.

Sivananthiran, A. (1987) "Employment opportunities and social responsibility with special reference to graduate unemployment", paper presented at the Forum on Employment Opportunities and Social Responsibility, Kuala Lumpur, June 20.

South-East Asia Chronicle (1979) **Changing Role of S.E. Asian Women: The Global Assembly Line and the Social Manipulation of Women on the Job.** Special Joint issue with Pacific Research.

Strauch, Judith (1984) "Women in rural-urban circulation networks: implications for social structural change", in Fawcett, James T., Khoo, Siew-Ean and Smith, Peter C. (eds.) **Women in the Cities of Asia.** Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

Sundram, Jomo K. and Tan, Peck Lung (1984) "Not the better half: Malaysian women and development planning", in Heyzer, Noeleen (ed) **Missing Women.** Asian and Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur.

Tan, Boom Kean (1986) "Women workers in the electronics industry" in Hing, A.Y. and Talib, R. (eds.) **Women and Employment in Malaysia.** Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Malaya. 17-32.

Tham, Ah Fun (1983) "Female participation in labour force: some social and economic correlates", in **Proceedings of the Seminar on Economic Activities of Women in Malaysia".** National Family Planning Board, Kuala Lumpur.

Tham, Seong Chee (1977) **Malays and Modernisation.** Singapore, Singapore University Press.

The Star, 1987: 20 May.

_____, 1987: 14 July.

_____, 1989:, 12 June

_____, 19879: 13 June.

Utusan Pengguna (1985) Oktober, 7(10)

UN Centre of Transnational Corporation (UNCTC) (1986) **Transnational Corporations in the International Semiconductor Industry.** United Nations, New York.

Young, Mei Ling (1982) a Structural Approach to Internal Migration in Peninsular Malaysia. Report for SEAPRAP, IDRC, Singapore.

_____ (1987) Industrialisation and its Impact on Labour Migration, MIER Discussion Paper No. 6 September.

Young, Mei Ling and Salih, Kamal (1986) "Industrialisation, retrenchment and household processes: implications for the recession", paper presented at the Himpunan Sains Social III, Persatuan Sains Sosial Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1-2 December (to be published).

_____ (Forthcoming) "Industrialisation and household response: a case study of Penang, Malaysia", in Drakakis-Smith, David W. (ed.) **The Urban Totem: Economic Development and Urbanisation in the Periphery and Semi-periphery.** Croom Helm, London.

Young Workers Education Project (1983) **Progress Report: Fourth Half Year,** Penang.

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN IN NIGERIA

B. ONIMODE
Professor of Economics
University of Ibadan

February 1989

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN IN NIGERIA

		Page
I.	GENERAL BACKGROUND	153
II.	ECONOMIC EFFECTS ON WOMEN OF ECONOMIC IMBALANCES AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES	154
	1. Income Effects	154
	2. Employment Effects	156
	3. Time Allocation	158
	4. Expenditure Effects	159
III.	SOCIAL EFFECTS ON WOMEN OF ECONOMIC IMBALANCES AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES	161
	1. Starvation and Malnutrition	161
	2. Health of Women and Children	162
	3. Maternity	163
	4. Crime	163
IV.	MITIGATING ACTIONS AGAINST THE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON WOMEN	163
	1. Women-Specific National Actions	163
	2. Other National Actions	164
	3. International Actions	164
	4. Summary	165
V.	FURTHER DATA FOR MONITORING WOMEN'S POSITION AND ACHIEVING GENDER-SENSITIVE ADJUSTMENT	165
1.	Further Data for Monitoring Women's Position	165
2.	Further Data for Gender-Specific Adjustment Progress	166
VI.	PRIORITY ACTIONS FOR IMPROVING WOMEN'S MAJOR ROLES AND PRODUCTIVITY	167
1.	Priority Actions for Assisting Women as Producers	167
2.	Women as Reproducers/Child Rearers	169
3.	Women as Consumers	169
4.	Women as Household/Community Organisers	170
VII.	REQUIRED CHANGES IN ADJUSTMENT POLICIES TO SUPPORT WOMEN IN THESE ROLES	170
VIII.	CONCLUSION	172

LIST OF TABLES IN TEXT

1.	Annual Percentage Changes in Consumer Price Index, 1978-88	155
2.	Unemployment Rates, 1980-87	157
3.	Spatial Unemployment Rates, 1983-85	158
4.	Allocation of Time by Urban Households, 1980/1-1984/5	159
5.	Substitution of Cheap for Nourishing Food and Fuel Substitution	160
6.	Infant and Child Mortality Rates, 1982, 1983 and 1985	162
7.	Sample of Women by Major Occupation	167

Page

ANNEX

ADDITIONAL TABLES

A.1 Percentage Distribution of Household Income in Urban Areas, 1982 173
A.2(a) Percentage Distribution of Unemployed Persons by Age Group and Sex, 1985-87 (Urban) 174
(b) Percentage of Unemployed Persons by Educational Level and Sex, 1985-87 (Urban) 174
A.3 Trends in Admissions of Children and Females at the University College Hospital, Ibadan, 1978-88 175
A.4 In- and Out-Patients at the University College Hospital, Ibadan, 1982-86 176
A.5(a) Comparison of Height by Age of Some Nigerian Children 176
(b) Comparison of Weight by Age of Some Nigerian Children 176
(c) Nutritional Status of Children in Oyo Town (Urban), August 1987 177
A.6 Trends in Attendance at Paediatric and Maternity Clinics in the University College Hospital, 1978-88 177

BIBLIOGRAPHY 178

I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

It is perhaps necessary to state at the outset that this study, like others of its kind, has to be based on before-and-after type of evidence. This means that it is usually not possible to isolate the impact of the policy or programme under examination and the effects of other relevant factors. But, wherever possible, the nature and impact of other factors that affect women significantly, besides economic imbalances and structural adjustment, will be indicated in the analysis.

For an appropriate appreciation of the analysis in this study, it is necessary to give a brief background on the nature of the economic imbalances and structural adjustment in Nigeria during the 1980s. The major imbalances have mainly been structural and longterm, though their manifestations have been shortterm in most cases. The most important of these economic imbalances have been in the balance of payments (rising imports and declining exports, both in volume and prices leading to rising external debt), food and employment, especially in relation to the rural-urban dichotomy.

These imbalances had already become acute by mid-1981 and three main adjustment or stabilisation programmes have been applied to them. Two of these programmes have been national while the third has been external. The first national programme was the Economic Stabilisation (Temporary Provisions) Act of April 1982, which was modified by the military regime of General Buhari during December 1983-August 1985. The austerity measures in this programme were extended under the second national programme, called the National Economic Emergency, for 15 months from October 1985, with a general pay cut of 2 to 20 per cent for all employees. The third adjustment programme was imposed by the IMF and the World Bank as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) from July 1986 to date (though it was officially announced to last only until June 1988).

Policies implemented under SAP since July 1986 include: retrenchment of about 30 per cent of the workforce of ministries, parastatals and private enterprises; massive devaluation of the national currency (naira), from about N1.00=$1.00 in early 1986 to around N7.6=$1.00 in early 1989, under foreign exchange auctions (with N11.00=$1.00 in the parallel market); budgetary cuts on education, health and other services of about 30 per cent and subsidy withdrawal across the board, (including a cut of about 80 per cent on petroleum products), (see footnote 2 on page 7); trade liberalisation with generalised tariff reductions on imports; an increase in interest rates from about 11 per cent to over 20 per cent; privatisation of public enterprises; debt conversion or debt-equity swap; general export promotion, including export of staple foodstuffs, until early 1989.

Besides the imaginative and highly impressive efforts of the UNICEF in Nigeria, this case-study is the first major evaluation of the impact of these adjustment programmes on women as a distinct social group. Their effects on women are disaggregated into economic and social, before exploring the policy responses to these effects.

II. ECONOMIC EFFECTS ON WOMEN OF ECONOMIC IMBALANCES AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES

As the adverse economic effects of the imbalances have been exacerbated by the austerity measures in the different adjustment programmes since 1981, their major impact on women centres on five areas. These are women's income, employment, time allocation, expenditure patterns, and the performance of their economic roles as producers and consumers. These effects will be analysed in the formal, agricultural (rural), and informal sectors of the economy in which women operate. They have been favourable for a small minority of privileged women, as also shown below.

1. Income Effects

The impact of the economic imbalances and adjustment measures on the incomes of most urban and rural women has been negative. And this is with respect to both money and real incomes. The continuing fall in women's cash incomes from 1982 was part of the general fall in the money incomes of most Nigerians in all sectors, for both employees and the self-employed. The World Bank has reported a fall in the country's per capita income from $1,000 in 1980 to $370 in 1988. The general fall in money incomes was due to the drastic reduction of GDP, whose annual growth rate fell to 3 per cent during 1982/85, the associated fall in aggregate investment, government expenditure, employment, import-export trade, the compulsory cut of 2 to 20 per cent in wages and salaries as part of emergency measures during 1985/86, and to the drastic reduction of fringe benefits and subsidies.

As women generally have remained at the lower end of the distribution of income, wealth and power, their money incomes have fallen even more for additional reasons. In the formal sector as employees, most women are crowded into the lower salary grades, so with the crisis and adjustment many of them lost their jobs or had their money wages and fringe benefits reduced. Minimum wages have remained pegged at N125.00 per month since 1981, while consumer prices have risen considerablly (Table 1), so that real minimum wages are only about 25 per cent of their 1980 levels. Although non-minimum wages have risen slightly in nominal terms in both the private and public sectors, they have fallen dramatically in real terms as is shown below. Unfortunately, gender-specific data on wages are not available.

Rural women in the agricultural sector suffered income losses from the agrarian crisis that reduced total agricultural output of foodstuffs, livestock and raw materials. Even when agricultural product prices rose (especially for foodstuffs), urban middle men and women creamed off most of the benefits and persistently paid low prices to the rural producers.

For export crops whose local prices have risen sharply from massive devaluation since 1986, rural women have not benefited much because they do not usually own land and cash-crop farms (for cocoa, rubber, cotton, groundnuts, etc). Most housewives and women in the informal sector have also suffered cash income losses because they are derivative income receivers from their husbands and consumers, respectively. Hence as most incomes fell, those of housewives fell even more, while the money incomes of women in informal sector activities like petty trading, catering, tailoring, etc., also fell from the general depression and relative crowding of those activities. Table A.1 in the Annex depicts household incomes by states - the 'income of others'

Table 1: Annual Percentage Changes in Consumer Price Index, 1978–88
(Base 1975)

Items/Years	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
All items	11.1	11.4	20.9	7.5	20.0	41.2	2.9	10.1	7.0	37.8
Food	7.1	11.1	29.8	8.2	22.4	46.0	-1.6	7.6	7.0	37.8
Accommodation, fuel and light	24.0	15.6	10.0	5.7	16.6	27.6	7.9	5.2	5.8	7.4
Clothing	13.9	13.4	7.1	5.6	15.1	33.6	12.0	23.7	4.9	15.3

Sources: Central Bank of Nigeria, Annual Reports, Lagos (various years);
Federal Office of Statistics (FOS), Statistical News, (various years).

in the table refers mainly to housewives, and their incomes are 30 per cent below those of household heads.

The fall in real income has been even more drastic for most Nigerians and for women in particular for two main reasons. These are the pauperising inflation since 1981 and the drastic withdrawal of subsidies on food, utilities, health care, education, etc. The official rates of inflation are shown below. But actual price increases have been much higher than these for basic needs like foodstuffs, accommodation, transport, health care and education. Thus the prices of staples like gari, bread, rice, beans and oil have risen by some 200 - 400 per cent since 1981. Consequently the average of real incomes by December 1988 was estimated at only about 30 per cent of their 1980 level[1] A separate estimate is not available for women but since most of them earn less cash income than men to start with, the plummeting of average real incomes must mean even lower real incomes for women.

The drastic withdrawal of subsidies on food, petroleum products, transport, utilities, health, education, agriculture, etc., has also reduced the real incomes of women. Thus as most Nigerians have been paying more for these items, especially since the introduction of SAP in 1986, women have also been spending more for food items, kerosene as cooking and lighting fuel (especially in rural areas), drugs, transport, water and electricity (where available at all) and children's education. Unfortunately, there are no data yet on these items, but subsidy withdrawal has raised the prices of many of them by over 100 per cent since 1985[2]. The real incomes of poor urban women on fixed money incomes have also tended to fall more than those of rural women who meet most of their consumption requirements from household production.

2. Employment Effects

The employment effects of the crisis and structural adjustment on urban women have been even more severe than the income effects. But although most of these effects have been concentrated in the formal and informal sectors there has also been heavy unemployment among women in the agricultural sector, including in the relevant Ministries and parastatals. The three main effects have been massive open unemployment, underemployment or disguised unemployment and occupational shifts from other sectors to the informal sector.

---

[1] Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society, Ibadan, May 1988.

[2] The author estimates the extent of subsidy cuts to be : from about 50 per cent on food items (rice, baby food, imported meat, etc.); around 80 per cent on petroleum products; 100 per cent on fertilisers; over 60 per cent on health care (drugs, health materials, etc.); and from free tuition in most schools, to fees of between N10 and N40 per annum in primary schools and of over N100 per annum in secondary schools.

The overall unemployment rates in the country have been summarised as follows:

Table 2: Unemployment Rates, 1980-87

1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
1.1	3.8	4.1	4.2	7.9	15	17	21

Source: Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Nigerian Economic Society, Ibadan, May 1988.

These are rather low figures and result from poor employment records. The unemployment rates were highest among urban secondary school leavers, at about 63 per cent in 1985/86 and 79 per cent in 1987.

As the 'last hired and first fired', women have been relatively hard hit by massive retrenchment in both public and private sectors. Details are difficult to obtain but, on average, it has been estimated that some 30 per cent of the workforce in Federal/State ministries and parastatals, as well as in local government, have been retrenched since 1983. Available unemployment data are presented in Table A.2 in the Annex[3]. They show that for ages 15-24 years, urban unemployment is heavier among women than men. Thus in 1987, while 26.5 per cent unemployment was reported for boys between ages 15-19 years, 40.9 per cent was reported for girls; for ages 20-24, the corresponding percentages were 34 for men and 39.8 for women. In many cases, both husband and wife were laid-off, often without benefit, for several months.

A major effect of the massive unemployment of women has been their crowding into the informal sector. The two dominant activities into which these unemployed women drift in urban areas are hair-dressing and food-drinks catering. Other informal sector activities for them are tailoring, petty trading in various foodstuffs and other consumer goods, and, unfortunately, smuggling, prostitution and crime. There are no national or even partial data on these activities. Rural unemployment generally is slight (Table 3)[4] and women affected by it tend to go into farming, petty trading and handicrafts.

---

[3] Unemployment within each sex in Table A.2(a) is used to make inferences about unemployment between the sexes - the comparison is incomplete but indicative of a pattern.

[4] It might be noted that low rural unemployment is due mainly to migration to urban centres and limited paid employment in rural areas. Rural-urban migration affects women adversely as it leaves relatively more of them in rural areas with declining support, and tends to crowd into low productivity jobs in both urban and rural areas.

Table 3: Spatial Unemployment Rates, 1983-85

Year	Urban	Rural
1983	7.3	2.4
1984	7.9	4.6
1985	9.7	3.0

Source: FOS - Labour Force Sample Surveys, Lagos.

In such circumstances, many of the unemployed and others seeking new jobs also became underemployed as 'weekend families' working on marginal jobs far from home, housekeeping, assisting on construction sites and other odd jobs to generate any income. This underemployment thus constitutes a reduction in the potential incomes of women and in their effective participation in the economy.

3. Time Allocation

Women typically allocate their time to three main areas of activity - production, home and community. Since the crisis and structural adjustment started, the allocation of time by both urban and rural women has shifted significantly towards catering for the home, especially in urban areas. The common reasons why women spend longer hours on housekeeping and rearing children are : unemployment or inability to get jobs, which forces them to become full-time housewives; underemployment, which forces them to engage in informal sector activities in their homes as petty-traders, tailors, etc, the production of home substitutes for scarce or expensive household needs like soap, milk, bread, etc (e.g. many housewives make soap in their garages and produce milk as well as other protein supplements at home from soya beans); searching for cheap sources which takes longer e.g. in shopping for scarce baby food; and an inability to pay for house-help (housemaid or houseboy) due to falling incomes which has also been forcing many women to spend more time on housekeeping and baby care. In reverse cases, some urban women have to spend longer hours outside the home because they are forced to take jobs with longer hours (especially in small-scale enterprises, hair-dressing, catering, etc.), or even secondary jobs, e.g. typing, coaching pupils, etc.

In rural areas, the allocation of women's time since the crisis has shifted towards longer hours in production (some 10-16 hours daily), especially on the farm, in procuring charcoal or firewood to substitute for kerosene that has become more expensive, and in producing some household substitutes for higher priced baby-food as well as preparing local soap and dyed cloth. Rural women have also established associations for promoting community health (e.g. in local diarrhoea control organised by the WHO), thrift societies for credit and savings, and joint enterprises for the production of vegetable oil, cloth etc.

The following data show the trend of the allocation of time by urban households.

Table 4: Allocation of Time by Urban Households, 1980/81-84/85 (in percentages)

Activity	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85
Employed	71.9	60.3	59.4	57.0	57.1
Seeking job and unable to work	2.3	2.2	3.3	3.0	4.7
Keeping house	16.2	21.3	19.0	21.0	18.7

Source: FOS, Social Statistics in Nigeria, 1985, p.113.

4. Expenditure Effects

The combination of falling cash and real incomes, general inflation and food scarcity has been forcing women (and the rest of the Nigerian populace) to change their patterns of expenditure. The dramatic necessity for this is reflected in the price trend of major food items in the country, such as gari, whose price shot up from N10 per tin in 1986 to N30 in December 1988 and rice whose price jumped from N120 to N500 per bag in the same period. A chicken which used to cost about N7 now sells for over N20.

Consequently, women have had to switch their expenditure patterns in three main adverse ways[5] : from rich protein food to cheap food, from other expenditures to food, and from personal and extended family budgets to nuclear household budgets[5]. The first switch, from nourishing to poor quality foodstuffs to reduce home-management cost, is shown in Table 5 for four major food items and fuel.
Summaryecond expenditure switch is to food items from other household expenditures like clothing, health care, transport or travel and entertainment the last two by middle-class households since the poor cannot afford them).

---

[5] Empirical evidence includes : (i) a household survey by University of Ibadan, by oral interview of housewives, December 1988; (ii) evidence of participants at the WORDOC Conference indicated elsewhere in this chapter (Section IV.1; and (iii) periodic media (newspaper and television) reports.

Table 5: Substitution of Cheap for Nourishing Food and Fuel Substitution

Baby Food	Tubers	Cereals	Meat	Milk	Fuel
Cerelac to local pap from maize or millet	Yam to gari (cassava); from yam and cassava to their pealings formerly fed to animals by the poor (urban and rural)	From real cereals (maize, or sorghum) to cereal 'husks' formerly fed to animals by the poor	From beef meat to beef bones; from meat to cheap frozen fish and vegetables by the poor (urban & rural)	From liquid to powdered milk and self-made soya-bean milk by the middle class	From gas to Kerosene(middle class urban); kerosene to charcoal and firewood (poor urban and rural)

Source: Own Urban and Rural Household Survey, December 1988.

Unfortunately, there are no data on the extent of the switch. But as average household cash incomes have fallen or stagnated while food prices have risen by over 200 per cent in most cases, women as household managers have had to divert expenditures on a considerable scale in order to try to maintain their families' food consumption. The extent of women's expenditure switch to food items in employed households (i.e. with wife and/or husband employed) may be as much as 30-50 per cent. For rural women who mainly produce their own food, the diversion of expenditure has been much less. Many households have therefore been using their savings or resorting to overdraft facilities in their banks or, in the case of the poor without access to such facilities, to outright debt.

The third switch in patterns of spending involves women's supplementation of the housekeeping allowance provided by their husbands. Before the crisis and adjustment, women added some 20-30 per cent to the allowance, but since the 1980s most of them have been adding 30-100 per cent, especially in urban areas, and in both middle-class and poor households. In cases where the husband abandons the home or becomes jobless, 100 per cent of the household expenditure is provided by the wife.

Moreover, as the social wage has been falling drastically due to subsidy withdrawal, many women across the board have had to spend relatively more on health care (to cover pregnancy and childbirth, baby and child care as well as for their own normal requirements) or making their contribution to school fees and the other educational expenses of their children. They have also had to pay more for fuel, transport, utilities and clothing, but the lion's share of these non-food expenses has gone to health and education. The implications of these adverse economic effects on the roles of women as producers and consumers are discussed in Section VI.

III. SOCIAL EFFECTS ON WOMEN OF ECONOMIC IMBALANCES AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES

The social effects on vulnerable groups, including women, of the current crisis and its structural adjustment measures have been studied by UNICEF, the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER), the Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) and independent researchers. These effects are adverse and confirm the growing international consensus on the negative social impact of structural adjustment and the debt crisis. The most traumatic social effects on women and their children are mainly with respect to the growing incidence of starvation and malnutrition, children's diseases and mortality, and crime.

1. Starvation and Malnutrition

The UN's assessment of adjustment in Africa, which was based partly on UNICEF data, reported in September 1988 that about 103 million Africans were starving, with some 30 million of them in Nigeria. Unfortunately, there are no data on the numbers of women included in this estimate. However, the incidence of starvation is assumed - optimistically - to affect men and women equally, then as women constitute about half the Nigerian population, that means these are at least 15 million starving Nigerians.

Evidence of malnutrition, has been well confirmed by data from UNICEF, NISER, FOS and other researchers. Thus increased dietary deficiencies, maternal malnutrition and diseases of poverty are reported to have aggravated the incidence of rickets, goitre and pellagra in females compared with males[6]. Malnutrition has also increased the dangers of risky pregnancy and child birth, which in turn have led to serious nutritional diseases in children as shown below.

2. Health of Women and Chidlren

The health of women and their children has deteriorated during the crisis. Besides the specific nutritional diseases, women have also been suffering from psychological and mental stress due to poor feeding, overwork and anxiety over the physical survival of themselves and their children. Tables A.3 and A.4 in the Annex depict the deteriorating health of women with respect to attendance at the national University College Hospital (UCH) during 1978-88. In Table A.3, column (3) shows that the female cases rose sharply above the 1980 level up to 1986, while the obstetrics (OBS) cases rose suddenly in 1984 and the gynaecological (GYN) cases were above their 1982 level from 1983 to 1988.

The deteriorating health of the children of these women is shown in Table A.4 and panels (a), (b) and (c) of Table A.5 in the Annex. In Table A.4, the number of children registered as both in- and out-patients rose sharply in 1984 and 1985 before dropping in 1986. Panels (a) and (b) of Table A.5 indicated that malnutritional diseases have been reducing weight-for-age and height-for-age ratios in both urban and rural children; these ratios in 1987 and 1988 were worse than in the 1960s and show the children barely surviving on the margins of life. Panel (c) of Table A..5 depicts possible to severe protein energy malnutrition (PEM) in the children relative to normal growth shown in the first row of the table. In many cases, the weight and height of the children were reduced to less than 50 per cent of normal.

But the data on the effects on mortality have been curiously inconclusive for both women and children, as shown below:

Table 6: Infant and Child Mortality Rates, 1982, 1983, 1985 (per thousand)

	1982	1983	1985
Infant mortality rate (under 1 year)	28	17	21
Child mortality rate (1-4 years)	108	113	109

Source: World Development Report, various years.

[6] World Bank (1986) Financing Adjustment with Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1986-90, Washington, World Bank.

3. Maternity

Another adverse social effect of the crisis and adjustment is on maternity. In Table A.6 of the Annex, there is evidence that women have been resorting to child-birth out of hospitals and clinics because they cannot afford hospital bills - hence the drop in maternity attendance from 11 per cent in 1982 to 4.8 per cent in 1988 (women's attendance as nutritional patients at the UCH also dropped, from 50 per cent of the total in 1983 to 39 per cent in 1988). Yet the World Bank has been proposing higher user charges for maternal and child health care.

4. Crime

A further agonising aspect of these social effects is the increasing involvement of women in criminal activities for physical survival. Prostitution is commonest, especially among female school-leavers between the ages of 15 and 19. Then there are smuggling, drug-pushing and increasing women's participation with men in armed robbery gangs. Again, there are no reliable data on the number of women involved in these crimes, but several cases have been reported in the media since the current crisis started. Most of the women involved are usually from the unemployed urban poor.

IV. MITIGATING ACTIONS AGAINST THE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON WOMEN

As would be expected, the disastrous (and some would even say catastrophic) effects on women of the current crisis and its structural adjustment measures have prompted some national and international actions, both to mitigate the trauma and to assist women to benefit from the adjustment process. Unfortunately, however, these actions have been basically insignificant relative to the magnitude of the problems. Moreover, only three of the six national programmes and one of the two international programmes are women-specific.

1. Women-Specific National Actions

Better Life for Rural Women. This programme was started in 1988 with a large trade fair for rural women from all over Nigeria, in Lagos - of all places. That immediately raised doubts about its usefulness, while its launching by elite urban women aroused suspicion about its propaganda value at a time of intense national debate on the social relevance of structural adjustment. In spite of this, the programme has continued to be introduced in local government areas. Its basic commitment is to improve the living conditions of rural women by increasing their co-operation, skills and productivity. But it is too recent to have produced any real impact on rural women so far.

National Commission on Women. This was also announced in 1988, essentially as an expression of Government commitment to the cause of women. Its format and infrastructure are still to be established and so it has not yet become operational.

The Women's Research and Documentation Centre (WORDOC). This was established in 1987 under the Institute of Africa Studies, University of Ibadan (where it is housed and has the same Director as the Institute). It

collates and is building up documentation on women's studies, has drawn up a programme of research on 'women in agriculture' and plans linkages with Dalhousie University in Canada. In September 1988 it hosted an African regional meeting organised by Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) on the impact on women of debt and the food crisis in which the author participated. Though the Centre is mainly academic, it has been making efforts to raise women's consciousness of the crisis in different parts of the country, even if this activity has been but marginal.

2. Other National Actions

National Directorate of Employment (NDE). This was established in the 1986 Budget to deal with the growing problem of mass unemployment. Its four programmes are the youth employment and vocational skills programme, the agricultural scheme to provide farm work for the unemployed, the small-scale and graduate employment programme, and the special public works scheme. As none of them is targeted on women (urban or rural), the NDE has had only a marginal effect on their unemployment problems.

Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DIFRRI). This was established in 1985 primarily to help expand rural infrastructure in the first instance. But it has since extended its activities to include rural food production and technology development. Again, this programme has no specific focus on women, though it has had more impact on them than has the NDE.

Basic Health Services Strategy (BHSS) and Primary Health Care (PHC). The BHSS started under the Third Development Plan of 1975-80 but in 1984 a review by a Technical Advisory Group maintained that it has failed to make in any significant impact on the health status of children and women. (UNICEF/NISER 1985, p. 28). The PHC was established in 1986 to deal with the basic problems of primary health care that had been compounded by the crisis and adjustment of the 1980s. But it has been reported that in its first 30 model local governments areas little is being undertaken to improve the health of its target population. Thus, for example, rural dwellers still pay as much as N20 for a complete immunisation package because of poor access to the Expanded Programme of Immunisation. In general these programmes have not been large enough or sufficiently well resourced to cope with the traumatic effects on women's health caused by crisis and adjustment.

3. International Actions

UNICEF's programme for Nigeria can be viewed within the agency's commitment to 'adjustment with a human face'. To its credit UNICEF has maintained the most consistent focus on the needs of the vulnerable urban and rural poor as well as of children during the catastrophe of debt and adjustment in Africa and much of the rest of the Third World. In Nigeria, it has mounted impressive urban and rural surveys on the conditions of these vulnerable groups and launched a national programme for 'Child Survival', in which the author participates. Through these activities, it has focused national (official and public) attention on the problems of women and children, and thus contributed indirectly to the establishment of some of the government programmes discussed above. But to date, the UNICEF has not had the resources to launch action programmes that will really mitigate the adverse effects of crisis and adjustment on women or assist them effectively to adjust more satisfactorily.

The WHO has been collaborating with the Federal Ministry of Health on the basis of its commitment to primary health care and health for all by the year 2000. More specifically, it has been operating a community-based diarrhoea control programme through oral rehydration therapy.

4. Summary

Taken collectively, the national and international actions taken so far have been grossly inadequate in dealing with women's problems in Nigeria during the current crisis. For example, there is not a single programme addressed to urban women, while the Better Life for Rural Women has to date been at best a promise. This situation is basically the result of poor conceptualisation of the impact of the crisis and adjustment, inadequate social and policy awareness of the seriousness of the problems and the very low level of democratic participation by women in the country's decision-making and resource allocation processes.

V. FURTHER DATA FOR MONITORING WOMEN'S POSITION AND ACHIEVING GENDER-SENSITIVE ADJUSTMENT

An alarming and disproportionate share of the burden of crisis and adjustment has been falling on vulnerable groups like women, children as well the rural-urban poor, on which there are inadequate data. In order to rectify the situation, with respect to women, it is essential to collect and collate data both on the effects of adjustment on them and on how they might benefit or at least not suffer from that adjustment.

1. Further Data for Monitoring Women's Position

From the foregoing analysis, two types of further data are required for monitoring women's position in crisis and adjustment. These correspond to the gender disaggregation of existing data and the collection of women-specific data on a trend basis (e.g. 1980 to date).

Gender disaggregation of existing data for women. Most of the existing data on the economic and social impact of the crisis and adjustment are aggregative for the national population or for particular social groups and are without gender focus. Relevant data that exist, fully or partially, but require disaggregation into male-female in order to reflect the economic and social effects on women in Nigeria over time, cover :

- income - money and real wages as well as total cash and real incomes from all sources and by sector (formal, agricultural and informal);
- retrenchment - rural, urban, by age, schooling, occupation and sector (formal, informal, agriculture);
- starvation - in rural and urban areas;
- malnutrition - in rural and urban areas;
- nutritional diseases - rural, urban;
- mortality - rural, urban, 0-4, 5-11 years and higher age groups.

Required women-specific impact data. Assessment of the specific socio-economic effects of crisis and adjustment on women require the following additional trend data :

. risky pregnancy - number of cases in rural-urban areas;
. child birth accidents - cases in rural-urban areas;
. time allocation - daily on regular employment (wage, agricultural or self-employment) and household work/child care;
. expenditure patterns on food and non-food, fuel, baby-food, health care, education, transport, etc;
. height-age and weight-age ratios of children - rural, urban.

2. Further Data for Gender-Specific Adjustment Progress

To facilitate a more gender-specific adjustment process, trend data for women will also be required on :

. employment/unemployment/retrenchment-rural, urban, by age, schooling, occupation and sector (formal, agricultural and informal);
. incomes - money and real wages and other incomes by sector (formal, agricultural and informal);
. maternal and child care - rural-urban distribution of facilities, user charges and subsidies;
. drugs - sources (local and import), prices, subsidies and rural-urban availability;
. nutritional requirements and costs;
. baby food - rural-urban supply, sources (local and import), prices, subsidy;
. food - prices of staple foodstuffs, subsidies, rural-urban supply, sources (local and import);
. inflation - possible rates, sources, food and non-food, rural, urban;
. education - fees, subsidy, rural-urban availability/enrolment by level (primary, secondary, tertiary) and drop-outs;
fuel - sources, prices, subsidy, rural-urban supply;
. transport - modes, fares, subsidy, rural-urban availability;
. national population - sex, age, occupational, spatial distribution.

In Nigeria, as in many other countries, the existing national statistical organs (e.g. the Federal Office of Statistics, FOS) are not equipped to generate all these data. So it is necessary to mount specific surveys like those of UNICEF, NISER and independent researchers to collect and analyse the data for policy purposes. The funding of such data collection and specific studies should be built into the general budget of the adjustment process. Without them, adjustment policies and programmes are bound to be based on guesswork, implicit theorising and, in many instances, mindless repression with disastrous economic and social consequences, as is the case now. International aid agencies and NGOs need to be well-informed about this critical data aspect of their humanitarian activities so as to maximise their effectiveness.

VI. PRIORITY ACTIONS FOR IMPROVING WOMEN'S MAJOR ROLES AND PRODUCTIVITY

In the context of the current crisis and structural adjustment and their adverse effects on women, it is desirable to focus priority policy actions for enhancing the productivity of women on their four major roles as producers, reproducers/child-rearers, consumers and household/community organisers. Such policy actions should be both national and international, and they should be community- or grassroots-based as much as possible, in order to benefit from local knowledge, effective participation by the direct beneficiaries and enhance the democratic control and accountability required for self-development. The relevant priority actions are thus specific to each of the major roles of women.

1. Priority Actions for Assisting Women as Producers

Priority policy actions to enhance the productivity of women as producers should be directed to the different sectors (formal, agricultural and informal) in which women operate as producers.

Women as agricultural producers.

The majority of Nigerian women live in rural areas (like the rest of the national population) and engage in agricultural production. The following sample survey report reflects the extent and forms of women's agricultural participation in three local government areas of the Oyo North Agricultural Development Project (ONADEP).

Table 7: Sample of Women by Major Occupation

Major Occupation	No. of Cases	Percentage
Agricultural farming		26.6
Agro-based		32.9
Non-agro based	322	40.7
Type of farming		
Crops	283	47.0
Livestock	277	19.0
Mixed	277	13.7
Involvement in agro-based industry		
Yes		59.7
No	293	40.3
Secondary occupation		
Farming	75	39.1
Agro-based	69	35.9
Non-agro based	48	25.0

Source: WORDOC's African Regional Conference for DAWN, University of Ibadan, September 1988.

Women's role in agriculture is so important that it has been observed that the country's food crisis is due partly to the marginalisation of women in this sector. The main agricultural activities in which women participate are land preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting, storage, processing and marketing, in addition to keeping livestock, milking cows, and processing and marketing the milk.

For enhancing these agricultural activities of women, the following priority actions are needed:

- institutional or legal changes in land tenure to give peasant men and women as well as big farmers equal access to land, water and other natural resources;
- women's direct access to inputs, credit, extension and other services, especially extension work in agriculture, livestock husbandry and women's co-operatives;
- women's direct participation in planning and implementation of agricultural projects;
- women's access to relevant artisan and other technologies for food processing, storage, etc;
- storage, transportation and marketing services for women's agricultural organisations - parasitic urban 'middle' men and women should be removed to give peasant women better prices;
- access to education and research, especially for rural women, through mass and adult literacy programmes to facilitate their mastery of technology, co-operative procedures and to generate adequate information on women's activities and their problems - normadic education should be organised for pastoral women;
- technical service centres to aid women with tractors and allied equipment for reducing the tedium of farm labour that are beyond their means;
- the anti-rural bias of official policy is a wasteful anachronism that should be jettisoned.

<u>Women's production in the informal sector</u>.

The informal sector is the second largest employer of women in Nigeria and many other countries, but policy for it receives scant attention. The required priority actions here are:

- a sector study - detailed study of women's activities in the sector, the organisations, problems, prospects, financing, etc., as a solid factual basis upon which to apply relevant policies;
- legal protection against harassment, of women's working conditions (wages, hours, etc.) in the sector and from encroachment on the sector by big firms through 'unfair' competition;
- organising, training and trade-testing women in the sector to establish and maintain standards under registration;
- financing and credit, especially in rural areas;
- supply of equipment and other inputs to the sector, e.g. sewing machines, cooking and hair-dressing equipment, etc.;
- access to relevant artisan and other technologies, e.g. for pottery, other crafts, etc.;
- education to ensure permanent literacy through mass or adult literacy to facilitate technological acquisition and raise productivity through record keeping;

- encouragement of women co-operatives in the sector to benefit from the strength of unity, access to collective credit, resource pooling, etc;
- creation of an informal sector department in the Ministry of Trade and Industry or even a National Informal Sector Commission to oversee all activities and resolve problems.

Women's production in the formal sector.

It is in this sector that women are 'last hired and first fired', subjected to most systematic discrimination and least engaged relative to their demographic strength. The priority actions here must confront prejudice and old-fashioned stereotypes of women in order to raise their productivity through:

- equal legal and institutional opportunities for employment, promotion, pay and other service conditions for men and women through the abolition of all discriminatory laws and practices;
- legal protection of women in non-unionised and small-scale enterprises with unacceptable working conditions (low pay, long hours, etc);
- equal educational opportunities for women to enable them to compete effectively for employment and advancement through women's scholarships, bursaries, etc.;
- adequate and special access to training for women;
- enhanced access for women to relevant technologies;
- formation of women professional associations, e.g. of lawyers, accountants, etc. to protect and advance women in their professions.

2. Women as Reproducers/Child Rearers

The required priority actions to promote this role are:

- legal provision for paid leave for all women in all jobs during pregnancy and maternity;
- provision of official day-care centres, nurseries, etc., for children in all major establishments and neighbourhoods;
- free maternity and child care in all health facilities for up to three children per mother - mobile clinics to be used where other health facilities do not exist;
- subsidised baby-food and drugs with adequate financial allocation for their supply by government;
- subsidised children's wear (clothes, shoes, etc.);
- legalised abortion to terminate risky and unwanted pregnancies with consent of married and single women;
- free immunisation for all babies and up to three children per mother;
- regardless of crisis and adjustment, health and education budgets not to be cut (e.g. pegged to pre-crisis level in real terms per capita).

3. Women as Consumers

In order to enhance the role of women as consumers the following priority actions are necessary:

- maintain subsidies on baby-food, drugs and agriculture (especially food production);

- eliminate profiteering middle men and women in food marketing in order to lower the prices of foodstuffs;
- organise women and other consumer co-operatives to distribute scarce essential commodities;
- enforce price control on essential commodities and ban monopolistic sellers' associations that raise commodity prices;
- ensure adequate supply of basic-needs goods and drugs through relevant incentives, e.g. subsidies, credit, land redistribution, special imports, reduced taxes, etc;
- control inflation by eliminating large deficit-financing, unproductive government spending, excessive increases in money supply and massive devaluation;
- sustain real incomes through minimum wage laws to be reviewed periodically, avoiding retrenchment (e.g. by profit-making enterprises) and giving priority to job creation, (e.g. through small-business credit).

4. Women as Household/Community Organisers

The enhancement of the role of women as household and community organisers requires priority actions that:

- promote community projects through self-help ventures and co-operative organisations and projects;
- enhance the participation of women in planning and implementation of policies, programmes and projects through grassroots democratisation, development from below and community empowerment;
- grant autonomy to local women (urban and rural) to articulate action programmes and projects, and assist with their financing and execution;
- build democratic structures of decision-making on the voluntary organisations of local people with effective participation and accountability;
- teach political education with civic rights, and duties of citizens with democratic skills like organising meetings, keeping records, voting, representation, etc;
- educate men to accept women as equals and partners rather than as servants or inferiors;
- give women more status and leisure for household organising by raising their education, employment and income, assisting with child rearing, etc.

Clearly these priority actions are beyond the capacity of national governments alone, just as debtor countries alone can never adjust adequately to the current global disequilibria. The international community, as financial institutions, aid donors and NGOs, has to play a role in order to supplement, but not replace, national initiatives in these matters.

VII. REQUIRED CHANGES IN ADJUSTMENT POLICIES TO SUPPORT WOMEN IN THESE ROLES

There are several changes in Nigeria's current adjustment policies that are required in order to encourage and support women in the performance of their four major roles. First, the objectives of adjustment should be

changed to emphasise growth and development rather than mere recovery. The preoccupation with short-run adjustment in this crisis marginalises the roles of women and encourages their repression, since their roles are essentially dynamic with a definite orientation towards growth, change and development that require changes in patterns of ownership of land and other assets, as well as in access, productivity and distribution.

The prominence of demand management and financial orientation in current adjustment should also be changed to emphasise supply expansion and changes in the real structures of the economy and society - structures of power, production, employment, consumption, technology and distribution. Severe shortages of consumer goods and other basic needs point to the urgent need to expand their supply through the active participation of women.

Massive and even callous retrenchment that often affects both husband and wife must be replaced with more humane redeployment. Job creation must become a major adjustment policy which should emphasise small-scale enterprises, wider distribution of credit and access to foreign exchange, less capital-intensive methods, withdrawal of expatriate quotas that favour foreign workers, and labour diversion to agriculture and the informal sector.

Sweeping subsidy withdrawal and drastic budget cuts must stop, especially for health, food production, scarce consumer goods (e.g. baby food), and education. Even in economically advanced countries like the USA and the EC members, agricultural support programmes offer subsidies.

The excessive debt service ratio of about 30 per cent (for 1989 in Nigeria) in current adjustment is very subversive of women's major roles as it leaves too little foreign exchange for the import of inputs and commodities that are essential for women's roles. The conversion of debts into grants or their cancellation, a moratorium of five or more years on debt repayment and interest charges, loan repayment in local currency, etc., have all been canvassed by the OAU as alternative and less destructive debt-service policies. It may be recalled in this context that in 1942 the US pegged the service on Britain's debt to 2 per cent of Britain's annual export earnings - yet conditions are much worse in the present debtor countries.

The current adjustment process imposes most if not all the burden on the debtor countries alone. This is the implication of the harsh conditionality of the IMF and the World Bank that has now been extended to aid under the Lomé Convention (i.e. Lomé III) and even to the UNDP. Yet, economic theory is very clear that both creditor (surplus) and debtor (deficit) countries must adjust simultaneously to facilitate the process - and this will enhance the performance of women's role by making more resources available from national governments and the international community. It should be appreciated that debt rescheduling has been raising the overall cost of debt service to Africa by about US$1 billion annually, and that IMF and World Bank loans have therefore been mainly used for servicing debt, with very little left for domestic purposes.

The external orientation of current adjustment is also inimical to women's roles. These adjustment policies currently emphasise trade liberalisation, massive devaluation that fuels domestic inflation, flexible exchange rates that encourage capital flight and give greater sway for the multinational corporations. But the promotion of the performance of women's

roles requires inward-looking development and greater national self-reliance as an alternative model of development that relies mainly on the productivity of the national population in modest and effective projects.

Current adjustment policies also undermine the democratisation of countries like Nigeria by encouraging the militarisation of politics, general political repression and the coercive enforcement of unpopular measures like retrenchment, subsidy withdrawal, privatisation, banning of mass organisations of workers, students, etc. These are the very negation of the democratic participation and community empowerment required to enhance women's participation and productivity. It should be quite clear that without democracy there can be no effective women's participation and accountability, and so there will be little prospect for development.

Finally, structural adjustment policies must deal with the population issue - its rapid growth and maldistribution in relation to pockets of land hunger. The current population policy in Nigeria of four children per woman under polygamy is unsatisfactory. A maximum of two to three children per woman linked to the provision of free public services (e.g. free medicare, primary education, etc.) should be enforced. This will lessen women's reproductive burden, reduce their child rearing responsibilities and release additional energies and resources for direct production, consumption and organisational work.

VIII. CONCLUSION

The impact of the economic crisis of the 1980s and the associated structural adjustment measures on women in Nigeria has been and continues to be devastating. They have inflicted heavy unemployment, huge reductions in real income and consumption and have marginalised women even further in the economy. Women have suffered severely from starvation, malnutrition and psychological stress in addition to risky pregnancies, child birth accidents, nutritional diseases and high mortality - for their children as well as themselves, especially in rural and urban slums.

Unfortunately the mitigating actions so far adopted to deal with these traumatic effects are neither sufficiently women-specific nor effective. Hence the need to generate more data for monitoring women's position and promoting a gender-sensitive adjustment process through the disaggregation of existing data and the collection of women-specific data. Such data and related studies should be regarded as integral aspects of the crisis management and funded accordingly.

These detailed data and analyses are also required to provide a reliable empirical basis for more socially relevant priority actions to improve the productivity of women in their major roles. They also dictate the need for modifications of current adjustment policies to enhance women's roles. Such adjustment changes relate to the need for development and growth objectives in adjustment, a shift from demand management to supply expansion, elimination of excessive debt service, selective restoration of vital subsidies and so on. All these require the co-ordinated efforts of both the Nigerian Government and the international community, since adjustment should be seen correctly as a global problem.

Table A.1 Percentage Distribution of Household Income in Urban Areas, 1982

States	Income of Head	Income of Others
Anambra	76.40	23.60
Bauchi	94.30	5.70
Bendel	82.06	17.94
Benue	87.69	12.31
Borno	99.28	0.72
Cross River	76.64	23.36
Gongola	91.94	8.06
Imo	73.45	26.55
Kaduna	98.50	1.50
Kano	89.99	10.01
Kwara	62.35	37.65
Lagos	81.31	18.69
Niger	93.52	6.48
Ogun	73.52	26.48
Ondo	77.12	22.88
Oyo	74.03	25.97
Plateau	87.91	12.09
Rivers	79.38	20.62
Sokoto	99.23	0.76

Computed from corrected Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) data, 1985, National Integrated Survey of Households: Report of General Household Survey 1982-1983, Lagos, p.25.

Table A.2(a) Percentage Distribution of Unemployed Persons: by Age Group and Sex, 1985-87 (Urban)

	Years	1985 M	1985 F	1986 M	1986 F	1987 M	1987 F
Persons	15-19	27.1	37.7	33.0	38.4	26.5	40.9
	20-24	39.5	40.0	32.6	35.7	34.0	39.8
	25-44	26.0	14.6	30.2	19.5	28.3	23.9
	45-54	3.1	2.7	2.1	2.7	4.4	1.1
	55-59	4.3	2.3	2.1	3.7	1.0	0.1

Source: Statistical News, FOS, 1985-87.

Table A.2(b) Percentage of Unemployed Persons by Educational Level and Sex, 1985-1987 (Urban)

Education	1985 M	1985 F	1986 M	1986 F	1987 M	1987 F
None	10.5	16.2	9.3	17.3	11.5	6.8
Primary	23.3	13.8	17.4	14.1	9.7	4.5
Secondary	60.4	62.3	65.3	63.8	75.2	81.8
College	0.4	5.4	3.8	1.6	2.7	4.5
Polytechnic	1.6	-	0.7	1.1	-	1.2
University	3.8	2.3	3.5	2.1	0.9	1.2
Average unemployment, all persons and educational levels		15		17		21

Source: Statistical News, FOS, 1985-87.

Table A.3 Trends in Admissions of Children and Females at the University College Hospital ,Ibadan, 1978-88

Year	% of Total Children (1)	% of Total Children (2)	Females (3)	% of Total Females (4)	% of Total OBS (5)	% of Total OBS (6)	% of Total GYN (7)	% of Total GYN (8)	% of Grand Total (9)	% of Total (10)
1978	1,529	9.3	7,904	11.4	4,328	12.6	771	10.1	14,532	11.4
1979	1,402	8.6	7,138	10.3	3,913	11.4	712	9.3	13,165	10.3
1980	1,067	6.5	5,505	8.0	3,066	8.9	493	6.4	10,131	7.9
1981	1,528	9.3	6,811	9.8	3,781	11.0	610	8.0	12,730	10.0
1982	1,456	8.9	6,829	9.9	3,780	11.0	488	6.4	12,550	9.8
1983	1,368	8.4	6,159	8.9	3,124	9.1	593	7.7	11,244	8.8
1984	1,577	9.6	5,865	9.9	3,531	10.3	721	9.4	12,678	9.9
1985	1,567	9.6	5,965	8.6	2,927	8.5	685	8.9	11,144	8.7
1986	1,516	9.2	5,590	8.1	2,170	6.3	905	11.8	10,181	8.4
1987	1,357	8.3	5,254	8.3	1,969	5.7	906	11.8	9,486	7.0
1988	2,016	12.3	5,184	7.5	1,754	5.1	764	10.0	9,718	7.6
	16,383		69,185		34,343		7,658		127,559	

OBS = obstetric cases
GYN = gynaecological cases
Source: The University College Hospital, Ibadan, 1989

Table A.4 In- and Out-Patients at the University College Hospital Ibadan, 1982-86

Year	In-Patients		Consultative Out-Patients		Non-Consultative Out-Patients	Grand Total
	Children	Total	Children	Total		
1982	2,456	10,194	38,426	254,383	85,858	350,435
1983	1,368	9,292	34,306	175,772	74,249	259,313
1984	1,577	10,491	82,616	252,364	77,282	340,137
1985	1,567	9,397	100,614	285,826	81,064	376,287
1986	1,516	9,129	32,286	208,866	32,153	250,148
Total	8,484	48,503	288,248	1,177,211	350,606	1,576,320

Source: Osuntokun, B.O. (1987) in Erinosho and Akindele (ed.).

Table A.5(a) Comparison of Height by Age of Some Nigerian Children

Age Group in months	Mean Height Oje 1968	Mean Height Nigerian Elite 1968	Mean Height Ilora 1976	Mean Height Idikan 1984
0 - 6	64.5	67.0	61.0	60.4
7 - 12	71.0	77.0	67.0	69.1
13 - 18	76.0	83.0	74.0	77.3
19 - 24	81.5	88.0	79.0	81.1
25 - 30	85.0	92.5	81.0	83.3
31 - 36	89.0	96.5	84.0	86.5
37 - 42	92.0	100.0	87.0	95.9
43 - 48	95.0	102.0	90.0	96.05
49 - 54	98.0	105.0	91.0	98.9
55 - 60	100.0	110.0	95.0	97.7

Source: WORDOC African Regional Conference of DAWN, University of Ibadan, September 1987.

Table A.5(b) Comparison of Height by Age of Some Nigerian Children

Age Group in months	Mean Weight Oje 1968	Mean Weight Nigerian Elite 1968	Mean Weight Ilora 1976	Mean Weight Idikan 1984
0 - 6	5.5	5.8	5.2	5.5
7 - 12	6.5	7.4	6.0	7.4
13 - 18	7.4	9.4	7.1	9.1
19 - 24	8.5	10.6	7.8	10.1
25 - 30	9.6	11.8	8.6	10.9
31 - 36	11.0	13.0	9.4	11.8
37 - 42	11.5	14.0	10.5	13.5
43 - 48	12.4	15.1	11.4	13.2
49 - 54	13.8	15.8	12.5	14.6
55 - 60	14.8	16.8	14.0	14.1

Source: Same as for Table A.5(a).

Table A.5(c) Nutritional Status of Children in Oyo Town (Urban), August 1987

Nutritional Status of the Child	Weight-by-Age		Height-by-Age	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
A	46.24	29.49	30.99	18.29
B	19.35	33.33	26.76	30.49
C	13.98	24.36	16.90	21.95
D	20.43	12.82	25.35	29.27

'A' denotes growth and no evidence of malnutrition; while 'B' denotes possible protein energy malnutrition (PEM), 'C' moderate PEM and 'D' severe PEM.

Source: Computed from Mrs Ayeowueka Omologa, "Rapid Assessment of Nutritional Status of Children Aged 0-5 years in Oyo Local Government Area, Oyo State, Nigeria" - Study carried out for the Federal Ministry of Health Care Initiative, FMH/UNICEF (mimeo), Lagos 1988, p.4.

Table A.6 Trends in Attendance at the Paediatric and Maternity Clinics in the University College Hospital, 1978-88

Year	Paediatrics		Maternity	
	Total	% of Total	Total	% of Total
1978	46,180	11.8	22,398	9.7
1979	40,372	10.3	20,127	8.7
1980	29,452	7.5	18,685	8.1
1981	33,863	8.7	23,204	10.0
1982	38,446	9.8	25,406	11.0
1983	34,306	8.8	18,167	7.8
1984	42,616	10.9*	19,999	8.6
1985	50,614	13.0*	47,746	20.6*
1986	13,853	3.5	13,415	5.8
1987	32,121	8.2	11,482	5.0
1988	28,743	7.4	11,221	4.8
Total	390,566		231,850	

Source: The University College Hospital, Ibadan, 1989.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

T O Adekanye (1984) "Women's Role in Development: The Nigreian Situation", paper for NISER Workshop on Women in Development, Ibadan, December 10-11.

Ayesha Imam et. al (1985) The WIN Document - Conditions of Women in Nigeria and Policy Recommendations to 2000 A.D., Zaria,; Women in Nigeria (WIN).

S N Boyikila (1985) "The Problems of Women and Children in Gongola State with Particular Reference to Malnutrition", The Situation of Mothers and Children in Nigeria (Appendix), UNICEF/NISER, Lagos, UNICEF, pp. 95-99.

E R Fapohunda (1982) "The Child - Care Dilemma of Working Mothers in African Citis - The Case of Lagos, Nigeria" in E G Bay ed. Women and Work in Africa, Boulder, Colorado; Westview Press, pp 277-288.

Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) (1985). National Integrated Survey of Households, Report of General Household Survey, 1982/83, Lagos, FOS, September.

FOS (1988, a and b), "Labour Force Surveys, December 1987 and June 1988" in Statistical News, 21 June and October 1988 (Lagos; FOS).

FOS (1988) "The Consumer Price Index, August 1988" in Statistical News, 7 December (Lagos, FOS).

F Iyun (1988), "Inequalities in Health Care in Ondo State", Nigeria: Health Policy and Planning, Vol.3, No. 2.

N Ngur-Adi (1987) "Notions of Work and Independent Income - The Case of Rural Women in Northern Nigeria", NNWORD Research Project on Women and Employment.

G E K Ofomata and N I Ikpeze eds. (1987) Austerity Measures and the Nigerian Society, Onitsha, Etukokwu Press.

K Osinusi & C O Oyejide (1987) "Secular Trends in Nutritional Status of Children from a Low Socio-economic Background", Nigerian Journal of Paediatrics, Vol. 14, No. 1.

B Onimode ed. (1989, forthcoming) The IMF, World Bank and the African Debt, Vols. 1 & 2, London, IFAA & Zed Books.

K Staudt (1987) "Uncaptured or Unmotivated Women and the Food Crisis in Africa", Rural Sociology, Vol. 52 (1), pp 37-55.

UNICEF/NISER (1985) The Situation of Mothers and Children in Nigeria, Lagos, UNICEF, p.28.

UNICEF/Federal Ministry of Health (1988) "Rapid Assessment of Nutritional Status of Children Aged 0-5 years in Nigeria" (Local Government Areas), Lagos, UNICEF/FMH (mimeo).

World Bank (1986) Financing Adjustment with Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1986-90, Washington, World Bank.

WORDOC (1988) African Regional Conference of DAWN on Food, Energy and Debt Crises in Relation to Women: Women's Movements and Visions, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, September 27-29.

WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: THE SRI LANKA EXPEREINCE

Swarna Jayaweera
Patricia Alailima
Chandra Rodrigo
R A Jayatissa

Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka

October 1988

WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: THE SRI LANKA EXPERIENCE

		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	185
	1. The Macro Context	185
	2. Structural Adjustment - Objectives and Instruments	186
	3. The Situation of Women	187
	4. The Study	187
II.	IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES: MACRO-ASPECTS	188
	1. Trade, Payments and Exchange Rate Policies	188
	2. Money and Credit Facilities	191
	3. Privatisation	192
	4. Employment	193
	5. Wages	201
	6. Incomes	204
III.	THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE	209
	1. Expenditure for Improving Living Standards	211
	2. Expenditure for Improving the Economic Infrastructure	219
	3. Remedial Action in Progress	223
IV.	GENDER-DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE - A MICRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS	224
	1. Effects of the Promotion of an Export-Oriented Economy	224
	2. Effects of the Mahaweli Development Programme	230
	3. Women as Economic Producers for the Domestic Market	231
	4. Women in the Urban Informal Sector	232
	5. Women Entrepreneurs	232
	6. Women Migrant Workers	233
	7. Measures to Assist Women to Overcome Employment Constaints	234
	8. Women as Consumers of Social Services	236
	9. Summary	237
V.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	238
	1. Recapitulation	238
	2. Strategies to Improve the Situation and Productivity of Women in their Multiple Roles	239
	3. Changes in Adjustment Policies to Support Women in their Multiple Roles	242

Page

LIST OF TABLES

1. Selected Economic Indicators, 1970-87 190
2. Trends in Female Employment and Wages, 1971-85 195
3. Female Employment by Age and Industry, 1980-85 196
4. Trends in Female Minimum Wages and in Prices, 1970-85 199
5. Levels and Distribution of Income of Female Income Receivers, 1973-81/82 206
6. Receipts of Female Income Receivers by Age, 1978/79-1981/82 Median on Incomes 208
7. Levels and Distribution of Household Incomes, 1973-1981/82 210
8. Government Expenditure as Percentage of GDP, 1977-86 210
9. Literacy and Education Participation Rates by Age and Sex, 1971 and 1981 212
10. Education Participation Rates of the Poor and Non-Poor by Age, 1969/70 and 1980/81 213
11. Ratio of Male to Female Students in Schools, 1970, 1979, 1984 213
12. Proportion of Female Undergraduate University Entrants, Selected years, 1976/77-1986/87 215
13. Female Students in Technical and Vocational Education, 1973 and 1986 215
14. Percentage of Population Seeking Medical Treatment, Selected Years, 1969/70-1981/82 216
15. New Housing Units Generated by Government Activities and Private Funding, 1978-84 218
16. Land Redistribution Programme, 1977-86 221
17. Employment in GCEC and FIAC Industries, 1986 and 1987 225

A.1 Current Transfers to Selected Public Corporations, 1977-86 226
A.2 Capital Transfers to Selected Public Corporations, 1977-86 226

BIBLIOGRAPHY 245

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Macro Context

In 1977 Sri Lanka made major changes to its macro-economic policies in the direction of liberalising the economy and placing more reliance on market forces, and accelerating the rate of economic growth was given priority over welfare-oriented strategies. This approach was a marked deviation from the set of policies previously adopted.

It has to be noted that following independence, Sri Lanka saw a steady improvement in social indicators of the quality of life even though the economy experienced sluggish growth or often stagnation. The package of welfare policies introduced in the 1940s, of free education from primary to tertiary level, free health services, and food subsidies, led to rising literacy and educational levels, and declining mortality rates. The overall literacy rate rose from 62.8 per cent in 1946 to 78.5 per cent in 1971. From 1946 to 1973 the crude death rate fell from 19.8/1000 to 7.7/1000 and infant mortality from 141/1000 to 46/1000; life expectancy rose from 43 years to 66 years.

Meanwhile the economy continued to be dependent on export crops, and as export prices declined from their peak levels in the early fifties, the terms of trade deteriorated and GDP growth rates declined. Unequal international economic relations and global economic pressures exacerbated the economic constraints on a low-income country and a dependent economy. Gross domestic savings and gross domestic capital formation remained at very low levels while, starting from the late fifties, the external imbalance widened due to the poor performance of exports. As a result, the economy did not grow fast enough to generate adequate employment opportunities to absorb the growing labour force. With depleted reserves, the country had to look for alternative policies to protect its external payments position which had come under severe pressure.

The initial policy response came in the form of a wide array of controls on trade and payments. On the domestic front, severe administrative controls were introduced, with increased state intervention in production, distribution and pricing policies. The development strategy until 1977 was essentially inward looking. While interest rates remained at artificially low or negative levels, the exchange rate became progressively over-valued.

With the external environment remaining unfavourable and widespread distortions in the domestic and external policies, the economy grew only by 3.2 per cent per annum during 1970-77 and the per capita real income by a mere 1.5 per cent annually. During this period exports remained virtually stagnant and imports declined in real terms by 2.0 per cent per annum. The average annual increase of 5.6 per cent in prices did not reveal the true inflationary pressure in the economy. These adverse outcomes were accompanied by rising unemployment and unutilised capacity in industry. Unemployment had risen from 12.0 per cent in 1969/70 to 17.4 per cent in 1973, and rates ranging from 12.0 to 24.9 per cent were quoted in official documents for 1971-75. Although these adverse developments in the seventies were not entirely due to factors within the control of the Sri Lanka authorities, it was expected that a substantial change in macro-economic policies would eliminate distortions and

place the economy on a sustainable growth path. It was in this context that Sri Lanka introduced a new set of policies in late 1977.

2. Structural Adjustment - Objectives and Instruments

Structural adjustment in itself is not a development objective like meeting basic needs or relieving poverty (ARTEP, 1987). Whatever different connotations the term may convey, it has currently acquired a distinct meaning in the context of certain lending initiatives by the World Bank and the IMF. The focus is predominantly on adjustment in the country's overall internal and external balance. As expressed in the World Bank approach, the fundamental objective of an adjustment programme is to "provide for an orderly elimination of the imbalance between aggregate domestic demand and resource availability before the point at which the economy becomes seriously distorted and external resources are exhausted", (Khan, 1986). It is not tantamount to the elimination of imbalance per se; the process has to be reconciled with the macro objective of economic growth. The objective is, therefore, a sustainable current account position in the balance of payments and a reduced level of inflation consistent with a stable and high rate of economic growth that will allow for a steady improvement in per capita consumption. The adjustment programme, therefore, needs to embody policies that contain aggregate demand as well as measures to increase the availability of resources (i.e. improvement in the supply side).

The policy package typically associated with IMF/World Bank conditionality arrangements is a combination of demand management policies, structural policies, exchange rate policies and external financing policies. Demand management policies seek to contain the aggregate level/rate of growth of demand (absorption) relative to production, and typically operate through fiscal and monetary measures focusing on variables such as interest rates, volume and flow of credit, public expenditure and taxation. Structural policies place greater emphasis on growth or supply side responses. The strategies adopted include measures that are expected to : improve the level and efficiency of investment (both in the public and the private sectors); reduce or eliminate price distortions (e.g. by withdrawal of subsidies, price controls etc.); remove tariff and other distortions to trade; improve the efficiency of public enterprises, including by privatisation, and mobilise savings in the economy. Exchange rate policies have both demand side and supply side components - namely by reducing and switching expenditure and by stimulating the supply of tradeables through improving the competitiveness of exports and the profitability of import-substitution. Lastly, because the volume and terms of foreign financing also affect domestic absorption and capital formation, policies pertaining to external financing also need to be considered as part of the adjustment strategy.

The adjustment programme put into operation in Sri Lanka in consultation with the IMF and World Bank represents a combination of all four elements outlined above. The underlying objectives were "to dismantle, over the widest possible area, the administrative controls over the allocation of resources, to shift resources from consumption to investment and to lay the foundations for accelerated economic growth and development as the only lasting solutions to the twin problems of inflation and unemployment. (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 1979.) The policy break from the past is now well documented and the "advice and guidance of the World Bank and the IMF behind this policy package are now established beyond contest", (Upanathi, 1986.)

The policy measures adopted in Sri Lanka under the structural adjustment programme included the dismantling of prices and import controls, liberalisation of trade and payments, curtailment of state procurement and distribution of basic commodities, curtailment of heavy consumption oriented subsidies, provision of adequate production incentives, interest rate reforms, unification of the exchange rate at a much depreciated level, and introduction of a flexible exchange rate system. The new package was accompanied by an ambitious public investment programme concentrated on the accelerated Mahaweli hydro-power and irrigation project, urban development, housing development and establishment of an investment promotion zone. The implementation of the package required mobilising a considerable amount of foreign resources to supplement domestic savings.

3. The Situation of Women

Changes in the situation of women in Sri Lanka have been determined by the interplay of macro-policies and socio-cultural norms. Women have shared in the benefits of social policies. Their overall literacy rate rose from 46.2 per cent in 1946 to 82.8 per cent in 1981 and gender differences narrowed from 30 percentage points in 1946 to 8 percentage points in 1981. Gender disparities in educational participation were rapidly reduced and were minimal from the sixties. Maternal mortality declined from 15/1000 in 1946 to 1/1000 in the late seventies, when life expectancy for women was 66 years, compared with 64 years for men. It has been estimated that the physical quality of life index in the seventies was 79.7 for men and 78.1 for females (Sumanasekera, 1981). District-wide statistics, however, indicate socio-economic inequalities that affect the access of men and women to services.

The majority of women in Sri Lankan society traditionally worked side by side with men in the subsistence economy. In more recent times they have been engaged extensively in economic activities in plantations and new settlements, in modern industry, in professional employment (chiefly in the health and education services), and in domestic and other personal services. Norms of domesticity have nevertheless largely relegated women to the role of secondary earners, and stereotypes of gender-appropriate economic activities have confined most of them to the lower levels of the employment structure or to culturally demarcated 'feminine' areas of employment. Likewise, official labour force participation rates have been low, 20-30 per cent, while the large number of women in the informal sector are invisible in statistics. Women have had equal access to education but unequal access to employment, and since the early seventies their unemployment rates have been at least double those of men.

The centrality of the role of the women in the family affects the performance of other roles, and the glorification of the status of motherhood tends to overshadow gender inequalities within and outside the household. While the lines between the 'public' and 'private' domains of women have always been blurred, economic and domestic tasks have reduced the time available to most women for activities in the wider community.

4. The Study

As elsewhere, women in Sri Lanka tend to be subsumed in the family or household as targets of policies and plans. Their productive and reproductive

roles and their economic and domestic responsibilities, however, make them vulnerable to external forces that impinge on the household. The implementation of structural adjustment policies is therefore likely to have different effects on men and women. While relevant gender-specific disaggregated data are not always available, this study seeks to examine the impact of such policies on women and to identify measures that are necessary to support them and improve their situation.

In view of the need to ensure human rights, distributive social justice, and a satisfactory quality of life within the context of economic growth, the consequences of adjustment policies on sex equality are examined in three respects : access to assets, resources, skills and services; allocation of resources within the family; and the division of labour within and outside the household. Macro-economic concepts and social realities as reflected in the lives of women are brought within this framework.

The study starts by examining macro-data in order to analyse the impact of the adjustment experience on external sector policies, public finance and taxation, pricing and wages policies, employment and income distribution, money and credit policies, and privatisation. It then reviews the findings of micro-level studies so as to identify the problems of the groups of women who have been most affected by these policies. In conclusion it suggests strategies for assisting women to perform their multiple roles better as well as for changing adjustment policies to provide them with more support in those roles.

II. IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT POLICIES: MACRO-ASPECTS

1. Trade, Payments and Exchange Rate Policies

With the liberalisation of trade and payments in 1977, import quotas were replaced by tariffs. The system under which imports had been regulated through foreign exchange allocations was dismantled. The number of items requiring an import licence was drastically reduced, while the tariff structure was revised and simplified. A Tariff Committee was appointed to keep the new system under close review and develop a rationalised tariff structure. On the export side, duties on the three major plantation products - tea, rubber and coconut - were reduced. An Export Development Board was set up in 1979 to encourage non-traditional exports through the formulation of an export development plan and the management of a range of export activities. An Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was created to provide incentives to foreign investors and a Foreign Investment Advisory Committee (FIAC) established to promote investment outside the EPZ. All these measures were supplemented by a supportive banking and financial structure.

In exchange rate policies, the most important reform was the adoption in 1977 of a flexible (managed floating) system. Although during previous policy regimes ad hoc adjustments had been made in the exchange rate, despite adverse developments in the balance of payments, the Sri Lankan authorities (both politicians and policy planners) preferred not to devalue the Rupee for fear of causing a rise in the cost of living, especially among the low-income households to which a large number of women belong. In the meantime, a much depreciated exchange rate had been maintained through the Foreign Exchange Entitlement Certificate (FEEC) scheme so as to encourage non-traditional

exports and discourage the demand for non-essential imports[1].

Therefore, even in the choice of an appropriate pricing policy for the national currency, distributional and welfare implications had taken precedence over economic growth. However, with the introduction of the flexible exchange rate system in 1977, the official rate was devalued by 46 per cent and put at a unified rate of Rs.16.00 per US Dollar. By the end of 1982 the Rupee had depreciated by 48 per cent against the US Dollar, 63 per cent against the Pound Sterling and 74 per cent against the Japanese Yen[2].

The stance of exchange rate policy has been to avoid undue appreciation of the Rupee in real terms, and has been accomplished by adjusting the nominal exchange rate for the inflation differential between Sri Lanka and its major trading partners, so that the price competitiveness of domestic products is not eroded. After making allowance for the non-policy related adverse domestic and external factors, it should be noted that these trade, payments and exchange rate policies have been quite successful with respect to economic growth and employment (Table 1). For example, they helped to generate a reasonable growth in non-traditional exports, which in real terms rose by more than 15 per cent during 1977-87 against stagnant or negative growth during 1970-77. Total exports in real terms grew by 6.0 per cent between 1980 and 1987. However, imports increased at a much higher rate, thereby widening the trade gap (Table 1).

With the completion of the initial IMF Stand-By and Extended Fund Facility arrangements, the ratio of investment to GDP rose from 16 per cent in 1978 to 30 per cent in 1982. The economy was able to maintain a growth rate of 5 per cent compared to 3 per cent during 1970-77. Due both to policy induced and non-policy related factors, the rate of unemployment declined from 25 per cent to 14 per cent by the end of 1982.

In some other respects, the performance of the economy was not satisfactory. Adverse consequences of an ill-balanced public investment strategy were aggravated by unfavourable terms of trade and a worsening external debt profile. The increase in the debt burden due to large commercial borrowings is evident by the rise in debt service rates to about 25 per cent of earnings from exports and the rise in the debt/GDP ratio to over 60 per cent by 1987. In order to correct the remaining imbalances another IMF-supported Stand-By arrangement was launched in 1983, aimed at containing inflation at an average 13 per cent in 1983 and bringing it down gradually to about 8 per cent and reducing the current account deficit in the balance of payments to under 11 per cent. This programme was interrupted before its completion, largely due to the temporary improvement in the balance of payments with the tea boom that started in July 1983.

---

1. About 25 per cent of exports and 64 per cent of the imports and more than 90 per cent of the services were transacted at the FEECs rate, which after 1972 included a 65 per cent premium over the official rate. This system was abandoned with the policy reforms of 1977.

2. These rates have been calculated from the change in the foreign currency equivalent of the Sri Lanka Rupee.

Table 1

SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICATORS, 1970-87

Year	Growth Rate (Real) (%)	Per Capita Income (%)	Change in CPI (%)	BOP Cur.Ac. to GDP (%)	BOP Tr.Ac.[2] to GDP (%)	Foreign Assets to to Imports (Months)
1970	4.10	2.00	5.90	-2.60	-0.23	1.90
1971	0.90	-1.10	2.70	1.50	-2.00	2.20
1972	3.40	1.40	6.30	-1.30	-1.70	2.80
1973	4.00	2.90	9.70	-0.90	1.60	3.80
1974	3.20	1.70	12.30	3.80	-5.80	2.20
1975	2.70	1.10	6.70	2.90	5.30	2.00
1976	2.80	1.20	1.20	0.20	-2.80	1.80
1977	4.40	2.80	1.20	8.50	0.90	2.70
1978	8.90	7.00	12.10	2.40	-5.60	4.30
1979	6.40	4.40	10.80	6.80	-13.90	4.00
1980	5.60	3.90	26.10	16.40	27.30	3.40
1981	4.10	2.40	18.00	-10.10	-18.40	2.20
1982	5.10	3.10	10.90	11.90	-20.40	2.70
1983	5.00	2.50	14.00	9.90	18.00	3.00
1984	5.10	3.90	16.60	3.60	-7.40	3.20
1985	5.00	3.70	1.50	7.00	-12.20	4.40
1986	4.30	2.70	9.10	-6.60	-11.90	4.40
1987	1.50	0.10	10.30	-5.20	-10.50	3.00

1. BOP Cur.Ac. = Balance of payments current account.
2. BOP Tr.Ac. = Balance of payments trade account.

Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka.

Although Sri Lanka was able to achieve commendable results as regards economic growth, overall employment, resource allocation and export diversification, there were several set-backs affecting inflation, income distribution and the socio-economic welfare of the poverty groups (particularly women).

The depreciation of the Sri Lanka Rupee became one of the most significant factors affecting the inflation experienced after the policy reforms. Three major official indicators - namely, the Colombo Consumer Price Index (CCPI) calculated by the Department of Census and Statistics, the Wholesale Price Index (WPI) computed by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka, and the GDP deflator - are available to measure inflation rates. All three reflected a substantial rise in the inflationary pressures in the economy. Depreciation affected all of them directly through the Rupee price increase in exported and imported goods and indirectly through the impact of those price increases on domestically produced and consumed goods.

The immediate direct impact of Rupee depreciation is felt on exports and imports. For example, the CCPI has a weight of 5 per cent for exports, 35 per cent for imports and 60 per cent for domestically produced and consumed goods. Therefore, if the Rupee is depreciated by 10 per cent, the CCPI would increase by 4 per cent due to price increase of exports and imports. However, the final impact of depreciation on domestic inflation will depend on a number of factors, such as the changes in demand for goods and services and domestic supply response of both tradeables and non-tradeables.

The CCPI has risen by an annual average of 12.4 per cent since 1978 and by 186.6 per cent between 1978 and 1987. While the depreciation of the Sri Lanka Rupee influenced domestic inflation during this period, other factors such as the increase in foreign currency prices (world prices) of tradeables, and expansionary fiscal and monetary policies also had a significant impact. The prices of all basic commodities such as rice, wheat, sugar, rose considerably as a result of the depreciation. On the other hand, it benefited producers of tradeables[3] as well as exporters and foreign investors. But at the same time, consumers (including women) whose nominal income did not keep pace with rising inflation suffered major losses in real income which adversely affected their standard of living.

2. Money and Credit Facilities

An essential feature of the IMF-supported structural adjustment programmes has been the recommendation for maintaining positive real interest rates and the imposition of aggregate ceilings on domestic credit expansion as part of conditionality. The objectives are to control inflationary pressures in the economy, mobilise financial savings and manage the budget prudently. However, it is up to the national authorities to decide on the distribution of credit and on other aspects of money and credit policies.

During most of the years under study real interest rates remained positive, leading to a significant rise in the private financial savings. For

---

3. If the rupee price of domestically purchased raw materials and the nominal wages of domestically hired labour do not rise at the same rate as the currency is depreciated, there will be a net gain to producers.

¨xample, time and savings deposits with the commercial banks rose from Rs.4,627.6 million in 1977 to Rs.43,664.8 million by the end of 1987, an increase of 193 per cent in real terms (i.e. using the CCPI as deflator). Banking facilities were also developed to encourage private savings, and a non-resident foreign currency accounts scheme was introduced to provide an incentive to remit incomes from foreign employment. In addition, existing institutional arrangements to channel credit for productive purposes were expanded and new schemes developed. Expansion of the medium- and long-term credit facilities, export credit refinancing schemes and the introduction of regional rural development banks are positive steps taken under the overall structural adjustment policies to develop the credit and financial structure in Sri Lanka. These may well have affected everyone but it is extremely difficult to indicate how specific groups have benefited from them. Available macro-data on the bank portfolios are not sufficient to undertake a gender-specific analysis or to determine how much of the total increase in bank lending has reached the poor. But it is difficult to imagine that access to credit facilities has been significantly improved for those groups, including women, who are not able to provide acceptable collateral to prove their credit worthiness.

¨3. Privatisation

As with all macro-economic policies introduced since 1977, privatisation does not discriminate between men and women. The ideology behind public policy since that date has been to accelerate economic growth through more and more participation by the private sector. Public sector monopolies in several key areas - such as the import and distribution of basic commodities, the purchase and export of rubber through the Commissioner of Commodity Purchases; transport and communication - have therefore been abandoned. However, due to the heavy infrastructural development programmes undertaken by the Government, private sector contribution to gross domestic capital formation remains at around 50 per cent, without showing any substantial deviation from trend.

The privatisation programme also entails more foreign participation in economic activities. Two major institutions, the Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC) and the FIAC already mentioned, were created to provide adequate incentives to encourage inflows of foreign private capital in the form both of direct investment and of loan capital. While the economy ¨esponded positively to these policy changes, the deteriorating domestic investment climate meant there has been some slow-down in private sector investment, particularly since the 1983 ethnic disturbances.

Currently Sri Lanka is undertaking a three-year structural adjustment programme aimed at raising the GDP growth rate to 5.5 per cent from 3 per cent in 1987; reducing the annual inflation rate to about 7.5 per cent from 10 per cent in 1987; and reducing the current account deficit to 8.2 per cent of GDP (IMF, 1988). Among other measures, the intended structural policies include the enhancement of the privatisation programme and the reform of public enterprises in order to attract more private sector participation in economic activities.

While the macro-implications of the privatisation programme are not expected to have any specific impact on women as compared with men, specific groups of women may be affected differently. Micro-level studies are therefore necessary to identify any impact on women.

4. Employment

As highlighted earlier, between 1977 and 1985 the Sri Lanka economy recorded the highest rate of GDP growth since Independence, doubling in real terms from an average of 2.9 per cent per annum in 1970-77 to 5.8 per cent[4]. Corresponding to this performance, employment increased for both men and women. Female unemployment as a percentage of the female labour force declined from 36 per cent in 1973 to 25 per cent in 1978/79, 23 per cent in 1980/81 and 21 per cent in 1985 (Table 2). The reduction in the rate was faster than for males in the post-1977 phase, which is particularly significant in a context of the rising labour force participation rate (LFPR) for females (e.g. 15.6 per cent in 1980/81; and 20.1 per cent in 1985/86) and growth in the female population of working age of around 2 per cent a year. In 1985 Sri Lanka had 1.55 million women in employment, a 370,000 more than in 1980.

On the pay front, nominal minimum wages increased substantially for both males and females in trades covered by minimum wage legislation (Table 4), although much of the gain was eroded by price inflation. Differences in minimum wages for males and females persist in the manual grades, with the notable exception of the tea and rubber sectors where rates were equalised in April 1984. These differences generally contracted during the 1980s in the formal sector controlled by the Wages Board (Rodrigo, 1988), but the gender differential in earnings remains considerable.

Overseas employment opportunities for Sri Lankan women also expanded, reflecting the petroleum boom in the Middle East and the liberalised travel policy introduced in 1977 as part of the economic reform package. Sri Lanka is one of the few countries in Asia which permits female emigration for domestic service, and of some 200,000 Sri Lankans estimated to be working in the Middle East, over 40 per cent are probably female (records indicate that in 1980 and 1981 just over half those embarking for employment overseas were women). Inward remittances from migrants - male and female - were estimated by the Central Bank to be over Rs.7.5 billion in 1986. The proportion of the total from female workers was substantial though less than their share in emigration. There is evidence of women emerging as the principal cash earner in more low-income families - a phenomenon associated with employment overseas and with internal developments such as enhanced female employment opportunities in the EPZ.

The aggregate picture, however, also needs to be analysed in its structural dimensions, since different groups of female workers have been affected differently by adjustment strategies. By occupational status, a comparison of the Labour Force and Socio-economic Survey (LFSES) 1985/86 data with data in previous Survey (Table 2) points to a decline in the share of paid employment and a marked rise in the proportion of unpaid family workers. In fact, of the employment opportunities that opened between the times of the Surveys of 1980/81 and of 1985/86, approaching to half were in unpaid family work. Own account work (self-employment) accounted for another 28 per cent. In 1985, self-employment absorbed 18 per cent of the employed females, compared with 13-14 per cent at the beginning of the decade (LFSES, 1980/81;

---

4. The corresponding rate for the 1950s and the 1960s ranged between 4-4$^1/_2$ per cent per annum.

opulation Census, 1981). It is also pertinent to note that even within the paid employee category, almost half were in casual employment in 1985[5] (Table 2).

A disproportionately high element of unpaid family work is evidence of strain and stress in the labour market - a reflection of disguised unemployment rather than a signal of prosperity and stability. It is also an indication of the increasing involvement of women in dual roles and testifies to the use of female labour as an adjustment variable to sustain family income. The bulk of unpaid family workers are concentrated in agriculture. Both demand and supply factors played their part. In a situation of production-cost escalation (rising wages and cost of chemicals, fertilisers etc.) when ability to employ hired labour is impaired, one possible adjustment is for households to use family labour to sustain output. Another possible interpretation is that the labour surplus was pushing females into some kind of activity participation irrespective of the reward. Combined with the household duties of the women affected, the phenomenon nevertheless implies a situation of women having to work longer hours in their combined roles without any direct pay or benefit except through the household income.

Disaggregating by age, the employment rate (employment to labour force ratio) increased between 1980/81 and 1985/86 for the three youngest age groups (10-29 years) and declined for all others (Table 3). The most prominent increase was in the 10-14 age group (16 percentage points), hinting at a substantial increase in child employment, particularly among females. This again is a 'distress' signal rather than indication of an improving labour market. Unemployment rate was highest in the 15-29 age group (at over 35 per cent).

Disaggregating employment performance by sector, the Surveys show that as much as two-thirds of the increase in female employment between 1980/81 and 1985/86 originated in agriculture (International Standard Industrial Classification (ISICI), which also includes forestry, hunting, fishing and animal husbandry). Manufacturing (ISIC 3) accounted for 14.5 per cent, and community, social and personal services (ISIC 9) for another 9.5 per cent (Table 3). Between 1980/81 and 1985/86 the ratio of female to male workers increased from .38 to .49 in ISIC 1, from .50 to .80 in ISIC 3, and from .50 to .67 in ISIC 9. The evidence hints at some substitution of female labour for male labour. The higher ratio in the manufacturing sector is particularly noteworthy, and suggests a pattern of employment generation which had become more favourable to women.

Relating the trends in female employment to those in the growth of output, it is of interest to note that in agriculture the high female absorption took place against an average growth in output of only 3.9 per cent per annum during 1978-85 (PIP). Within agriculture, employment in the commercial tree crop sector fared poorly (an average fall of 1.7 per cent during 1970-77 and an increase of 1.8 per cent in 1977-85). Census data for 1971 and 1981 show that female employment in tea declined while in rubber the increase was only marginal. In contrast output of paddy and other food crops grew on average by 3.5 per cent in 1970-77 and by 4.5 per cent in 1978-85;

---

5. Attention needs however to be drawn to the fact that the compilations used in the Surveys are based on the 'current status' definition, i.e. are based on a one-week reference period.

Table 2
TRENDS IN FEMALE EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES, 1971-85

	Census 1971	CFS 1973	Census 1981	LFSES[1] 1980/81	CFS 1981/82	LFSES[1] 1985/86	Increase, 1980-1985 (000)	(%)
Employment								
Female labour force(000)	1175.70		1280.30	1535.70		1957.40	421.7	27
Employed	810.40		870.80	1181.80		1550.40	368.6	31
Unemployed	365.20		409.50	354.00		407.00	53.0	15
Unemployed as % of labour force, female	(31)	(36)	(32)	(23)	(21)	(21)		
Distribution of employed females(000)								
Employers			7.3(0.8%)	3.5(0.3%)		13.8(0.9%)	10.2	
Paid employees			707.6(81%)	827.9(70%)		905.9(58%)	78.0	9
Regular						458.30		
Casual						447.60		
Self-employed			115.7(13%)	168.5(14%)		274.8(18%)	106.2	63
Unpaid family worker			40.2(5%)	181.8(15%)		356.00(23%)	174.1	96

Wages	1971	1973	1977	1980	1985	1987	Increase 1977-1980	% 1980-1985
Index of minimum wages, male & female								
All Wages Boards[2] 1952 = 100	145.30	169.90	308.80	690.20			124	
Dec.1978 = 100				147.30	247.90	261.30		68

Notes:

1 LFSES 1980/81 and 1985/86 data from the first two round of both surveys; hence the information applies to 1980 and 1985 respectively.
2 Employment-weighted indices for all Wages Board workers computed by the Dept. of Labour.

Sources: Central Bank, Consumer Finance Surveys 1973 and 1981/1982 and Annual Report; Dept. of Census and Statistics, Labour Force & Socio Economic Surveys 1980/81 and 1985/86 (first two rounds); Census of Population 1971 and 1981.

Table 3

FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY AGE AND INDUSTRY, 1980-85

1. Age-specific employment rate,

(employment/labour force)x 100

Age	LFSES* 1980/81 Rate	LFSES* 1985/86 Rate
10 - 14 yrs.	77.90	94.40
15 - 19 yrs.	56.40	62.20
20 - 29 yrs.	60.40	64.20
30 - 39 yrs.	89.10	87.40
40 - 49 yrs.	98.90	94.80
50 - 59 yrs.	100.00	97.70
60 yrs. & above	98.70	94.00
All	77.00	79.20

2. Female employment by industry

			Increase 1980-1985		Female/Male Ratio	
			Number	As % of total increase	1980	1985
ISIC 1	Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	602277	840544	238267	62.7	0.38	0.497
	Mining, Quarrying	4932	8633	3701			
ISIC 3	Manufacturing	186760	288935	102175	14.4	0.5	0.8
	Electricity,Gas & Water	1866	665	-1201			
	Construction	12788	10551	-2237			
	Trade, Restaurants & Hotels	85255	102809	17554	4.8	0.21	0.25
	Transport, storage & communication	8289	7040	-1249			
	Financing, Insurance etc.	14513	15089	576			
ISIC 9	Community social & personal services	217870	252899	35029	9.5	0.506	0.67
Not adequately described		47231	23245	-23986			
		1181781	1550410	368629	100	0.33	0.43

* LFSES data are from the first two rounds of each survey and therefore refer to 1980 and 1985 respectively.

Source: LFSE Survey.

much of the additional employment generated for females in agriculture was in paddy and related crops. In this connection it may be noted that certain elements in the public investment programme and the prices policy within the structural adjustment package favoured paddy. These included the massive investment in irrigation, the withdrawal of the free rice ration, and the restoration of free market trading for paddy. Another contributing factor was the new exchange rate policy (devaluation and floating) which facilitated higher floor prices (GPS price) at which the Government purchased paddy from farmers. The GPS price increased by 112 per cent between 1977 and 1986. Comparing output and employment performance during 1980-85, the magnitude of the increase in female employment in paddy production was 39 per cent compared to an output increase of 25 per cent. This is suggestive of some drop in labour productivity and a situation where females may have been falling back on agriculture as a livelihood for want of more remunerative outlets outside.

Turning to other sectors, although the growth of value-added in construction, transport and utilities role to 6-7.5 per cent per annum in 1977-85 under the stimulus of the new economic strategy package, LFSE Surveys show that the number of females employed in these three industries declined between 1980/81 and 1985/86 (Table 3). In services, another high growth sector (7 per cent per annum) under the new strategy, the increase in female employment over this period was substantial, but not commensurate with the growth in output. In trade and commerce, female labour absorption between the two Survey periods was only 18,000, despite the stimulus provided by trade liberalisation.

The manufacturing sector merits a closer analysis in view of the structural changes that were introduced through the new policy package. Under these measures, growth in manufacturing value-added accelerated from an average of 1 per cent per annum in 1970-77 to 5.1 per cent per annum in 1977-84 (albeit erratically on a year to year basis). The thrust of the structural adjustment package was to stimulate production for export in respect of items in which the economy held a comparative advantage internationally.

As regards employment, Census data reveal a decline of some 4,000 female workers in the manufacturing sector between 1971 and 1981. Within this total, female employees declined by 37,000 in the textile industry and increased by 25,000 in the garment industry. The re-alignments brought about by the structural adjustment package, especially the trade liberalisation and withdrawal of subsidies, contributed directly to this result. For example, the high element of protection which had formerly sustained the domestic textiles industry was eliminated, as was the support which it had previously enjoyed in marketing and raw material procurement, preferential access to public resources, production of cotton yarn etc. Associated with these and other factors, the industry suffered a reversal, with the number of handlooms estimated to have dropped from about 110,000 in 1977 to some 15,000.

Among other activities with a high female labour component to suffer from the liberalised flow of imports were pottery-making and certain agro-based industries such as treacle and jaggery-making, chillies, onions, pulses, grams and subsidiary grains.

Of course, other factors were associated with the fluctuating fortunes of different economic pursuits. Certain traditional handicrafts such as wood, cane, sea shells, reed, coir had expanded to meet the growing demand

from the tourists and the local urban population, but these suffered major set-back with the decline of tourism as the ethnic conflict flared into violence.

As for the expansion of employment in the garments industry, where female participation is typically high, this was one industry which received a strong stimulus from the export-oriented thrust of the structural adjustment package. Its expansion largely reflected the growth in the number of production units in the sectors located in the EPZs or covered by FIAC regulations, where foreign capital was attracted by a package of concessions to potential investors, low wage rates and the unfulfilled Sri Lanka MFA quota in developed country markets. Greater hospitality to foreign investment is a typical feature of the IMF/World Bank adjustment packages. Other EPZ/FIAC types of industry with similar characteristics include footwear, fishing gear and electronic assembly.

Despite foreign investment, the garment industry continues to occupy the lower half of the wage league (Table 4). The need to maintain international competitiveness is no doubt a major factor in the persistence of low wages, both among the traditional export crops and the new export-oriented lines of production.

The small and rural industries sector, which prior to 1977 had been promoted through quotas, tariffs, reservations, preferential access to public resources, marketing assistance, etc., also suffered a reversal under structural adjustment, when most of the supports were withdrawn and market forces given free play. A Ministry of Industries survey estimated a business failure rate of 20 per cent in this sector. Another survey (ARTEP, 1986) reported the contribution of small units (fixed assets below Rs.100,000/-) to manufacturing value-added declined from 6 per cent in 1977/78 to only 1.2 per cent in 1980, the most affected being spinning and weaving.

Imports at below cost price (against which small units could not compete) and the traditional Sri Lankan preference for imported products (partly for reasons of quality) are among the factors which contributed to the decline of small industries. The bigger establishments were able to improve their performance by taking advantage of liberalised access to imported raw materials and capital equipment, technical upgrading and opportunities for foreign collaboration. Small units therefore found themselves losing their place to larger-scale and more capital-intensive counterparts. An ARTEP study in 1986 found that many small firms had discontinued manufacturing and switched to trading. No doubt, in some cases their demise was part of an essential process of rationalisation and improvement of efficiency, but such a process was not without cost.

The plight of small firms and cottage industry units is important in view of their high labour intensity. The ARTEP study estimated that in the private sector small industries accounted for 64 per cent of employment and 30 per cent of manufacturing output, and they have of course also been an important source of income and employment to women.

Although the general situation for female employment improved under the new policy package, one-fifth of those in the labour market were still

Table 4
TRENDS IN FEMALE MINIMUM WAGES AND IN PRICES, 1970-85

	1970 Rs.	1977 Rs.	1980 Rs.	1985 Rs.	Percentage Increase 1977-85	1977-80	1980-85
1. Wages							
a. Private sector trades (unskilled females)							
Tea growing	2.45	5.09	10.85	21.07[1]	314	113	94
Rubber growing	2.60	7.92	11.25	17.43[1]	120	42	55
Coconut growing	2.50	4.76	11.09	13.59	186	133	23
Coconut manufacture	3.35	6.89	10.93	20.25	194	59	85
Tea export, rubber export	4.60	8.85	14.91	750.00[2]	228	68	95
Coir mattress & bristle fibre export	4.42	6.26	9.73	768.33[2]	372	55	204
Match manufacturing	3.33	6.40	9.40	18.00	181	47	91
Brick & tile manufacturing	4.49	6.44	12.96	15.68	143	101	21
Building	3.77	7.81	13.44	31.50	303	72	134
Garments manufacture	3.85	8.03	15.61	550.00[2]	163	94	36
Textiles manufacture			15.35	22.46			46
b) Government sector indices							
All central govt.employees							
1952 = 100	171.30	240.40	363.90		233	51	120
Dec.1978 = 100			129.10	284.30			
Teachers 1952 = 100	141.10	184.70	254.50		184	38	106
Dec.1978 = 100			120.10	247.30			
2. Prices							
Colombo consumer's price index (CCPI)					176	57	76
Wholesale price index(WPI)					179	64	64
GNP deflator					165	48	89
Special consumer's price index (SCPI)					231[3]	81	83[3]

1 Below 50 acres.
2 Monthly rate.
3 SCPI available only up to 1984. Figure for 1985 computed by adjusting 1984 figure by the 1.5% increase in CCPI for 1984/85.

Source: Wage data from Sri Lanka Labour Gazettes (Monthly/Quarterly); price data from Central Bank Annual Reports and Jayawardena et.al.1988.

without jobs in 1985[6]. Female unemployment was virtually double that of males and the incidence among secondary school leavers was much higher among females. The quality of new employment for women also left much to be desired. A substantial part was concentrated in the lower rungs of the occupational structure and paid low-wages[7]. While more outlets opened in the export-oriented manufacturing sector, there was a tendency for women to fall back on agriculture for survival despite a diminishing land-to-person ratio.

Many of the new outlets were for unpaid family work. The major thrust of females into casual and informal sector employment has far-reaching implications for labour welfare, since these categories do not come within the protective umbrella of labour (welfare) legislation, retirement benefit schemes or traditional grievance alleviation mechanisms operative in informal sector employment.

Under-employment is pervasive for both males and females. In 1981/82 22.9 per cent of the employed females were categorised as under-employed, compared to 18.8 per cent of the males. The Consumer Finance Survey of 1981/82 revealed that in the reference week, 31 per cent of the employed females worked less than five days. In the 1979/80 Survey, 28 per cent of the employed females in the sample were reported as working 15 days or less in the month preceding the date of the interview[8].

Another source of labour misallocation is evident from the fact that most Sri Lankan women migrating for domestic service in the Middle East have had several years of secondary education, and that a significant number are reported as having qualifications of GCE Ordinary Level and above (Rodrigo and Jayatissa, 1988). The phenomenon of families sending their female members overseas for long periods of domestic service is evidently a 'distress' solution resorted to under compelling economic circumstances. Most were aged 25-39 years, at least two-thirds of them were married and of these, 58 per cent had two or more children, and a further 21 per cent had one child. Twenty per cent had children below five years of age (Rodrigo and Jayatissa, 1988).

The profile has far-reaching implications. Although much of the migration is short term (typically two year contracts), the withdrawal of this group of females from the household entails internal adjustments as older women and grown-up daughters are compelled to take additional burdens such as care of the sick, the aged and the siblings left behind, and miscellaneous household chores, for no monetary gain. (The increasing drift of married women to full-time jobs within the domestic economy has similar repercussions.) The concentration of migration in the low-income households, has served to relieve poverty.

---

6. Part of the reduction in unemployment was associated with the repatriation of Indian labour.

7. This is corroborated by other evidence (e.g. Lakshman, 1986).

8. Data in the CFS 1979/80 were computed on a different basis from those in the 1981/82 Survey, hence strict comparisons cannot be drawn.

5. Wages

In 1985 Sri Lanka had a little over 900,000 females as paid employees, 78,000 more than reported for 1980 (Table 2). They constituted 58 per cent of all females employed in 1985, a substantially lower proportion than the 70 per cent reported in 1980/81[1]. An above average increase in self-employment and unpaid family labour meant these categories enlarged their share of female employment.

Of the total number of women paid as employees, one-sixth (150,000) were in the government cadre and between one-fourth and one-third were attached to the public sector, (including the nationalised estates). The share of the paid female workforce in estates amounted to around one-quarter, with about 175,000 of all paid female employees in this segment attached to state-owned estates.

Another important feature of female employment in the mid-eighties was that close to half of all paid employees were in casual employment (LFSES 1985/86). This element was highest in the rural sector, with two-thirds of the rural paid jobs.

Rates of pay in the formal sector are determined by several mechanisms: viz., the government decision-making apparatus in the case of public sector employees, and a structure of tripartite Wages Boards, Remuneration Tribunals, conciliation and arbitration procedures and collective bargaining in the private sector. Outside the formal sector, remuneration levels are left to market forces and individual negotiation. A salient feature of the wage scene of the 1970s had been the periodic granting of cost of living allowances by the government to cushion wage earners in the public sector against inflationary price increases (Rodrigo, 1986; Rodrigo, 1988), allowances which were extended by decree to cover the formal private sector as well.

The withdrawal of subsidies in the late 1970s under the adjustment package was accompanied by a state-decreed increase in the cost of living allowance component of wages, in both the public and the formal private sectors, which helped to arrest a decline in real wages. Although IMF/World Bank adjustment packages are typically associated with wage restraint, these allowances were made with the consent of the donors. Some pacificatory action had to be taken in order to make the new package palatable to the workers. From another perspective, the public sector had become attuned to a system of money-wage compensation accompanying any appreciable rise in the cost of living - a tradition which dated from the Second World War - and it was hard for an elected government to break away from the principle at one stroke. In the organised private sector, too, the principle of wage indexation had become entrenched in employer-employee bargaining as manifest in the different formulae adopted in the wage settlements negotiated to compensate workers for increases in living costs.

---

1. It should be noted that as a result of differences in definitions, these figures from the Labour-force and Socio-economic Surveys are significantly different from those of the Population Census, which reports 81 per cent of employed females as being paid employees.

Table 4 collates the minimum wage rates for unskilled female workers stipulated by the tripartite Wages Board machinery in 11 trades. In nominal terms an improvement is evident in all trades, though the pace of change was slower in some than in others. What is more relevant, however, is to determine what happened to the real wage. Instead of computing the real wage equivalents, Table 4 shows the respective rates of nominal pay increases along with corresponding changes in the Consumer Price Index (CCPI) and three other deflators - the Wholesale Price Index (WPI), the GNP deflator and the Special Consumer Price Index (SCPI). The conclusions in respect of real wages are highly sensitive to the price deflator used. For the structural adjustment phase taken as a whole, the picture that emerges is of real wage stagnation/deterioration in the majority of these private sector trades. The notable exceptions are tea growing and building, and the group of urban-based tea, rubber and coir fibre export trades. In tea growing, the improvement is largely reflective of the revisions of April 1984 which put the wages of female operatives on a par with those of their male counterparts.

Disaggregating wage and price performance by sub-periods, many trades suffered a decline in real pay in the late 1970s, despite the enhancement of the statutory money minima indicated in the Table. The majority of formal sector female employees also had their entitlement to free food rations withdrawn in January 1978 under the subsidy reform and hence the real impact was of adjustment more than a superficial comparison of figures would suggest. The 1980s saw some recovery from the deterioration of real wages in the preceding years in certain of the better organised sectors like the export trades. But the garment and textile industries were among the laggers and real wages also deteriorated markedly in the rural-based coconut growing and brick and tile industries.

The Table also provides some information on wages in the public sector. As gender-breakdown of the indices is not available, the All Central Government Employees Index has been used to represent the trends. In view of the concentration of females in the teaching profession (60 per cent of government school-teachers are female), the index for teachers is shown separately. The wage pattern is somewhat different from that of the private sector. Deflated by the CCPI, government employees seemed better off in 1985 than in 1977. For school-teachers, however, the improvement appeared very marginal. Furthermore if, instead of the CCPI, the SCPI is used to deflate the money-wage indices, a deterioration is evident for all employees. This conclusion needs clarification, however: the wage rates used in the calculation of wage indices are only the initial salaries and wages in each respective pay scale, which means that supplements such as increments, overtime etc. are excluded from the calculations.

Within this overall picture, a clear distinction emerges between the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Whichever deflator is used, real wages exhibited some improvement in the 1980s. This decade saw the reintroduction of automatic wage indexation in government service (November 1981-March 1983), periodic adjustments in the cost of living allowance supplements, and three general pay reviews for government employees. On the other hand further disaggregation reveals the pattern of real wage behaviour in the government sector was not one of uniform or consistent improvement, but of ups and downs or 'stop-go'. This observation holds in respect of both male and female employees.

This analysis of wage trends, albeit with the limited data available, enables some broad generalisations to be made on the impact of structural adjustment in this regard. Although, as already noted, structural adjustment policies typically incorporate wage restraint as a demand-management and cost-control measure, while as a general rule nominal wages tend to be rigid in a downward direction, the level of real wages in an economy can be altered indirectly. Possible approaches include upward adjustment of nominal pay rates at a pace less than proportionate to the rise in prices. The Sri Lanka experience illustrates an approach of this nature. The tradition of cost-of-living compensation or indexation which had become entrenched in the system of pay bargaining precluded a 'pay-freeze' in a context of rising inflation. Cost of living supplements therefore continued to be added to the pay packet, albeit providing only partial compensation for inflation.

A pertinent observation in respect of the government's policy on wages during structural adjustment/stabilisation is its deviation from the earlier policy of direct intervention by decreeing cost of living supplements to cover both public and private sector employees. This change was in line with the broad shift in policy away from intervention to market-determination. In the wage market, however, interventionism continued a little longer. As shown in the initial years of structural adjustment the government continued to decree living allowance supplementation. But after these interim adjustments, there was later in the 1980s an implicit retreat from such direct action, in that private sector wage outcomes were allowed to be determined by the normal machinery of tripartite Wage Boards, dispute settlement awards, collective bargaining and individual bargaining. In the process, employees lost access to a mechanism which had provided them with some protection in real wages during the crisis years of the 1970s, some part of the decline in real wages during the 1980s may therefore be attributed to this change of state policy.

Within the government sector itself some modifications in the original wage policy were also visible. Thus automatic wage indexation for government employees, which had been in operation from November 1981, was suspended in March 1983 and replaced by a system of cost of living adjustments on a half-yearly basis, thereby introducing a six-months time lag before wages were permitted to respond to price rises. This system remained operative until January 1985 when the cost of living supplements were frozen. These modifications provide evidence of finer tuning within the policy package. The policy was not tantamount to a wage freeze, since government employees benefited from three pay reviews in January 1982, 1986 and 1988. The frequency of these reviews would seem to be at variance with the policies normally called for under stabilisation/structural adjustment packages prescribed by the IMF and World Bank for indebted economies. The Sri Lanka experience also provided evidence of deviation from such standard policies on the fiscal management front.

To sum up, although the government made no open policy pronouncements clarifying its strategy on the wages front, the structural adjustment package did restrain real wages of both males and females. Different groups were affected differently. The unorganised trades with a high female component (e.g. garments, textiles) were among the most adversely affected, while the urban-based tea, rubber and coir fibre export trades made some headway through better bargaining capacity. By income groups, female workers at the lower end of the wage ladder were in a more disadvantageous position, and it is possible

that they had to work longer hours to make up for wage rate losses. In comparison, the higher occupational categories fared favourably, with enhanced work opportunities (professional allowances, contractual assignments, private practice/tuition) outside office hours etc. to supplement their pay packets. These had the consequence of widening income disparities within the paid workforce. In the subordinate grades, technical categories did better than the non-technical groups (clerks, for example) who had fewer available avenues for overtime and other extra earnings.

6. Incomes

Structural adjustment policies have had an impact on levels and distribution of income. Research studies for the post-1977 period have pointed to a pattern of income inequalities widening at the macro-level (Lakshman, 1986; Tilakaratna, 1988) but no sex-disaggregated analysis has so far been carried out.

In the Consumer Finance Survey (CFS) of 1978/79, 18 per cent of women in the sample female population were identified as income receivers (IRs). On this basis, the total number of female IRs at the close of the 1980s can be put at 1.25 million. On a similar computation based on CFS 1981/82 data, the figure is 1.17 million females (16 per cent of the female population), distributed in 2.9 million housing units. In the 1981/82 survey, 50 per cent of women in the sample were drawing a monthly income below Rs.323/- from all sources. On average the bottom 25 per cent of the sample drew below Rs.250/- and the top 25 per cent over Rs.700/-. Employment was the major source of income.

Female IRs constituted 25 per cent of all IRs in 1973, 30 per cent in 1978/79 and 28 per cent in 1981/82 (Table 5). The rise in the share between 1973 and 1978/79 was more marked in the urban sector (from 19 to 29 per cent) than the rural sector (from 20 to 27 per cent), but in the estate sector the corresponding share was not only much higher (around 50 per cent) but was also stable. The rising trend in the urban and rural sectors between 1973 and 1978/79 is suggestive of more income-earning opportunities opening up for women compared to men during this period. Between the 1978/79 and 1981/82 surveys, this trend appears to have been reversed, with the shares falling slightly in both the urban and rural sectors, and this may partly reflect the bias of the post-reform growth pattern towards commercial/mercantile activity. In the estate sector the share rose slightly from 50 to 52 per cent. Among the explanations to be explored in respect of the estates is the possible substitution of female for male operatives as part of a rationalisation drive in a context of a minimum wage differentiated by gender. It was not until April 1984 that male and female minimum wage rates for operative were equalised.

Of all female IRs in the 1981/82 survey, one-fifth were in the urban sector, rather more than reported in 1973. By 1981-82 around 60 per cent were in the rural sector, a proportion which also increased over the years. This accords with employment trends which, as described earlier, showed the bulk of the new jobs for women to have been concentrated in agricultural and related pursuits.

Macro-level analysis does not reveal the realities in regard to the low income strata of the population and these need to be examined separately.

Unfortunately, the nature of the data available precludes a disaggregated, gender-specific study extending up to the mid-80s. Some light can nevertheless be thrown on the distribution of income within the female IR category. As Table 5 reveals, the share of the bottom 50 per cent dropped consistently from 22 per cent in 1973 to 16 per cent in 1981/82. Correspondingly, the share of the top 10 per cent increased from 32 to 43 per cent. Thus, the pattern of development that emerged under the new economic strategy discriminated in its distribution of benefits; the higher income groups seem to have benefited more. A word of clarification may nevertheless be added. If for comparison purposes the bottom 40 per cent of women IRs is taken rather than the 50 per cent, their share in the aggregate would remain more or less stable between 1978/79 and 1981/82, suggesting that the middle-income groups were disproportionately hurt.

Turning to levels of income, both male and female IRs recorded an improvement in nominal incomes (1973-1981/82), with females having a slight edge in the percentage rate of increase (Table 5). Disaggregating by periods, however, male incomes increased faster in 1978/79-81/82. In the 1981/82 CF survey, 38 per cent of male IRS had a monthly income of over Rs.1000/- whereas only 15 per cent of females in the sample were in receipt of this level. No gender-specific data are yet available for the mid 1980s to monitor trends in the current decade. Between 1980 and 1987 per capita income in the economy increased by some 14 per cent per annum in nominal terms and close to 4 per cent in real terms, but to assume that incomes of all groups increased uniformly by this magnitude is unrealistic.

An analysis of trends in real income is highly sensitive to the index used to deflate nominal income. There are reservations about the reliability of the CCPI as a guide to the pace of price inflation; the general impression is that it underestimates the true rate of price increases. Two alternative measures are therefore also included in the Table. For the 1970s both the GNP deflator and the Wholesale Price Index (WPI) indicate a rate of price increase around double that suggested by the CCPI, but for 1980-85 there is broad agreement at between 12.5 to 13 per cent per annum[9]. For the 1970s the Special Consumer Price Index (SCPI) developed to overcome some of the deficiencies of the CCPI also points to a rate of price increase substantially higher than the CCPI.

Whichever deflator is used, an improvement in real income is evident between 1973 and 1978/79, but for 1978/79-81/82 the picture is one of stagnation or deterioration. The upward money-wage adjustments which accompanied the withdrawal of subsidies and the salutary effect which economic liberalisation and enhanced public spending had on output and employment in the immediate post-reform years contributed to the improved real incomes in the final quarter of the 1970s. Between 1978/79 and 1981/82, however, the momentum of GDP growth began to slow down. The macro-economic imbalances that had begun to surface led to a cut back in public expenditure programmes. The decline in real income is repeated for all age-groups other than for the open

---

9. The average rates of increase for 1980-84 were recorded as follows:
   CCPI 14.3% GNP deflator 15%
   WPI 17.3% SCPI 14.9%

Table 5

LEVELS & DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FEMALE INCOME RECEIVERS, 1973-81/82

	1973 Rs. Cts.	1978/79 Rs. Cts.	1981/82 Rs. Cts.	Rate of Increase % 1973-81/82	1973-78/79	1978/79-1981-82
1. Levels of Income						
Female IRS, Median	82.62	201.00	323.00	291	143	61
Male IRS, Median	210.91	451.00	763.00	262	114	69
Male/Female Median	2.55	2.24	2.36			
2. Price Deflators						
CCPI 1952=100	165.40	227.8(1978)	375.4(1981)	127	38	65
WPI 1974=100	-	156.7(1978)	268.5(1981)	-	-	71
GNP Deflator 1970=100	126.50	232.5(1978)	382.2(1981)	203	84	65
SCPI	-			N.A.	N.A.	105
3. Distribution of Income						
Female IRS as % of all IRS	25	30	28			
Size Distribution of Incomes, Female IRS						
Share of Bottom 50%	21.6	18.3	15.9[1]			
Share of Top 10%	32.5	38.3	43.0			
Share of Bottom 40%	15.5	12.5	12.6[2]			

[1] Bottom 48 per cent.
[2] Bottom 42 per cent.

Source: Central Bank, Consumer Finance Surveys & Annual Reports.

ended 55+ category (Table 6)[10]. Directly contributing to the observed decline in real income were the price-decontrol, exchange rate and subsidy withdrawal components of the structural adjustment package. The change in the government's approach to wages, away from its interventionist policy of the previous decade, would have also made a substantial contribution.

Generalising the impact of structural adjustment, the new exchange rate and pricing policies are likely to have worsened the situation of the poorer half of the population; but any assessment of their plight would also need to make allowance for the widespread operation of black markets, shortages and queues in the pre-reform years. The higher inflation of the post reform years 1977-33 is attributable in large measure to domestic economic policy. A cushion was provided by the Food Stamps Programme to the poorer half of the population in receipt of household incomes below the Rs.300/- cut-off level, but the stamps themselves were not indexed for inflation and their purchasing power declined steadily in the inflation that followed. In the estate sector, although female wages stood below Rs.300/-, under the typical pattern of two or more incomes per household, a large number of estate women lost their free rations and entitlement to food stamps. This would have seriously affected their management of household budgets. In the rural sector, where incomes declarations are not verifiable (e.g. such as from employers' records), the bulk of the population - male and female - continued to enjoy the food stamp facility.

The analysis thus far has been in respect of the employed and IR categories of the female population. Over three-quarters of the females receive no pecuniary benefit other than that accruing through the household. One-third of the female population are under 14 years and a further one-third are engaged in household work. Although the data base provides no information on these groups, some insight on the trends may be attempted through an analysis of household income data.

As revealed in Table 7, household incomes increased three to fourfold in nominal terms between 1973 and 1981/82 although a substantial part of this was eroded by inflation. Though economic growth slowed in the 1980s, per capita incomes grew at 3.5 to 4 per cent per annum during 1980-87, suggesting that the benefits had trickled down to the population in general, albeit in different degrees for different groups. Summary statistics on the size and distribution of income, brought together in the Table, enable some broad inferences to be made regarding the distribution of benefits. The Gini coefficient points to widening disparities over the period, confirming earlier conclusions about the benefits of growth being unequally distributed and favouring the upper income households. Correspondingly, the share of total income accruing to the bottom 40 per cent of households declined over the long term.

A pertinent point to note, however, is that the Gini coefficient for spending units is consistently lower than that for IRs. This is partly reflective of the benefits that flowed to the economy from increased employment opportunities. In 1981/82, an average household had 1.58 persons in employment compared to 1.45 at the time of the 1973 survey. The evidence favours a conclusion that, although the growth process under the new

---

10. The worst affected appears to have been the 14-18 year age group whose median income (nominal terms) stagnated at around Rs.150/-.

Table 6
RECEIPTS OF FEMALE INCOME RECEIVERS BY AGE, 1978/79-81/82 MEDIAN INCOMES

	1973 Rs.	1978/79 Rs.	1981/82 Rs.	Percentage Change 1978/79-1981/82
Age Group of Income Receivers				
14-18 years		152.00	150.00	-1.6
19-25 "		202.00	281.00	39
26-35 "		253.00	342.00	35
36-45 "		255.00	333.00	31
46-55 "		304.00	430.00	41
Over 55 "		264.00	525.00	99
All Ages	83.00	201.00	323.00	61
(All Ages Male)	(211)	(451)	(763)	(69)
Prices				1978-81
CCPI				65
WPI				71
GNP Deflator				65
SCPI				105

Source: Central Bank, Consumer Finance Surveys & Annual Reports.

strategies did not by-pass the poverty groups as such, 'trickle down' was uneven in its incidence. Among groups who benefited were the households of migrants to the Middle East, professional and technical categories in the middle and higher levels, and the entrepreneurial categories.

III. THE IMPACT ON PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

Central to the liberalisation strategy that had been negotiated with the World Bank and the IMF (Jayawardena et al, 1987) was the necessity to secure foreign funding for a package of major projects which could turn the food subsidy into employment gains during the Government's term of office. The accelerated Mahaweli river basin development programme was a key element of this package and was to be funded partly out of funds released by the subsidy and partly by foreign aid mobilised by the World Bank.

Public sector investments were to be concentrated on the three 'lead' projects. These were: the multipurpose Mahaweli river basin power, irrigation and land settlement schemes which would stimulate growth in the rural sector, especially agricultural production; the housing and water supply schemes which would generate urban development; and the export processing zones which would offer attractive incentives to bring in private foreign capital, technology, production expertise, managerial and marketing skills to facilitate penetration of possible international markets.

The expansion of the public sector in industry (and in other sectors) was to be limited and attempts made to rationalise the operation of existing ventures. Government expenditure was to be directed to providing the basic infrastructural facilities for agriculture and industry, to increasing private sector participation in the development process, and to rehabilitating the existing social and economic infrastructure.

Government expenditures as a proportion of GDP (Table 8) was higher per annum during the late 1970s and beginning of the 1980s than later in the decade. As increasing emphasis was put on investment; the ratio between capital and current expenditures by government changed drastically from 1:2.9 in 1977, the ratio dropped to 1:1.1 in 1980, before recovering slightly to 1:1.7 in 1986. The pattern of expenditure also changed substantially. Welfare and social infrastructure expenditure declined both in aggregate and for individual major sectors. Expenditure on economic services doubled between 1977 and 1980 but fell back thereafter to a level only slightly higher than in the seventies. There was a quadrupling in transfers to public enterprises between 1971 and 1980 but a gradual decline in the eighties (Annex Table A.1 and A.2). Defence expenditure climbed rapidly after 1983.

This Section therefore discusses the expenditures of government departments and public sector enterprises together, in relation to two major functional areas: living standards and economic infrastructure. It concentrates on assessing these expenditures as they affect women, whether directly or indirectly as part of a household. Thus expenditures on most of the public enterprises listed in Annex Tables A.1 and A.2 will not be covered, due to the difficulty of tracing the impact on women or households of transfers to loss-making public ventures.

Table 7
LEVELS & DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOMES, 1973-1981/82

	1973	1978/79	1981/82	Increase 1973-81/82	Increase 1973-78/79	Increase 78/79-81/82
	Rs	Rs	Rs			
Monthly Income of						
Spending unit[1]						
Mean (Rs)	311	921	1,635	426	196	78
Median (Rs)	250	658	1,159	365	163	76
Price Levels						
CCPI				127	38	65
WPI				-	-	71
GNP Deflator				203	84	65
SCPI						105
Size Distribution of income of						
Bottom 40% of households	19.29	16.06	15.32			
Bottom 50% of households	26.74	22.65	21.67			
Top 10% of households	28.03	35.84	37.29			
Top 20% of households	42.95	49.87	51.81			
Gini Coefficient						
Income receives	0.41	0.49	0.52			
Spending unit	0.35	0.44	0.45			

[1] A spending unit is a group of persons who act as a unit in making decisions about spending; a household may consist of one or more spending units.

Source: As for Table 2.6.

Table 8
GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE AS PERCENTAGE OF GDP, 1977-86

Category	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Welfare expenditures	9.3	13.2	11.8	9.3	7.3	6.9	6.5	5.5	6.3	6.3
Food subsidy	4.3	5.1	4.6	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Transfers to households	0.5	2.9	1.2	3.6	3.0	2.7	2.1	2.0	2.1	1.7
Education	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.0	2.5	2.6
Health	1.4	1.6	1.9	2.0	1.2	1.2	1.7	1.1	1.3	1.6
Other	0.4	0.9	1.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
Economic services	2.7	3.7	4.6	4.9	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.2
Agriculture and irrigation	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.3
Communications	1.2	1.8	2.7	2.5	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.5
Others[1]	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4
Administration	3.0	4.5	4.9	4.8	4.0	4.8	4.1	4.2	6.2	5.0
Civil	2.4	3.2	4.1	3.5	3.4	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.6	2.6
Defence	0.6	1.3	0.8	1.3	0.6	1.0	1.3	1.4	3.6	2.4
Pension payments	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.6
Other transfers[2]	3.4	9.0	8.8	12.4	10.6	13.2	11.0	10.7	10.8	9.7
Other payments[3]	1.8	6.8	2.3	6.9	2.1	0.8	1.8	3.6	2.0	2.6
Interest payments	2.8	3.2	3.2	3.4	4.5	5.1	5.4	4.8	5.2	5.1
Total	24.0	41.5	36.7	42.9	32.9	35.6	33.7	33.5	35.5	33.5

1. This category consists of fisheries, manufacturing, mining and trade.

2. Transfers to local authorities, public corporations and other institutions and also abroad. The rapid increase in these figures is due to escalation in the capital transfers to public corporations.

3. Gross payments of trading enterprises, intra-governmental payments, acquisition of financial assets and net payment on account of operations financed through advance accounts. Includes expenditure of the Highways, Railways, Buildings and Departments.

Source: Central Bank of Ceylon Review of the Economy, various issues.

1. Expenditure for Improving Living Standards

The major change in the welfare area was the conversion in 1978 of the food ration and subsidy programme, in operation for the previous four decades, into a means-tested food stamps programme. This substituted income transfers to marginal groups for the specific nutritional objectives of the earlier programme and reduced its budgetary impact from 5 per cent of GDP in 1978 to 1 per cent in 1986. Allocations to the major sectors of education and health also declined as a percentage of GDP. However, housing and water supply expenditures, which were undertaken by the National Housing Development Authority and the Water Supply and Drainage Board, escalated from 0.2 per cent of GDP in 1977 to 1.8 per cent in 1984.

The Food Stamps Programme

Under the ration programme, a quota of rice, wheat flour and sugar was provided at varying levels of subsidisation by the Food Commissioner's Department to the entire population over one year of age (with the exception of income tax payers). Subsidised rice, flour, sugar, dhal and infant milk foods were also made available on the open market for much of the period. The food subsidy which emerged on account of these operations consisted of a consumer subsidy on food distributed through the ration programme as well as on the open market, and a producer subsidy on rice. The Government attempted to manage the food subsidy by cross subsidisation, varying the quantity of subsidised items and the prices at which they were made available.

In January 1978 the ration programme was restricted to 6,857,000 persons in households with annual incomes of less than Rs3,600/-. In September 1979 it was replaced by food and kerosene stamps for the same target group but covering 7,259,000 persons. No additions to the list of recipients were allowed after 1980; all new-born children and families experiencing subsequent loss of income were thereby excluded.

The value of the stamps was initially determined so to provide the same basket of goods as ration-holders had been receiving at that time. However, in January 1980 prices of subsidised essential food commodities were allowed to rise sharply; they continued to climb gradually thereafter, eroding the real value of the income transfer. A residual subsidy on infant milk foods was maintained but the subsidisation of other food commodities practically ceased.

The removal of the 'safety net' on the food consumption of low income groups, which had been provided by the ration, combined with the continuous erosion of the real value of the stamps and a decline in the real incomes of the poor (Alailima, 1980), resulted in serious calorie deficiencies being experienced by the poor. Although the Consumer Finance Survey data showed that daily per capita consumption had been maintained at adequate levels in general (i.e. 2283 calories in 1978/79 and 2271 in 1981/82), the per capita calorie consumption of the poorest 40 per cent of the population dropped to 1834 calories in 1978/79 and 1865 in 1981/82 (Wijesinghe, 1986), while that of the lowest decile fell to the unpresented level of 1181 (Edirisinghe, 1987). In contrast, the upper 60 per cent of the population increased their daily intakes from 2574 to 2700 calories per capita during these years (Wijesinghe, 1986). In 1969/70, when the ration was in operation, the daily per capita

calorie consumption of the bottom 40 per cent was 2064 and that of the rest of the population 2352 (Department of Census and Statistics, 1972).

Education

Sri Lanka's education system is highly accessible in a physical sense, as the school network reaches out into the remotest parts of the island. Government has a near monopoly of the education services provided and financial access for the population is facilitated through the provision of free tuition, free textbooks, subsidised transport, scholarships for about 5000 poor children, and a school biscuit programme.

Census data suggest that participation of children and young people in education was not affected by the decline in financial support for the education system. In fact, a substantial improvement in the participation rate was evident at all levels during 1971-81 (see Table 9) and this was also reflected in improved literacy rates.

Table 9
LITERACY AND EDUCATION PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE AND SEX, 1971 and 1981

	1971			1981		
	Male	Female	Average	Male	Female	Ave.
Literacy rate[1]	85.6	70.9	78.5	90.5	82.4	86.5
Education participation rate[2]						
(Age groups)						
5 - 9 years	61.6	60.2	60.9	84.5	84.1	84.3
10 - 14 "	72.1	67.6	69.9	82.9	81.6	82.3
15 - 19 "	36.5	32.4	34.5	41.1	42.9	42.0
5 - 19 "	57.9	54.6	56.3	70.0	70.0	70.0

[1] 10 years and over
[2] Estimated number of students as a percentage of population in that age group.

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, 1982.

Special tabulations of students by household income group obtained from survey data show that in the general improvement in education, the participation rates of the poor also improved substantially (Table 10). In the 5-9, 10-14 and 15-19 age groups these rates increased faster than for the non-poor, thereby narrowing the disparity that had existed in 1970.

Table 10
EDUCATION PARTICIPATION RATES[1] OF THE POOR[2] AND NON-POOR BY AGE, 1969/70 AND 1980/81
(per cent)

	1969/70			1980/81		
Age Group	Poor	Non-Poor	All	Poor	Non-Poor	All
5 - 9 years	68	78	74	71	77	74
10 -14 "	73	83	79	80	85	83
15 - 19 "	29	43	39	40	50	46
20 - 24 "	3	9	7	5	11	8

[1] Number of persons declared as 'students' taken as a percentage of the total population in that age and income group. The age of entry into school was 5 years in both years.

[2] The poor are defined as the bottom 40 per cent of the population.

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, special tabulations 1978 and 1983.

Table 11
RATIO OF MALE TO FEMALE STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS, 1970, 1979, 1984

	1970		1979		1984	
	Male :	Female	Male :	Female	Male :	Female
Lower Kindergarten			107 :	100	106 :	100
Grade 2	114 :	100[1]	106 :	100	109 :	100
Grade 5	112 :	100[2]	104 :	100	105 :	100
Grade 8	108 :	100	96 :	100	96 :	100
Grade 11	94 :	100[3]	89 :	100	75 :	100

[1] Includes Grade 1.
[2] Includes Grades 3 and 4.
[3] Includes Grade 12.

Source: Annual Schools Census, Ministry of Education, unpublished data.

There was, however, a slight increase in 'school avoidance' rates between 1978/79 and 1981/82; most drop-outs were from the low-income groups. For the 5-9 age group the rates increased from 17.6 to 19.9 per cent; for the 10-13 age group, from 6.8 to 7.1 per cent; and for 14-18 age group, from 7.2 to 8.9 per cent. Literacy centres were started in 1981 for 6-14 year olds who were not in school; 7,622 children, 51 per cent of whom are girls, were enrolled in 223 centres.

The participation of girls in the general education system was high. They were almost equally represented in the lower grades and exceeded the number of boys in the higher ones (Table 11).

At university level, girls were well represented in almost all courses except engineering and veterinary sciences, and the percentage of female undergraduate entrants increased steadily from 39 per cent in 1976 to 45 per cent in 1986/87 (Table 12).

In vocational education, there was a threefold expansion in intakes into government training programmes in response to the demand for skilled labour, both from local industry and from abroad, and the participation of women increased substantially at this level too (Table 13). However, gender differentiation tended to be reinforced by the vocational courses provided. For instance, in Technical Colleges, while 62 per cent of the men were involved in technical and craft courses, and 35 per cent in commerce courses, the corresponding proportions for women were 23 per cent and 70 per cent. The proportion of women attending Vocational Training Units, technical education units, and Youth Council centres, who were involved in sewing and dress-making courses, were 99.8 per cent, 89 per cent and 77 per cent respectively. As job opportunities in these areas were not commensurate with such numbers, the women found it difficult to get employment (Ariyadasa, 1985).

The decline in public funding for education did appear to have affected the facilities provided in the general education system. "Today there are small schools where the children do not even have mats to sit on", reported UNESCO in 1982. In 1984 many schools did not have water supplies (19 per cent) or toilet facilities (25 per cent) and in some districts the shortage of furniture (desks, chairs, blackboards) had reached 50 per cent (Ministry of Education, 1986). Consumables and teaching aids were particularly affected.

The quality of education provided throughout the education system may also have been affected. Kariyawasam and Wanasinghe (1982) found that the performance of primary school children was "not up to standard even in the best schools in both mathematics and reading" (p.1). Technical Institutes, which provided the only formal technical and vocational training in the public sector, had very low pass rates. Some evidence of variation in the quality of education provided by different universities also emerged (Jayasuriya, 1986).

Health

The public sector plays a significant role in the provision of health care in Sri Lanka, but it is not the sole provider. In 1978/79 it treated 45 per cent of the sick (43 per cent were treated by Western Services and 2 per cent by Ayurveda). In 1981/82, 48 per cent of the sick had recourse to public curative services (46 per cent went to Western Services, 2 per cent to Ayurveda). The public sector provides virtually all preventive health services, most of the inpatient treatment and about two-fifths of outpatient treatment. Treatment is free.

Mortality levels continued to improve in the post-liberalisation period. Crude death rates declined from 7.4 per 1000 population in 1977 to 6.0 in 1984; infant mortality rates fell from 42 per 1000 live births in 1977 to 23 in 1983. In general, female death rates were lower for all age groups

Table 12
PROPORTION OF FEMALE UNDERGRADUATE UNIVERSITY ENTRANTS, SELECTED YEARS, 1976/77-1986/87
(per cent)

	1976/77	1979/80	1983/84	1986/87
Arts	49	45	54	53
Science	33	37	37	47
Medicine	n.a.	50	42	42
Commerce	31	36	41	49
Agriculture	27	30	35	40
Architecture	16	18	18	43
Veterinary Sc.	50	48	35	30
Engineering	8	17	14	14
Dentistry	n.a.	48	32	48
Law	45	40	46	55
Management	-	-	-	41
Average	39	40	42	45

Sources: Women's Bureau 1985; University Grants Commission, 1986, 1987.

Table 13
FEMALE STUDENTS IN TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, 1973 AND 1986

	1973		1986	
	All Students	% Female	All Students	% Female
Technical Colleges	8453	14.9	18047	38.2
Technical Education Units	7235[1]	78.7[1]	17668	69.3
Vocational Training Centres	1480	5.9	9550	61.0
National Apprenticeship Board	768	2.6	4633	24.9
National Youth Council Centres	-	-	1377 [2]	49.4
Small Industries Centres	n.a.	n.a.	4953 [3]	60.6

[1] Figures for 1978.
[2] Figures for 1987.
[3] Figures for 1987.

Source: Perera et al, 1988.

except the 1-4 group, this possibly related to greater malnutrition for girls during the weaning period. Life expectancy for women in 1981 was 72 years compared to 68 years for men. A slight increase in morbidity, however, appeared to have taken place between 1969/70 and 1981/82 (Table 14) both for the poor and for others.

Table 14
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION SEEKING MEDICAL TREATMENT, SELECTED YEARS

	1969/70			1978/79			1981/82		
	Poor[1]	Non-Poor	All	Poor[1]	Non-Poor	All	Poor[1]	Non-Poor	All
Urban	7	6	6	7	7	7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Rural	9	8	8	10	7	9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Estate	7	5	6	9	10	9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Average	8	7	7	10	7	8	11	10	10

[1] Defined as the bottom 40 per cent of the population.

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, special tabulations, 1974; Central Bank, 1983 and 1984.

Thus the decline in the financial provision for the public health sector did not appear to have seriously affected health status with respect to mortality. Curative interventions were evidently adequate to maintain a declining trend in death rates. However, the overall slight increase in morbidity (and micro-studies such as the one published by UNICEF in 1986) suggested that preventive treatment, provided entirely by the public sector, had not been given due emphasis and/or had deteriorated in quality. That, in turn, might have been partly attributable to severe manpower shortages, especially of doctors in the public health services. To counteract that trend, increasing emphasis was placed on the development of the private sector. The sight of private practice was granted to doctors as an incentive to stay in the public service, and intakes into the medical schools were doubled in 1978. However, the 'brain drain' of doctors continued and in 1984 the number in public service still had not been restored to 1972 levels. The privilege of private practice was also widely abused, as no controls were enforced to ensure that the doctors attended to their substantive duties in public health. The resulting deterioration of staff morale, discipline and supervision at all levels therefore probably contributed to a deterioration in the quality of service provided in both curative and preventive public health care.

Housing, water supply and sanitation

The Government designated this sector as a major engine of growth and urban renewal. Direct construction by the public sector was emphasised in order to meet the needs of the middle- and low-income groups. Private sector housing construction was to be stimulated through incentives and the relaxation of housing legislation on rentals and ownership etc. and substantial foreign aid was also directed into this sector.

The impact of the public housing programme implemented by the National Housing Development Authority can be assessed in terms of the number of new permanent and semi-permanent units constructed. Those built during 1978-84 are shown in Table 15. The Government provided 36 per cent of all units constructed in this period. Direct housing construction for sale by the National Housing Development Authority was emphasised at first. However, escalating construction costs necessitated a change in policy, and assistance to self-build housing, which was less costly, then came to the fore. The terms of loans granted for house construction by the National Housing Fund and the commercial banks were eased; and from 1984 the provision of small construction loans with serviced sites, material packages and training became the basis of large-scale housing activity. The upgrading of existing estate housing and the construction of new units for resident labour was also undertaken after 1978 by the two major state plantation agencies.

The most significant contribution to increasing the housing stock, though, was 'colonisation housing' which came about through the provision of land to farm families under various settlement schemes (Table 15). Since 1969, a cash subsidy for housing has been made available to settlers participating in such schemes and all those who received land through them are therefore assumed to have added to the housing stock. (The settlement schemes are described below as part of the section on economic infrastructure.)

Under the water-seal latrine project, 106,475 latrines were constructed between 1978-84 at a cost to government of Rs.22 million. This project, which was confined to servicing the urban and rural sectors, provided 40 per cent of the increase in latrines in these areas during 1971-81.

According to Census data, between 1971 and 1981 77,439 more units in urban and rural areas had piped water but 35,076 fewer units in estate areas had this facility. The major investments undertaken from 1978 (at a total cost estimated at US$240 million, of which 65 per cent was paid in foreign aid) had not become fully operational by 1981 and were therefore not reflected in the census data. However, these schemes had been designed to supply around 500,000 households on completion.

All urban and rural piped water supply schemes, urban sewage schemes and rural non-piped water supplies based on drilled wells are provided by the Water Supply and Drainage Board. The Ministry of Health gives a cash grant to cover part of the cost of installation of water-seal latrines. Only Colombo has a sewage system and it is old, overloaded and no treatment is provided.

The access of the poor to piped water was, however, limited by a change of policy in 1984 whereby the provision of "free" water was replaced by tariffs on metered supplies and stand pipes were removed where billing was not feasible. The change was felt to be necessary when the new capital works, which came into operation after 1980, added rapidly to recurrent costs and the gap between revenue and expenditure grew to unacceptable levels.

Table 15

NEW HOUSING UNITS GENERATED BY GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES AND BY PRIVATE FUNDING, 1978-84

	Permanent Units	Semi-Permanent Units	All Units
A. Total no.of new units constructed[1]	176,862	456,932	633,794
(Percentage)	(100)	(100)	(100)
B. Government contribution			
Loans[2]	25,064	20,045	45,109
Direct construction[3]	21,370	-	21,370
Assisted self-help[4]	34,512	-	34,512
Colonisation	-	97,367	97,367
Estate[6]	6,658	-	6,658
Rural housing[7]	-	19,831	19,831
Sub-Programme			
Public servants' quarters	469	-	469
Sub total no. of units	88,073	137,243	225,316
(Percentage)	(50)	(30)	(36)
C. Privately funded units	88,789	319,689	408,478
(Percentage)	(50)	(70)	(64)

[1] Estimated from Census data on date of construction of housing units existing in 1981. Actual figures given were taken for 1971-77. The rate of construction for 1978-81 was projected to 1984 to obtain estimate 1978-?.
[2] Loans of under Rs.4000 by the MHD are assumed to be for semi-permanent housing.
[3] Includes direct construction of urban and electoral housing.
[4] Includes assisted self-help and electoral housing.
[5] From Table 8. f. Figures from SPC & JEDB. Only new units.
[6] ?????
[7] Loans given for new units (only) Rural Housing Sub-Prog.

Sources: Census of Populational Housing, 1981. Table 7.4.
Ministry of Local Govt., Housing & Construction (1985) Marga (1986).

Appraisal

The above evidence suggests that, overall, the living standards of women improved in the period after 1977, despite substantial declines in real public expenditure on nutrition, education and health. The nutrition and, to a lesser extent, overall morbidity levels of low-income women, however, were likely to have been affected adversely. Further, the benefit they derived from the large increases in expenditure on housing and environmental sanitation would have depended on their ability to make the initial financial outlay to participate in these programmes. In the education and health

fields, as the service was free, financial considerations probably did not limit access, although the quality of service received might have been affected.

2. Expenditure on Improving the Economic Infrastructure

Irrigation and land settlement

In the late seventies, attention in Sri Lanka focused on dry zone colonisation and particularly on the acceleration of the Mahaweli Development Programme, as a means both of generating employment and economic growth and of relieving food shortages, energy shortfalls and land hunger. The Mahaweli Development Master Plan prepared in 1965-68 envisaged the irrigation and development of about 365,000 ha. of land in the dry zone, of which 100,000 ha. were already cultivated. The Plan covered 14 irrigation systems and would have power stations with a total installed capacity of 500 MW. Construction would be divided into three phases, to be implemented over 30 years. Stages I and II were started in the early seventies and completed by 1985; 23,163 families were settled, 24,000 ha. of new land were opened for cultivation and irrigation was provided to 13,900 ha. of land already under cultivation.

In 1977, the new Government decided to accelerate implementation of Stage III. This envisaged the construction of five major reservoirs and hydroplants with a total potential power capacity of 500-600 MW, development of about 120,000 ha. of newly irrigated land and settlement of an equivalent number of farm families.

The Government was very successful in mobilising resources (particularly foreign aid) for this programme, and in preparing and implementing it. the Mahaweli Authority of Sri Lanka had completed construction of the dams and commissioned the power stations at Victoria in November 1984 (with British aid), at Kotmale in May 1985 (with Swedish aid), and at Randenigala in September 1986 (with aid from the Federal Republic of Germany) as well as an irrigation dam at Maduru Oya. About 470 MW of installed power capacity was added to the national grid.

However, programme costs were high and estimates escalated rapidly, from Rs.11 billion in 1977 to Rs.60 billion; actual expenditure between 1978 and 1986 came to Rs.41 billion. Although about two-thirds of the estimated costs of the programme have already been incurred, most of the benefits have yet to be realised. The generation of hydropower started in 1985 and existing capacity will eventually be doubled. Paddy production from this area, which reached almost 200,000 tons in 1984 (8 per cent of Sri Lanka's production from 5 per cent of its paddy area) is likely to quadruple with the completion of the downstream development of the irrigation schemes; yields have reached 4 tonnes/ha. as against the average of 3.5 tonnes/ha. for the country. Job creation has been substantial, including about 20,000 temporary jobs in the construction of headworks.

Outside of the Mahaweli river basin development, the Government also spent about Rs.5.7 billion on other irrigation and land settlement programmes during 1978-86. Land was provided for settlement in major irrigation schemes, village expansion, highland and youth settlement schemes. In the village expansion schemes, land belonging to the state was given to the peasants for homesteads to meet the acute shortage of residential land for rapidly

expanding village communities. In highland agricultural settlements, land from large estates was transferred to the peasants for the cultivation of commercial crops such as tea, rubber and coconut. Youth schemes were set up in irrigated land in the dry zone in an effort to create agricultural settlements for unemployed youth.

Sri Lanka's settlement programmes, whether in the Mahaweli area or elsewhere, provide for a tenural system based on permits and grants under the Land Development Ordinance (LDO) of 1935. The programmes have been designed to provide the settler with services and benefits to enable him to maintain family-sized farms. Subsidies are provided towards the construction of the settler's house, latrine, and paddy field bunds; planting material is provided for the homestead plot together with seed paddy and agricultural implements for cultivation; a food ration is also given to the settler and his family for 18 months until he becomes self-supporting. Initially, a permit is given to the settler under the LDO to cultivate the land. The conditions attached to the permit stipulate that the allottee cannot mortgage (except to a cooperative), lease or otherwise dispose of his land until the land has been fully developed and the permit turned into a grant. However, in spite of the range of assistance provided and the restrictions imposed, illegal transactions and transfers do take place among the allottees and outsiders (Jegarajasingham, 1984).

A small part of the land acquired by the state under the land reforms of 1972 and 1975 was also distributed to villagers under the 1979 Lands Grants (Special Provisions) Act. Departing from established procedure, these lands were issued free of charge.

The regularisation of encroachments was nevertheless the most important means of land distribution. This enabled the largely landless to obtain a permit to the lands on which they encroached, thus conferring permanency of occupation on full development.

Altogether 149,311 families received 291,961 acres under the land distribution schemes (Table 3.9), thereby improving the income base of around 750,000 persons. An additional 405,873 families (about 2 million persons) improved their asset base through regularisation of their tenure. Overall, these two programmes benefited around 19 per cent of the population of Sri Lanka in the 1977-86 period.

Transport, telecommunications, power and energy

The upsurge in economic activity following the implementation of the liberalisation policy adopted in 1977 put heavy pressure on the country's infrastructure facilities, mainly transport, communications and power. The drive to attract foreign investment also required that these facilities should operate efficiently. Hence the expansion and upgrading of the economic infrastructure received special attention after 1977.

Transport, telecommunications and power/energy are public sector responsibilities which are organised or operated either as government departments or as state-controlled enterprises; the only exception is road passenger transport, which was opened to the private sector in 1980. The bulk of capital expenditure - and in the case of highways, telecommunications and railways (which are government departments), the entire current expenditure - has been financed from budgetary provision and foreign aid on concessionary terms.

Table 16

Land Redistribution Programme, 1977-86

	Allottees (nos.)	Extent (acres)	Average size (acres)
A. Settlement Programme			
1. Major schemes	9,741	29,380	3.02
2. Highland schemes	164	378	2.30
3. Village expansion	47,312	67,090	1.42
4. Youth schemes	920	2,045	2.22
5. Land grants (Special Provisions Act)	37,370	28,967	0.78
6. Rainfed farming	3,521	13,252	3.76
7. Mahaweli	49,375	148,125	3.00
8. Uda Walawe	908	2,724	3.00
Total	149,311	291,961	1.96
B. Regularisation of encroachments	405,873	554,783	1.37

Sources: Annual Plan 1988, Ministry of Lands and Land Development; Mahaweli Economic Agency, unpublished data.

Public expenditure on infrastructure facilities increased sharply after 1977 with the inauguration of several programmes to rehabilitate run-down assets and expand their capacities. In the highways sector, expenditure was mainly for rehabilitation and maintenance. In the power sector (Annex Table A.2) it was used to expand capacity and improve transmissions; and in telecommunications, both for rehabilitation, particularly of the cable network, and for expansion of switching and exchange capabilities. Colombo Port and the International Airport were also expanded and modernised (Annex Table A.2).

The demand for electricity increased by over 10 per cent per year between 1980 and 1987. The commissioning of the three large hydro-electric schemes under the Mahaweli Development Programme and the installation of several thermal plants helped to increase electricity generating capacity from 421 MW in 1980 to 1146 MW in 1987; consumption increased from 1668 GWh in 1980 to 2707 GWh in 1987. Several projects to improve electricity transmission and local distribution and about 1000 schemes under the Rural Electrification Programme were also completed.

There has been a heavy demand for telecommunications facilities and since 1982 several projects have been undertaken to rehabilitate and modernise plant and equipment and increase the system's capacity. Between 1982 and 1987 the number of telephones and telex connections increased from 67,000 to 97,000 and from 976 to 1,342, respectively. The Department of Telecommunications increased the capacity of exchanges from 94,000 to 137,000 in the same period. The quality of service was improved by providing direct dialling facilities to all major towns and suburbs and rehabilitating the subscriber cable network.

In Colombo Port, a container terminal was constructed and sophisticated cargo handling equipment installed, making it one of the largest and most modern ports for handling containerised cargo in South East Asia. Reconstruction of the airport complex with fully equipped terminal buildings was completed in 1989.

The number of vehicles for goods and passenger haulage increased almost 50 per cent between 1982 and 1987. A programme for road rehabilitation and maintenance and bridge repairs was started in 1981, with a World Bank loan directed towards repairing and upgrading 500 km of road and 40 bridges. A second project funded by the World Bank in 1986 and two others funded by the Asian Development Bank in 1985 and 1986 extended the programme to a further 800 km of main road and 30 bridges.

Road passenger services, which account for over 80 per cent of passenger movement in the country, are provided both by the state-run and by privately-operated bus services. In 1987 the state-run service, the Sri Lanka Transport Board (SLTB), utilised less than 5,000 buses (out of a fleet of 7,000 drivesome 400 million bus km and carry 14.5 billion passengers. The private sector used about 10,000 buses of lower capacity (out of a fleet of 12,000) to drive about 700 million km and carry 14 billion passengers. The SLTB operates routes all over the country, while the private service is generally confined to the urban and inter-city routes. However, government investments in the transport sector have been crowded out in the last ten years by the priority given to Mahaweli irrigation schemes, to housing and power, and, more recently, to defence. Thus investments in transport have been insufficient to keep up with the normal wear and tear of the system's infrastructure and the increasing demand for transport services.

The railway provides transport to around 60 million passengers and has been carrying 1.6 million tons of freight a year since 1980. Despite the loss of lucrative traffic to the north and east of the country due to the ethnic conflict, the total tonnage has been stabilised, even though fewer trains are operating. The number of passengers carried per year, however, has declined steadily since its 1979 peak of 89 million, because of the stiff competition from privately-owned bus services. Track maintenance and rehabilitation, as well as the repair of rolling stock, accounted for the bulk of the expenditure during 1978-86, with some funds also being allocated to purchase new rail coaches and replace old and uneconomic stock.

Appraisal

Although the rehabilitation, expansion and improvement of economic infrastructure was partly financed by the "savings" in the food subsidy, foreign aid was a decisive factor in all the major projects.

The effect on households of the range of investments in economic infrastructure can only be directly quantified in the case of irrigation and land settlement. Almost 19 per cent of the population benefited from this programme between 1978 and 1986 and further benefits are likely to accrue well into the 'nineties.

Adjustment packages typically feature cuts in public expenditure, restructuring of economic activities and more emphasis on investment. Sri Lanka's public expenditure profile after 1977 displayed all these

characteristics. However, because it was able to attract substantial foreign aid to support the adjustment package, the large-scale investments undertaken to improve the economic infrastructure did not necessitate very large cuts in the social sectors, the food subsidy being the only major casulty.

As shown above, the nutrition of the poor was adversely affected by the continuous decline in the real value of food stamps. Women and girls in these households probably took the brunt of the deterioration in food intake, as indicated by higher levels of malnutrition among pre-school and school girls and declining birth weights of babies born to low-income mothers (see Section IV). However, the substitution of food stamps for the food subsidy and ration was not detrimental for the 60 per cent of the population (defined as non-poor) and their per capita calorie consumption continued to rise after 1979.

On the other hand, since the public education and health services were still to be provided free of charge, there was no major deterioration in the education or health status of the population in general or of women in particular although there was some deterioration in the quality of the services provided. Housing and environmental sanitation facilities and expenditure were substantially expanded, contributing to improved living standards.

3. Remedial Action in Progress

Notwithstanding the somewhat mixed picture above, a general recognition emerged that the country's social infrastructure had been neglected for too long and that the sector's needs must be given higher priority. In education the Government pledged to devote 3.5 per cent of GDP from 1989 onwards. A programme was recently started for a hitherto neglected group, the 5-10 year olds in remote areas who had no opportunity to obtain a basic education; some 600 children were enrolled in 19 newly established Learning of Activity Centres.

Prior to directing large-scale flows into the health sector, the Government is strengthening the management of financial, human and material resources. Infrastructure for the proper storage and control of drugs, repair of equipment and maintenance of existing assets is being planned.

As regards housing, the thrust of the Government's programme has recently shifted to the provision of low-interest loans, to a maximum of Rs.7000 each, to low-income households (upper income limit of Rs.1000 per month) in urban and rural areas. These loans are intended to supplement the resources (mostly family labour) which poor families could mobilise to build their houses and to put sufficient cash in their hands that they can sustain construction to the point of completion. The loans are for such purposes as upgrading houses, and providing latrines, clean water, electricity etc. About 46 per cent of them have been used for housing construction; and between 1985 and 1987 some 58,500 units were completed under this programme alone; a much higher rate of construction than had been achieved under earlier direct construction or loan programmes.

A review of food stamp holders was carried out in 1986, with a view to confining the programme to those who really needed it (an estimated 35 per cent of the population) and increasing the value of the stamps. However,

although the composition of the beneficiaries did change as a result, the numbers soon started to increase again and by 1988 the programme covered 7.584 million persons or 47 per cent of the population. The proposal to increase the value of the stamps was therefore abandoned, as it would have resulted in too substantial a call on budgetary resources. Studies are now being undertaken to improve targeting by developing indicators of poverty that can supplement the income criterion currently being used, to investigate the cost of rehabilitating families who depend on food stamps, and to examine the operation of the programme itself.

Additional relief of poverty will come from a decision to double from 1989 the public assistance given to the poor, (as an extension of the Poor Relief Schemes in operation under British colonial rule). This will bring the cash transfer for a family unit to about 2.5 times the value of the food stamps they receive. The number of families covered by the scheme is, however, only about 200,000 units or 6 per cent of the population.

IV. GENDER DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE: A MICRO-LEVEL ANALYSIS

It is apparent from earlier sections that gender-specific consequences or implications of structural adjustment policies are difficult to identify in data and analyses at macro- or even household level as they tend to subsume women as a part of the family. Empirical data from micro-field studies, however, indicate that development has often had a different impact on men and women. Many of these studies deal with specific issues and some inferences may appear speculative. Nevertheless, the data, which are largely qualitative, reflect the several economic realities and gender differences that impinge on the lives of women.

Recent studies are utilised in this Section to try to ascertain how women are affected in their multiple roles by some of the major policies implemented in Sri Lanka since 1977:- export-led growth liberalisation of trade, massive public investment and reduction of welfare expenditure. The developments discussed have been influenced by a multiplicity of economic and social forces from within and outside the country and it is not possible to isolate the consequences of adjustment policies per se. But it can be argued, that certain change in conditions have been triggered or reinforced or exacerbated by these policies.

1. Effects of the Promotion of an Export-Oriented Economy

The strategy of export-led growth to solve balance of payment problems and the promotion of private enterprise, which were key components of the policy package introduced in 1977, led to an expanded manufacturing export sector. The growth of industrial exports, however, depended largely on two industries - petroleum (a large public sector enterprise) and garments. The chief mechanisms used to promote export industries were the Export Processing Zones (EPZ), one established in Katunayake in 1979 and another in Biyagama in 1984, and the Foreign Investment Advisory Committee appointed to promote investment in industries outside the Zones.

Table 17 underscores the concentration of women workers in industries in the EPZ in Katunayake. In 1987 82 per cent of the 45,000 employees in the Zone, 91 per cent of the 34,000 employees in garment industries, and 92 per cent and 83 per cent, respectively, of employees in the smaller food-based and

Table 17
EMPLOYMENT IN GCEC AND FIAC INDUSTRIES
1986 and 1987

Industry	GCEC				FIAC	
	No. of units[1] (1980-86)	Total employed (1987)	Female	% Female	No. of[2] projects (1978-85)	Total[3] employed (1986)
1. Food, beverage and tobacco	4	471	435	92.4	14	1,120
2. Textiles, weaving apparel and leather products	24	33,937	30,814	90.8	52	19,260
3. Wood, wood projects, furniture	3	24	1	4.2	7	175
4. Paper and paper products	1	-	-	-	-	-
5. Chemicals, petroleum, rubber and plastic products	17	1,655	915	55.3	35	2,598
6. Non-metallic mineral products	12	1,648	1,374	83.4	14	2,329
7. Fabricated metal products & equipment, engineering	16	149	13	8.7	26	741
8. Other manufactured products	45	3,237	2,215	68.4	15	2,062
9. Construction	-	-	-	-	28	1,949
10. Services	7	3,926	1,000	25.5	103	5,573
11. Agriculture & animal husbandry	-	-	-	-	27	4,915
TOTAL	129	45,047	36,767	81.6	312	40,722

1. Approved and contracted.
2. Approved.
3. Gender-specific employment data are not available for FIAC-assisted industries.

Source: Public Investment Programme 1986-90, National Planning Division, Ministry of Finance and Planning and GCEC.

TABLE A.1 CURRENT TRANSFERS TO SELECTED PUBLIC CORPORATIONS, 1977-86

(Rs.m.)

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
1. Janatha Estate Development Board	1.9	-	5.2	106.4	91.5	76.7	20.0	93.4	147.0	-
2. Ceylon Petroleum Corporation	-	528.0	87.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. National Milk Board	79.2	82.7	54.0	53.0	44.3	45.9	21.3	25.1	50.0	35.0
4. Ceylon Fertilizer Corporation	-	-	395.0	550.8	637.0	281.4	127.2	307.0	460.1	1000.0
5. Ceylon Fertilizer Manufacturing Cor.	-	-	-	-	269.0	543.0	494.7	537.3	43.0	27.3
6. Co-operative Wholesale Establishment	-		49.6	2.3	75.5	12.2	-	12.5	-	-
7. Ceylon Coconut Development Authority	7.0	2.8	-	-	-	137.2	430.5	25.7	-	-
8. Ceylon Tourist Board	16.7	19.4	26.0	41.8	51.8	55.0	75.0	80.7	60.9	55.0
9. National Apprenticeship Board	-	19.0	30.0	41.0	48.5	50.0	50.0	91.8	50.0	55.0
10. National Development Services	-	-	3.0	15.4	13.0	17.2	18.0	18.0	18.0	20.0
11. National Water Supply & Drainage Board	-	1.4	0.8	1.5	-	138.5	139.8	21.5	1.5	1.5
12. National Youth Services Council	-	3.4	20.0	30.0	25.5	32.0	32.0	32.0	34.2	35.0
13. Central Transport Board	-	304.0	85.0	457.0	-	125.0	174.0	382.0	152.7	152.7
14. Urban Development Authority	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	117.4	120.0
15. Others	41.5	77.7	164.8	283.5	94.3	182.4	336.9	237.5	342.0	449.7
TOTAL	146.3	1038.4	920.4	1582.7	1350.4	1696.5	1919.7	1864.8	1477.2	1951.2

Source: Review of the Economy, 1985, 1986 (Table 96), Central Bank of Sri Lanka.

TABLE A.2 CAPITAL TRANSFERS TO SELECTED PUBLIC CORPORATIONS, 1977-86

(Rs.m.)

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
1. Ceylon Fisheries Harbours Corp.	13.0	15.4	15.7	65.9	11.2	10.0	60.0	76.6	10.4	4.0
2. Janatha Estates Dev. Board	8.0	2.0	-	178.7	29.6	173.0	75.4	67.7	111.1	203.4
3. Mahaweli Authority	101.8	415.9	1437.1	3380.9	3816.1	7332.8	6394.8	7056.9	7233.4	3700.0
4. River Valley Development Board	47.5	45.6	60.0	35.1	35.0	31.5	-	-	-	-
5. State Plantation Corporation	-	-	6.2	118.1	80.4	242.3	148.4	435.9	97.5	75.7
6. Govt. Owned Business Undertaking	-	-	-	-	3.0	113.0	24.5	86.4	-	30.0
7. National Milk Board	3.7	-	12.8	15.5	50.5	62.7	9.0	7.5	10.3	12.5
8. Sri Lanka Sugar Corporation	-	-	4.5	8.0	46.8	75.4	122.5	410.2	508.3	150.0
9. State Fertilizer Manufacturing Cor.	236.8	1061.4	-	397.5	88.5	300.0	-	26.1	-	-
10. Air Port & Aviation Services Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	336.1	955.3	1050.0
11. Air Lanka	-	-	300.0	-	0.5	300.0	900.0	935.0	800.0	800.0
12. Ceylon Electricity Board	6.5	42.3	32.4	116.7	672.5	247.4	111.0	1015.5	152.9	452.0
13. Ceylon Coconut Dev. Authority	-		0.4	-	6.5	13.6	28.1	76.8	74.2	72.9
14. Ceylon Shipping Corporation	-	-	-	-	-	-	155.6	200.0	274.9	274.0
15. Coconut Cultivation Board	-	-	12.3	27.7	33.9	8.4	5.0	54.8	65.4	72.0
16. Export Development Board	-	-	-	-	-	-	200.0	100.0	100.5	102.4
17. Greater Colombo Economic Commission	-	2.1	122.8	10.0	55.8	60.0	60.0	48.0	50.0	50.0
18. Land Reform Commission	57.5	47.5	-	125.0	225.0	168.1	150.0	225.0	200.0	200.0
19. National Housing Dev. Authority	-	-	-	976.0	1020.0	702.8	571.0	480.0	359.5	465.0
20. National Water Supply & Drainage Board	-	-	-	-	342.5	316.3	966.7	853.8	966.3	821.5
21. Port Authority	-	-	-	-	-	16.7	2.9	212.8	306.6	543.7
22. Urban Development Authority	-	-	24.2	80.0	200.0	-	83.0	162.1	23.0	56.5
23. Others	353.0	437.8	1083.4	551.1	456.3	498.9	253.8	466.7	462.4	403.3
TOTAL	827.8	2070.0	3111.8	6086.2	7174.1	10652.9	10421.7	13333.9	12762.0	9538.9

Source: Review of the Economy, 1985, 1986, (Table No.97), Central Bank of Sri Lanka.

non-metallic mineral industries were women. Participation had been around that level since 1978. Gender- specific data are not available for industries outside the Zones, but a sample study of 18 firms in 1987 found that 86 per cent of the workers were women (UNIDO-CENWOR, 1987). It is apparent, therefore, that large private sector garment factories depended heavily on female labour and, as in other Third World countries, a consequence of the promotion of foreign investment in export industries had been what was, in effect, female-led industrialisation. While the unemployment rate for women has been double that of men since the early seventies (CF and SE Survey, 1973, 1981/82), increases in women's access to employment in manufacturing and their situation in these factories have been determined largely by exogenous factors that affected all workers.

These exogenous factors include the role, activities and needs of transnational corporations (TNCs). Persuaded by rising labour costs in industrialised countries to seek cheaper labour through 'global sourcing', their strategy has been to reduce labour-unit costs by relocating labour-intensive industries such as clothing or food processing, or labour-intensive processes of complex industrial production activities, as in electronics, to Third World countries. EPZs were established in East Asia in the sixties and in South East and South Asia in the seventies to meet the demand of an international division of labour and facilitate the movement of international capital. The demand has been chiefly for female labour, partly on the basis of a gender-role assumption women are secondary earners who can be assigned low wages. In particular, women between 18 and 25 years are preferred as their 'nimble' fingers, pliability and single status are seen as increasing economic productivity and reducing production costs. These young women are also an economic asset to national governments dependent on the comparative advantage of cheap female labour to attract investors.

The consequences for women of incorporation in the export economy of Sri Lanka have been depicted in three recent in-depth field studies (Voice of Women, 1983; Goonatilake and Gunasekera, 1986; Goonatilake, 1987). It is clear that a significant number of them have gained employment opportunities and access to income, and thereby to improved status in the family and society, with relatively more economic independence and personal freedom. this positive development is specially important in the context of the high incidence of female unemployment and the impoverished situation of the families from which over 90 per cent of them come.

On the other hand, the educational qualifications of these young women are also relatively high, and 60 to 80 per cent of them were found to have a ten or twelve years of education. Thus, in the absence of alternative opportunities and as a strategy for family survival and mobility, they have taken employment that may not be commensurate with their aspirations or qualifications. Moreover, they are perceived by many employers merely as human resources to be exploited in production, and the low priority given to their welfare is reflected in their working conditions. Their wages have been claimed to be the lowest in the EPZs of Asia, while their productivity is the second highest (Voice of Women, 1983). In view of the spiralling cost of living resulting in part from adjustment policies, they are compelled to work overtime in order to meet family consumption needs. The gender division of labour remains unchanged; women are concentrated in semi-skilled, assembly line operations, such as machine and manual sewing and packing, while men dominate the management and supervisory structure and technical related

employment. In 1987 some 90 per cent of women trainees in vocational programmes were found to be enrolled in sewing-related training courses (UNIDO-CENWOR, 1987).

The studies found that salaries and the physical work environment could sometimes be even worse in factories outside the FTZs. In all factories, the monotonous, depersonalising work, long hours under incessant pressure to meet production targets and work norms, and lack of adequate protective measures against occupational health hazards create stresses in physical and mental health. In the interest of preserving "industrial peace" to enhance productivity, labour legislation is virtually in abeyance and unionisation and worker solidarity discouraged, although conditions tend to be less oppressive in factories outside the Zones where trade union support may be forthcoming.

Despite the appearance of industrialisation there has been little technology transfer in the export industries. Their fragmented production processes offer hardly any opportunity of upgrading skills and tend, in fact, to result in deskilling, depriving school leavers of opportunities for upward career mobility in technical or managerial employment.

Many workers are temporary migrants residing in lodgings in the vicinity of the factories. Prohibitive, living costs and unscrupulous house owners compel them to live in congested, ill-ventilated boarding houses that accommodate 10 to 100 lodgers. Around 90 per cent were found to be sharing a small room with at least five others and 30 per cent had eight room mates. They cook once a day through lack of time and eat the cheapest food to save money.

The vulnerability of these women is further heightened by their lack of job security in the context of unstable world demand for their goods and the ever present threat of such 'footloose' industries shifting to countries with still cheaper labour. The redeployment of more skill-intensive industries to Third world countries and consequent changes in their industrial structure will eventually affect adversely women's employment opportunities in Sri Lanka, as it has in the Republic of Korea and Singapore (UNIDO, 1981), due to their limited range of vocational skills. Women are tending to lose out in employment opportunities as they are channelled away from technology training the more remunerative jobs.

Women's roles in the export production villages

National policies have also focused on a strategy to promote exports, that would enable the benefits to reach the villages and thereby improve incomes in the rural sector. In 1981 the Export Development Board (EDB), created a mechanism to link village-based production with the export sector by encouraging villagers to become shareholders in Export Production Village (EPV) companies. These produce subsidiary food crops, agro-based processed products and manufactured or assembled goods. Easier access is provided to raw materials and credit and external marketing outlets organised by linking them with exporting firms in Colombo.

By the late 1980s there were 18 EPVs. Seven of them were covered in two studies (UNIDO-CENWOR, 1987; Jayaweera et al, 1988) which found that women, as traditional economic producers in the rural environment, had become

major participants in the expansion of economic activities under this scheme. The EPV programme also increased women's visibility in the informal sector: 90 to 98 per cent of shareholders in the cashew, coir, reed packs, electronics and umbrella EPVs were women. This increased demand for female labour led to longer hours of work; the women interviewed claimed they had little time for household chores and child care tasks and hardly any leisure. Economic activities also made demands on the labour inputs of most family members, including children.

The contribution of thee women to family income, which is often under estimated in official data, is significant. Besides the 10-15 per cent sole-income earners, women in the EPVs are often primary earners within the family, the majority contributing over half its income. Most women producers said they had increased their income. The infrastructural support for access to raw materials and other inputs and higher prices in the export markets had clearly minimised some of the constraints that stymie self-employment programmes for women in low-income families. Inequalities, however, were clearly visible both between and within EPVs. Women in the ekel EPV reported that they did not earn enough even to meet basic needs, and over half remained enmeshed in poverty. In the Mahaweli EPV, some families improved their living conditions and acquired symbols of upward mobility such as tractors and television sets, while others remained resourceless in wattle and daub houses. Most EPV producers represented the poorer segments of rural society and, in a context of inflation, spent 75 to 90 per cent of income on food. The poorest, therefore, continued to be marginalised.

Most EPVs have a male-dominated management structure and a female labour force. In the Mahaweli EPV, the practice of allocating land to heads of households, who are in general males, has precluded women from even becoming shareholders. The gender division of labour within and outside the household has been modified somewhat by the use of family labour to meet production targets, but women in the coir EPVs are being displaced from traditional tasks by mechanisation, and the sharing of household tasks by men is rare; women still tend to conceptualise themselves as housewives and not as economic producers.

The demand generated by export promotion has been, again, for low-cost female labour. Two groups of home-based women workers, receiving piece-rate payments for their production are found in the EPVs: viz. those producing agricultural or agro-based processed products in the vegetable, cashew, reed ware and ekel EPVs; and those outworkers under the 'putting out' or sub-contracting system in the electronics, umbrella and coir EPVs. The exporting firms have become the intermediaries, replacing the local middlemen who exercise a stranglehold in the informal sector. The unequal relations between the exporter in Colombo and the EPV producer, and perceptions of huge profits gained by exporters, are already issues of concern in some EPVs.

The crux of the matter is that in this mode of export-oriented production, women are 'squeezed' in a process of international or local subcontracting which has proliferated in the last decade. It is apparent that women home-workers have access to useful income-earning opportunities, using their traditional skills or simple new ones, and they are able to engage in economic activities without detriment to their child-care responsibilities in having to work in 'sweat shops'. But in their homes they work longer hours, lack support services and welfare benefits and have no bargaining power to improve their situation.

On the other hand, the transnational corporations and their subsidiaries or local exporters obtain cheap labour that can be laid off with impunity during slack seasons. Their capital investments in factories, other overheads, welfare and labour costs are reduced, and their profits substantially increased. The electronics and umbrella EPVs that assemble products for export from imported raw materials illustrate the consequences of the international division of labour and global 'sourcing' for cheap labour as much as the 'world market' factories.

2. Effects of the Mahaweli Development Programme

As apparent from above (see pages 35-59), massive public investment has been an important component of the structural adjustment programme in Sri Lanka, with the Mahaweli scheme the most ambitious development project. The main agent of change in creating surplus production, capital formation and better living conditions has been the small commercial farm and homestead. Resources have been invested in incentives, in infrastructural support such as subsidised inputs, credit, water management, extension, marketing, and in a guaranteed price scheme for paddy which has been increased substantially since 1977.

The rice programme has been considered the only successful import substitution programme since 1977 (Jayawardene et al, 1988). A vast area has been transformed. Some families have been able to change from wage labourers or tenant farmers to independent small farmers. Average productivity and incomes have increased.

Nevertheless, studies point to the emergence of socio-economic inequalities despite the egalitarian basis of land settlement (Spellman and Vander Top, 1985; Siriwardena, 1981; Vidanapathirana, 1986). Some families have accumulated capital resources and acquired symbols of upward socio-economic mobility, as reflected in their housing and equipment. High costs of production, particularly of technologies and some other inputs, together with inflation have, however, made it difficult for a significant number of families to generate sufficient surpluses to improve their living conditions and move beyond subsistence level. These families are therefore struggling for survival.

Studies of the situation of women in the Mahaweli (Lund, 1979; de Silva, 1980; Abeysiriwardena and Kilkelly, 1983; Jayaweera, 1987a) have noted that in the early years planners reinforced the 'invisibility' of women in the informal sector by taking for granted their economic role and contribution and conceptualising them as farm wives and not as farmers. Women's traditional land rights have also been eroded by the practice of allocating land to male heads of households. The two Home Development Centres established to meet the needs of women were organised on the basis of a perceived dichotomy in the division of labour as between the productive roles of men and the reproductive roles of women, ignoring the social reality of women's contribution as economic producers.

It has been observed that in fact, women have been actively involved, even in pioneering settlement activities such as clearing land. Most Mahaweli women have said the improvement in crop that cultivation during both seasons resulting from better access to water has increased both family income and their own work-load in field preparation, planting, transplanting, weeding,

harvesting and food processing. The extension of the cultivation of subsidiary crops such as chillies in the second season as well as their involvement in homestead gardening have increased women's activities as economic producers throughout the year. Most women were found to be full-time farmers and some were even de facto farm managers. On average they have contributed around half the household income and are the "keepers of the purse" in the family.

Although women perceive no dichotomy between their economic and domestic roles, they tend to describe themselves as housewives. Their responsibility for household chores extends their working day to around 14 hours. It is apparent, too, that women are being gradually marginalised by the mechanisation of production processes in land preparation, sowing, transplanting, weeding, harvesting and food processing that has been a consequence of large-scale investment in modernising agriculture. Trends that have surfaced include the continued demand for female labour in tasks where drudgery remains unrelieved by technological improvement; a potential decline in the demand for female labour in their traditional activities, such as transplanting and harvesting, attributable largely to women's lack of access to training in handling machinery; and an increase in the number of young female secondary school leavers currently in the 'labour reserve'.

3. Women as Economic Producers for the Domestic Market

An immediate and negative impact of the liberalisation of the economy in 1977 was the collapse of many small local industries that had developed partly as a response to the import substitution policies of the seventies. The survey by the Industrial Development Board (IDB) in 1980 found that between 1977 and 1979, 4.3 per cent of its study sample had closed down and 24.6 per cent had been adversely affected by the influx of cheaper imported goods, and that 78 per cent of those closed down and 80 per cent of those adversely affected were small industrial units. The Annual Sample Survey of Industries by the Department of Census found that the proportion of small units in industry had declined from 66 per cent in 1978 to 42 per cent in 1980. The situation was even worse in the informal sector as producers with minimal resources struggled to survive in a competitive open market.

Women have traditionally been concentrated in local industries such as textiles and coir, mainly in small-scale units in home-based production. It has been reported that in the seventies around 60,000 women were engaged in handloom weaving, which had become virtually a 'feminine' industry, and at least 30,000 in the coir industry. The handloom industry was the most vulnerable to the policy changes. Inability to compete with imported products and with the output of the four large textile mills which had been reorganised with the aid of foreign inputs, rising costs of production and unequal access to imported inputs led to the near ruin of the industry. It was estimated that the number of looms in use declined from 111,000 to 30,000 during 1977-79 (Economic Review, No.2, 1980), and around 40,000 women lost their livelihood (Atukorale, 1986). In the organised sector, the Department of Textiles closed down its handloom centres with around 23,000 looms and sold 62 of its 72 powerloom centres. Subsequently some of these centres were re-opened but they have yet to gain momentum.

The continuing plight of women workers in the coir industry and their arduous and time-consuming work without adequate financial reward have been documented in several studies (Risseeuw, 1980; Risseeuw and Peiris, 1983).

The few local industries that have thrived are geared to export markets and infinitesimal in terms of employment.

The impact of adjustment policies on the economic activities of women was reflected in the 1981 Census data relating to employment in manufacturing industries in the organised sector. Between 1971 and 1981, the number of women employed in the textile industry declined by 48.1 per cent while the number of men increased by 29.4 per cent. As a result the proportion of women employed in that industry fell from 70.1 per cent in 1971 to 47.1 per cent in 1981. Part of the reason was the shift to large textile mills.

Meanwhile in the wearing apparel (garment) industry during the same period the number of women employed rose 356 per cent, enrolment increased compared with only 48.1 per cent in the number of male employees; the proportion of females in the industry therefore rose from 33.6 to 62.2 per cent. Given that garment production is located chiefly in Colombo district, there was no geographical proximity between the women who lost their jobs and those who gained them as a result of the policy changes of 1977.

4. Women in the Urban Informal Sector

Adjustment policies also appear to have affected women in the amorphous urban informal sector which had been estimated in 1978 to include about 20 per cent of the labour force. No later estimates have been made of its size, but it may have expanded with the decline in real incomes and widening income disparities referred to in the macro-analysis.

It appears that men in low-income families have easier access than women to the formal sector, albeit to low-status jobs, while women are concentrated in the informal sector. Here they are reported as being employed in preparing food such as hoppers, stringhoppers for sale, as vendors of vegetables, fruits and cooked food on pavements and in markets, in domestic service, in tailoring, and in the production of goods for low-income families such as piece-work sewing from cloth remnants.

These women have no capital, no access to institutional credit, only minimal education, skills and know-how, and hardly any access to technology. They are vulnerable to exploitation by middlemen or traders and their poverty is reinforced by their low productivity and meagre incomes. Their contribution, though is crucial to family survival; around one-third appear to be sole income earners and another third, primary income earners. While no 'before-after' data exist, it can be inferred from certain studies that the position of many women in low-income families has deteriorated as they continue in abject poverty (Marga, 1978 and 1984; UNIDO-CENWOR, 1987; Jayaweera, 1987b).

5. Women Entrepreneurs

The liberalisation of the economy has benefited those middle-class women who have utilised their resources and skills to engage in entrepreneurship activities. In a competitive, male-dominated market, these women have attempted - often successfully - to make optimal use of the incentives offered to promote private enterprise, and in 1985 they enhanced their visibility by organising themselves as the Women's Chamber of Industry and Commerce; membership was 80 in 1987. Around half of them were engaged in such industries as textiles and garments, food processing and leather, paper,

glass and chemical and jewellery products; the rest were engaged in agriculture and in the provision of services such as travel, trade and catering (UNIDO-CENWOR, 1987).

Their degree of success has depended largely on their family resources, their initiative and skills in utilising opportunities, and their access to markets. The biggest enterprises have formal corporate management structures with large capital investments, an annual turnover of around Rs.100 million, a substantial labour force (generally of women), and have penetrated export markets successfully. Medium-scale and small-scale women entrepreneurs are oriented chiefly towards the local market, and have experienced access problems relating to imported inputs, credit and technical know-how (UNIDO-CENWOR, 1987). These women entrepreneurs have emerged as visible products of the market economy, and in recent years they have organised 'markets' to assist the urban and rural home-based women workers who have yet to achieve sufficient economic viability even to meet their family consumption needs adequately.

6. Women Migrant Workers

The deterioration in living standards and economic hardship caused by rising prices and reduction in subsidised food have compelled some women in marginalised families and communities to seek greener pastures abroad. Both married and unmarried women, chiefly from the Sinhalese and Muslim communities, have been drawn by the availability of jobs where they can use their domestic skills in the oil-rich countries of West Asia whose socio-cultural restrictions limit the use of indigenous female labour.

Migration of skilled and unskilled workers to West Asia had increased from 526 in 1976 to 57,447 in 1981, when over half were women. It is interesting to note that while 87 per cent of the professionals, 92 per cent of middle-level personnel and 97.5 per cent of skilled workers were men, 77 per cent of the unskilled workers were women, employed chiefly as housemaids (Korale, 1981, 1983, 1984). State policy is to encourage temporary migration as a strategy to help solve the unemployment and balance of payment problems, and the foreign exchange remittances of these migrant workers have contributed significantly to the economy. The Foreign Employment Agencies Act No.32 of 1980 and the establishment of the Bureau of Foreign Employment attempted to improve recruitment procedures and to modify a laissez-faire policy that left these women to the mercies of private entrepreneurs.

Studies indicate that women have had varied experiences as migrant workers. Some have had to face the trauma of abuses in their workplaces and family-related problems on their return. Others have accumulated savings, equivalent perhaps to a lifetime's earnings in Sri Lanka, and returned to build or upgrade their houses and to improve the quality of life of their families. Such women have gained confidence as decision-makers and as the sole or primary earners in the household, and in many homes a reversal of roles has taken place with respect to household and child care responsibilities (Marga, 1986; Dias, 1987).

The studies reveal two important sets of findings. The first concerns the motivation for the decision to migrate. These were women who had no alternative options for employment. They lacked the education, skills and resources to seek employment at home in a context of high unemployment. They

also lacked family resources to enable them to cope with living costs and to survive beyond bare subsistence level. Many of them had said that they had spent 85 per cent of their meagre family income on food. While Sinhala women in low-income families had always had unrestricted mobility, resource constraints and the lure of higher income motivated the Muslim women to overcome socio-cultural restrictions to migration without their families.

The second significant set of findings relates to the women's reactions after they came back to Sri Lanka. A large number have returned or wish to return, to the countries of employment for a further term. In view of their poverty and inflationary pressures on the cost of living at home, around 80 per cent of their income from their first term of employment abroad tended to be spent on consumption and on settlement of debts. They felt a need, therefore, to to abroad again in order to accumulate savings to realise their cherished dream of acquiring land and satisfactory housing and to educate their children. They themselves had gained little from their transfer abroad that would help them to achieve upward vocational mobility in Sri Lanka, but migration for employment was to them a strategy for family survival and improving its social mobility in a harsh economic environment.

7. Measures to Assist Women to Overcome Employment Constraints

Programmes to improve the situation of women centred chiefly on the role of the Women's Bureau as a focal point for promoting their interests, the implementation of self-employment projects for women who have no access to the formal sector, and the increase in the provision of child-care services for women working outside the home.

Organisation of income-generating projects

The post-1977 years coincided with the UN Decade for Women (1976-85) and the consequent increase in awareness at international and national levels of women's needs and of the constraints imposed upon them in Sri Lanka, the Women's Bureau was established in 1978 with the Ministry of Plan Implementation but was brought under the new Ministry of Women's Affairs and Teaching Hospitals created in 1983. The Bureau was expected to play a catalytic role in accelerating women's progress. Its major functions are to identify appropriate policies and strategies and to operate as a coordinating and monitoring agency in the implementation of programmes for women.

From its inception the Bureau has been primarily concerned with meeting the needs of women in disadvantaged families in rural and settlement areas, plantations, fishing villages and urban low-income neighbourhoods. These are, by and large, the women who are most vulnerable to the impact of rising costs of living, declining food consumption and falling real incomes. In 1985 6,623 women were engaged in income-generating projects organised by the Bureau, half of them in animal husbandry and the rest in agriculture, small industries and food processing. In recent years, however, the Bureau has focused its activities on policy issues and on organising women's groups at community level.

A large number of NGOs have also implemented similar income-generation programmes. In addition the impact of the UN Decade for Women was reflected in the increased flow of funds from international and bilateral donors to the Bureau and to NGOs for women's programmes.

Such projects have, however, made only a limited contribution to improving the situation of the most disadvantaged women. They have tended to conform to a uniform 'model' that has been introduced by donor agencies, national governments and NGOs in most of the developing countries, irrespective of the diverse circumstances of specific 'beneficiaries'. They have also operated largely outside mainstream development programmes, thereby negating the objective of integrating women into the development process. Despite the fact that women in low-income families are very often primary income earners engaged in a struggle for family survival, the projects appear to be based on perceptions of women as supplementary earners. Evaluation studies of the projects in Sri Lanka have underscored their limitations in assisting women to overcome constraints that stem from poverty (Skjonsberg, 1982; Jayaweera, 1985a). Moreover, they have rarely been preceded by surveys in needs identification. It should further be noted that the programmes of the Women's Bureau, have not been the outcomes of the district-based planning process under the Integrated Development Programme and have therefore lacked the support of the technical and supervisory services of line Ministries. NGO programmes have been largely ad hoc projects.

It was observed in the evaluation studies that women with access to family resources have benefited from these projects and increased their productivity. But the poorest women, in general, did not have the capacity to utilise the inputs available, due to their lack of access to capital, credit and extension services; or, if they were given institutional credit, they did not have the resources to repay loans. The marginalisation of these women and rural indebtedness have therefore been increased as a consequence. In effect these projects have differed little from traditional rural development programmes which had operated within the structure of society that reinforced socio-economic disparities and perpetuated female subordination.

Provision of child-care services

Child-care services received low priority in the past, although pre-schools flourished in urban areas and creches were organised by a few state agencies and NGOs to meet the needs of women workers. The exodus of married women for employment to countries in West Asia, however, drew attention to the general problem of ensuring the welfare of children of female workers. Many women seeking avenues of employment within Sri Lanka had been compelled to opt for home-based economic activities as self-employed workers or as outworkers in industry in order to combine their multiple roles.

The numbers of pre-schools and day-care centres have increased in the past few years. No comprehensive survey has been made of these centres, but it was estimated in 1985 that around 5000 pre-schools and creches organised by government agencies and NGOs served 123,573 children or around 7 per cent of the population under five years. They offered health monitoring services and nutritional interventions or pre-primary education. The large number of private institutions, particularly in the cities, have not been enumerated. Studies have reported that the quality of the programmes at centres that serve the low-income population are sub-standard (Kurian, 1982; Sessional Paper III, 1986).

The National Committee on the Care and Education of the Young Child, appointed in 1985 (Sessional Paper, 1986), has formulated a programme for a network of integrated children's centres which would meet the needs of children and parents and would be supported by government agencies and NGOs.

But this programme has yet to be implemented islandwide and the existing provision of services is inadequate to meet demand.

8. Women as Consumers of Social Services

Most studies on women carried out in Sri Lanka in the last ten years have focused on their economic roles and on programmes that have sought to increase their participation in economic development as overriding issues which, in the perception of the researchers, affect the empowerment of women and the quality of life of their families. Moreover, since women have had equal access with men to education and health facilities over four decades of welfare policies, and more recently to housing programmes as well, gender-specific problems have been restricted chiefly to those concerning maternal health. Few studies present gender disaggregated data that illustrate a different impact of social policies on men and women as consumers.

It can be inferred from data in micro-studies however that as managers of households, particularly in low-income families, women have had to make heroic efforts to meet the minimum consumption needs of the family at a time of inflation, especially of basic commodities, and declining real incomes. The lack of longitudinal studies prevents comparisons over time, but the macro-data given in earlier sections, particularly those relating to widening income disparities, are reflected in community-based studies (CENWOR, 1987).

A special group that has emerged as a focus of recent attention are female-headed households, which amount to at least 25 per cent of families in low-income neighbourhoods. These women, who are single parents and low-income earners, generally come from disadvantaged families and are the victims of circumstances. A recent study has underscored the fact that as the 'poorest of the poor' they are vulnerable to traumas that are compounded in an increasingly deprived economic environment (Weerasinghe, 1988).

In education, while participation rates have risen the number of drop-outs from low-income families have increased since 1978. Studies of the Literacy Centres established since 1981 for out-of-school children have shown that these children come from low-income families in the informal sector and that the majority had never been to school (Jayaweera, 1985b). The Consumer Finances and Socio-Economic Survey even reported a 'mild reverse' in enrolment rates between 1978/79 and 1981/82. Studies have pointed to non-enrolment rates in disadvantaged locations that are significantly higher than average. A study of basic educational needs in selected slums and shanties in Colombo in 1984 reported that 19.3 per cent of 6-8 year olds and 9.8 per cent of 9-14 year olds had never been to school. In addition, 21-23 per cent of children of both 6-8 and 9-14 age groups had dropped out of school. Investigation of a sample of out-of-school children found that over 60 per cent of 6-8 year olds and around 40 per cent of 9-14 year olds had never been to school. Only 29.8 per cent of the slum children and 38.8 per cent of the shanty children were reported to be attending schools regularly (NFE, Ministry of Education and UNICEF, 1984). In 1986 more boys than girls dropped out, both from primary classes (3.31 and 2.83 per cent, respectively) and from secondary classes (5.75 and 4.25 per cent, respectively) (School Census, 1986). The reasons are associated with the greater opportunities boys have of obtaining casual employment. It is significant, however, that between 1981 and 1986, the proportion of the population between 10 and 14 years increased considerably -

nearly doubled in the case of the girls (Census Survey, 1981 and Labour Force and Socio-Economic Survey, 1985/86).

As regards nutrition, a major concern has been the decline in food consumption and calorie and protein intake among the poor. The 1981/82 nutritional status study of pre-school age children (below five years) pointed to the relatively high prevalence of malnutrition - stunting or chronic malnutrition (36.6 per cent), wastage or acute malnutrition (12 per cent) and concurrently chronic and acute malnutrition (5 per cent) ((FMPPD, 1981/82), - and to an increase in acute malnutrition since the 1975/76 survey, although differences in the sample population precluded definitive conclusions. Regretably, gender-specific data are not available to ascertain the relative nutritional status of boys and girls. Recent micro-studies of pre-school age children in a low-income urban neighbourhood (MRI, 1987) and among schoolchildren between 7 and 10 years in Colombo (MRI, 1988) indicate that: more girls than boys are below accepted norms; more boys have milder degrees of malnutrition and more girls are severely affected; and mean weights tend to be lower among girls than boys. Causative factors for these differences, however, have yet to be investigated.

The adverse effects of reduced nutritional status on the health of women are reflected in data on pregnant women and the new born. National data record that maternal, infant and neo-natal mortality rates and still-birth rates declined from 1977 to the early 1980s. But disparities between districts continued to be wide, with relatively high rates in disadvantaged communities such as urban slums and shanties and plantations.

There is evidence to indicate that deterioration in the nutritional status of poor women resulted in a prevalence of anaemia among those who were pregnant. Another phenomenon has been the high incidence of low birth-weight among the new born (30 per cent with a weight of less than 2.5 kg.) which is directly related to maternal morbidity (including anaemia) and to malnutrition. A study in four districts in 1985/86 indicated that the incidence of low birth-weight was 24.5, 18.0, 23 and 30 per cent (UNICEF, 1987). A survey of pregnant mothers in another district found a considerable degree of mild under-nutrition and iodine deficiency that could cause brain damage in the foetus or a still-birth (MRI, 1988). A study of 3,375 pregnant women in dry-zone districts found evidence that abject poverty and food shortages had contributed to non-utilisation of services and to perinatal and neonatal mortality (UNICEF and Dept. of Census, 1986). It is likely that rising living costs adversely affected maternal morbidity among economically disadvantaged women.

9. Summary

Women have been affected considerably by the structural adjustment policies introduced since 1977, but the form and severity of the impact has differed significantly, largely on account of income and class. Women in the poorer segments of society have been vulnerable to the economic and social pressures of adjustment whereas some of those of higher status have been able to become entrepreneurs and enter into elite commercial circles. More generally, studies have shown that while women in Sri Lanka have not perceived their economic and domestic functions as alternative roles, child-care responsibilities in low-income nuclear families have posed problems to women employed outside the home (SLFUW, 1979; Sumanasekera, 1988). Women are

therefore vulnerable to two interlinked constraints - economic difficulties that compel them to seek employment and child-care demands that, in the absence of adequate child-care facilities, restrict their ability to take on work.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Recapitulation

The focus of adjustment policy since 1977 has been to increase economic growth and reduce balance of payment deficits. The implicit assumption appears to have been that the benefits would "trickle down" to all segments of the population.

The initial impact of structural adjustment was felt mainly in the reduction of government protection for the living standards of the poor. This was part of a policy to reduce the burden government had carried over the previous four decades. It was envisaged that the real incomes of the poor would rise in the course of the rapid economic growth, so that they would be able to look after themselves rather than depend on state support. Unfortunately, the poor did not participate significantly in the growth generated, possibly because it was capital-intensive and effected only a marginal increase in employment.

The Sri Lanka experience gave rise to a number of favourable developments: for instance, economic growth rates increased; the Mahaweli Programme transformed many landless families into small farmers; and the National Housing Development Programme focused policy on the basic need for shelter for the homeless. But the low-income population has been vulnerable to the adverse consequences of changes such as economic liberalisation, high inflation, and reduction of welfare-related public expenditure. Data relating to decline in real incomes and widening income disparities indicate that people in the upper income levels benefited most from the changes while the bottom 40 per cent tended to be marginalised. Although mortality rates continued to fall, the calorie consumption of low-income groups declined. Health and education services were adversely affected by resource constraints.

The available data pointed to an increase in employment opportunities for women in export-oriented industries, but also to continuing gender differences in the type of employment opportunities available and in income levels. A minority of women benefited from expansion in the trade and services sectors. Women in low-income families, however, had to face increasing stress in coping with their economic and domestic roles. They were compelled to seek income-earning opportunities as a strategy for family survival and, in some instances, to replace the former means of livelihood which they lost in the liberalisation process. Urban and rural women were drawn into wage employment or piece-rate work as low cost labour units without adequate access to welfare services, union protection or upward mobility. The increasing numbers of women in the informal sector were vulnerable to economic instability. Many were compelled to seek employment in an unknown environment overseas. Poverty kept the 'reserve price' of female labour in the low-income groups at unacceptably low levels, making them seek work at even below the 'minimum' wage.

As household 'managers', these women also had very limited access to resource and goods to meet the consumption needs of their families. Their social subordination meant they had to combine tasks as best as they could, leaving them little time for community activities. Time-use data indicated that these women had to work at least 14 hours a day in order to perform their economic and domestic roles. Most women, therefore, particularly in poor families, were adversely affected by the economic determinants of change and by the pervasive influence of socio-cultural norms and gender role assumptions.

2. Strategies to Improve the Situation and Productivity of Women in their Multiple Roles

The strategies put forward below need to be incorporated in official policies and plans, in initiatives at grass roots level, and in donor sponsored programmes, if the situation of women is to be improved within a context of distributive social justice, equity and individual and national development.

Formulation of new planning perspectives

Past experience in implementing development programmes as well as women-specific programmes and the perceptions of women themselves have indicated that a re-appraisal of underlying conceptual issues, such as integration in development, is necessary if women are to be assisted to play their multiple roles without detriment to their quality of life. Three sets of requirements for planning future development programmes are identified below.

(i) Women in Sri Lanka have always been 'integrated in development' as participants in peasant and plantation agriculture and in factory industries; but they have been integrated on unequal terms as low cost labour, secondary earners and unskilled or semi-skilled workers. The concept of 'integration' in any economic enterprise should also incorporate in-built norms. These include: equal opportunity for advancement; equal remuneration for equal work; a working environment that is consonant with human dignity; recognition of women's crucial role in and their contribution to family life, and to the household and national income; and equal partnership of men and women.

(ii) In view of the current situation where special 'women's projects' operate at the periphery of development programmes and therefore tend to isolate women from the national development process, such projects need to be components of, or have clear and specific linkage with, sectoral programmes. The rationale for organising special programmes should be the need for immediate and temporary interventions to facilitate integration in mainstream development programmes by reducing widespread gender imbalances.

(iii) Many programmes fail to have a positive impact on women because benefits are expected to trickle down to them from a male head of household or from an entity that is categorised as a 'household' in official statistics. A 'bottom-up' participatory exercise of identifying the specific needs, interests and constraints of women is required to ensure that programmes are relevant to their problems and

aspirations. Adherence to these criteria in programme development is particularly important in times of stress or change when external forces supervene to determine the direction of events. It is also important as a corrective to policies and programmes that tend to isolate women as targets or beneficiaries.

Upgrading the data base

The difficulties this study has encountered in obtaining gender disaggregated data pertaining to the impact of adjustment policies further illustrate the invisibility of women (particularly in the informal sector of the economy and in official statistics on the household) and their relegation to the category of the economically inactive as 'housewives', with a consequent loss of identify and autonomy. Not only is the process of policy formulation and programme planning adversely affected by the distortion of the data base through the absence of gender disaggregation, but effective monitoring of the positive and negative impacts of policies and programmes becomes virtually impossible. The use of occupational classifications from industrial societies and the distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' economic activity in Census surveys,, for instance, tends to obfuscate conclusions regarding the role of women in developing societies.

It is important, therefore, to develop new conceptual definitions and methodologies to capture the full spectrum of women's activities within and outside the household. Only thus can their needs and problems be identified, their roles and work loads comprehended, and appropriate policies and programmes introduced to improve their situation. Where it is difficult to present appropriate national Census surveys because of the need to use terminology that is internationally comparable, sample surveys of households should be conducted so as to ascertain time-use and other relevant data that will ensure a more accurate and realistic presentation of how women function in their multiple roles.

Assisting women as economic producers

It has been seen in Sections II and IV that most women workers in Sri Lanka have been concentrated in low-status, low-skilled and ill-paid economic activities. Strategies need to be developed to improve their economic status and incomes by interventions that will:

(i) ensure that women have access to land assets in new settlement areas, where the small family farm is the agent of agricultural modernisation. Erosion of their traditional rights through settlement policies have adverse implications for their roles as economic producers and household managers;

(ii) resuscitate small-scale industries such as handlooms, which collapsed with the liberalisation of the economy, so that women may have more access to adequate income-earning opportunities in areas that have been their traditional forte;

(iii) make self-employment economically viable by providing women in low-income families with a package of services, such as better access to new materials at reasonable prices, credit on easy terms, training and extension programmes, managerial skills and marketing outlets.

Women in the poorest segment of society need these services supported by infrastructural facilities in order to assist them to reach a 'take-off' point for self-reliance. They also need to be mobilised as producer groups to develop collective bargaining power, self-confidence and control of their resources;

(iv) provide credit facilities without collateral and high interest rates in order to promote adequate income-generation among women without capital resources. Despite the extension of the Regional Rural Bank scheme and efforts to establish revolving funds, it has not been possible in Sri Lanka to organise a credit scheme that would assist the poor without increasing indebtedness or creating overdependency. The success of the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, which caters successfully to a clientele that is largely female, provides a model for adaptation;

(v) improve the working conditions of women industrial workers who are at the bottom of a system created by the international division of labour and national economic policies. The fact that these women have had access to employment does not justify the 'squeezing' of their wages in order to wrest greater profits. It is necessary for the Government to intervene to ensure adequate wages and reasonable prices; to protect women through labour legislation and provisions for labour organisation in the formal and informal sectors; and to provide opportunities for upward career mobility. Negotiations with transnational corporations to promote skill-intensive and labour-intensive industries with commensurate wages are an essential strategy in improving the prospects and status of women in industry;

(vi) provide migrant women workers, whose earnings are crucial to family survival and maintenance, as well as to enable national revenue, with more systematic assistance to enable them to cope with exploitative recruitment procedures, obtain essential information about workplaces overseas, and make optimal use of their savings;

(vii) reduce gender imbalances in enrolment for vocational training programmes. It is important that all Government-run training agencies and institutions, including technical institutions, the National Apprenticeship Board and the National Youth Services Council, should actively seek to counter the influence of the 'home economics syndrome', and channel women with relevant aptitudes to courses that provide access to new technologies at all levels and thus to a wider, more economically rewarding range of economic activities and to upward mobility;

(viii) utilise the media to persuade policy-makers and employers to change their perceptions of women as secondary earners and to remove cultural barriers to their access to technical and managerial employment.

Enabling women to combine roles

Most women in Sri Lanka need to be able to earn income without detriment to their child-care and household responsibilities, and personal development. But traditional norms, which have led to the unequal gender division of labour within the household, are still being maintained while

women's activities outside the home have expanded significantly. Interventions are, therefore, necessary in order to:

(i) provide adequate child-care facilities, particularly in 'nuclear families' without access to domestic help. Two very vulnerable groups are the children of migrant women workers and victims of civil disturbances, especially in cases where surrogate mothers cannot be found within the kinship network. There is need (a) for a commitment to a national policy for coordination and monitoring of child-care services, (b) for more resources for research, training and equipment, and (c) for a campaign to motivate community participation in the provision of facilities;

(ii) promote the development of technology to reduce the time and labour spent on household chores, and to make it available at prices within the reach of non-affluent families; and

(iii) provide inputs into the primary school curriculum and pre-school programmes that will promote cross-gender activities and develop the concept of sex equality and sharing of work, and thereby change their perceptions of separate gender roles.

Improving services used mainly by women

Despite overall positive indicators of the health and educational status of women in Sri Lanka, pockets of disadvantage exist, creating disparities in the quality of life. It appears that Sri Lanka has reached a stage of development in which morbidity has replaced mortality as a critical problem. In this context it is necessary to identify girls and women 'at risk' with respect to malnutrition, which can lead to anaemia and low birth-weight in infants, and introduce compensatory programmes aimed at improving the health of adolescent girls and reducing maternal morbidity, and at providing access to more balanced food. It would also be desirable to give higher priority to the educational needs of illiterate women.

Promotion of gender equality

Education has functioned both as an avenue of socio-economic mobility and as an agent of socio-cultural replication. It is possible to use the educational process and the media to promote more equitable gender relations, and to motivate mothers to refrain from encouraging their sons to be dominant and their daughters to be passive. This may help girls to improve their self-perceptions and empower them to develop as autonomous individuals and as equal partners with men, within and outside the family, and to aspire to leadership roles in the community.

3. Changes in Adjustment Policies to Support Women in their Multiple Roles

In view of the adverse effects of adjustment policies on women that have been underscored in this study, the following changes and intervention programmes are recommended.

Macro-perspectives

International

(i) Changes in international factors, such as world market prices for primary commodities, exchange rates among key currencies, international interest rates, and levels of protection have had significant impact on the domestic economy of small developing countries such as Sri Lanka. As a result, a larger part of the adjustment burden has fallen on them and, as shown in this study, a substantial portion has fallen on women. the tightening of conditionalities by multilateral lending agencies such as the IMF and the world Bank has intensified the situation.

(ii) Greater attention needs to be given to current perceptions of adjustment as a one-way process in which developing countries adjust to the demands, needs or priorities of developed countries. It is at least necessary that economic policies negotiated with the international financial institutions do not run counter to national needs and priorities, or erode past social gains, or overlook the special needs of vulnerable segments of the population, such as women, children and families in the poverty groups. A more accommodating approach by such institutions in their lending policies to developing countries is called for.

Domestic

(i) There should be greater exploration of the scope for adjustments that require less reliance on demand management for restoring economic equilibrium. Demand management essentially aims to reduce domestic absorption and its suitability for developing countries is a matter of debate. A greater focus on supply-side measures is needed.

(ii) to facilitate the monitoring of adjustment policy effects, it is necessary to ensure that all household and other data relating to important facets of change, such as may occur in asset ownership, the numbers of income receivers and credit beneficiaries, savings patterns and nutritional status, be disaggregated by gender.

Supporting women as producers

Concurrent measures should be taken in employment strategies to ensure that women benefit from economic growth and develop their potential as economic producers.

(i) Indiscriminate exposure of domestic industry to the international market needs to be prevented. Under the liberalisation package, small industries and some others (e.g. textiles) which were particularly exposed to the international market lost their competitive edge. In view of the labour-intensive character of such industries, some concessionary treatment is recommended. Women would benefit because of their concentration in these subsectors.

(ii) Export promotion policies should benefit women as well as other producers, the state and entrepreneurs by:

(a) facilitating negotiations with transnational corporations and other exporters in such a way as to ensure that women in export-oriented factory production or in piece-rate home work receive adequate remuneration and that some of the profits of these enterprises are channelled to improving women's working conditions;

(b) being so structured as to facilitate the transfer of technology and the development of skill-intensive industries of a type that would enable women to upgrade their skills, receive higher remuneration and achieve upward occupational mobility;

(c) promote greater stability of employment and regularity of work for women through complementary action to ensure long-term stability of markets and consistency of policies.

(iii) Women in informal sector employment, unpaid 'family work', and casual paid work, into which they have been increasingly thrust since 1977, should be protected through appropriate labour legislation and social security schemes, such as pensions on a flexible instalment system.

Protecting poverty groups

Vulnerable groups such as poor women need to be given greater protection.

(i) More effective mechanisms should be devised to integrate the poor into the growth process, in particular through income-generating programmes. An important strategy would be to provide access to small, low-interest loans for self-employment projects for women in low-income families; this could rehabilitate families presently dependent on food stamps. Conventional bank practices would need to be modified or other mechanisms created.

(ii) Until the incomes of the poor can be increased, it is essential that the value of the food stamps going to the poorest 25 per cent be raised substantially and their real value maintained through indexation to the price of rice, the staple food.

(iii) Social welfare expenditure needs to be restructured so that a safety net is provided with respect to meeting basic needs such as food, health, housing and education, for the most deprived women and their families. This would include improving the administration and outreach of programmes.

(iv) The education and health services have played an important role since 1977 in softening the effect of income declines on the living standards of the poor; but their ability to do so has depended crucially on their being largely free of charge. Increased funding for these services is required to improve their quality and effectiveness in building up the 'human' capital assets of the poor in the long term.

(v) Most effective would be the provision of a package of assistance measures designed to raise incomes as well as living standards. In particular, deprived areas or groups of women need to be given priority in targeting programmes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abeysiriwardene, W. and Kilkelly, M. (1983), Women and Development in Systen 'H' of the Mahaweli Development Project, Diagnostic Analysis, Colorado State University.

Alailima, P. (1988), The Impact of Public Policy on the Poor in Sri Lanka Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bradford University, England.

Ariyadasa, K.D. (1985), Study of the Technical Education Units of the Non-formal Education Programme of the Ministry of Education, SIDA, Colombo

Atukorale, P. (1986), The Impact of 1977 Policy Reforms on Domestic Industry, Upanathi, Vol.1, No. 1.

Central Bank of Ceylon, Annual Reports and Review of the Economy various issues.

_____, Consumer Finances and Socio-economic Survey, 1973, 1978/79, 1981/82.

Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka (1987), Women's Work and Family strategies.

Department of Census and statistics, (1972), Socio-economic Survey of Sri Lanka 1969/70: Special Report of Food and Nutrition Levels in Sri Lanka, Colombo.
_____, (1973) Census of Population 1971.
_____, (1974) Socio Economic Survey of Sri Lanka, 1969/70, 2 volumes, Colombo.
_____, (1982) Survey of Manufacturing Industries, 1978, 1980.
_____, (1983) Labour Force and Socio-economic Survey, 1980/81
_____, (1982) Census of Population and Housing, Sri Lanka 1981
_____, Population Tables based on a Ten per cent sample, Preliminary Release, No.2.
_____, (1986), Census of Public Sector and Corporation Sector Employment, 1985.
_____, (1987), Labour Force and Socio-economic Survey 1985/86, Colombo.

De Silva, Dayana (1980), women and Social adaptation in a Pioneer Mahaweli settlement.

Dias, Malsiri (1987) 'Migrant Women Workers' in Women's Work and Family Strategies, Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka

Edirisinghe, N. (1987), The Food Stamps Scheme in Sri Lanka: Costs, Benefit and Options for Modification. Research Report 58, Washington, International Food Policy Research Institute.

Food and Nutrition Policy Planning Division, Ministry of Plan Implementation, (1981/82), Nutritional Status, its Determinants and Intervention Programmes, Colombo.

Goonatilake, Hema and Gunasekera, Savitri (1988), Industrailization and Women Workers in Sri Lanka in Daughters in Industry, APDC, Kuala Lumpur.

Goonatilake, Hema (1987), 'Women in the Free Trade Zone', in Women's Work and Family Strategies, Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka

ILO-ARTEP, (1987), Structural Adjustment: By Whom, For Whom, New Delhi.

Industrial Development Board (1980), A Study of the Effects of Liberalization of Imports on Local Industries.

International Monetary Fund, Press Release No.8/6 March 1988

Jayasuriya, J.E., (1986), 'Resource Management for Efficiency and Excellence in Higher Education', Ministry of Higher Education, Mimeo.

Jayawardene, L., Maasland A., Radhakrisnan P. (1988), Stablization and Adjustment Policies and Programmes, Sri Lanka. World Institute for Developing Economics Research, Helsinki.

Jayaweera, Swarna (1985a), Integration of Women in Development, Integrated Rural Development Programme, Nuwara Eliya, Netherlands Development Corporation, Colombo.
_____ (1985b), 'Universalization of Elementary Education', Journal of the National Education Society of Sri Lanka, Vol.xxiv, 1985.
_____ 1987a) 'Women in the Mahaweli' in Women's Work and Family Strategies, Centre for women's Research, Sri Lanka
_____ (1987b), 'Urban Women' in Women's Work and Family Strategies Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka.

Jayaweera, Swarna, Peiris Kamala, de Silva Wimala, Dias Malsiri, Goonatilake Hema, (1988), Women in Export Production Villages, Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka.

Korale, R.B.M. (1981), Migration of Sri Lankans Abroad,
_____ (1983), Migration for Employment to the Middle East,
_____ (1984, Middle East Migration Employment and Manpower Division, Ministry of Plan Implementation, Colombo.

Khan Mohsin S., (1986), Macro economic adjustment in Developing Countries: A Policy perspective, (World Bank).

Krimmel, Thomas (1986), 'Tendencies of Social Differentiation in Mahaweli 'H' Area: The Impact of the New Rice Production Technology, Munchen.

Kurian, Rachel (1982), Women Workers in the Sri Lanka Plantation Sector, ILO, Geneva.

Lakshman, W.D., (1986), State Policy in Sri Lanka and its Economic Impact 197--85; Selected Themes with special reference to Distributive Implications of Policy. Upanathi, Vol 1 No. 1.

Lund, Ragnhild (1979), Prosperity through Mahaweli - Women's Living Conditions in a Settlement Area, University of Bergen, Norway.

Marga Institute (1978) A Study of the Informal Sector in Colombo City.
_____, (1984) A Survey of the Female Business Community in Colombo District.
_____, (1986) Migration to the Arab Countries.

Ministry of Education, Non-formal Education Division and UNICEF (1984, Baseline Survey on the Educational Needs of Non-school going children among Low Income Group in the City of Colombo

Ministry of Education (1986), A Plan for the Development of Facilities of the School System, Colombo.
_____, (1986), Annual Schools Census

Ministry of Finance and Planning (1980-88) Annual Public Investment Programme,

Medical Research Institute (1987), Nutritional Assessment of the Urban Poor at Orugodawatte, Preliminary Analysis, Colombo.
_____, (1988a), Baseline survey of School Childredn in the Colombo Municipal Schools and in Panadura and Horana Areas, Colombo.
_____, (1988b), Epidemiological Study of IDD among Pregnant Mothers in the Kalutara District

People's Bank, (1980), Economic Review Vol. 6 No. 1.

Perera, M.J. Jayaweera S., Solheim R., and Vamadevan M., (1988) Vocational Training in the Estate Sector of Sri Lanka, NORAD, Colombo.

Risseeuw C., (1980), The Wrong End of the Rope, Leiden.

Risseeuw C. and Peiris K., (1983), it is your Own Hand that Gives you Shade, Utrecht.

Rodrigo Chandra, (1988), Employment, Wages and Income Distribution in Sri Lanka: 1960-1985, ILO-ARTEP, Asian Employment Programme, Working Paper.

Rodrigo Chandra and Jayatissa R.A. (1988), Maximising Benefits from Labour Migration: Sri Lanka. ILO-ARTEP Working Paper No. 9.

Sessional Paper III of 1986,. Report on Early Childhood Care and Education in Sri Lanka, Government Press.

Siriwardene, S.S.A.L. (1981) Emerging Income Inequalities and Forms of Hidden Tenancy in the Mahaweli 'H' Area. Research Department, People's Bank.

Skjonsberg, Else (1982), Report on Self Employment for Women, Women's Bureau's Programme on Integration of Women in Development, NORAD.

Spellman, J. Jans, and Vander Top G.M., (1981), Downstream Development in the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme, Economic Review, Vol 11, Nos. 4-5, People's Bank.

Sri Lanka Association of Economists (1986), Structural Adjustment and Growth. Annual Sessions, Dec.1985.

Sri Lanka Federation of University Women (1979), Child Care Needs of Low Income Mothers, Colombo.

Sumnasekera, H.D., (1981) measuring the Regional Variation of the Quality of Life in Sri Lanka, Journal of Agrarian Studies Vol. 2 No. 1.

Sumanasekera, S.M., (1988) Career Mobility of Women in Management in Sri Lanka, Unpublished MBA Dissertation, Post Graduate Institute of Management, Sri Jayawardenepura University.

UNICEF (1986), Perinatal and Neonatal Mortality: Some Aspects of Maternal and Child Health in Sri Lanka, Colombo

_____, (1987) Situational Analysis of Children and Women in Sri Lanka, Colombo.

UNIDO (1981), Women and Industrailisation in Developing Countries.

UNIDO and CENWOR (1987) Human Resources in Sri Lanka's Industrial Development - The Current and Prospective Contribution of Women.

Tilakaratne, S., (1988), Unemployment, Poverty and Inequality - the post-77 Era. Economic Review, People's Bank.

University Grants Commission (1986), Statistical Handbook 1986: Statistics on Higher Education in Sri Lanka, Colombo 1987: Ibid.

Vidanapathirana, Upali (1984), A Study of People's Bank Crop Cultivation Financing in the Mahaweli 'H' Area, People's Bank.

Voice of Women (1983), Women Workers in the Free Trade Zone.

Weerasinghe, Rohini, (1988) Female Headed Households, Women's Education Centre.

Wijesinghe, A., (1986) 'Recent Changes in Nutrition Levels among Different Socio-economic Sub-groups of the Population in Sri Lanka', Central bank of Ceylon Survey Analysis Series No.1 pp. 15-30.

Women's Bureau, (1985), Women of Sri Lanka in Statistics, Colombo

World Bank, (1988) Sri Lanka, A Break with the Past: The 1987-90 Programme of Economic Reforms and Adjustment, Washington, 2 Vols.

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAMME

Dr Anna K. Tibaijuka
University of Dar-es-Salaam
Economic Research Bureau

November 1988

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY PROGRAMME

		Page
I.	**INTRODUCTION**	255
	1. The Macro-Economic Perspective	255
	2. Introduction of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), 1986	255
	3. The Achievements So Far	256
	4. The Emerging Problems	257
	5. Study Methodology	258
	6. Organisation of the Paper	258
II.	**MONITORING THE IMPACT OF THE ERP ON WOMEN**	258
	1. Defining Women's Welfare	258
	2. Key Aspects of the ERP Likely to Affect Women Adversely	261
	3. Indicators to Monitor the Welfare of Women Under Adjustment	263
III.	**THE IMPACT OF RECESSION AND ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE**	263
	1. The Status of Women in Tanzania	263
	2. The Impact of Adjustment on Women	269
	3. Actions Under Adjustment Taken to Assist Women	278
IV.	**POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND PRIORITY ACTION PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN-IN-DEVELOPMENT**	280
	1. Design of Gender-Sensitive Adjustment Policies	280
	2. Policy Changes and Priority Actions Needed to Enhance Women's Role in Production	281
	3. Policy Changes and Priority Actions Needed to Enhance Women's Role in Reproduction and Child-Rearing	282
	4. Policy Changes and Priority Actions Needed to Enhance Women's Role in Household/Community Organisation	282

LIST OF TABLES

Table	1. Procurement of Major Scheduled Crops. 1980/81-87/88	259
	2. Analysis of Government Expenditure by Purpose, 1970/71-86/87-87	260
	3. Summary of Indicators to Measure the Welfare of Women	264
	4. Proportion of Males and Females Enrolled in Educational Institutions, 1984	266
	5. Selected Indicators of Women's Health Status, 1980 and 1985	268
	6.'Excess' Workers in the Civil Service at Central Ministries and Departments (i.e. Excluding Those Stationed in the Regions) in 1983	269
	7. Occupational Categories of Women in the Dar-es-Salaam Sample, November 1988	270
	8. Expenditure Pattern by Income Group, 1976/77	270
	9. Cost of 100 Kcals from Selected Food Items in Dar-es-Salaam, 1977/78-1987/88	271
	10. Sample of Minimum Daily Food Expenditures by Households in Dar-es-Salaam, 1977/78 and 1987/88	271
	11. Monthly Incomes from IGAs, Reported by Women in Dar-es-Salaam Sample, November 1988	272
	12. Distribution of Income Categories in Sample Households, Dar-es-Salaam, November 1988	273
	13. Distribution of Daily Working Hours Reported by Women in the Dar-es-Salaam Sample, November 1988	274
	14. Status of Piped Water Supply Schemes (1985) and Urban Water Supply Coverage (1987) by Region	276

BIBLIOGRAPHY 284

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BRU	=	Building Research Unit
BS	=	Bureau of Statistics
CEA	=	City Education Authorities Overseas
CIDA	=	Canadian International Development Agency
CRDB	=	Cooperative and Rural Development Bank
CUSO	=	Canadian University Services
DANIDA	=	Danish International Development Agency
DoH	=	Division of Housing, Ministry of Local Government, Cooperatives and Marketing
EDP	=	Essential Drugs Programme
ERP	=	Economic Recovery Programme
HBS	=	Household Budget Survey
IAE	=	Institute of Adult Education
IGAs	=	Income Generating Activities
ILO	=	International Labour Office
JUWATA	=	Jumuia ya Wafanyakazi Tanzania (Workers' Union)
MCH	=	Maternal Child Health
MoA	=	Ministry of Agriculture
MoED	=	Ministry of Education
MoEN	=	Ministry of Energy
MoH	=	Ministry of Health
MoLMD	=	Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development
MoW	=	Ministry of Water
NBC	=	National Bank of Commerce
NGOs	=	Non Governmental Organisations
NUWA	=	National Urban Water Authority
PMO	=	Prime Ministers' Office
SAP	=	Structural Adjustment Policies
SIDA	=	Swedish International Development Agency
SIDO	=	Small Scale Industries Organisation
SUA	=	Sokoine University of Agriculture
SUWATA	=	Shirika la Uchumi Wakinamama Tanzania (Economic Unit in Women's Organisation)
TFNC	=	Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre
TIB	=	Tanzania Investment Bank
THB	=	Tanzania Housing Bank
UDSM	=	University of Dar es Salaam
UMATI	=	Uzazi wa Malezi Bora Tanzania (Family Planning Organisation)
UNICEF	=	United Nations Childrens Fund
UWT	=	Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (Women's Organisation)
VIJANA	=	Tanzania Fund Youth Organisation
WAWATA	=	Wanawake Wakatoliki Tanzania (Catholic Women's Organisation)
WAZAZI	=	Tanzania Parents Association

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The Macro-Economic Perspective

After failing to reach an agreement with the IMF in 1981, the Tanzania Government on its own prepared and adopted a short-term stabilisation measure called the National Economic Survival Programme (NESP), which ran from January 1981 to June 1982 and was then subsumed under a broader Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) spanning the period from July 1982 to June 1985. The objectives of NESP and SAP were to revive agricultural output in general and export crops in particular through a number of policy reform measures. These included increased producer prices, improved supply of agricultural inputs, improved market structures by re-establishing co-operatives, improved transport infrastructure, and increased budgetary allocation to agriculture. Imports were liberalised by decontrolling a significant number of commodities.

It was hoped that these reforms would lead to economic recovery and free the Government from having to accept a standard MFI liberalisation and stabilisation package with all its attendant conditions. By 1985, however, the results were disappointing: real GDP had declined by 1.7 per cent in 1981 and 3.2 per cent in 1982; real agricultural output was estimated to have declined by 8.2 per cent and 8.7 per cent in 1981 and 1982 respectively. And only marginal improvements were recorded for the years 1983 through 1985. Except for coffee, which reached its peak production in 1980/81 (because of the Coffee Improvement Programme launched five years earlier), production here of the major export crops reached the peaks recorded in the 1970s or earlier (Table 1). The problem is that the structure of the Tanzanian economy is highly dependent on foreign exchange. The country's own foreign exchange earnings of about US$400 million can only finance one-third of its vital imports, making it difficult to sustain any meaningful production and service improvement programmes without significant injections of foreign exchange from outside. NESP and SAP therefore could not be adequately implemented.

2. Introduction of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), 1986

By the mid-1980s it had become clear that major economic reforms were necessary; and even the most sympathetic co-operating partners (e.g. the Nordic countries), which had continued with their support throughout the NESP-SAP period, began to counsel Tanzania to reach an agreement with the IMF. Against this background, in July 1986 the Government drew up an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in consultation with the IMF and the World Bank. On the basis of the ERP a more elaborate framework for the adjustment process was agreed, and the IMF granted a Standby Arrangement in August 1986. Earlier, the World Bank had provided a Multisector Rehabilitation Credit in November 1985.

The objectives of the ERP were similar to those of its predecessors but its policy instruments included a series of contractionary monetary policies together with the relaxation and, where possible, the deregulation of Government control on the economy. The ERP sought to restore internal and external balances by pursuing prudent fiscal, monetary and trade policies. The specific targets were:

(i) increasing GDP growth to 4.5 per cent per annum over the programme period;

(ii) increasing producer prices at 5 per cent per annum in real terms or 60-70 per cent of the FOB price, whichever is higher;

(iii) devaluing the exchange rate to reach equilibrium by mid-1988;

(iv) increasing trade liberalisation and reducing price controls to only a few essential commodities;

(v) increasing interest rates to make them positive (in real terms) by mid-1988;

(vi) reducing inflation from above 30 per cent in 1986 to 15 per cent by 1990;

(vii) intensifying the export drive and directing imports to critical sectors;

(viii) maintaining the levels of services already achieved in the social services, by giving priority to importation of recurrent requirements of medicines and medical equipment in the case of hospitals and of teaching materials in the case of education; and

(ix) maintaining minimum imports, totalling US$1,205.8 million in 1986/87, $1,230.2 million in 1987/88 and $1,300.4 million in 1988/89, by mobilising support (pledges) from the IMF, the World Bank and bilateral donors.

3. The Achievements So Far

At the time of writing (November 1988), the three-year ERP is drawing to an end (June 1989) - and there is no doubt that from a macro-economic perspective substantial achievements have been made despite the most difficult external circumstances. Although it is beyond the scope of the present study to make a full assessment of the response of the economy to the programme, it is in order to observe briefly what the results have been so far - if only to put the subsequent analysis on the impact of the programme on women in proper perspective. The following are the major features emerging from the ERP package:

(i) GDP increased in real terms by 3.6 per cent in 1986 and 3.9 per cent in 1987 compared with an average of about one per cent between 1980 and 1985. For the first time in the 1980s growth of GDP exceeded that of population (estimated at 3.3 per cent per annum);

(ii) production of major perennial export crops such as coffee, tea, sisal and cashewnuts has recovered, though remaining below peak levels. For all crops except cashewnuts, the declining trend has been arrested. Annual export crops such as cotton have made "great leaps forward", with output doubling over two years (Table 1);

(iii) production of food staples - maize and rice - also made a great recovery. In 1986 official marketed maize reached an all-time peak of about 250,000 tonnes and about 100,000 tonnes was exported (Table 1);

(iv) despite the massive devaluation of the currency, from TShs18 per US$ to the present TShs120 per US$, the official inflation ratedecelerated from an average of 33 per cent in 1985 to 30 per cent at the end of 1987. However, the ERP target of a 15 per cent inflation rate in 1990 appears beyond reach, particularly if the favourable weather which has prevailed over the ERP period should change and if the exchange rate adjustment does not (if it ever will) reach equilibrium;

(v) the availability of basic consumer goods has improved in both urban and rural areas. For some items, such as second-hand clothing, the prices are within reasonable reach of average and even low-income households;

(vi) through import support programmes by donors the availability of agricultural inputs in rural areas has also improved, if at somewhat higher costs to farmers because of the removal of subsidies and rising marketing (transport) costs.

4. The Emerging Problems

The substantial achievements of the ERP have not however been fully reflected in improvements in human welfare. Available evidence suggests that, although the ERP aimed at protecting the erosion of the social services, this objective has not been pursued. First, there have not been any special programmes for this sector like the ones introduced for agriculture and transport. Secondly, given the rapid depreciation of the exchange rate and the high import content of most supplies, the funds allocated to the sector have not been able to cover the ever rising costs of essential supplies such as medicines. Thus health care and education remain constrained by continued shortages of basic operational materials: e.g. drugs and consumables such as bandages and syringes in hospitals; and textbooks, paper and laboratory equipment in schools. In urban areas, earnings of low-income households are still very low and have probably fallen in real terms because of rising costs, especially of food. Therefore malnutrition among the lower sections of the population may be on the increase, particularly among mothers and children.

While all this in no way refutes the magnitude of what has been achieved by the reform policies, it does point to the urgent need for additional actions if the economic progress secured by the ERP is to be sustained and built upon. It calls attention to the need for incorporating human welfare and distributional concerns in economic recovery policies - an element which, so far, has been largely missing from the standard IMF/World Bank adjustment package.

In short, it is now widely recognised that the orthodox adjustment advocated by the IMF carries with it a great danger of retreat from distributional concerns and can unnecessarily harm vulnerable groups such as low-income households, mothers and children.

While essential, adjustment is neither costless nor neutral. Therefore vulnerable groups need to be protected, and this will not happen by accident. UNICEF and others have called for an "Adjustment with a Human Face", meaning the conscious adoption of policies which protect and even improve the well-being of the vulnerable during adjustment, both in the short and in the medium-term. To quote UNICEF,

"to protect the vulnerable is not only a human imperative. It also makes good economic sense. Policies which undermine the health and education standards of children also undermine a country's most valuable resources - its human resources - and thereby weaken its future economic capacity" (UNICEF, 1987).

5. Study Methodology

In view of the above it is important to monitor systematically what is happening to human beings, and especially the vulnerable, during adjustment in order to target interventions for their protection. The objective of seeking to preserve a case study of the impact of adjustment on women in Tanzania follows from this concern.

In Tanzania, data for socio-economic analysis are always scanty and often unreliable. To carry out a meaningful analysis the data that were available had to be augmented by interviews of sample households and with officials of public institutions which deal with women's issues. For the household sample survey in Dar es Salaam, two questionnaires were administered, one to be answered by the head of the household or spouse, the other to be answered by the mother in the house if the head of the household was not a woman. A total of 300 households were covered in the low-income areas of Ubungo, Manzese and Buguruni in Dar es Salaam. In the survey of institutions involved in promoting women's welfare, officials were interviewed using a structured but open-ended questionnaire.

6. Organisation of the Paper

Section II provides an analytical framework to guide the study on the impact of the ERP on women. It gives a definition of key concepts, and attempts to identify those aspects of the ERP which can be expected to have adverse effects on women, and the type of indicators that should be used to monitor the welfare of women in future. Section III presents evidence from the two surveys and the general literature on the impact of the ERP on women, and also describes the actions taken to mitigate the adverse effects by the women themselves, the households and the public institutions. Section IV summarises the conclusions and recommendations. It presents a priority action programme for women-in-development in Tanzania in the context of the adjustment programme, as well as providing recommendations on the future design of adjustment programmes to take account of the interests of women.

II. MONITORING THE IMPACT OF THE ERP ON WOMEN

1. Defining Women's Welfare

The dictionary definition of welfare is "a condition of having good health, comfortable living and working conditions, etc." Thus the welfare state is a name applied to a country with state-financed social services, e.g. health insurance, pensions, etc. (Hornby, 1974). In this paper women's welfare is taken as the dictionary definition. In order to operationalise it, we further specify the following aspects of women's lives which individually and collectively influence their welfare and can therefore be used in its measurements:

(i) their guaranteed access to a standard adequate diet for themselves, their families in general and their children in particular;

TABLE 1: Procurement of Major Scheduled Crops, 1980/81-87/88

	Peak purchase (year)	Production (amount)	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
Food Crops										
Maize	1987/88	229.1	104.6	85.4	86.0	70.9	89.9	178.5	207.0	229.1
Rice	1970/71	60.8	10.4	15.0	20.9	22.0	23.0	15.9	11.4	42.9
Wheat	1971/72	56.7	27.9	23.1	31.1	28.3	33.0	50.3	33.7	42.8
Cassava	1978/79	63.2	27.4	29.2	18.8	30.7	19.7	12.9	13.8	9.1
Export Crops										
Coffee	1980/81	66.6	66.6	54.8	53.8	49.5	49.0	55.0	54.0	49.3
Cotton	1972/73	75.2	58.5	44.6	42.0	47.0	51.9	35.9	56.0	58.3
Sisal	1964	230.0	86.0	72.0	60.6	40.2	38.0	32.4	30.2	35.5
Tea	1977/78	18.5	16.6	15.9	17.6	11.9	16.8	15.5	14.1	13.8
Tobacco	1976/77	19.1	17.2	16.1	13.6	11.0	13.4	12.5	16.1	12.9
Cashewnuts	1973/74	143.3	41.4	43.2	32.2	47.0	32.4	20.5	17.6	24.3

Source: Bank of Tanzania 'Economic Bulletin' and Marketing Board Reports.

(ii) in the rural areas, as well as in the urban informal sector, their access to and control of the factors of production (land, labour, and capital) and in the urban formal sector, their access to employment and incomes;

(iii) their access to adequate social services including health, education, water, housing and related community and recreational facilities, as well as to a reasonable amount of leisure, particularly during pregnancy and motherhood;

(iv) availability of basic consumer goods at prices within their reach;

(v) availability of and access to good quality basic economic services such as transport, marketing, extension, and to production inputs (e.g. fertilisers) and credit; and

(vi) their participation in decision-making processes at the household, community, regional and (eventually) national level.

The women-in-development problematique

From an economic perspective, female subordination and its attendant problems are embedded in the gender division of labour. As a number of studies show, the gender division of labour, in Africa in general and Tanzania in particular, places too high demands on women's labour while leaving men relatively under-employed. With very few exceptions Tanzanian women are responsible for all housework and most farm operations in addition to child-

bearing and rearing; and of late they have been targets of political mobilisations to undertake village/community development activities such as building schools, maintaining roads, working on communal farms, etc.

TABLE 2: Analysis of Government Expenditure by Purpose, 1970/71-86/87
(Percentages)

	General Public Services	Defence	Education	Health	Social Security and Welfare Services	Housing and Community amenities	Other Community Social Services	Economic Services*	Other Purposes	Total Basic Needs (Cols 3-7)
1970/71	20.01	7.05	13.68	6.17	0.47	2.19	2.50	37.98	9.96	26.01
1971/72	17.06	9.85	14.35	6.02	1.12	1.39	1.78	37.05	11.39	24.66
1972/73	18.95	9.05	13.29	6.51	0.40	1.17	2.14	36.78	11.71	23.51
1973/74	16.22	10.72	11.80	6.37	0.44	1.90	1.66	40.37	6.59	22.17
1974/75	16.05	11.73	12.22	6.87	0.33	1.62	2.09	42.63	6.45	23.13
1975/76	15.83	12.16	14.10	7.15	0.37	1.84	2.43	36.91	9.21	25.9
1976/77	17.40	12.27	13.58	7.05	0.24	1.16	2.28	38.02	7.86	24.31
1977/78	14.99	15.09	14.34	7.23	0.24	0.89	2.04	36.37	8.80	24.74
1978/79	14.44	24.40	11.64	5.36	0.26	0.88	1.69	32.10	9.22	19.83
1979/80	16.65	9.70	12.64	5.65	0.41	1.15	2.17	40.74	9.39	22.02
1980/81	10.47	11.09	12.55	5.61	0.31	1.31	1.21	37.06	12.40	20.99
1981/82	17.95	12.53	12.47	5.38	0.28	1.03	2.07	29.82	18.49	21.23
1982/83	17.09	8.06	13.09	5.29	0.31	1.09	2.00	26.99	20.95	21.78
1983/84	22.02	12.79	11.85	5.46	0.29	0.98	2.05	25.97	18.77	20.63
1984/85	29.93	13.89	7.29	4.98	0.47	0.98	2.24	24.17	16.06	15.96
1985/86	26.21	9.09	7.51	4.37	0.38	0.64	1.91	24.29	26.60	14.81
1986/87	25.50	14.58	6.45	3.66	0.28	0.50	0.50	16.49	32.51	11.39

* Including agriculture

Source: Tibaijuka, A.K., et al, 1988.

Despite their dominant role in both production and reproduction (or perhaps because of it!) women's subordinate position means that they neither own nor control the means of production. In households the control of and access to the factors of production (land, technology, and credit) are usually vested in the male members. Thus although women do most of the work, men make all the important decisions because they control the resources and in some cases they even control female labour. It follows that economic development programmes which do not take women's subordinate position into account, often unwittingly aggravate their disadvantaged position in households, thereby worsening rather than improving their welfare.

The economic rationale for the 'women question'

To the extent that an individual's response to a given development programme is highly influenced by what he/she is expected to do (input) to

produce the expected benefit (output), it can be hypothesised that in households/societies where the gender division of labour overburdens women with unrecorded responsibilities without rights, the women will not be sufficiently enthusiastic or innovative to participate actively in these programmes. In time, such a programme will not achieve its objectives since it will fail to tap the full potential of the main actors.

Mwalimu Nyerere, when addressing a UWT Conference in 1983 in Arusha, said that "Tanzania wanted to run while others were walking but could not run only on one leg". He meant that Tanzania had failed to involve women effectively in the development process and decision making. Women had been integrated as unequal, exploited and down-trodden partners in the economy and this caused the overall poor performance which he equates to running on one leg!

If all this is accepted, then the concern is that women's welfare might worsen implementation of structural adjustment programmes such as the ERP. Therefore the need to investigate thoroughly the impact of these policies on women, with a view to making corrective action.

2. Key Aspects of the ERP Likely to Affect Women Adversely

Cuts in public spending on social services

Economic recession and ensuing structural adjustment programmes invariably tend to be accompanied by cuts in public expenditure with concomitant reductions in spending on social services. Table 2 shows that this was certainly the case for Tanzania. Such cuts are likely to have a disproportionately adverse effect on women, because they make intensive use of these services (particularly health and water), due to the gender division of labour and to their special role in reproduction, and child rearing. Ordinarily, it is women who take children to hospitals or clinics. Women themselves also need special medical attention when they are pregnant. Also, women and children have the responsibility to fetch water for the entire household. Whenever modern (pumped) water facilities and wells dry up or fall into disuse for lack of funds for their operation and maintenance, the burden of carrying water from distant streams falls on women.

Devaluation and the persistant high rate of inflation

It would be a mistake to attribute the high rate of inflation during the ERP to devaluation because, as noted earlier, inflation was even higher before the programme was launched. However, in a situation of frozen wages and employment, and when subsidies on food and inputs had been dropped and prices of most basic consumer items decontrolled (or, if still controlled available only at parallel market prices), the persistent high rate of inflation resulted in an erosion of real incomes and most low-income households found it difficult to cope with the rising cost of living.

This situation was bound to affect women more adversely than men. As prices of basic commodities (food, cooking/household energy, water) and charges for social services rose, it was women who, as intensive users of the commodities and services, were obliged to look for alternatives, thus increasing their already overheavy workload. The consequences were increasing malnutrition and disease among children as women did not find enough time to

attend to their proper feeding. Moreover, as the general welfare of the household deteriorated tensions and conflicts increased in families and women became victims of male violence.

The export drive and priority for the export sector

Structural adjustment policies also entail expenditure switching policies aimed at shifting productive resources (labour, land and capital) away from the non-tradable domestic food sector to the tradable (export) sector. While the importance of giving the agricultural producers incentive prices is indisputable, there is the danger that the high incentives for export-crop farming might reduce food security. This might occur in as much as households often have no idle resources to put to productive use in response to price incentives. As the policy requires resources to be switched from somewhere, this must be from food production.

Such a policy will adversely affect women in three ways. First, as the major farmers in Tanzania, women are the ones who have to respond to these new incentives by increasing their labour inputs. This will worsen their work load and hence their welfare. Secondly, if by switching to cash crops household food supplies fall, women's responsibility for feeding their families means that they will have to work harder, to get money to feed their children. One way to do this would be to brew beer, though the negative implications of this are obvious: alcoholism is likely to increase, as will household violence, of which women and children are the main victims. Finally, if land resources are switched to export-crops, this could well take place on land previously occupied by women's crops, as was the case with the introduction of tea in the Kagera region.

The reduction and freeze of employment and wages

The adjustment policies also involve the reduction of employment and earnings of low-income households in general and women in particular. This is mainly because in the formal sector women are employed mostly in these cadres (e.g. accounts clerks, typists, office assistants, cleaners, etc.) which are usually subjected to most cut backs (retrenchment) when the Government is forced to reduce its costs. The criteria for retrenchment are often not clearly spelled out or controlled, and women have frequently fallen victims to such situations even when occupying managerial posts (the case of Makumasi 1987).

High interest rates

From a women's perspective, high interest rates on loans are a problem. If in agriculture increased production must come from technological advancement, through both intensification (use of fertilizer) and extensification (mechanization), these techniques need to be promoted among women farmers. In addition to directing extension efforts to the women who do the work, this strategy requires that women farmers and not their husbands should get the credit to buy the necessary inputs and implements. High interest rates discourage peasant farmers in general and women farmers in particular from borrowing from the banking system, even if this option were to be opened to them. Potentially, therefore, high interest rates are a bottleneck to the advancement of technology and productivity among women. Special (lower) rates might be necessary for women borrowers.

3. Indicators to Monitor the Welfare of Women Under Adjustment

An ideal monitoring system requires that data which can measure or assess the trend of relevant indicators should be available regularly and speedily so that corrective interventions can be made in time. A detailed analysis of the types of indicators for measuring the welfare of the Tanzanian population in general and vulnerable groups in particular has recently been compiled by the author of this paper and is readily available. For the sake of brevity, only the table summaries of the types of indicators of that are necessary to measure the welfare of women and children are presented here (Table 3). It can be seen that for many indicators of social and human conditions, data are already collected through ministries or other institutions. What is required is to compile and analyse them promptly so that they can be reported in usable form, either quarterly or annually as may be deemed necessary.

III. THE IMPACT OF RECESSION AND ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

1. The Status of Women in Tanzania

Rural women

According to the 1978 census, women constitute 52 per cent of the population and 86.7 per cent live in rural areas. Of these, 97.8 per cent engage in farming and are responsible for most farm operations, both in food and cash crops. Rural women engage also in non-farm economic activities to earn cash incomes. These activities include: petty trading, beer brewing, handcrafts production and as hired labour. Some women have been working through informal and formal cooperative groups in activities such as: communal farming, small-scale industries, bars and beer halls, restaurants, shops, lodgings, poultry-keeping, weaving etc. According to one report, there were 7,567 such women's groups in the country in 1979 (Likamba et al, 1988). The performance and productivity of women's farming activities are constrained by:

- heavy workload because of gender roles (14-16 hours daily);
- poor health and nutritional status;
- lack of access to knowledge of improved agricultural inputs and extension services;
- low participation in village politics and decision-making bodies;
- cultural deprivation of land ownership rights;
- lack of access to credit facilities;
- long distance to walk to farms, to fetch firewood and water;
- low education level and lack of access to continuing education; and
- lack of control of agricultural incomes (which lowers motivation).

TABLE 3: Summary of Indicators to Measure the Welfare of Women

Indicator	Data Source Collecting Agency	Frequency of Reporting
A. STATUS INDICATORS		
1. Average life expectancy at birth	Census data - BS	Annual
2. Infant mortality rate	Census/coverage	"
3. Maternal mortality rate	Surveys	"
4. Crude birth rate	Census data	"
5. Malnutrition rate among expectant mothers	MCH clinics/TFNC	Quarterly
6. % infants with low birth weight	Hospitals/TFNC	"
7. % of under 5s malnourished	Primary schools/MoED	"
8. % pregnant women fully immunised against tetanus	MoH	Annual
9. % births attended by trained health personnel	Coverage surveys	"
10. Contraceptive prevalence	Census data/BS Coverage surveys	Annual
11. % of school entrants malnourished by sex	UMATI Primary school MoED	Quarterly
12. % females enrolled in primary schools (enrollment Ratio)	Primary schools MoED	Annual
13. Adult women's literacy rate	Coverage survey/IAE	"
14. % of Grade 1 enrollment completing primary school by sex	MoED	"
B. IMMEDIATE CAUSE INDICATORS		
1. Dietary inadequacy	Household surveys/TFNC	Annual
2. Morbidity disease patterns	Household coverage surveys/MOH	"
3. % of females attending tuition	Household coverage surveys/MoED	Annual
C. UNDERLYING CAUSES INDICATORS		
1. Availability of food	Early warning system	
- Areas planted with food	MoA	
- Producer and consumer prices	Marketing development	
- Food stocks & levels	bureau MoA	
2. Access/quantity of essential services		
- Health	Household coverage surveys/MoED	
- Water	Household coverage surveys/MoW	

- Education	Household coverage surveys/MoED	
- Housing	Household coverage surveys/DoH	
- Household energy	Household coverage surveys/MoEN	

D. BASIC CAUSE INDICATORS

1. Incomes & employment policy		
- Wage levels	Household coverage	Annual
- Employment levels	surveys/MoLMD	
- Producer price levels	MDB	
- Consumer price indexes	Bureau of statistics	
2. Macro-economic policy		
- Government spending by sector	Economic survey/MFPEA	"
- Input pricing policy		
3. Access to factors of production	Household coverage surveys/UWT/DoW	"
4. Participation of women in decision-making	Household coverage surveys/UWT/DoW	
5. Women in development policy	"	"
- Women's workload programmes	"	"
- Women in cooperatives	Surveys/UWT/CUT	

*** Alphabetical list of abbreviations**

BS	- Bureau of Statistics
CUT	- Cooperative Union of Tanzania
DoH	- Division of Housing, Ministry of Local Government, Cooperatives and Marketing
DoW	- (not there) NB
IAE	- Institute of Adult Education
MCH	- Maternal Child Health
MDB-MFPEA	- (not there) NB
MoA	- Ministry of Agriculture
MoED	- " " Education
MoEN	- " " Engineering
MoH	- " " Health
MoLMD	- " " Labour and Manpower Development
TFNC	- Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre
UMATI	- Uzazi wa Malezi Bora Tanzania (family planning organization)
UWT	- Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (women's organisation)

Urban women

The 1978 Census showed that 13.3 per cent of the female population live in urban areas, where they work mostly in the home and the informal sector. The proportion of urban women employed in the formal sector has been cited as 14 per cent, with 73 per cent working at home or in the informal sector and 13 per cent self employed (Lihamba et al, 1988). Generally women

work in unskilled jobs and get the lowest pay. In the formal sector, women dominate in services, e.g. nursing, teaching and social work. In the informal sector, women work in bars, restaurants, and in domestic service.

Status of women's education

Women's access to formal employment is restricted by their historically limited access to education although, since Independence, there have been concerted efforts to rectify this. Table 4 presents some indicators on the progress made.

TABLE 4: Proportion of Males and Females Enrolled in Educational Institutions, 1984

	% Males	% Females
Registered Primary Schools	50.6	49.4
Government Secondary Schools	66.3	33.7
Private Secondary Schools	62	38
Government High Schools	68	32
Private High Schools	58	42
Technical Colleges	89.3	10.7
University of Dar-es-Salaam	81.1	18.9
Sokoine Agricultural University	91.4	8.6
Teacher Training Grade A/C	63/64	36/37

Source: derived from Lihamba A, et al (1988)

Between 1967 and 1983, female adult literacy rose from 21 per cent to 80 per cent. Between 1981 and 1983 the number of women registered in Folk Development Colleges rose from 437 to 882 for long courses and from 2,912 to 4,065 for short courses. However in 1985 the drop-out rate for girls from primary schools was as high as 22 per cent. This was because of: early marriages and pregnancies; poverty and family inability to cover school expenses; pressure for girls to help more in the home; and the low status of girls in families, which meant that preference is given to educating boys. Constraints to women's higher education or training have included: pressure from families not to attend; heavy workload which leaves little time; lack of child-care facilities; and frequent pregnancies.

Health and nutritional status

Women's health status is lower then men's because of their work load, frequent pregnancies and malnutrition and anaemia; these factors are reinforced by cultural attitudes on gender and by food consumption habits. The health and nutritional status of women in Tanzania can be best summarised by the indicators in Table 5.

Women, politics and the law

In spite of a lack of any specific policy on women in Tanzania the Party has sponsored a mass organisation for women Umoja wa Wanawake (UWT), which is specifically charged with the responsibility of working towards their total emancipation and full integration into development activities.

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere has been at the forefront of the women's emancipation campaign in the country. Introducing the Arusha Declaration in 1967, he observed with concern that:

It would be appropriate to ask our farmers, especially the men, how many hours a week and how many weeks a year they work. Many do not even work for half as many hours as the wage-earner does. The truth is that in the villages the women work hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life, (Nyerere, 1968 p. 30). During the eighties some specific measures were taken to translate the Party guidelines on women-in-development into concrete action. These include:

1982: drafting a national policy programme defining issues and developmental plans for women by the Prime Minister's Office;

1983: resolution of the UWT to create an economic unit (SUWATA);

1984: formulation of an action programme for women by the UWT, and reservation of 25 parliamentary seats for women;

1985: establishment of a women's section within the Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Youth;

1987: formulation of a national policy on women and children (present status unknown)

In short, compared to many other African countries the political climate for promoting women in development is favourable. The law, however, is more restrictive. For example, in the Marriage Act (1971) and the Law of Persons (1963) areas of customary law specific to each ethnic group are recognised and applied accordingly; as a consequence women remain unprotected in the areas of inheritance, the custody of children, and the ownership of land and property. The Employment Act (1975) entitles women to 84 days of maternity leave every three years but denies them annual leave in the relevant year. The Affiliation Ordinance Act (1949, revised 1967) enables divorced women to claim child support from fathers but sets Shs. 100 as the maximum claims. (Today this is a bad joke because a 1 kg tin of baby milk for example, costs Shs. 500!) Under the Co-operative Societies Act (1982) rural women's groups cannot operate as autonomous cooperative societies but must work within the existing primary and secondary co-operatives where women are literally excluded because household membership is assumed by the head of the household (Lihamba et al, 1988).

In summary, since Independence, commendable efforts have been made to improve the situation of women in Tanzania but they remain by and large a disadvantaged group likely to be particularly vulnerable to the effects of

TABLE 5: Selected Indicators of Women's Health Status, 1980 and 1985

		1980	1985
1.	Infant deaths (under 1 year) (thousands)	116	127
2.	Child deaths (1-4 years) (thousands)	77	82
3.	Total infant and child deaths (under 5 years) (thousands)	193	209
4.	Infant mortality rate (under 1 year)	120	111
5.	Child mortality rate (aged 1-4 years) (per 1000 live births)	19	21
6.	Infant and child malnutrition		
	Mild/moderate	n.a.	43%
	Severe	n.a.	7%
	Total	n.a.	50%
7.	Babies with low birth weight (under 2.5 kilos) (1982)	13.5%	
8.	One-year-olds fully immunised against:		
	measles	31%	67%
	tuberculosis	30%	82%
	diphtheria		
	pertuasis/tetanus	23%	62%
	poliomyelitis	22	62%
	all six diseases		63%
	Pregnant women immunised against tetanus		58%
9.	Number of ORS packets per 100 infants and children (annual distribution to rural health facilities 1985)		182
10.	Access to health services (1978):		
	% of total population within 5 kms	76	
	% of urban/rural population within 5 kms	100/72	
11.	Access to safe water (1978):		
	% of total population	47	
	% of urban/rural population	90/41	

adjustment. The following section attempts to give some concrete evidence of this.

2. The Impact of Adjustment on Women

Employment

Gender categorised data on formal employment are scanty. Table 6 shows the degree of excess capacity in the Tanzania Civil Service in 1983 prior to the 1985 retrenchment exercise when 12,760 workers (the majority of them in the common cadres with salaries below MS 3) were made redundant after being given their entitlements. Since the data are gender-blind they do not tell us how women were affected. However to the extent that women dominate the common cadres, it can be asserted that they were hit the hardest.

The specific occupations reported by the women participating in the special survey conducted for the purpose of this paper are shown in Table 7. By broad categories, 37.3 per cent of the sample women were employed in the formal sector, 44 per cent in the informal sector and the remainder said they were housewives. Bearing in mind that the sample was drawn from the low-income areas of Dar-es-Salaam, the rate of employment in the formal sector may appear rather high.

Table 10 presents (from the same survey) comparative data on the minimum daily food expenditures by households in Dar-es-Salaam. Unfortunately, the sample size is very small and shows market prices which do not precisely reflect the real increase in the cost of living. However, in the absence of a better data set, some crude conclusions can be drawn, particularly if the minimum food expenditures by households are compared with the minimum and maximum wages, earned.

TABLE 6: 'Excess' Workers in the Civil Service at Central Ministries and Departments (i.e. Excluding those Stationed in the Regions) in 1983

Category	No. of workers employed	Required no. of workers	Excess no. of workers	Budgetary cost of excess workers (TShs.)	Excess Workers as % of total employed
Accounts clerks	988	323	665	11,172,000	67
Typists & personal secretaries	975	455	522	10,022,400	54
Registry assistants	1,310	597	713	11,978,400	54
Office attendants	1,784	1,140	664	6,955,200	36
Telephone operators	134	99	35	539,700	26
Watchmen	358	232	126	1,360,800	35
Total	5,549	2,844	2,705	42,028,500	49

Source: Omolo-Opere, V. 1987.

TABLE 7: Occupational Categories of Women in the Dar-es-Salaam Sample, November 1988

Category	Number of Women	% of Women in Sample
Official in Government	2	1.5
Official in parastatal	8	6.0
Expert lecturer	8	6.0
Secondary school teacher	2	1.5
Primary school teacher	5	3.7
Clerk/secretary	10	7.5
General office worker	8	6.0
Business woman trader	20	14.9
Policewoman	2	1.5
Farmer	23	17.2
Domestic servant	8	6.0
Nurse/midwife	5	3.7
Technician (Fundi)	5	3.7
Driver	1	0.7
Housewife*	25	18.7
Garden worker	2	1.5
Total	134	100

Source: Survey Data, November 1988 (preliminary).

Incomes and food security

The last household budget survey (HBS) was conducted in 1976/77 and revealed an expenditure pattern shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8: Expenditure Pattern by Income Group, 1976/77 (HBS, Currently in Official Use)

Income Group	Percentage of Expenditure	
	Food	Non-Food
Low	80.6	19.4
Middle	76.9	23.1
High	55.6	44.4
All Groups	64.2	35.8

Source: quoted in Katona E., 1988

The figures indicate that the consumption pattern of wage earners follows Engel's Law, the essence of which is that the poorer strata spend proportionately more of their income on food and basic necessities than do the more affluent. Therefore the rising prices for basic foods shown on Table 9

confirm the earlier assertion of this paper that the poor have been hit hardest by adjustment policies.

TABLE 9: Cost of 100 Kcals from Selected Food Items in Dar-es-Salaam, 1977/78-87/88 (market prices in cents)

Food Items	1977/78	1982/83	1987/88	% Change 1977/78 1987/88
Maize	6	25	80	1233
Rice	10	40	130	1200
Irish potatoes	110	130	600	445
Refined sugar	80	250	600	650
Mixed beans	30	70	200	567

Source: Msambichaka, L.A. and Maro, W., 1988

The Table shows that although maize flour and rice are the cheapest of all the food types selected they had the highest percentage increase in prices between 1977/78 and 1987/88. This suggests that as food prices increased, the medium-income group switched to the cheaper basic staples, whose prices were thus pushed up at higher rates. In consequence, despite the good maize harvest of the late 1980s, the prices of maize remains relatively high and the poorer households faced the greatest difficulties.

TABLE 10: Sample of Minimum Daily Food Expenditures by Households in Dar-es-Salaam, 1977/78 and 1987/88 (TShs.)

House-hold size	Low-Income Families (Manzese Area) No. of Resp.	1977/78	1987/88	High-Income Families (Msasani/Oysterbay Areas) No. of Resp.	1977/78	1987/88
1	11	33.75	88.75	1	80	-
2	12	34.40	120.55	18	108.30	280
3	20	45.90	145.90	36	136.10	312
4	58	50.80	161.70	57	168.42	386.15
5	62	48.90	218.75	65	196.92	398.60
6	32	75.60	249.40	40	238.75	428.00
7	6	100.00	461.10	15	242.85	452.00
8	11	64.45	292.30	9	255.55	558.00
9	3	100.00	430.00	5	290.00	600.00
10	10	99.00	353.30	4	325.00	-

Source: Msambichaka, L.A. and Maro, W., 1988

It can be noticed that the minimum wage is not enough even to provide enough food for a one person household. The expenditure is Shs. 88.75 per day but the salary is only Shs. 42 per day (i.e. Shs. 1,260 per month at the time of the survey) and therefore it covers only 48 per cent of requirements. The

average family size in Tanzania is six people, the minimum wage supports only 14 per cent of the minimum food requirement! The picture is better for the so-called high-income group, but even here net earnings (Shs. 8,000 per month or Shs. 267 per day) support 95 per cent of minimum food requirement for a two person household and only 62 per cent for the standard household of six people.

This confirms the well-known fact that no household in Dar-es-Salaam (low-income and high) lives on its basic income. All able-bodied members of households are engaged in income-generating activities (IGAs) in order to make ends meet. Women are particularly adversely affected when their husband's basic incomes fail to support their families. As the person responsible for the actual day-to-day management of the home it is the woman (whether or not she herself is also employed), who is forced to make ends meet. Women are therefore the most active participants in IGAs. The results of the special sample survey showed that in Dar-es-Salaam 70 per cent of the 134 women interviewed were involved in some kind of an IGA, including (by broad categories): staple farming (shamba) 36 per cent; vegetable gardening 62 per cent petty trade such as selling scones 32 per cent; brewing/selling beer 7 per cent; poultry keeping 15 per cent; giving tuition classes 4 per cent (all the primary school teachers in the sample); and tailoring 3 per cent. Seven of the 134 women had professional jobs; three reported supplementing their incomes by working over-time; two by undertaking consultancy activities; and two by attending seminars and conferences (a practice also very common among men with similar opportunities).

The variety of IGAs reported in the sample (23 in total) showed that when confronted with problems women are both imaginative and innovative.

To give some idea of how successful the IGAs are, the total earnings from them as reported by women in the sample are presented in Table 11.

TABLE 11: Monthly Incomes from IGAs, Reported by Women in Dar-es-Salaam Sample, November, 1988.

Shs./Month	Number of women	% of women in sample	Cumulative %
1,000	19	31.1	31.1
2,000	15	24.6	55.7
3,000	7	11.5	67.2
4,000	7	11.5	78.7
5,000	5	8.2	86.9
6,000	4	6.6	93.4
7,000	3	4.9	98.4
90,000	1	1.6	100
TOTAL	73	100	-

Source: Survey Data, November 1988 (preliminary).

It can be seen that only 73 (54 per cent) of the women in the sample responded on this point. The fact that the reported minimum earnings from IGAs are approaching (79 per cent) of the minimum wage shows how worthwhile women find it to undertake these activities. This even is more apparent if the IGA even earnings of the entire household are counted.

Table 12 presents the frequency distribution of total monthly incomes reported by the sample: 54 per cent of households reported incomes of below Shs. 5000 per month but in one household the income exceeded Shs. 5000. Since the sample was taken from a predominantly low-income area, the high monthly incomes originate from engaging in IGAs.

However, the incomes so earned have still not been able to meet all the basic necessities adequately. Thus 58 per cent of the women said that they had been forced to reduce the number of meals taken from three to two per day and 61 per cent said that they had cut down their consumption of protein-rich foods (meat and fish). Children and pregnant women are bound to have been adversely affected by this.

Dark side of the IGAs is that women pressed for time and resources encourage their children to participate in these activities. If not controlled this might lead to hooliganism, delinquency or truancy from school or home. The glaring cases are primary school age children attempting to repair pot-holes along Bagamoyo Road and begging (or demanding) rewards from passing drivers. Besides the fact that those children ought to be in school, they are exposed to injury from vehicles: accidents are rising partly due to the condition of the roads but also to the incidence of drunkedness (see next sub-section).

TABLE 12: Distribution of Income Categories in Sample Households, Dar-es-Salaam, November 1988

Income Category Shs./Month	Number of Households	% of Household in Sample	Cumulative %
Below 5000	38	54	54
5 - 10,000	19	27	81
10 - 25,000	11	16	97
25 - 50,000	1	1.5	98.5
50 - 100,000	1	1.5	100
Total	70	100	-

Source: Survey Data, November 1988 (preliminary)

To try and quantify the impact of women's participation in IGAs on their labour time, they were asked to give an account of how they spend their normal working day, from 5 a.m. to 1 a.m. From this information the total number of working hours for each woman in the sample was computed and the results summarised in Table 13.

The above data are still preliminary in that they have not yet been checked. Some respondents, for example, may have misunderstood the question and not counted domestic activities as work or simply reported time spent on IGAs alone, without including formal employment. Preliminary as they are, the results do show that, contrary to the widespread belief that urban women like the rural men are "on leave half of their life" (Nyerere, 1968), they have an average working day of 8.8 hours, which is well above the official seven hour

working day: 67.8 per cent of the women reported working more than seven hours and nine per cent more than twelve hours every day.

The conclusion is that in urban areas, the workload of women has increased tremendously, where once most of them were merely housewives working in the home, they now have working hours almost as long as those of their sisters in rural areas. Although there are no comparable data from rural areas in the recent period, it is reasonable to assume a similar trend. In view of the already heavy workload of rural women, put at an average of 14-16 hours a day, the implications of longer working hours are grievous for the welfare of both the women and their children.

To sum up, the evidence points to women having suffered more than men from recession and structural adjustment. A respondent from one institution included in the survey put it as follows:

> The man brings the means and the women has to make the means meet the ends. That is where the problem starts. The man is bitter because he feels he is contributing to the family inadequately without realising that even the woman is playing a role in making the meagre income suffice.

TABLE 13: Distribution of Daily Working Hours Reported by Women in the Dar-Es-Salaam Sample, November 1988

Number of Working Hours	Number of Women	% of Women in sample	Cumulative %
1	1	1.7	1.7
2	1	1.7	3.4
3	1	1.7	5.1
4	1	1.7	6.8
5	2	3.4	10.2
6	3	5.4	15.3
7	10	16.9	32.2
8	6	10.2	42.4
9	8	13.6	55.9
10	15	25.4	81.4
11	4	6.8	88.1
12	2	3.4	91.5
13	1	1.7	93.2
14	1	1.7	94.9
15	3	5.1	100
Total	59	100	-

Source: Survey Data, November 1988 (preliminary).

Health

Despite the public outcry that social services have declined markedly, few studies have attempted to quantify the degree of deterioration. The information given below on the health service relies for most part on the

preliminary results of recent surveys including the one carried out for this paper.

A survey undertaken in December 1987 as part of a study monitoring the Essential Drugs Programme (EDP) revealed that:

- the average number of people per dispensary in Tanzania was 8,000 with the highest number in Dar-es-Salaam (40,000) and the lowest in the Coast region (6,000);
- the ten most frequently reported causes of illness were: malaria 26 per cent of total; URI 10.6 per cent, diarrhoea 7.7 per cent, eye diseases 6.3 per cent, intestinal worms 4.7 per cent, gonorrhea 4.4 per cent, skin diseases 5.1 per cent, pneumonia 4.1 per cent, accidents 3.0 per cent, anaemias 2.4 per cent;
- the average monthly stock of malaria drugs (chloroquine) was 51 per cent of requirements;
- the 1984/85 EPI rural survey showed that only 53.4 per cent of the children surveyed had received all the vaccinations; 18.1 per cent had not received any vaccination (the reasons reported were: mother too busy, 2.3 per cent of children surveyed; place too far away, 3.3 per cent; unaware of immunisation, 3.9 per cent; vaccine not available, 4.4 per cent; and other reasons, 3.2 per cent); 28.5 per cent of the children surveyed had received some vaccinations (the reasons given why they had not received all of them were: postponement, 2.1 per cent; place too far away, 2.5 per cent; family problem including mother being ill, 3.9 per cent; mother too busy 4.2 per cent; vaccine not available 5.3 per cent; children sick, 7.0 per cent; and other reasons 3.4 per cent).

In addition the following findings emerged from the Dar-es-Salaam household survey conducted for this paper:

- on average a visit to a clinic takes 5-8 hours;
- 20 per cent of the sample reported that there had been no increase in the availability of drugs in hospitals, 70 per cent said there had been a decline, 10 per cent an improvement;
- 52 per cent of the sample said the drugs in dispensaries had been sold illegally by the staff;
- 55 per cent of the sample said that the medical services had deteriorated, 34 per cent said they were the same, 10 per cent said they had improved.

These findings appear to confirm the earlier assertion that all is not well with the health service. Since women are intensive users, they have suffered accordingly.

Water supply

Shortage of foreign exchange to import adequate spares to maintain the water plants has contributed to the poor performance of this sector and here it can be said with certainty that those who have shouldered the burden are women. Table 14 shows the number of piped schemes constructed, those still operating, those requiring rehabilitation, and obsolete schemes which were beyond salvage and had to be redesigned and constructed anew. The last column shows the coverage of water supply in the urban centres of each region - i.e. the proportion of people who had access to piped water.

The facts speak for themselves and all point at the sad state facing the water supply sector. Only 71 per cent of the established capacity was operating satisfactorily. This means that 29 per cent of the women with access to piped water still have to fetch water despite the heavy investments made. For example, the National Urban Water Authority (NUWA) reported that water demand in Dar-es-Salaam is 60 millon gallons per day (MGD) and the capacity is 63 MGD. However, production is only 49 MGD, of which 16MGD are lost because of leakages. Therefore the effective water production by NUWA is 33 MGD or 50 per cent of requirements. Due to lack of funds NUWA is unable to repair and maintain its plants. Thus despite the 80 per cent coverage cited on Table 14, most of the pipes in Dar-es-Salaam are dry for much of the time,

TABLE 14: Status of Piped Water Supply Schemes (1985) and Urban Water Supply Coverage (1987) by Region

Region	Total No. of Piped Schemes	Schemes Operating Satisfac-torily	Schemes Requiring Rehabili-tation	Obsolete Schemes	% Water Coverage Urban Areas (1987)
Arusha	278	240	52	38	49
Dar-es-Salaam	41	39	5	-	80
Dodoma	267	107	159	1	67
Iringa	89	70	19	-	40
Kagera	51	51	19	-	67
Kigoma	76	57	12	6	33
Kilimanjaro	125	119	83	6	54
Lindi	89	69	48	-	100
Mara	117	69	20	15	61
Mbeya	130	93	46	1	52
Morogoro	104	72	32	-	74
Mtwara	60	35	25	-	100
Mwanza	53	31	22	-	74
Rukwa	65	45	10	-	78
Ruvuma	83	53	24	10	43
Shinyanga	68	34	25	-	47
Singida	152	127	37	-	54
Tabora	194	155	44	1	75
Tanga	82	42	26	15	89
Coast	87	70	41	18	39
TOTAL	2,183	1,562	738	111	41*

* Average for the rural areas clean water.
Source: Senguo A., 1988.

and women have either to fetch water or to buy it. The situation in other urban centres is generally worse.

In the special survey for this paper, 90 per cent of the sample had piped water installed. Of these, however, only 34 per cent said that they had runnning water all the time; 54 per cent said that they got water occasionally and the remaining 12 per cent said the water pipe had dried up completely for more than 3 months. Of those who had no water, mothers and children were responsible for fetching it in 91 per cent of the sample households; 6 per cent reported buying water or relying on domestic servants, and 3 per cent said the father fetched it, using a pick-up vehicle. The observation that men were also fetching water (even though they used vehicles) is welcome, but it is restricted mostly to households keeping livestock. It is urgent to rehabilitate the water plants for the sake of the women.

Education

In Dar-es-Salaam the teacher/pupil ratio is falling. It is estimated that in primary schools it fell from 1:45 in 1983 to 1:65 in 1988. The classroom/pupil ratio is worse. It is reported to have declined from 1:50 in 1983 to 1:73 in 1988. This means that the classroom is packed with children and the teacher can at best manage only to "maintain law and order". The situation in rural areas is reported to be better because of lower population densities.

In Dar-es-Salaam the problem appears to be the failure of the City Educational Authority (CEA) to mobilise parents to build more schools. As the educational standards of most schools fall, parents try to get their children into those believed to be good, which then become overcrowded. This makes it possible for officials allocating school places to demand exorbitant bribes (Tibaijuka, forthcoming).

Turning to the sample survey, out of 426 pupils 31 per cent were reported to be attending extra tuition classes in the afternoon. The average tuition fee reported was Shs.159, with a range of Shs.100-200 per student. Since the sample was drawn from low-income people, the fact that 31 per cent were being education at high cost establishments (even the Shs.159 average is equal to 12.6 per cent of the minimum wage) is indicative of the low standards of education. Parents are evidently concerned about the future of their children if they are prepared to spend so much of their money on education even in low income areas.

The question is how have the falling standards of education affected women? The survey indicated that 12 per cent of the sample mothers reported teaching their own children as one of their daily activities. Eight per cent said they had to pay tuition fees themselves as the husband was not. It seems that the low educational standards add yet another burden to the women's workload, not to mention the inequality it breeds among children since the poorer households obviously cannot afford to send their children for tuition.

The foregoing account has shown clearly that the recession and the ensuing structural adjustment policies have placed in jeopardy the enviable achievements of Tanzania in the provision of social services. It is the women who have suffered more because they are the greater users of the services which have been cut. In view of their central economic role as the main agricultural producers, it is urgent to revive the social services if for

nothing else than to release female labour, now tied up in the arduous task of fetching water and firewood while in poor health, for more directly productive activities.

3. Actions Under Adjustment Taken to Assist Women

Results from institutional survey

The aim of the survey was to establish the kind of remedial action taken by institutions known to be involved in women's activities. The list of such organisations and institutions was readily available from a 1988 study on "Improving the Role and Welfare of Women in the Rural Development in the Southern Highlands in Tanzania" (Lihamba et al) which identified 44 institutions as dealing with women's issues. These included: seven government ministries (Community Development, Prime Minister's Office, Forestry, Local Government and Cooperatives, Agriculture, Water, and Health and Social Welfare); five parastatal organisations (Small Scale Industries Organisation (SIDO), Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC), the Institute of Adult Education (IAE), University of Dar-es-Salaam (USDM), Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA); four party mass organisations (Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT - Women's Organisation), National Bank of Commerce (NBC), Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB), Tanzania Housing Bank (THB); and 19 NGOs, including religious organisations.

Each of these institutions was given a questionnaire and in several cases the information from their replies was augmented by interviews. The survey had the following objectives:

(i) collecting the views of the institutions' officials and policy makers on the situation of women under adjustment, in order to assess the chance of the issue being given more serious thought in the next ERP;

(ii) collecting their suggestions on the kinds of short- and long-term measures needed to improve the status of women, with a view to incorporate these into the priority action programme for women - in development;

(iii) making an inventory of the specific actions being taken to mitigate the adverse effects of adjustment on women; and

(iv) compiling a bibliography of both published and unpublished material on the issue of women and structural adjustment in the country.

The bibliography is at the end of the report. The findings on the other aspects are summarised below.

Opinions on the impact of adjustment - the overwhelming majority (90 per cent of the respondents agreed that women and children suffer more than men during adjustment. The reasons given were their special roles in production and reproduction, as has already been argued in this paper. Since most of the institutions are in one way or another dealing with women's issues, the high level of awareness of the 'women question' is not surprising, and indeed more than half the respondents were women. Ten per cent of them - who did not feel that women had suffered more than men - held the view that

the question could only be answered satisfactorily after proper research. This emphasises the importance of monitoring the effects of the ERP so as to prove or show that vulnerable groups like women are suffering. Without such evidence it will be hard to mobilise support for special assistance to women in the course of further adjustment

Views on short- and long-term policies actions - in the short-term, the need to strengthen the social services - health, education, water, energy and low-cost housing - was emphasised by many, as was the importance of developing indigeneous technologies directed at IGAs. Over the longer term the recommendations became similar to the more general objectives sought for women-in-development policies, e.g. fighting for more rights and income opportunities, changing negative attitudes, abandoning the sexual division of labour, and making amendments in laws discriminating against women. Some of the more concrete recommendations made by respondents appear under Section IV. 2 of this paper.

Specific actions being taken - in most cases (80 per cent) the respondents failed to list the specific programmes they were undertaking, the most plausible explanation being that there simply was not much happening. However, it should be mentioned that at the time of writing, only half (21) of the questionnaires had been received. Secondly, most institutions undertaking women-in-development projects in the social service sector have numerous programmes that alleviate some of the adverse effects of adjustment but were not designed specifically for that purpose, which may be the reason why officials did not list them. Some of the actions that were reported, including projects initiated or supported by donor agencies, are as follows:

(i) the Responsible Parenthood and Family Welfare Policy by WAZAZI (Tanzania Parents Association), where the emphasis is on trying to match resources at the disposal of each family with the size of the family - WAZAZI members in their respective branches have to establish IGAs and employment creation projects involving women in the rural areas;

(ii) the Vegetable Gardening and Clay Stove Projects (by the Canadian University Services Organisations), which is intended to improve women's production skills and develop marketing channels - the total sum involved is CAN $20,000;

(iii) the Milling Machine Project by the Institute of Adult Education which provides training seminars for rural women and book writers workshops for women and children in three regions;

(iv) the National Afforestation Programme, and provision of training in economic business advancement; radio programme information, and higher education materials - projects of the UWT (the Women's Organisation);

(v) training women to undertake IGAs (Projects for Adjustment) provided in five zones by WAWATA (Catholic Women's Organisation);

(vi) the Skill Development for Self-Reliance (Maize Mill) Project by the ILO.

(vii) the Housing Cooperative Project (supported by the Swedish International Development Agency); Information on Building Materials by the Housing Division, Ministry of Local Government and Cooperatives;

(viii) the Social Rehabilitation Camps for Girls and Vocational Training Camps organised by VIJANA. (Tanzania Youth Fund Organisation);

(ix) the three financial schemes organised through the Cooperative and Rural Development Bank:

- Australian Food Aid Counterpart Fund, January 1987 (Shs 50 million, interest rate 13 per cent, no security required, contribution 10 per cent of loan requested, utilisation 100 per cent;
- Special Credit for Women 1984 (Shs 1.3 million from the Danish International Development Agency; interest rate 7.5 per cent, security, 100 per cent utilisation);
- Experiment for Ujamaa for Women Fund (Shs 350,000 from FAO).

IV. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS AND PRIORITY ACTION PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN-IN-DEVELOPMENT

1. Design of Gender-Sensitive Adjustment Policies

This study has shown that women's interests and women-in-development issues continue to be handled as extraneous and not as major aspects of development planning and implementation. Even though a growing number of institutions and policy-makers are adopting a progressive stance because of the favourable political climate, the status and development of women still does not feature in economic plans - a situation which ultimately limits the achievements of the targets set. For example, the Tanzanian ERP did not address itself at all to women's issues; yet this study has shown that its success would depend on the hard work put in by women.

In this light the following recommendations are made to guide the design and formulation of future ERPs:

(i) for each production target, the main implementors should be identified by gender, together with their costs (inputs) and benefits (outputs);

(ii) once their interests are established by gender, the possibility of introducing special programme to alleviate negative effects should be assessed. In other words, in the short term, during periods when individuals are adjusting to new economic forces, transitional support should be programmed. For example, for women and children, adjustment policies need to involve some short-term subsidisation (direct or indirect) of the social services. In the long-term, insurance schemes for health and education should be developed to enable the populace to meet the

costs of these essential services - it is inhuman to ask people to pay on the day they are sick;

(iii) since economic policies are always implemented within complex and dynamic social systems, it is difficult to know when, or even whether, the results envisaged will ensue. Monitoring therefore becomes important in order to establish the way in which macro-policies are actually translated into real life situations at the household level. To do this effectively, data to measure the relevant gender-sensitive indicators should be allocated as an integral part of any ERP.

2. Policy Changes and Priority Actions Needed to Enhance Women's Role in Production

(a) Short-run policies/actions:

(i) for urban areas, provide supply extension services and inputs for vegetable gardens so as to increase productivity of women engaged in farming IGAs;

(ii) provide business training for women's IGAs;

(iii) for rural areas, increase the availability of inputs and encourage extension workers to visit women by forming 'Women's Extension Service Groups' in each village (the local UWT offices could be used as co-ordinating centres);

(iv) also in rural areas, improve the availability of incentive goods in order to keep down their prices;

(v) amend the Cooperative Act so as to enable 'wives' to join co-operatives directly in their own right as farmers; and

(vi) expand grain mills and plant trees.

(b) Long-term policies/actions:

(i) supply credit and promote marketing co-operatives among urban women innovators and investors and rural women's groups;

(ii) make changes in legislation so as to grant women land and inheritance rights;

(iii) expand the number of female agricultural extension staff;

(iv) strengthen agricultural research to generate both better labour- and land-saving technologies for women, develop social services technologies (improved sanitation and fuel saving technologies) and plant trees;

(v) improve transport infrastructure including, carts to carry farm produce; and

(vi) improve storage and provide (through co-operatives) grain mills.

3. Policy Changes and Priority Actions Needed to Enhance Women's Role in Reproduction and Child Rearing

(a) Short-run policies/actions:

(i) repair all water pumps and plants that are lying idle;

(ii) expand the Essential Drugs Programme to cover the whole country and improve control/management and accounting systems for medical supplies; improve supplies of all essential drugs and consumables; strengthen the immunisation campaign; and provide import support schemes for the social sector;

(iii) support the formation of day care centres, especially in urban areas; and

(iv) embark on a family planning campaign through the mass media.

(b) Long-term policies/actions:

(i) increase investment to improve the availability, access and quality of social services, health, water supply and education; also encourage men to participate;

(ii) work towards introducing comprehensive health insurance policies so that people can eventually meet a fixed percentage of their medical bills;

(iii) adopt policies for establishing family planning and day care centres as well as undertake action programmes for their implementation.

4. Policy Changes and Priority Actions Needed to Enhance Women's Role in Household/Community Organisation

(a) Short-run policies/actions:

(i) educate both women and men to abandon obsolete cultural values and to adapt to 'modern' times; and encourage men to participate in women's activities and vice versa;

(ii) where necessary, make provisions in Village and District Council committees to reserve at least 25 per cent of seats to women, while encouraging them to make themselves available to be voted onto the committees through the normal channels; and

(iii) strengthen existing women's groups and provide them with management and technical services, e.g. consultancy services in project planning.

(b) Long-term policies/actions:

(i) change social values through a tailor-made training process involving more education, from primary schools upwards, and also using mass media to encourage the new thinking on equality

between the sexes. Make the society more gender-sensitive. Encourage the UWT to co-ordinate this promotion and especially to fight for amendments in legislation that discriminates against women;

(ii) provide management training opportunities for women's groups;

(iii) work towards the abolition of the sexual division of labour;and

(iv) adopt a Women-in-Development Policy and an Action Plan for implementing it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andersson, H. Women, Water and Development in a Pare Settlement in Tanzania. Dar-es-Salaam, BRALUP.

CUSO; Forthcoming. "Tanzania Programme Case Study for Cuso Women in Development Workshop", paper to be presented in Ottawa, February 1989.

Hornby, A.S. 1974 "Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English Revised". Oxford University Press.

Kamba, K. 1988 "The Role of UWT in Carrier Guidance and Counselling in Girls". UWT, Dar-es-Salaam.

Kamba, K. 1988; "The Economic Crisis of the 1980's and its Effects". UWT, Dar-es-Salaam.

Kamba, K. 1983; "Fuelwood and Energy Development for Africa Women". Paper presented at the Workshop 22/6-2/7 1983, Ethiopia. UWT, Dar-es-Salaam.

Kamuzora, C.K. 1978. "The Dynamics of Labour in African Smallholder Agriculture: The Sources of Labour for a New Cash Crop, Tea, In Bukoba District, Tanzania". Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, USA.

Kassim, S.; Rwebangila, M. and Alloo, F. 1988. "A Review of Reforms of the Laws Affecting Women in Tanzania", Paper commissioned by UNICEF, October 1988.

Katona, E. 1988; "Economic Policy, Income Generation and Distribution During the 1990s in Tanzania". Paper presented at the 5th Economic Policy Workshop, May 1988. University of Dar-es-Salaam.

Kauzeni, A.S. 1987. "Women Participation in Rural Water and Sanitation Development Programmes - The Case of Rukwa Water Master Plan, Paper presented at the UN Seminar on Women and the Economic Crisis October 1988, Vienna.

Koda, B. 1988; "The Impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes on Rural Women and Children IDS, University of Dar-es-Salaam. Mimeo.

Kivelu, M. 1986; "Effects of Finnish Development Cooperation on Tanzania Women: Women and Water Technology: The Case of the Finnish Water Project in Tanzania", IDS University of Helsinki.

Ljungqvist, B.; Mtalo, C.; Ngaiza, M. 1986. "Household Food Security and Ways of Improving Women's Access to and Control of Resources in Tanzania" In: Report of a Workshop by the Ethiopia Joint Nutrition Support Programme Core Group and UNICEF. SIDAMA, Ethiopia, WHO/UNICEF 1986.

Lihamba, A.: Mihyo, Z.; Ngaiza, M. 1988. "Report on Improving the Role and Welfare of Women in the Rural Development in the Southern Highlands in Tanzania". (report for EEC). Dar-es-Salaam.

Leach, V. 1988. "Women and Children and Recent Economic Policy Measures in Tanzania". UNICEF, May, 1988.

Msambichaka, L.A. and Maro, W.E. 1988 "An Assessment of the Impact of Economic Economic Adjustment Measures on Education Nutrition, Housing Needs and Household Food Expenditure in Tanzania: The Case of Dar-es-Salaam. Paper presented at the 5th Economic Policy Workshop 23-25 May, 1988. University of Dar-es-Salaam.

Maganya, E. 1987; "Peasant Differentiation: A Short Literature Review. IDS, University of Dar-es-Salaam. Mimeo.

Mukumasi, L. 1987 "Victimisation of a Women at Place of Work: A Personal Experience". IDS-Sussex. Mimeo.

Meena, Ruth., 1988. "The Effect of Rural Integrated Programmes on Women's Workload in the Agricultural Sector: The Case of Kilimanjaro Rural Electrification Programme". (A research report) University of Dar-es-Salaam, WRDP 1988.

Murro, A. 1988. "Rural Women and Agriculture: A Situation Analysis". UNICEF, October, 1988.

Mgaya A., 1986. "The Importance of Socialised Childcare for Rural Women". Unpublished M.A. Research Paper. Institute of Social Studies. THE HAGUE.

Ngowi, D.Y. 1988. "The Impact of Economic Recovery Programme Policies in Tanzania". Paper presented at the 5th Economic Policy Workshop, Dar-es-Salaam 23-25 May, 1988.

NORAD, 1987. "Plan of Action for Norwegian Development Assistance to Women in Tanzania". Dar-es-Salaam.

Nyerere, J.K. 1968. "Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism: The Arusha Declaration". Oxford University Press.

Omolo-Opere, V. 1987. "Redeployment and Retrenchment in the Civil Service in the Context of the Economic Recovery Programme in Tanzania. UNDP, Dar-es-Salaam, October 1987.

Senguo, A.A. 1988. "The Impact of Structural Adjustment Policies on the Water Sector". A paper presented at the Planning Workshop for the Research Project on "The Socio-Economic Effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes in Tanzania". 30 May-25 June, 1988. University of Dar-es-Salaam.

Skutsch, M.M. 1987. Tanzania, Woodfuel Energy Study Current Situation and Prospects. (A Study by SADCC Energy Development). Leudsen, E.T.C. Foundation 1987.)

UMATI, 1986. "Paper of Appeal to Ministry of Education in Alternative Education Programme for Primary School Drop-outs due to Pregnancy. UMATI, March 1986.

UMATI, 1987. "A twenty year report of the Arusha Declaration and ten years of the Party (CCM). Dar-es-Salaam.

UNICEF, 1987. "Adjustment with a Human Face: Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth: A Study by UNICEF". Vol. 1 Editors: Giovanni Andra Cornia; Richard Jolly; Frances Stewart. CLARENDON PRESS, Oxford, 1982.

UNICEF/Government of The United Republic of Tanzania. "Analysis of the Situation of Children and Women", November, 1985.

UNICEF, "Improving UNICEF Support for Women in Tanzania", Report of the Task Force on Women for the mid-term Review of the Government of Tanzania/UNICEF Programme of Cooperation, October 1988.

UNICEF, "Strategic Use of Resources for Child Survival and Development in Times of Economic Adjustment", November 1988.

UNICEF, "Strengthening Strategies to Improve the Economic Situation of Women in Tanzania", Project Proposal, October 1988.

UWT, 1982. "Taarifa ya UWY kwa Kipindi cha 1977/78".

UWT, 1987. "Taarifa ya Jumuiya ya Wanawake ya Miaka 20 va Azimio la Arusha na Miaka 10 ya CCM.

UWT, 1987. "Taarifa ya UWT kwa kipindi cha 1983-87.

Vuorela U. 1987. "The Women's Questions and the Modes of Human Reproduction: An Analysis of a Tanzanian Village". Monographs of the Finnish Society for Development Studies No.1.

TFNC, 1988. "Proposal for Nutrition Surveillance Systems in Tanzania". Unpublished. Dar-es-Salaam, May 1988.

Tanzania, United Republic, 1982. "The National Economic Survival Programme". Government Printer Dar-es-Salaam.

_____, 1982 "The Structural Adjustment Programmes". Government Printer.

_____, 1986 "The Economic Recovery Programme". Government Printer.

Tibaijuka, A.K. 1985. "Intra-Household Resource Allocation Constraints in the Implementation of the Banana-Coffee Development Programme in the Kagera Region, Tanzania". Paper presented at the Farming System Research Symposium, Kansas State University, October, 13.16, 1985.

Tibaijuka, A.K. Forthcoming. "Factors Behind the Deterioration of Primary Education in Tanzania: A Case Study of Olympia Primary School".

Tibaijuka, A.; Maganya, E. and Naho, A. 1988. "A Study of the Socio-Economic Effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes: The Case of Tanzania". A Research proposal. University of Dar-es-Salaam, January 1988.

Wagao, J. 1988. "Analysis of the Economic Situation of Urban and Rural Women in Tanzania", paper commissioned by UNICEF, November 1988.

Young, K.; Wolkowitx, C.; McCullagh, R.; 1984. "Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination Internationally and Its Lessons". Routledge & Kegan Paul. London.

THE IMPACT OF STABILISATION AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Ralph Henry
Senior Lecturer, Department of Economics

and

Gwendoline Williams
Lecturer, Department of Management Studies,
The University of the West Indies

June 1989

THE IMPACT OF STABILISATION AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN: THE CASE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

		Page
I.	BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	291
	1. The State of the Economy in Trinidad and Tobago since 1982	291
	2. The Stabilisation Response	291
II.	ELEMENTS OF A GENDER AWARE APPROACH	274
III.	NATURE OF THE STUDY	296
	1. Objectives	296
	2. Methods, Limitations	296
	3. Significance of the Study	297
	4. Framework for the Analysis	297
IV.	FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	297
	1. The Decline of the Economy	297
	2. Impact on the Labour Force	298
	3. Equality of Opportunity for Women	305
	4. Sociology of Adjustment	309
V.	SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS	314
	1. Key Elements of a Gender-Equity Policy	314
	2. General Recommendations: The Need for an Inter-Sectoral Approach to Public Policy	317

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Gross Domestic Product, 1984-88	298
2.	Selected Labour Force Data, 1964-81 (selected years)	299
3.	Percentage Distribution of Employed Persons by Occupational Status and Sex, 1965-87 (Selected Years)	303
4.	Age-Specific Labour Force Participation Rates by Sex, 1965-85 (Selected Years)	304
5.	Persons Employed in a Given Week by Sex and Occupational Group, 1980	306
6.	Employed Workforce by Occupational Category and Percentage of Female Employees, 1980-86	307
7.	Percentages of Male and Female Registrants in Full-Time Degree Courses by Faculty, 1980/81-1982/83	309
8.	Index of Average Weekly Earnings for Production Workers, and of Retail Prices, 1985-88	310

BIBLIOGRAPHY 319

I. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Since the UN Decade for Women which culminated in the Women's World Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985, there has been increasing concern, particularly in developing societies, about the need for a more gender-aware approach in the shaping and implementation of public policy. Gender, like other social categories such as class, race, age and rural/urban differentiation, is a key determinant of the way in which public policy programmes - as outputs and outcomes - impact upon the quality of life of a population within any given policy environment.

Hogwood and Gunn see public policy as a process that has several facets and stages of planning and action. For example, policy determination in its earliest phase is conceived of as expressions of general purpose or desired states of affairs: "It expresses the broad purposes or 'ends' of government activity... and also describes the state of affairs which would prevail on the achievement of those purposes" (Hogwood and Gunn 1984: p.14). Usually following upon statements of intent, there are specific proposals which emerge as the decisions of a political directorate. These decisions are the formal authorisations which are converted into programmes and projects, the outcomes of which are assessed in order to evaluate the effectiveness of public policy in the given setting. Increasingly, the effectiveness of public policy directions and the actual measures are determined, among other factors, by the extent to which there is explicit consideration of gender in policy formulations from the expression of intent to outcomes.

1. The State of the Economy in Trinidad and Tobago since 1982

Official documentation on the state of the economy since 1982 substantiates the view that the six year period 1982-87 was one of negative economic growth. Petroleum sector earnings fell by close to 50 per cent, and government revenue from petroleum by 40 per cent. The unemployment rate increased from 10 to 22 per cent and real GDP in 1987 was 28 per cent below the level of 1982. Foreign exchange earnings dwindled, with a loss of some US$2.8 billion between 1982 and 1987. The Draft Medium Term Programme 1989-1991 [p.1] lists several profound reasons for the economic downturn. They included both domestic and external factors, such as : the weakening and ultimate collapse of oil prices; declining oil production deriving from failure to promote exploration in the late 1970s and early 1980s; errors in economic management during the oil boom (1974-82); difficulties in the strategy of diversification through industries downstream of oil or energy-intensive industries, for example, petrochemicals and steel; and the failure to develop appropriate structures for production flexibility (Ministry of Finance and the Economy, 1988: p.1).

2. The Stabilisation Response

In order to halt the steep decline of the economy, the Government has provided, through its Draft Medium-Term Programme for 1989-91, a sense of its strategies for recovery. These include:

(i) putting into effect stabilisation and structural adjustment measures;

(ii) control mechanisms that will ensure "as much fairness and equity as is humanly possible in the adjustment process", this includes "Some measures of protection for the weakest and most defenceless members of the society";

(iii) strategies for structural transformation via the continued diversification of the economy; and

(iv) the creation of viable institutional development apparatuses that are adaptable to the contingencies of the change process and "particularly sensitive to the considerations of effective human resource management and development" (Ministry of Finance and Economy 1988:p.1).

The strategies of (ii) and (iv) suggest that the specific policies of stabilisation, adjustment and transformation will pay attention to the way in which the various measures will affect the quality of life of the different sections of society and the community, including those members who have historically been adversely affected by the demographic factors of class, race and ethnicity, age and gender.

It is important to differentiate between, on the one hand, the adjustment process the Trinidad and Tobago economy experienced as the foreign exchange and fiscal crises emerged and, on the other hand, the structural adjustment measures specifically imposed by the Government to deal with the crises. If the latter are narrowly defined in terms of the programmes normally applied when countries are forced to resort to assistance from the IMF, or expect to have to seek such help, then it is only recently that Trinidad and Tobago has had to embark on such a programme. In 1982, the Government appointed a Task Force under the chairmanship of the then President of the Caribbean Development Bank, Mr.W.G. Demas. The Task Force was required to develop a medium-term public sector investment programme preparatory to a more comprehensive multi-sectoral plan.

The developing concern in Trinidad and Tobago about the need for adjustment was convergent with regional anxieties that dated back into the 1970s. Indeed structural adjustment in Caribbean economies was the subject of a study prepared in 1985 by the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) and entitled "Measures for Structural Adjustment in the Member States in the Caribbean Community". Adjustment measures were introduced in order to respond to a serious adverse change in the terms of trade, an increase in oil prices, serious external debt-servicing problems and a decline in production and productivity in the key sectors of the economy. the resultant impact of the structural adjustment strategy led to a reduction in subsidies for basic items of consumption - food, medicine and public transport - high prices for good and services, a reduction in imports, a strain on internal savings efforts, and a drastic reallocation of manpower and other resources between sectors of the economy.

In Trinidad and Tobago where, by 1982, the problem stemmed from the decline of its main foreign exchange earner - oil and petro-chemicals - the Task Force could draw on the experience of the wider region that had had to adopt structural adjustment measures during the 1970s.

The major document produced by the Task Force, the "Imperatives of Adjustment", provided the basis for policy formulation as the Government

attempted to set the stage to deal with rapidly dwindling public finances. The collapse of oil prices and an increasing debt burden prompted a partial devaluation and the application of a dual exchange rate system from 1 January 1986. Food, drugs, agriculture supplies, school books and a few other items were to be imported at the old official rate of TT$2.40 to US$1.00, while a new rate of $3.60 was to apply to all other items. Significantly, the exemption of food supplies from the new alignment of the currency was geared to protect the population from an inordinate increase in the cost of living, particularly of essential food.

The regionally devised framework for adjustment was, at the level of intent, cognisant of the human side of the process. By 1987, however, the realities of the measures put in place reflected a gap between intent and actuality. 'Adjustment with a human face' increasingly became a mirage. The administration that took office at the end of 1986 immediately adjusted the exchange rate by eliminating the two-tier structure. However, its general approach was in the mould of a formal structural adjustment model. Public expenditure on salaries was reduced by $540m (or 3 per cent of GDP) by the suspension of merit increases, acting allowances, and the substantial cost of living allowance. The last mentioned was based on a formula derived from an agreement that had expired at the end of 1983 but which, in keeping with custom, had continued to apply pending the ratification of a new agreement. The arrangement had provided an important element of relief to public servants at the bottom of the pyramid. By the end of 1988, the Government was to go even further in its cost cutting exercise, by reducing salaries in the public service by 10 per cent.

The budget of 1987 also brought a reduction of transfers and subsidies to state enterprises and public activities, as well as a decrease in the level of subsidy on some essential food items, and an increase in excise duties and tariffs on other items. Employment in work relief programmes was also cut, and a large number of workers who had many years of service in this programme were made redundant and given termination benefits. Those who remained became a casual workforce who would gain employment for only a small number of days at a time. The programme was renamed the 'Labour Intensive Development (LID)' projects. The school feeding programme was discontinued except in Tobago where other resources than those of the state allowed for its continuation. The school feeding programme had provided a hot meal and a drink at midday to children in many primary schools. While universal coverage was not achieved, a large number of children benefited from this programme, which was administered by a specially created state enterprise, the School Nutrition Company. The only major areas of subsidies and transfers that have escaped reduction so far have old age pensions and social welfare assistance.

On 16 November 1988, three months after the devaluation of the Trinidad and Tobago dollar from $3.60 to $4.25 per US$1.00, the Prime Minister wrote to the Managing Director of the IMF setting out the stabilisation measures which his Government undertook to introduce. The measures outlined included commitments to :

(i) reduce transfers to public utilities by rationalisation of employment and adjustment of tariffs - the Port Authority, the Water and Sewerage Authority, and the Public Transport Service Corporation responsible for omnibus services throughout the country, were specifically identified;

(ii) reduce transfers to Caroni (1975) Ltd., the state sugar company, by rationalisation of its operations and an increase in the domestic price of sugar;

(iii) reduce transfers to local authorities with the immediate consequence of cutting back on the use of casual labour and on the services provided;

(iv) introduce a tax reform programme, the major objective being to shift the burden of the tax system toward indirect taxation;

(v) reduce the price controls on a selected number of essential goods and services to about 20 items (poultry and animal feeds had been fully decontrolled in September 1988, with immediate consequences for the price of chicken, the most common form of meat protein in the domestic diet);

(vi) reduce the size of the public service by the introduction of a voluntary retirement plan details of which were published for comment early in 1989.

The measures specifically designed to reorganise the structure of production were unveiled in August 1988 in the three-year Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP). This detailed projects to be undertaken over the period by the central government and state enterprises to stimulate growth in the economy through diversification of the energy sector and the promotion of tourism, manufacturing and agriculture, geared to earning foreign exchange and, specifically in the case of agriculture, to saving it as well. The projects have employment implications in the short run but it is hoped they will create permanent jobs in viable enterprises targeted for competition in international markets. In addition to focusing on the effects of measures that were introduced to manage and stabilise the economy after the shock of the oil price collapse and its attendant consequences after 1983, one needs to examine how the erosion of gains made between 1974 and 1982 in health, education, housing and social development has impacted on significant social groups in society, including children and women.

II. ELEMENTS OF A GENDER-AWARE APPROACH

It is now widely acknowledged that gender, particularly with respect to the status and role of women in the development process, has not been a significant variable in the areas of macro-economic policies, sectoral analysis and institutional development. This is a grave deficiency in so far as it reflects the under-utilisation and inadequate recognition of a very significant proportion of the world's human resources. The 1980 Copenhagen statement pointed out the insidious effect of policy measures which result in a scenario which "half the world's population performs two-thirds of the world's work, receives one-tenth of the world's income and owns less than 1 per cent of the world's property."

In explaining this gross maldistribution of resources, Moser (1985, p.5) identified two fundamental misrepresentations. One is the widespread tendency to assume that the male headed household is the dominant type and that the sexual division of labour within the family - with man the producer and his wife the reproducer - is the 'natural' order of things. The other is that planners are usually blind to the triple role of women and to the

economic and social utility of women when these roles are integrated, linking domestic and household management to economic activities, political management and social development. For example, the "ideology of housewife", which helps to create the invisibility of the contribution of women to the public realm and restrict them to the "privacy" of the home, blinds planners to the contribution they have already made to the development of the political process as community organisers, political mobilisers and, to the extent allowed, as political leaders.

Moser points to the following critical indicators of women's status in the society, community and home environment: their marital status; access to productive resources and income; the particulars of their reproductive activities; household composition and their status in the household; and the social, communal and national context of female leadership.

The status of women based on these indicators suggests three strategic and functional roles for all women in society. These are related to production, reproduction and the managing of both the domestic household and community action groups. Women as producers are bona fide participants in economic activities whether as wage or salary earners, as recipients of rents or, as entrepreneurs, of profits and dividends, or as contributors to unpaid work. The reproductive function results in their being child bearers and sole or joint parents. They are also spouses, household managers, liaisons for the extended family unit, and community organisers.

The extensive role played by women in economic, political, social life as well as in domestic household management requires that policy statements of intent, programmes, projects and outcomes reflect the contribution as well as the interests of women as a separate constituency of interest involved in, and impacted upon by, the decision making that takes place in the policy environment. What is required is a world view that directly recognises the existence of this group as both contributors to and beneficiaries of development.

In a 1986 colloquium report on Gender Issues in Development Cooperation, reference was made to the utility of a "gender-lens" that should be used to modify the existing methods of policy planning, so that the variable of gender could receive specific treatment at each stage of policy determination and implementation. The report notes that the idea of the use of a "gender lens" represents a very different approach from that of treating women as a special interest group. It opens up the real possibility that with the use of the lens - which reveals the triple role of women in development, in the areas of economic management, population management and household/community management - there will emerge a governmental and professional responsibility to take the economic and social aspects of gender into account in the shaping of public policy. The report continues: "Instead of looking at 'impacts on women' we must look at gender differentials in benchmark planning data and in evaluation impacts.....Gender differentials can be a technical tool.....sex disaggregated data an institutional strategy" (p.19).

Data analysis that is gender sensitive in the way described, helps in the policy planning process with respect to : (i) the identification of critical policy issues as these reflect development planning "with a human face"; (ii) forecasting, in terms of needs assessment and problem concentration; (iii) the determination of objectives and priorities; (iv)

options analysis in the light of priorities set and resources available; and (v) policy implementation, control, evaluation and review.

A more gender-sensitive approach will take shape, therefore, after there is a clear world view of women as active contributors and beneficiaries in the development process. This must be followed up by a development planning methodology which systematically removes the "invisibility" of women in the various stages of policy studies and analysis. To do this, gender has to be used as a technical variable that guides data generation, analysis, and use so that the triple role of women will impact on policy and decision-making programmes, outcomes and effects.

III. NATURE OF THE STUDY

1. Objectives

These are:

i) to examine the level of gender sensitivity in the policy shifts brought on by the structural adjustment programme for the revitalisation, stabilisation and transformation of the Trinidad and Tobago economy; and

ii) to assess the impact of the programme measures on the position of women in the society.

2. Methods, Limitations

The study utilises, for the most part, data and analysis that have already been published. The data have been reassessed for their implications on women undertaking their respective roles in society and the economy. There is therefore a heavy dependence on descriptive statistics. Based on the structural parameters discerned from the more recent data an attempt is made to forecast the problems that structural adjustment measures cause for women. At the same time efforts are made to identify the presence or absence of gender sensitivity, based on the criteria established for this factor.

The study is limited to an examination of gende· sensitivity from published reports and statements of the relevant arms of Government. There has been no attempt at original research nor at attitudinal surveys of the women or men in the face of the structural adjustment measures that are being implemented. The material presented is therefore a snap-shot of what is a very dynamic situation. The data are used, then, to derive some feel for the dynamic movements, but in the absence of longitudinal studies at the household level and for different types of households the present study should be seen as providing good working syntheses rather than definitive conclusions.

The limitations of secondary data as the major instrument have meant that the study cannot be used to test varying hypotheses on the impact of structural adjustment on different kinds of households. For example, there is a lack of published data on female-headed households of the type that would allow us to compare experiences with male-headed households. The data on credit from state agencies are not differentiated by sex, the gender-lens being relatively new to many areas of economic and social administration.

3. Significance of the Study

The non-explicit treatment of gender in the policy planning process has helped to create and maintain the "invisibility" of women as key contributors to and as beneficiaries of public policy. To remove this invisibility, it is necessary to put the spotlight on women as they live in society - shaped by class, race, age and rural/urban differentiation. The multiple and complex roles of women in society need to be publicly explicated. Also, it is important to locate thee roles in the institutional settings where women are asked to contribute and in which the outcomes of policy measures have unique effects on women as a social category. In this regard, matters related specifically to economic management, political management and social policy administration have definite implications for women in the society. This is due to the fact that they are central to economic activity at the institutional and domestic levels. They are also the main purveyors of the culture, and first line of defence against the shocks of downward adjustment in quality-of-life provisions made by the state.

The study is important in that it seeks to reveal how much structural adjustment needs to be gender-sensitive. In view of this, it points to the need for appropriate methodologies in economic management and social policy planning that would explicitly take account of the variable of gender in the development process.

4. Framework for the Analysis

The findings of the study have been centred round the critical indicators of women's role and status in society as a whole. These indicators, as identified by Moser, are used here in the following ways:

(i) to show how access to productive resources and income has led to a focus on equality of job opportunity and labour-force impact on a gender basis. This is done in the context of the general state of the economy under conditions of structural adjustment and efforts at transformation; and

(ii) to demonstrate that the women's marital status provides a basis for determining the nature of the domestic household and the community which serve as the settings in which household economic management and family-care activities take place.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. The Decline of the Economy

Table 1 presents changes in GDP for the period 1984-88. (The data for 1988 are provisional estimates.) The decline in the economy which started in 1982/83 continued up to 1988, except that there might have been a slowing of the rate of decline in 1988. The agricultural sector is the only one to have recorded consistent growth over the period, even though it was surpassed by electricity and water in three of the five years. The performance of the latter sector is possibly due to rationalisation, and to the application of higher user charges in assessing its contribution to national output.

TABLE 1 : GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT, 1984-88
Annual Percentage Changes

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
GDP	-5.9	-4.4	-3.3	-7.3	-4.0
Petroleum	4.7	7.4	-4.0	-8.2	-6.2
Non-petroleum	-8.7	-8.0	-3.6	-7.9	-3.4
Non-petroleum (econ.goods)	-12.4	-15.5	-3.4	-5.3	2.8
Agriculture	0.3	6.0	3.0	5.0	4.7
Manufacturing	-4.9	-17.1	8.2	-6.9	0.0
Construction	-19.5	-20.5	-14.2	-8.8	4.8
Electricity and water	3.1	0.9	9.1	5.5	-0.9
Non-petroleum (econ.services.)	-6.8	-4.5	-3.7	-9.0	-6.0
Distribution[1]	-22.4	-12.4	-9.9	-22.9	-9.5
Tourism	-21.3	-13.7	-3.3	-0.9	-1.8
Transportation[2]	7.4	4.0	0.1	-2.7	-2.7
Finance[3]	-15.0	-9.2	-11.7	-15.3	-8.1
Government	6.0	-1.2	2.5	-5.6	-7.9
All other services	1.6	-0.5	-0.2	1.1	-1.0

[1] Also includes restaurants
[2] Includes storage and communication
[3] Includes insurance and real estate

Source: Central Statistical Office

2. Impact on the Labour Force

Table 2 presents sectoral data from 1964 to 1988, on changes in the labour market, the proportion of that labour that is female, and rates of unemployment among women and in total within the sector. Almost a quarter of a century earlier, the agriculture sector - which formally also encompasses forestry, hunting and fishing - was the largest single employer, absorbing 23 per cent of the labour force. This shows that over the years, there has been distinct tendency for unemployment among women consistently to exceed the overall unemployment rate in the labour force. However it was only the second largest employer of women, being led by the services sector where women employed outnumbered men. As the female agriculture sector declined in importance in the 1970s, the percentage of the labour force dropped from 31 per cent in 1964 to 24 per cent in 1975. The sector continued to decline in terms of employment creation up until the mid-1980s when the fall in oil prices impacted on government revenues and triggered a shift in the distribution of employment among all sectors of the economy.

A major problem in oil exporting countries has been an inability to transform their economies even when resources are available for diversification. This has been described as the 'OPEC disease', or the 'Dutch disease', after Holland's first experience of de-industrialisation following the exploitation of natural gas. Pollard (1985) has shown, in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, how this phenomenon affected the agriculture sector in particular, as domestic supplies became uncompetitive with imported food.

TABLE 2 : SELECTED LABOUR FORCE DATA,
1964-81 (selected years)

	December 1964			December 1968			December 1975			December 1981		
	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]
Agriculture forestry/hunting and fishing	77,300	31	5(7)	73,200	29	4(8)	50,500	24	6(8)	35,700	29	7(5)
Mining/quarrying and manufacturing	64,800	19	18(11)	61,900	24	16(14)	75,700	20	11(11)	74,700	24	9(7)
Construction (including gas, electricity and water)	36,600	4	37(20)	52,700	6	38(25)	60,000	11	45(24)	109,700	15	38(17)
Commerce	45,900	38	10(9)	50,400	34	8(8)	67,300	42	9(6)	78,500	52	6(5)
Transportation and communication	24,100	7	15(10)	24,600	7	14(10)	28,900	8	4(7)	33,800	12	14(7)
Services	73,300	56	16(12)	86,800	59	15(12)	85,500	41	10(8)	95,800	46	9(6)
Never worked	11,800	54		10,600	55		15,100	56		7,000	67	
Labour Force	333,900	31	18(14)	360,900	32	17(15)	386,100	28	19(15)	438,700	34	15(10)

	December 1964			December 1968			December 1975			December 1981		
	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]	Labour Force	% Female	% Female Unemployed[1]
Agriculture forestry/hunting and fishing	35,200	23	7(5)	44,500	24	2(4)	47,000	18	13(10)	48,500	22	1(5)
Mining/quarrying and manufacturing	72,800	26	9(7)	66,400	27	11(11)	66,600	21	23(22)	70,300	28	31(20)
Construction (including gas, electricity and water)	106,300	14	41(20)	103,800	11	44(29)	91,000	11	73(46)	92,000	16	62(43)
Commerce	99,000	49	8(7)	108,600	54	13(12)	108,200	56	26(20)	101,000	52	27(21)
Transportation and Communication	32,700	12	4(3)	30,000	14	15(7)	33,100	16	9(9)	30,100	13	10(11)
Services	101,600	45	10(6)	110,700	44	11(10)	134,100	48	19(17)	135,700	46	20(17)
Never Worked	7,400	70		10,200	61							
Labour Force	456,400	33	15(11)	475,100	33	17(16)	480,600	34	25(23)	477,500	34	26(22)

[1] Figures in brackets are national unemployment rates for the sector.
[2] Includes "not stated". (Not indicated in tables?)

Source : Central Statistical Office, Continuous Sample Survey of the Population, various issues.

Moreover, employment in government work relief programmes, which carried higher wages than most sectors relative to the labour commitment required, reduced the supply of manpower available to the more demanding tasks in agriculture. Auty and Gelb (1986) have examined the profound problems created for the wider economy as the quantum of revenue enabled massive government expenditure and gave rise to numerous and unsustainable inefficiencies in the domestic economy. These presaged enormous difficulties when oil prices declined. Seers (1964 and 1978) too had detailed the implications of booming conditions for smaller oil exporters.

Significant among these difficulties was the collapse in employment which had been directly linked to government expenditure. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the infrastructural activity financed by government and undertaken by private construction firms as well as by the government itself was responsible for much of the increase in employment in the construction industry directly, and indirectly in other sectors having regard to the multiplier effect of a relatively labour-intensive sector. The collapse in government revenue led to an immediate cut-back or postponement of projects and to a decrease even in basic maintenance. On the other hand, since there was less retrenchment in the public sector than in the private sector, the public sector share in employment increased.

Trinidad and Tobago proved to be no exception to countries with the 'OPEC disease' and as oil revenues plummeted, there was an increase in unemployment generally, from about 10 per cent in the early 1980s to 25 per cent in 1987. As the sector most capable of relying on domestic resource endowments and of generating output to satisfy domestic demand, the agricultural sector contributed to employment growth. But even so, the female percentage of the sector's labour force continued to decline, to 18 per cent at the end of 1987.

On the other hand, it is well known that rural women among the Indian community are engaged in a high degree of home production, much of which is for sale. Thus, while their husbands may be registered as own-account farmers, the women's activities may be unrecorded or under-recorded. But their contribution is nevertheless substantial, particularly where the male is engaged in other formal sector activity and leaves the tending of the agricultural enterprise to his wife (Harry, 1980). Hand craft activity by women may be subject to a similar under-recording but there is visual evidence of an increase in their involvement.

Another interesting feature is the participation of women in the construction industry, which in the present context includes electricity and water supply. The construction industry, as in many other countries, has been considered the natural preserve of men. In the 1960s a mere 4-6 per cent of the labour force was female. The boom that took place in construction, deriving from the expansion of the social and economic infrastructure and from the Government's attempts at economic diversification through setting up heavy and light industries, created a massive demand for labour and some of the traditional barriers to the employment of women were substantially eroded. Training through established state institutions (technical and vocational institutes, and the National Training Board), opened up opportunities for women, with the result that, in the fastest growing sector of employment during the boom years, the percentage of the work-force that was female increased more than three-fold on the 1964 figure.

It is noteworthy, however, that the female component continued to experience difficulty, possibly because of the residual status ascribed to women in the construction work force. Thus, women in the construction industry always had inordinately higher rates of unemployment as compared to men. In 1981, the unemployment rate for women in the construction industry was 38 per cent, as compared to a national average for the sector of 17 per cent. By the end of 1987, when the downturn was already severe, the unemployment rate for women in the sector was some 73 per cent as compared to the national average of 46 per cent. In other words, while the downturn had seriously affected the entire construction work-force, the impact was most severe on the female work-force.

The obverse of the decline in the number of jobs provided by established employers has been the growing self employment in the sectors where self employment is practicable. In this regard, it is useful to examine the growth of the commerce and services sectors, between 1964 and 1981. These sectors grew respectively by 71 per cent and 31 per cent as compared to an overall labour force growth of 31 per cent and of almost 20.0 per cent for the construction workforce. This growth in the commerce and services sectors reflected an increase in demand for these activities with the expansion of consumer demand in distributive trades, retailing and in personal and community services. With the subsequent downturn, the evidence of increases in employment in these sectors has had less to do with a net generation of jobs than with a change in the employment market, as self employment and shared employment replaced more productive jobs. Trinidad and Tobago witnessed in five short years, from 1982, a massive increase in informal sector activities, with large numbers of people engaged in the small-scale retailing characteristic of many other Third World countries - hawking of newspapers, lottery tickets, and other forms of street vending.

The dominance of women in commerce and services underlines the fact that women workers have been forced to seek relief from unemployment by engaging in what amounts to job-sharing in sectors where ease of market entry affords the opportunity of eking out income probably over very long hours, and also involving long periods of inactivity, for low rates of remuneration. Table 1 showed the large fall that took place in the amount of GDP contributed by the services sector. If that was the sector with the largest increase in employment, particularly for women workers, at the same time that it was experiencing a major decrease in output, then job-sharing and under-employment would obviously have been significant factors. Additionally, the slump in economic activity in this area would mean the reduction of earning power by women who have a large participation rate in the sector. When one considers that the women involved are low-earners and that one-third of them are single heads of household, it becomes clear that the drop in earnings creates a crisis of domestic household management for the women concerned.

Another area which has experienced a decline in employment is the manufacturing, quarrying and mining sector. The downward changes in so far as they relate to women are almost entirely in the manufacturing sub-sector, given the general absence of women from mining and quarrying. The decline in demand generally has hurt the manufacturing sector which was built on an import-substitution regime. The high level of protection of this sector has made it incapable of exporting and the collapse of domestic demand had profound implications for the labour force. The Garment industry and some of the light assembly industries are cases in point.

Table 3 shows changes in the sex employment patterns. Between 1965 and 1973, substantial improvement took place in women's participation in the public sector. In 1965 only 15 per cent of females employed in the labour market were in the public sector; by 1973, the proportion had climbed to 26 per cent; growing to 33 per cent in 1979, to 35 per cent in 1983 and to 35.2 per cent in the first quarter of 1987. Overall there has been a tendency toward parity in the participation of men and women in government employment, in contrast to the situation that prevailed in the rest of the job market. It is known that mobility has been easier for women in the public service and public sector generally than in the private sector. The data, however, mask the fact that women tend to be concentrated in certain fields and relatively sparse in others, nursing, teaching and clerical jobs, for example, are heavily biased toward females, but, their entry into the executive management class in the public sector has been constrained, as shown by Williams and Hewitt (1988).

Given the possibility of cut-backs in public service employment as part of the ongoing stabilisation and adjustment programme, the clerical establishment would be likely to be most seriously affected, with obvious implications for the employment of women who dominate the lower and middle management levels - thus there might well be some reversal in the gains achieved over the years. While data are not readily available fully to substantiate the point, it is known that the freezing of posts and the elimination of a number of temporary posts in the public service already put into effect have had their greatest impact on clerical positions and therefore on women.

Another feature of Table 3 is the continuing decline of the percentage of female workers who are unpaid workers. Some 19 per cent of the female workforce in 1965 were in this category; the figure was almost halved by 1985 and was 8.8 per cent at the first quarter of 1987, displaying, at least until then, a growing convergence with the percentage for males. The decline of the economy, and the structural adjustment measures in place might hold adverse implications for the disposition of women over their labour power, and could conceivably lead to a reversal in the positive trend established over the last two decades.

Table 4 presents the age-specific labour force part cipation rates by sex for selected years from 1965 to 1987. While participation rates have generally remained stable for the entire labour force, in the range 59-63 per cent of the adult population, the period witnessed some changes between the sexes, and particularly within the female component. Among the 15-19 age group, there was a decline in participation rates from the levels of the 1960s. With the expansion in educational facilities at the secondary level, and with co-educational junior secondary and senior comprehensive schools catering for the age group 11-17+, fewer young women would have sought to enter the labour market before their late teens (indeed evidence from other sources (Henry, et al. 1988) suggests that the participation of girls exceeded that of boys at the secondary educational level). The increase in the participation rates for the age groups between 20 and 44 years, during the 1970s and early 1980s would have been attributable not only to the buoyant economic condition and easy availability of jobs, but also to the effects of modernisation and the increasing desire of women to put to use in the "formal" economy the improved education and training to which they had had access.

TABLE 3 - PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND SEX, 1965-87 (SELECTED YEARS)

	1965			1973			1975			1979			1983			1985			1987(1)		
	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female
Paid Employees:																					
(i) Govt.	21	24	15	31	33	26	32	35	27	36	37	33	38	39	35	35	36	33	38.2	39.7	35.2
(ii) Other	49	52	43	45	45	45	44	42	48	44	43	46	41	40	44	38	37	41	36.0[1]	33.8[1]	40.7[1]
Unpaid Workers	10	6	19	7	5	12	7	6	9	4	3	8	4	3	7	6	4	10	5.1	3.3	8.8
Self employed:																					
(i) Employers	4	5	1	2	3	1	3	3	1	3	4	1	3	3	1	3	4	1	3.2	4.0	1.7
(ii) Own account workers	16	13	21	15	14	16	14	14	15	12	13	11	14	15	13	18	19	15	17.4	19.2	13.6

[1] Includes learners and apprentices.

Source: Central Statistical Office, Continuous Sample Survey of Population (various issues).

TABLE 4 - AGE-SPECIFIC LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX, 1965-85 (SELECTED YEARS)

Age Group	1965			1973			1978			1981			1983			1985		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
15-19	44	62	28	43	60	25	40	56	23	41	58	24	39	57	23	41	56	24
20-24	70	96	46	71	93	51	75	95	53	72	92	51	71	93	52	72	92	51
25-34	70	96	46	71	96	42	73	96	47	73	98	49	73	97	50	74	95	53
35-44	73	98	48	70	98	42	72	98	47	72	97	47	75	96	52	72	97	48
45-54	74	91	50	70	96	42	69	95	44	66	95	38	68	96	41	68	94	41
55-59	69	94	43	69	94	39	66	38	38	62	90	36	62	91	34	59	86	34
60-64	53	72	33	54	78	24	51	81	23	48	76	23	48	76	17	43	61	24
65+	30	50	16	26	41	13	18	30	8	19	32	8	15	24	7	15	26	6
All age groups	63	87	40	61	84	36	60	82	38	60	82	38	61	83	39	60	81	40

Source: Central Statistical Office, Continuous Sample Survey of the Population, various issues.

On the other hand, the fact that the increase in the participation rate for those groups, and even for the 45-54 age group since the mid-1970s, took place concurrently with a decline in the overall participation rate suggests that there has been an element of 'added-worker' effect among women in the prime age group 20-54. This was in addition to such factors as modernisation and the increasing independence of women. Thus, as their men became unemployed or experienced the 'discouraged worker effect' and withdrew from the labour market, women sought out jobs or engaged in self-employment in order to maintain a flow of income to the household. Obviously, in single female-headed households, the women had little choice.

3. Equality of Opportunity for Women

A career opportunity can be measured in terms of the following:

(i) provisions for identifying, on a personal basis, areas of talents and skills;

(ii) access to education and training, particularly at the secondary and tertiary levels of the formal and non-formal education systems;

(iii) appropriate curriculum channels, unfettered by considerations of gender, class, race and age;

(iv) the existence of equity in job availability and placement; and

(v) remuneration and career path progress on the basis of merit.

Access to jobs

An increasing number of women are entering the labour market in the developed world and Trinidad and Tobago has experienced a similar trend. By 1980, for example, 51 per cent of American women were employed full-time outside the home (Coleman, Wallston, Calway-Fagen, 1980). In Canada, from 1962 to 1982 the percentage of women in the labour market rose from 27.2 to 41.2 per cent (Ontario Women's Directorate 1985). In Trinidad and Tobago, the 1980 Census revealed that 28.7 per cent of those employed were women. The Census also showed that while women were fairly well represented in the professional, technical, administrative, clerical and sales categories of jobs, they were under represented in manufacturing, construction, transport and agriculture. It is important to note that the growing equality in opportunity for education and training did not fully eliminate the disparities which continued to exist in job access and compensation during the boom years 1974-82. These disparities will become even more pronounced as the state and community find it increasingly difficult to continue with affirmative action programmes for recruitment, selection and placement, particularly in the public sector.

Table 6, derived from the Continuous Sample Survey of the Population Labour Force, has a higher level of aggregation than Table 5, but lends support to the discussion above from a longitudinal perspective. It shows that women increased their presence in the professional and technical categories as well as in the administrative, executive, managerial and clerical areas. On the other hand, their representation in construction declined thus suggesting they were among the first to be fired as that sector ran into early difficulties with the downturn in the economy.

TABLE 5 : PERSONS EMPLOYED IN A GIVEN WEEK BY SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUP, 1980

	Males		Females	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Professionals, technicians, and architects, engineers and related technicians	5,757	2.33	336	0.34
Medical, dental, veterinary and related professions	1,714	0.69	3,750	3.80
Other professional, technical and related staff	12,308	4.98	12,518	12.69
Administrative and managerial staff	5,081	2.05	843	0.85
Clerical and related workers	20,402	8.25	29,031	29.44
Sales workers	15,332	6.20	12,071	12.24
Service workers	21,783	8.81	18,568	18.83
Farmers, loggers, fishermen and hunters	24,058	9.73	4,496	4.56
Craftsmen and tradesmen	17,059	6.90	6,145	6.23
Construction workers	22,445	9.08	153	0.16
Transport and equipment operators	18,100	7.32	147	0.15
Other production and related workers including labourers	78,840	31.88	9,075	9.20
Not stated/not elsewhere classified	4,398	1.78	1,491	1.51
All occupational groups	247,277	100.00	98,624	100.00

Source: Central Statistical Office, Census of Population, 1980.

Any projection of the future of the stabilisation and adjustment programmes would have to take account of the implications deriving from these data. Since certain sectors are still seen as the preserve of men, women are going to be forced into a highly bifurcated system of labour force participation. Either they qualify for and enter into professional, technical, administrative, managerial and other high-level occupations or they are reduced to the residual category of low-level workers participating in informal sector activity or in the very specifically female oriented manufacturing industries that may be set up in the Export-Processing Zones now being established, where low wage and unskilled labour will predominate. The apparent dominance of women in the higher levels may have not a little to do with the far more constrained access to other kinds of jobs that are seen as the preserve of men. The latter may have been more affected by the adjustment measures in force which may thus exacerbate such inequitable labour market tendencies.

While, women were reasonably well represented in the professional, administrative/managerial and clerical categories, their distribution within these categories is interesting. For example, of the 6,093 persons employed

TABLE 6 : EMPLOYED WORKFORCE BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY
AND PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE EMPLOYEES, 1980-86

	1980		1982		1984		1986	
	Total	% Females	Total	% Females	Total	% Females	Total	% Females
Professional and technical worker	35,100	42.5	39,700	47.9	34,400	50.9	39,600	50.5
Administrative, executive, managerial and clerical worker	54,400	57.7	60,000	59.3	58,700	59.5	57,000	64.6
Commercial, financial and insurance worker	36,000	52.8	40,900	53.5	50,200	52.0	44,500	47.9
Farmer, fisherman, hunter, logger and forest worker	33,400	25.8	29,900	22.4	36,300	27.0	41,700	21.1
Craftsman, production process worker	80,000	16.1	86,600	13.6	87,000	13.9	77,500	14.7
Worker in transport and communications	27,600	6.9	26,100	7.7	29,900	6.0	25,900	8.5
Worker in construction and labourer	74,100	9.0	69,200	11.6	58,700	8.3	51,100	5.7
Service worker	45,600	48.9	51,500	44.5	47,700	47.4	50,700	46.4
Not stated	1,600	12.5	400	25.0	-	-	-	-
Total	387,900	30.0	404,400	31.6	402,900	32.2	388,000	32.7

Note: Table relates to data at year end.
Source: Central Statistical Office, Continuous Sample Survey of the Population, various issues.

in architecture, engineering and related areas, only 5.5 per cent (336) were women. The picture in medicine, dentistry, veterinary science was very different, these women constituting about 68.8% of these workers. In the other professional, technical and related areas the distribution of the sexes was more or less even. Much unevenness existed in the administrative/managerial category women accounting only 14.2 per cent of the total (843 out of 5,924), much less than their representation in the labour force. Employment opportunities and careers in manufacturing, construction, and transport were scarce, and in 1980, only 4,496 of the 28,554 workers in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing and hunting were women; 6,145 of the 23,204 craftsmen and tradesmen in 1980 were women, while in construction, only 153 out of 22,598 workers were women.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

A CSO study entitled Changes in the Status of Women 1900 - 1977, noted that over the period 1964-1976, the female student population had increased appreciably. Nonetheless, as a group, female graduates had yet to attain equality of status with their male counterparts. This inequality was exacerbated by the fields of study females generally pursued in comparison with those taken up by males.

Table 7 shows the percentage of males and females registered in first degree courses in the various faculties for 1980/81, 1981/2 and 1982/83. For all three years, the total percentage of male registrants was higher than that of females, but the difference grew smaller each year. The number of men was far greater than that of women for the three-year period in engineering and medicine. The gap was widest in the former discipline but there were signs of a reduction in the disparity. However, women far outnumbered the men in the Faculty of Arts and General Studies. It is to be noted, also that men outnumbered women in the Faculty of Natural Sciences for the same period, but the difference was dramatically reduced in the last two years. When the number of female students rose to 43.5 per cent and 41.9 per cent. The differences were relatively small with the Faculties of Law, Agriculture and Social Sciences.

In an exhaustive research report for the National Training Board Lewis (1985), dealt with the issue of equality of career opportunities for the graduates from eight randomly selected Senior Comprehensive Schools graduating in 1982. Some of the major findings and conclusions were: (i) that while vocational graduates of both sexes were more likely to find employment than non-vocational graduates, vocational male graduates were more likely to find jobs than their female counterparts and this was the case in every job sector; (ii) that compared with female graduates, vocational male graduates took a shorter time to get jobs and were five times more likely to be self-employment; female graduates had the highest unemployment rate (55 per cent); and (iii) 51.9 per cent of male vocational graduates and 40 per cent of the females found work related to their training.

The study showed conclusively that there was no evidence that the males were better trained than the females. Yet qualifications requirements were more rigidly applied and wage rates significantly lower in respect of women. Lewis also noted the structures that still beset the absorption of women with specific training in the vocational and technical areas: "For the comprehensive female, curicula cannot override gender: their position in the labour market is in a sense predestined. This is, of course, irrational and

Table 7 : PERCENTAGES OF MALE AND FEMALE REGISTRANTS

IN FULL-TIME DEGREE COURSES BY FACULTY, 1980/81-1982/83

Faculty	1980/81		1981/82		1982/83	
	% Males	% Females	% Males	% Female	% Males	% Females
Arts and general studies	31.6	63.9	34.4	65.6	26.4	73.6
Social sciences	51.8	48.2	48.7	51.3	46.5	53.5
Law	47.4	52.6	44.4	55.6	42.3	57.7
Education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Natural sciences	70.3	29.7	56.5	43.5	58.1	41.9
Medicine	78.2	21.8	73.3	26.7	68.6	31.4
Agriculture	56	44	50.9	49.1	54.1	45.9
Engineering	83.9	16.1	82.5	17.5	79.9	20.1
All faculties	56.1	43.9	54.3	45.7	53.5	46.5

totally undesirable, but a sobering reminder that tradition and preferences of employers (in the private sector at least) have a lot more to do with the way jobs are given out than any contrivance of the school...." (Lewis 1985: p.27). Thus the overall picture in respect of equality of career opportunity is that women are disadvantaged in varying degrees as regards employment and remuneration. This pattern is expected to persist under the conditions of adjustment outlined by the Government.

4. Sociology of Adjustment

Domestic household management

The downturn in the economy has had and will continue to have a variable impact on individual households, not simply because of the different economic circumstances deriving from the sectors in which household members work, but also because of the different structures of households. Table 8 provides some data on the relative movement in wages and prices for production workers between 1985 and 1988. While the index of average weekly earnings rose by 9.1 per cent over the period, the cost of living rose by 28.5 per cent, thereby occasioning a substantial fall in real incomes of those employed in the formal sector. Inflation would have been specially severe on the unemployed and the underemployed, among whom women were disproportionately represented.

Trinidad and Tobago, like other Caribbean countries that have experienced slavery and indentureship, display a rich variety of family structures. Moreover, the Indian community, which was slightly larger than the African population at the last Census, retains some of the characteristics of traditional forms of family organisation which the indentured labourers brought with them in the last century. Modernisation and the assimilation of

TABLE 8 : INDEX OF AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS FOR PRODUCTION WORKERS, AND OF RETAIL PRICES, 1985-88

Qtr.	Weekly Earnings I	II	III	IV	Annual av.	Retail Prices
			(1982 = 100)			
1985	335.1	357.2	354.0	372.7	354.5	140.5
1986	360.4	363.9	361.1	362.0	361.8	151.3
1987	354.0	379.3	389.1	397.0	381.2	167.6
1988	377.0	387.7	393.2	389.6	386.9	180.6

Source: Central Statistical Office, Economic Indicators, various issues.

the wider Trinidad and Tobago culture have led to some changes and created tensions between tradition and evolving forms (Mohammed 1988). The concern of this study is the impact of adjustment on families and the extent to which women experience differential problems depending on the kind of households they live in.

Three major types of relationships between men and women are recognised in the sociological literature: formal marriage, with husband and wife legally married and living together; the common-law arrangement where man and woman cohabit but without a formal marriage; the visiting union where there is a sexual union between a man and a woman but without their living in the same household. Recognition of the different types of relationships help in understanding the patterns of economic household management. For example, there is utility in conceiving household management and decision-making in terms of the dominant action and the degree of power and influence as well as of the level of financial, material and social contribution to family care at the particular stage of the family cycle, that is, from establishment to dispersement.

To illustrate the point, both the formal and the common-law unions may be seen as having an approach to decision-making, contribution and distribution, that is influenced by the form of household headship. These forms are:

(i) joint-cooperative, where the partners (married or common-law) take responsibility for family care on the basis of economic and social equity;

(ii) joint-disjointed, where there is inequity in the contribution and distribution patterns for family care;

(iii) joint-denuded, where there is an absent partner owing to death, physical desertion or abandonment;

(iv) single-headedness, where from the very start, the head of household (usually the woman, especially in the low-income households) has total or, in some instances, almost total responsibility for family care.

In respect of (iii) and (iv), the research findings present the discussion in terms of the visiting union. According to Abdulla (1988), a survey on fertility in the late 1970s established that women in visiting unions had lower average fertility than those in cohabiting unions (whether formal marriages or common-law unions). Indian women, on the other hand, enter their first union at an earlier age and the first union is predominantly a formal one. The presence of the nuclear family within larger extended household means too that there are greater possibilities for sharing the problems of adjustment that exist among Afro-Trinidad families, where the woman in a visiting union lives with her children in a nuclear unit. Where an extended family unit exists, it is still matrifocal with a grandmother as the head of a household of adult children, some of whom have their own offspring living with them but not their mates. Of particular concern are the female-headed households, especially those with children. This is a very common phenomenon in the Afro-Caribbean community.

The loss of a job in such circumstances imposes great strain on the household, since the woman is the sole dependable breadwinner; and while the visiting mate may contribute to the upkeep of his children, consistency has always been a problem. Lacking the support of the extended family, the nuclear female-headed household is at most risk during adjustment in view of the fact that women have a higher unemployment rate than men, and are more likely to be relegated to sectors where job-sharing is the norm. Moreover, the nature of institutional support mechanisms exacerbates the situation. For example, as discussed in more detail below, day-care centres or services are neither cheap relative to the incomes that are earned in the sectors to which women must gravitate, nor are they sufficiently widespread to be readily accessible in all areas of the country.

Parental child care

The impact of the adjustment process on women can be assessed by the effect not only on them, but also on children who, in the context of Trinidad and Tobago, whether within the African, Indian or other sub-groups, fall under the residual control of their mothers. Thus an examination of data on babies and young children serves as a good proxy for the quality of life to which their mothers are exposed.

McIntosh and Francis (1988) reported on an analysis undertaken by the Ministry of Health in 1987 which showed that 6 per cent of the children under five years suffered from protein-energy malnutrition. The analysis also showed that protein-energy malnutrition was three times more likely to be found among low birthweight children and that this incidence of low birthweight was in turn associated with teenage pregnancies. According to Rennie (1988), while there was a decline in the specific fertility rate of the 15-19 year age group between 1955 and 1975, from 181 to 82 per 1000 females, the rate subsequently rose, reaching 91 per 1000 in 1981. In 1987, 17 per cent of the births at five hospitals were to teenage mothers. In Tobago a

1986 study found a high degree of acceptance and encouragement of early pregnancy and that some 76 per cent of teenage mothers were still living with their parents (Jack et al 1986). Rennie also reported an increase in live births under 2500g, the proportion reaching 13.5 per cent in 1987.

The increase in teenage pregnancies and a declining job-market, particularly for females, would surely expose many teenage mothers and their children to poverty-stricken conditions. The diagram below illustrates pictorially the situation in 1985 before the more draconian measures were taken by the Government to deal with the fiscal balance of payments and debt problems. The data behind the barcharts were derived from health centres across the country. There were obviously pockets of serious malnutrition in every county of the country. The adjustment measures imposed since then would surely have exacerbated conditions, particularly for the female single parent households.

The reduced importance of the extended family with so-called modernisation has not led to the pari passu development of alternative support institutions for the nuclear family. A good example is the slow growth of day-care centres. While middle-income households often have the resources to employ paid help within the household to supervise pre-school children, working lower-income women can seldom afford such services. There is a developing network of community-based day-care centres but their coverage is not country-wide nor are standards generally adequate.

Only in a few cases are such services available in or contiguous to industrial estates or areas where there are major concentrations of workers. The implication is that women seeking such community services are usually required to travel substantial distances and to allocate much time and money in taking and collecting their children on their way to and from work. The decline in the quality of public transport with the cutback in government transfers to the Public Transport Service Corporation also meant that lower-income working mothers have to utilise much more expensive taxis in making trips to the few widely dispersed day-care centres that do exist.

There is, however, a developing nursery school system, partly funded and supervised by the Ministry of Education. There are about 50 pre-schools in Trinidad under the direct control of the Ministry of Education and six establishments in Tobago. There are, as well, a large number of private pre-schools of varying quality. The better private nurseries are beyond the resources of lower-income mothers, and with a national total of 56 state and community supported nurseries, national coverage is again inadequate to meet the needs of lower-income working mothers. Slender budgets and the absence of a school feeding provision may deter parents - and women are most important in this area - from availing themselves of this service. There has been a reported decline in enrolment in some districts, which may be due to loss of jobs by parents and/or their inability to pay even a low fee and to provide breakfast and a packed lunch for their children attending nursery school. Both at the nursery school and the primary school there is some evidence of a withdrawal of children, postponed entry, or reduced attendance that are directly attributable to the spread of poverty.

Another area that has hardly been touched and which would afflict particularly the lower-income female-headed household, relates to the care of parents who are infirm. This problem is almost specific to the sub-nuclear Afro-Caribbean household. A woman who is the only breadwinner in her

household is often responsible not only for her own children but also for her parents, usually her mother. The higher life expectancy of women over men, and the general increase in life expectancy, raises the probability that the surviving parent will be a mother. Just as children are seen as being, in the final analysis, the responsibility of their mother, likewise the care of elderly parents is seen to reside with daughters rather than with sons. This matrifocal puts excessive financial burdens on lower-income females given that the old-age pensions received by poorer parents, which have not been increased for the last five years in spite of the increases in the cost of living, are inadequate to provide the basic necessities, let alone to allow for medication and hired help to supervise an elderly person who is no longer self-sufficient. Meanwhile day-care centres for the elderly remains merely a concept. There is as yet no development of a supporting infrastructure to protect the lower-income woman who has to combine employment with care of the old and infirm. There are indeed homes for the aged, but they are few in number, receive only a little financial support from the Government, are run by voluntary organisations and religious bodies, and do not exist in numbers adequate to the needs of the lower-income groups.

Old age pensions

Old age pensions are paid to persons over the age of 65 who can prove an inability to maintain themselves otherwise. The amount paid to each person is $275.00. This figure has remained constant for at least four years in spite of increases in the cost of living. Old age pensioners are also entitled to passes which allow them to free travel on the Public Transport Bus Service. As at the first quarter of 1988, there were 57,354 old age pensioners in receipt of this benefit, according to estimates from the Ministry responsible for Social Welfare. The population over the age of 65 years was estimated by the Central Statistical Office to be 75,200 for the first quarter of 1988, 44.7 per cent of whom were males; labour force participation rates were 23.5 per cent or males and 8.4 per cent for females. While no data are available on the sex distribution of old age pensioners, it is highly likely that women, given their higher life expectancy, would predominate, especially since they are more likely as well to be outside the labour market and therefore to qualify more easily for the grant or transfer payment.

The fact that the grant has not been reduced in nominal terms, even though other kinds of expenditures have been cut, may be seen in positive terms as the structural adjustment measures impact across different groups in society. At the very least, there seems to be some degree of protection for the aged, and particularly for older women. On the other hand, given the sociology of the family structure, there may be households where an old age pension is the only income, as joblessness and lack of savings afflicts others who have little flexibility in adjusting. In those circumstances the older (female) relative may be required to share an already inadequate income. Moreover, the elimination in fiscal year 1989 of the facility of deeds of covenants to tax-payers as an allowable tax deduction, except those made to registered charitable organisations, would have had some impact on a number of older people who used to be beneficiaries, many of whom would be women. It is known that the deed of covenant was sometimes used as a "tax-dodge" but there would have been a number of cases where older people, or particularly older women, benefited directly from the arrangement. The revenue-raising strategy consequent on the stabilisation and structural adjustment programme would indirectly hurt the previous beneficiaries, and the absence of any increase in

old age pensions implies that as a group, they would have suffered a fall even in their nominal income and a steeper one in their real income because of increases in the cost of living.

Social assistance

There is a procedure for allocating social assistance to household that are indigent. The criteria are quite exacting and the general policy is that adult males under retirement age receive social assistance for their families and themselves only if they are in some way incapacitated. In other words, there are no welfare payments to protect households from the unemployment of a male head of household. Women do however qualify, and tend to be the major beneficiaries on behalf of themselves and their children. But they are usually required to prove abandonment and desertion by their husbands or partners and, as a result of this, an inability to seek employment because of the number and age of their children. But in order to qualify for social assistance, a woman has to prove that she had sought and failed to get maintenance payments from her mate through the court. The increase in unemployment stemming from the economic decline and the cutback in public expenditure has put many people out of work. It means that more women may need to seek social assistance, even under the very restrictive qualifying conditions, simply to survive. Yet the fact that in the 1989 budget, the Government indicated its inability to increase provision in this area implies that a much smaller than those requiring such assistance actually receive it.

V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of lack of gender sensitivity in economic policies is not unrelated to the failure in development policy generally to accord pride of place to equity. For a brief period in the 1970s, especially after the emergence of basic needs strategies promoted by the International Labour Organisation, development literature argued for marrying the objectives of equity and economic growth. However, because of the persistent economic difficulties of that period and the failure to achieve growth where equity became an overriding consideration, the focus was soon redirected. The current adage, implicit in structural adjustment measures, is more akin to "grow now and redistribute later". It is therefore not strange that gender equity tends to come much lower down the developmental hierarchy. The experience with stabilisation through the IMF has been extensive enough for its impact to be properly understood and analysed. The verdict seems to suggest that while the economic measures may serve to jolt an economy out of stagnation, the social costs, which have been largely ignored, are not insignificant and may fetter a society's development far into the future. For example, falling nutritional standards because of the removal of subsidies on basic items can have a deleterious effect for one or two generations on the 'quality' of the work force and on the population at large. Equity can no longer be summarily dismissed, or postponed as deserving of consideration only in the medium and long run.

1. Key Elements of a Gender-Equity Policy

The achievement of gender equity, therefore, given the special circumstances of women, requires policies which at every stage of their implementation ensure that the system evolves positively to guarantee continuing reduction in the barriers that beset women. Some of the more important elements are enumerated hereunder.

Training

Even when the economy declines, or when structural adjustment measures lead to drastic sectoral shifts in the pattern of output, resources should be so distributed that women have an equitable opportunity of securing training for areas from which they have traditionally been excluded. There are admittedly costs attached to this guideline. For example, vocational and technical training programmes would require the provision of child-care facilities such that women with young children or babies can embark on or continue training that prepares them for some of the more dynamic areas or sectors of the economy. The principle would apply to the reabsorption of teenagers in the secondary school system on those occasions where early pregnancy requires withdrawal from school.

The development of flexible training and/or educational programmes that facilitate easy re-entry would allow more women to prepare for a return to the labour market when they elect to withdraw from it during childbearing or pre-teenage development of their children.

One critical area where action is badly needed relates to training for informal sector activities. There is need for modules in business development that allow women who have to engage in part-time activities as they attempt to accommodate child-bearing and child-rearing with labour force participation. They need the kind of preparation that will enable them to effect a business evaluation of their efforts in order to maximise the benefits from them. There is need for assistance in time-management, budgeting etc., so that as they organise resources and their labour power to provide services or products, they are fully apprised of the value of their output. There is also the question of upgrading skills for occupations which are amenable to flexible participation but which, because they are seen as the preserve of women, do not normally engage the attention of formal training institutions and/or programmes, e.g. the preparation of meals, and snacks for sale by itinerant pedlars and hawkers. Unless the household has the resources to prepare a woman to produce non-restaurant meals like "doubles", "roti", "bake and saltfish" etc., or to sell coconuts for immediate consumption from road-side stands and stalls, there are few locations where she can acquire the relevant skills. There is need to mount a range of non-traditional short and intensive courses that assist women in particular in respect of the so-called informal sector activities which, if better organised, could indeed lend themselves to greater formalisation and to such status improvement that they offer highly productive employment and substantial income to both sexes.

Credit and business development support

In this regard, the provision of credit to small-scale enterprises needs to be explored. Lower-income women usually lack the collateral required for bank credit, or even for the cheaper credit offered by such institutions as the Industrial Development Corporation and the Development Finance Corporation. In the case of the former, the emphasis is on credit for export-oriented activity even where small businesses are accepted as part of the portfolio. The implication of this is that few women get access to such resources, even though in terms of ideas and initiative they may be no less entrepreneurial than the men who do secure such loans. The Government has decided to establish an institution specifically for small businesses. It is imperative therefore that a gender focus be integrated in its brief. Efficiency in credit-allocation must be gender-sensitive.

There is need for appropriate institutional support for the genuinely small-scale activity, not only by way of credit, but by the establishment of forward and backward links to and from agencies like the Export Development Corporation, and the Management Development Centre, and by the creation of institutional mechanisms such that women and as well as men can become involved in "a putting out system" and in subcontracting to larger enterprises involved in the formal sector activities, including export marketing. With regard to unsecured credit, there is an apparent need to examine some of the experiences of Bangladesh in providing credit to small-scale enterprises.

Social policy

There are a range of areas that need to be addressed in order to ensure that structural adjustment measures have a more benign impact on women and become gender sensitive. Only a few of the more important areas are enumerated here.

In respect of physical planning, it is obvious that past developments in housing have been undertaken without regard for the infrastructural services needed to support the family and to ease the burdens on women. Provision should be made in all housing development districts not only for community centres but also for day-care centres for the young and the aged. This does not imply that the state should run the required facilities. Rather, it is proposed that no housing development should be approved without provision being made for such facilities.

The severity of the economic downturn has already impacted on migration flows. Although analysis on the participation of females as against males in permanent or long stay migration is still lacking, there is need to address the issue. While some families do migrate en bloc, a substantial number of migrants are single individuals. There is therefore some probability of extended households being denuded as a spouse or partner (male or female) goes abroad, often with a view to getting established in a new country prior to sending for the rest of the household. This is particularly the case for "undocumented" migrants. Depending on the terms of their status in the new country of residence, or because of other social parameters, it may be many years before the household can be fully restored as an integrated unit (if at all). This is an area in which policy-oriented research is urgently needed.

'Family Life Education', is now part of the school-curriculum, and therefore the next generation of adults will have some formal exposure to it, although this will be limited to the issue of household establishment and management. There is need however to address the larger public in order to sensitise both men and women to the way in which the problems of household management can be shared, with due regard to the religious and cultural diversity of the country. The nature of the responsibility system in the household can be made explicit. The emphasis may need to be on the provision of information, which can help households in developing their own coping strategies in managing stress and dealing with serious economic difficulties. This would extend to such areas as meal planning and diet so that eating would at the very least be directed at the maintenance of good health. There is a dearth of organised programmes on nutrition education or information in the mass media to enable households to select foods immediately and cheaply available. Low income need not mean starvation or inadequate nutrition if a well informed selection of food can be made. Such an approach would also

serve to demedicalise health-care, and make the population more conscious of dietary needs over the life cycle. Finally, Family Life Education in the public domain also has to address the issues of financial management and investment over the household cycle, birth planning and co-operation within the household. While much of the above may seem of general relevance to the whole population, there is an underlying gender implication, since the failure to establish the appropriate mechanisms has entailed domestic destabilisation which, in the existing social structure of the family and the household in Trinidad and Tobago, has meant that women are saddled with a host of problems.

The level of social assistance and its distribution must be addressed since the increase in unemployment is bound to push more and more households below the poverty line, however this is defined. Government and academic research is currently directed at the identification of a poverty line and at computing the number of people living in poverty on the basis of a recent household budgetary survey by the Central Statistical Office. Some preliminary work suggests that over 18.5 per cent of the population lived in poverty in 1988 (Henry and Melville 1989). The results of this and continuing work should help in targeting those who have been most seriously hurt in the structural adjustment process, many of whom are likely to be single parent female-headed households. Policy should be directed in the short term at reducing the bureaucratic and legalistic hurdles that women face in gaining assistance for their families when, as so often, it is badly needed to arrest starvation and malnutrition.

2. General Recommendations : The Need for an Inter-Sectoral Approach to Public Policy

There is need to modify the present public policy emphasis on fiscal and monetary dimensions and move to a more interdisciplinary methodology that seeks to reconcile economic policy with social policy and political development considerations. Such an interdisciplinary approach to public policy would allow for a more realistic perspective on the place of social policy in the process of structural stabilisation, adjustment and transformation.

Secondly, there is need to concentrate the economic adjustment process around social policy/social development considerations. Political consensus building is imperative in providing the framework of analysis for treating the issue of social equity. In this way a viable methodology can be adopted to take care of the social issues of distribution, poverty and the vulnerability during adjustment. A social policy and a political consensus-building approach would provide an explicit framework for treating gender as an essential and self-explanatory variable in the development process, particularly during the period of structural adjustment.

Thirdly, the Government must devise and use this interdisciplinary framework for negotiations with the international lending agencies, so that the conditionalities of loan agreements can be social policy oriented, thereby allowing the opportunity for gender-aware analysis. In view of the centrality of the role of the women in managing the domestic household, the basic units of analysis for growth oriented structural adjustment should emanate from formal economic indicators as well as the non-formal/informal indicators displayed in the household and the community.

The underlying principle here is that equity, including gender equity is socially efficient, and should enjoy equal pride of place with the economic efficiency criterion established in structural adjustment programmes. Nor should gender equity be seen as pandering to women but rather as the sine qua non for the maintenance of the human resources capability and quality of the population, particularly having regard to the role that women play in the formal and informal economy for and/or in the management of the household economy. In other words, whether or not the economy is improving or in decline, policy must be directed at increasing the level of equity generally, and specifically between the genders many of the recommendations proposed above would apply whether or not the country had embraced a structural adjustment programme; however, their importance is heightened in the circumstances of a severe economic downturn.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdulah, N. "Structure of the Population: Demographic Developments in the Independence Years." In S. Ryan (ed.), Trinidad and Tobago: The Independence Experience, 1962 - 1987, Institute of Social and Economic research , U.W.I., St. Augustine, 1988.

Auty, R. and A. Gelb. "Oil Windfalls in a Small Parliamentary Democracy: Their Impact on Trinidad and Tobago. "World Development, Vol. 16, No. 9 1986.

Central Statistical Office. Continuous Sample Survey of the Population Labour Force. Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago (Various issues).

_____. Labour Force Bulletin, Vol. 16, No. 13, 1988

Girling, R., et. al. "A Preliminary Evaluation of the Panama Self-Help Women's Instruction Projects." (Mimeo) International Centre for Research on Women. Washington D.C. 1983.

Harry, Indra S. "Women in Agriculture in Trinidad." Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada, 1980.

Henry, R.M. "Jobs, Gender and Development Strategy in the Commonwealth Caribbean." In Mohammed, P., and Shepherd, C., (eds.) Gender in Caribbean Development, Women and Development Studies Project, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, 1988.

_____, Keller, C., Lewis, T., and Williams G. "Education in Selected Commonwealth Caribbean Countries." (Mimeo) U.W.I., St. Augustine, 1988

_____, and Melville, J. "Poverty Revisited: Trinidad and Tobago in the Late 1980s, "Paper read at Regional Conference on "New Directions in Caribbean Social Policy, "Faculty of Social Science. The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine March 1989.

Helleiner G.K. "Growth-Oriented Adjustment Lending: A Critical Assessment of IMF/World Bank Approaches. "(Mimeo) Toronto, May, 1988.

Hogwood, Brian W. and Gunn, Lewis A. Policy Ananlysis for the Real World Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 12-30.

Jack, N.,et. al. "A Study in Teenage Pregnancy in Tobago." (Mimeo), 1986.

Lewis, Theodore. "Labour Market Outcome of Comprehensive Education in Trinidad". (Mimeo), National Training Board, Port-of-Spain, 1985.

Mc Intosh, C.E. and J.A. Francis. "Report of the Subcommittee on Health and Nutrition to Taskforce on Food and Nutrition Policy Formulation." Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute, St. Augustine, 1988.

Ministry of Finance and Economy, Draft Medium Term Programme, 1989-1991 Government Printery, Port-of-Spain, 1988.

Ministry of Planning and Mobilisation, Draft Public Sector Investment Programme 1989-1991, Vol. III, Government Printery, Port-of-Spain, 1988.

Mohammed, P. "The Caribbean Family Revisited." In Mohammed, P., and Shepherd, C., (eds.) Gender in Caribbean Development, Women and Development Studies Project, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, 1988.

Mohammed, P. 'The Creolisation' of Indian Women in Trinidad." In S. Ryan (ed.) Trinidad and Tobago: The Independence Experience 1962-1987, ISER, U.W.I., St. Augustine, 1988.

Moser, Caroline O.N. "Housing Policy and Women: Towards a Gender Aware Approach." (Mimeo) Development Planning Unit Workshop. Paper No. 7, University College of London, 1985.

Pollard, H.J. "The Erosion of Agriculture in an Oil Economy: The Case of Export Crop Production in Trinidad. "World Development, Vol. 13, No. 7, 1985

Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson. "Letter of Intent to Mr M. Camdessus, Managing Director, International Monetary Fund. "Ministry of Finance, P.O.S ., November 16, 1988.

Rennie, Cynthia J. "Prevention of Childhood Malnutrition Through Interaction in the At-Risk Adolescent" Trinidad and Tobago." CAJANUS: The Caribbean Food and Nutrition Institute Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1988.

Seers, D. "The Mechanism of an Open Petroleum Economy." Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1964.

Seers, D. "The Life Cycle of a Petroleum Economy." Research and Development, Vol. 1, No.1, 1979.

CARICOM. "Measures for Structural Adjustment in the Member States of the Caribbean Community." (Mimeo) 1985.

Budget Speech and Taxation Measures, 1989, Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. December 1988 Trinidad and Tobago: A Programme for Policy Reform and Reversed Growth.

"Forum 1985: A World Meeting for Women," Decade Update, Caribbean Edition. March-April 1985 Issue No. 1, 1985, p. 6.

"Gender Issues in Development Cooperation,"(mimeo) Colloquium Report, AWD, 1986.

Hewitt, Linda. "The Participation of Women in the Labour Market in Trinidad and Tobago," (mimeo) Human Resource Development Conference, 1987.

National Planning Commission. Restructuring for Economic Independence, Draft Medium-Term Macro-Planning Framework, Port-of-Spain, 1988.

Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, A/conf.94/35 Copenhagen, 1980.

Staudt, Kathleen. "Gender Redistributive Policy and Practice: Threoretical Issues in Comparative Perspective," (mimeo) Paper presented at AWID Conference, April, 1987.

Williams, Gwedoline and Hewitt Linda. "Women as Managers in the State Sector of the Trinidad and Tobago Economy: A focus on Equality of Career Opportunities," CSO Research papers 1988, pp. 66-82.

Williams, Gwedoline. "The Sou-Sou Land Concept: The Makings of a Gender Aware Policy on Human Settlement in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago," (mimeo) Presented at the Regional Seminar on Women in Human Settlements (HABITAT) St. Vincent, 1988.

IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC REFORMS FOR WOMEN IN ZAMBIA: THE CASE OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME 1983-87

Alison Evans
University of Sussex

March 1989

IMPLICATIONS FOR ECONOMIC REFORMS FOR WOMEN IN ZAMBIA: THE CASE OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM, 1983-87

		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	327
II.	ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND REFORM PROGRAMME	327
III.	THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFORMS IN URBAN ZAMBIA	331
	1. Employment and Incomes	331
	2. Social Expenditure	340
	3. Prices and Consumption	344
IV.	THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFORMS IN RURAL ZAMBIA	349
	1. Agricultural Production	349
	2. Household Level Implications	352
	3. Rural Health Provision	355
V.	CONCLUSIONS	356
VI.	RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS ON DATA COLLECTION	358

IMPLICATIONS FOR ECONOMIC REFORMS FOR WOMEN IN ZAMBIA:
THE CASE OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM, 1983-87 (cont)

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
1.	Population and Per Capita GDP and Income 1970-85	328
2.	Formal and Informal Sector Employment (excluding Non-Zambians) 1970-86	332
3.	Distribution of Lusaka Urban Working Population by Sector and Gender, 1985	333
4.	Changes in Central Government Finances, 1974-85	333
5.	Lusaka Urban Occupational Structure and Gender Distribution	334
6.	Average Monthly Earnings of Paid Employees in Urban Lusaka, 1983 and 1985	337
7.	Indices of Salaries in the Public Sector: General Administration Scale, Real Terms, 1979-86	337
8.	Employment Status in Lusaka Urban Working Population by Gender, 1985	339
9.	Malnutrition in Children Aged 0-14: Hospital Admissions and Deaths, 1973-87	341
10.	Literacy Rates by Gender, 1969 and 1980 (Zambians aged 15 years +)	343
11.	Girls Enrolled in Secondary Schools (Selected Provinces) 1975 and 1980	343
12.	Urban Consumer Price Index, 1980-87	344
13.	Average Urban Retail Price Index, Selected Goods Deflated by Low-Income Food Items CPI, 1977-87	345
14.	Survival Strategies used by Different Types of Households: Responses in a Sample Survey, 1986	346
15.	Monthly Expenditure and Benefits for Different Income Groups, 1980	348
16.	Average Incomes of the Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Sectors, 1965-85	350
17.	Index of Agricultural Producer Prices in Real Terms, 1965-88	351
18.	Area, Production and Sales of Selected Commodities, 1985/86-87/88	351
19.	Urban and Rural Consumer Price Index, May 1986	352
20.	Annual Allocations for Health Expenditure, 1980-82	355
NOTES		359

I. INTRODUCTION

Economic adjustment refers to the process of responding to disequilibrium in the economy, particularly to deficits in a country's balance of payments. Short-term adjustment or stabilisation policies focus on the demand side of the economy, whereas longer-term or 'structural adjustment' policies emphasise supply factors and the need for fundamental changes in the structure of the economy. Stabilisation and adjustment policies, largely under the auspices of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, have dominated macro-economic policy-making in many developing countries in the last decade. The effects of such policies on social and economic conditions and, more recently, on specific social groups such as women and children, are now under scrutiny in many of these countries. Generally, however, it has proved difficult to establish the causal links between macro-economic adjustment policies and changes in micro-economic and social conditions.

Examining the implications of economic 'adjustment' in Zambia presents three major difficulties. First, whether the economic reform programme that Zambia introduced after 1983 qualifies as structural adjustment is debatable, for though Zambia was given financial pledges from the World Bank and other donors for a comprehensive programme of reform and sectoral rehabilitation, it did not receive a formal World Bank Structural Adjustment Loan (SAL). Thus, while the main emphasis of the Zambian programme has been on economic restructuring, the programme is not strictly comparable with those under the conventional World Bank view of structural adjustment. Secondly, because the period of intensive policy reform in Zambia (1983-87) was preceded by a period of macro-economic stabilisation, it is virtually impossible to distinguish what the effects of specific 'adjustment' policies have been. Thirdly, data problems preclude any conclusive statements about the distributional implications of the economic reforms for women in Zambia. In particular, data are lacking on the implications of the policy changes for social production, which includes women's domestic, unpaid labour-time in the reproduction and maintenance of labour power, child care and socialisation.

In spite of these difficulties, this study aims to examine the implications of the economic reforms for the labour and resources of women in Zambia, specifically looking at the implications for their role within the spheres of economic and social production, their control over intra-household resources, and their access to extra-household goods and services. However, because of the data problems, the analyses presented should be seen as tentative and interpreted accordingly.

II. ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND REFORM PROGRAMME

The period since Zambia's independence in 1964 has been marked by dramatic changes in the country's economic fortunes. The economy grew rapidly in the 1960s and early 1970s, with rising copper exports providing the basis for buoyant government revenues and expenditures. The period was marked by intensive urbanisation and an ambitious government development programme. Until the mid-1970s, per capita incomes and per capita government expenditures were amongst the highest in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). But as Table 1 shows, from the mid-1970s real income per capita declined sharply, so that by 1985, taking into account variations in the terms of trade, it was scarcely more than half the level reached in 1970.[1]

TABLE 1: Population and Per Capita GDP and Income, 1970-85
(Kwacha. at constant 1970 prices)

	1970	1974	1975	1980	1983	1984	1985
population (000)	4,159	4,700	4,846	5,647	6,285	6,500	6,725
GDP per capita	305	314	297	251	200	191	190
GDY per capita*	305	291	217	186	166	167	163

* GDY per capita is equal to GDP adjusted for variations in the terms of trade.
Source: Colclough (1988), Table 1 p.52.

Zambia's economic difficulties are generally attributed to the exceptionally large drop in export earnings caused by the fall in the copper price. In 1984-85 the average real price of copper stood at only 40 per cent of its real value in 1970-72. The price fall was compounded by production difficulties which led to lower export volumes and lower export revenues; in 1985 the latter were approximately 30 per cent below those of 1970-72[2]. In an economy which depended upon copper for 93 per cent of its exports and nearly 40 per cent of its GDP, these events had dramatic consequences for domestic incomes, government revenues and expenditures, and the balance of payments.

To provide the background to Zambia's programme of economic reform in the 1980s, this Section summarises its economic performance and policy objectives since independence. Sections III and IV deal specifically with the distributional implications of these policies for urban and rural households and for women as producers, consumers, reproducers and carers in Zambia.

1964-74 : The Copper Boom

The decade following independence was marked by high and rising copper exports fuelled by a strong copper price. During the decade the Government set about an ambitious development programme which involved the nationalisation of a substantial proportion of mining and manufacturing activity and major investment in social services and transport infrastructure. This gave rise to a large parastatal sector and civil service which became by far the most important employer of the rapidly growing urban population[3]. The period was also marked by Government's efforts to support domestic consumption (mainly urban) through prices and incomes policy, the cornerstone being the subsidy on maize-meal. Subsidies and public sector wage increases contributed to a substantial rise in total government expenditure (TGE) and, over the decade, real per capita TGE rose by 160 per cent[4]. At this time real per capita incomes and government spending rose to some of the highest levels in SSA.

Throughout the period, copper dominated the economy and very little diversification took place. Development of rural areas was neglected. Agricultural producer prices were held below the world-price equivalent and

the internal terms of trade were maintained in favour of producers and consumers in urban areas. By the mid-1970s, the nominal and real exchange rates had been allowed to appreciate way out of line with those of Zambia's competitors.

1975-78: The Boom Comes to an End

Copper prices first began to fall in the early 1970s. By 1974-75 Zambia had experienced a 43 per cent drop in copper exports. Compounded by the dramatic rise in the price of oil in 1973-74, the fall in copper export revenues precipitated a serious economic decline in the mid-1970s. The initial policy response from the Government was minimal and the growth strategy remained largely unchanged, as did patterns of public spending which were well established by this time and difficult to curb. The proportion of public revenue contributed by the mining sector fell dramatically - from 55 per cent of the total in 1974 to 3 per cent in 1976 - and by 1975 Zambia had swung sharply into deficit on both current and capital accounts[5].

In 1976 Zambia negotiated its first Stand-By-Agreement (SBA) with the IMF. The main objective of the programme was to correct the balance of payments disequilibrium through the reduction of aggregate demand. Further policy measures included a 20 per cent devaluation and a ceiling on external borrowing from commercial creditors.

Economic performance during 1976-77 continued to deteriorate and failed to realise most of the SBA targets. Aggregate demand continued to rise and by 1977, inflation had doubled to 20 per cent per annum, imports had increased and the balance of payments had fallen further into deficit.

1978-1982: The Decline Continues

After four years, the Government recognised that the fall in the copper price was not a short-term fluctuation. In addition, the second oil price rise in 1979-80 and the continuing overvaluation of the Kwacha (in real terms) exacerbated the difficulties on the current account. Rising wage costs and a growing public sector deficit fuelled inflation. As a result, the second SBA, negotiated in 1978, contained more wide-ranging conditions to reduce macro-demand, diversify the production structure and restore equilibrium to the balance of payments. Pressure was also put on the Government to correct the bias against agricultural production by reducing the maize consumers' subsidy, increasing producer prices, promoting export crops and improving extension services.

Despite some improvement in the copper price in 1980-81, Zambia's recovery was not sustained and the trade deficit in 1981 was the highest on record. Foreign exchange shortages aggravated supply problems, and import constraints compounded problems of under-utilised productive capacity in industry and agriculture. As production declined, wage employment contracted, especially in construction, and inflation increased (fuelled by the decontrol of consumer prices at the end of 1982). During the period, average urban real incomes declined by an estimated 30 per cent[6]. Rural incomes were further depressed by the onset of a two-year drought.

1983-1987: The Reform Period

The turning point in the Government's commitment to comprehensive policy reform came in 1983. Until that time it had preferred short-term

financing over policies aimed at structural change and diversification of the economy; but in response to mounting pressures from the aid community, it agreed to introduce a far-reaching set of economic reforms under the umbrella of a third SBA. It also agreed to a programme of sectoral 'rehabilitation', to be financed by pledges from the World Bank, the African Development Bank (ADB), the European Community (EC) and other bilateral donors[7].

The main objectives of the prescribed reforms were to: reduce the Government's budget deficit; reduce the balance of payments deficit; promote sectoral rehabilitation, especially of agriculture, and encourage the growth of non-traditional exports; and liberalise markets and promote the role of the private sector. The main policy changes were: exchange rate devaluation of 60 per cent; reductions in Government spending, specifically on consumer subsidies and capital items, with a freeze on recruitment to the administrative cadre of the public service; and an increase in the taxation of mineral exports. These measures were further supported by a major rescheduling of Zambia's debt in 1984.

Other reforms were directed towards diversifying away from copper; they included measures to improve the efficiency of the agricultural and the industrial sector, to liberalise markets, and to improve the efficiency of parastatal operations[8]. The Government also announced a 'back to the land' policy in an attempt to encourage youths, unemployed and retired workers to return to rural areas and participate in agricultural rehabilitation. Land, inputs and credit were promised. Credit to farmers was expanded and increased emphasis was placed on producing agricultural products for export.

Throughout 1985, the Government remained committed to its programme of diversification. Producer prices were raised for most crops whilst consumer prices were raised for commodities such as milk, beer, rice, and for transport services. From 1980 to 1983, maize-meal prices increased 65 per cent, and from March 1985 to March 1986 they rose a further 40 per cent[9].

As economic conditions grew more severe, the pressures from within (and outside) for a major exchange rate adjustment intensified. In October 1985 the Government introduced an auction system to allocate foreign exchange, which represented the extent of its determination to pull the economy out of 2ecline. At the first auction, the value of the Kwacha aga.nst the US dollar fell by 56 per cent; by the end of the year it was 38 per cent of its pre-auction value[10].

In the first few months of the auction, supply conditions did ease slightly as a result of the increased availability of foreign exchange[11]. The depreciation of the Kwacha also improved the merchandise balance of trade as Zambian exports became more competitive and demand for expensive imports declined. Real GDP increased by 4 per cent above its 1984 level. The auction proved difficult to sustain politically, however, amidst rising criticism over its handling by Government and its effect on the cost of imported goods and services. Inflation was 37 per cent per annum by the end of 1985, rising to 54 per cent in 1987. In addition, the devaluation increased the costs of debt and debt servicing, leading to a deterioration in the overall balance of trade.

In September 1986, it was announced that the subsidy on the higher-grade breakfast maize-meal was to be withdrawn in October. Reaction to the announcement was immediate and violent. A week of rioting followed in Lusaka and on the Copperbelt. In response the Government postponed any

further price adjustments, while the 1987 budget contained palliative measures to quell unrest amongst consumers and local producers.

In April 1987, negotiations with the IMF over the future of the auction system broke down. On 1 May President Kaunda announced that the Government was halting the reform programme and suspending relations with the IMF. The auction system was ended and the exchange rate set to its pre-auction level[12]. In place of the IMF programme the Government introduced its own Interim National Development Plan (INDP) and later a more comprehensive National Economic Recovery Programme (NERP). Some of the elements of the IMF programme remained intact, notably the introduction of user fees in education and health services and a commitment to price liberalisation, but with the added commitment of seeking special measures to protect low-income groups. The main difference in the INDP was the end to the foreign exchange auction and the imposition of a 10 per cent ceiling on the proportion of foreign exchange earnings allocated to servicing the country's external debt.

Summary

The reforms thus had very mixed effects on Zambia's economic performance. On the positive side, agricultural growth improved, although this was partly due to better rains, and excessive government spending was restrained. On the negative side, inflation approached 60 per cent per annum and many essential goods were in short supply. Real GDP growth was estimated to be 0.5 per cent in 1986, falling to -0.2 per cent in 1987. Some pessimistic projections suggested a 15 per cent fall in domestic output in 1988-89.[13]

III. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFORMS IN URBAN ZAMBIA

1. Employment and Incomes[14]

In 1980 54.5 per cent of the total Zambian[15] labour force were economically active, either in formal sector employment and self-employment/informal sector work or actively seeking work. Seventy-two per cent of the male labour force and 37 per cent of the female labour force were recorded as being economically active.[16]

In Zambia, the public sector (central and local government posts) and parastatals dominate the formal sector labour market. In 1980 public and parastatal jobs accounted for almost 75 per cent of all formal sector employment.[17] The bulk were in community and personal services (teachers, nurses and medical staff), mining and construction, manufacturing and transport. The 25 per cent of formal sector jobs accounted for by the private sector involved a broad range of occupations in finance, business, trade and distribution, manufacturing and agriculture.

Yet only about one-third of the total workforce is engaged in the formal sector. The remainder are active in the unorganised or informal sector, mainly as subsistence farmers but also as traders and in sales and services.

The data in Table 2 show the changing share of formal and informal sector employment for the Zambian labour force. Whilst each had remained

relatively constant in the early 1970s, by the late 1970s the share of formal sector employment was clearly on a downward trend and that of the informal sector was rising.

The data in Table 3 show the distribution of employment by sector and gender in urban Lusaka. That the parastatal sector and central government employed more males than females is explained by the high incidence of 'production jobs', normally considered 'male jobs', in the parastatal sector and the need for the holders of many jobs in central government to have advanced qualifications, to which men generally have greater access. Nonetheless, in 1985 the private sector [18] was the largest employer of both men and women, although it was more significant for the female workforce than for the male.

TABLE 2: Formal and Informal Sector Employment (excluding Non-Zambians), 1970-86

Year	Econ. Active Lab.Force ('000s)[1]	Formal Sector Labour Force (%)	Informal Sector Labour Force[2] (%)
1970	1258	24.6	45.4
1972	1341	25.3	44.7
1974	1430	24.5	45.4
1976	1527	22.7	47.3
1978	1641	21.0	49.0
1980	1759	20.5	49.5
1982	1880	18.6	51.4
1984	2014	17.4	52.6
1986	2158	16.2	53.8

[1] Labour force figures for 1984 and 1986 are estimated as continuing the 3.5 per cent annual growth rate recorded on average for the years 1975-82.

[2] Figures for the informal sector include urban and rural, derived as the residual of "economically active" less "formal" less estimated "unemployed".

Source: Monthly Digest of Statistics, Central Statistical Office, various issues.

TABLE 3: Distribution of Lusaka Urban Working Population by sector and gender, 1985 (percentages)

Sector	Males	Females	Total
Central govt.	17.1	13.0	15.9
Local govt.	6.4	7.2	6.7
Parastatals	20.6	9.9	17.5
Private sector	56.8	69.9	59.9

Source: Lusaka Urban Labour Force Survey 1987, Table 12, p21.

a) The formal sector

Between 1983 and 1987, policies aimed at reducing the budget deficit included a freeze on public-sector recruitment and wages, and lay-offs for workers close to retirement. Cutbacks in government capital expenditure, on the other hand, forced reductions in the number of labourers and unskilled workers regularly employed by the public sector, for example in construction and allied repairs. This probably affected male employment most directly.

Table 4 shows the magnitude of changes in key public sector expenditures from 1974 to 1985, including the Government's wage bill. It should be noted that total spending by central Government declined dramatically in real terms between 1976 and 1984. While the share of wages fluctuated, the fall in the government's wage bill in 1984-85 was dramatic. This coincided with the introduction of the freeze on recruitment to the civil service and measures to contain wage increases. It is also worth noting the significant increase in the share of total expenditure taken by debt servicing and the dramatic fall in that of capital expenditure (approximately 70 per cent).

TABLE 4: Changes in Central Government Finances, 1974-85 (millions of Kwacha and percentages)

	1974	1976	1978	1980	1982	1984	1985
Total expenditure (mn Kwacha)							
current	612.2	771.5	815.4	1,302	1,470.6	1,621	2,945.7
constant (1975) values	663.3	678.5	497.8	608.1	520.4	450.7	649.4
As % of total expenditure:							
Wages	20.5	22.9	23.2	19.7	24.2	28.2	18.4
Debt service	11.6	13.7	19.2	14.3	15.7	17.9	28.5
Current expenditure	72.0	78.9	79.4	83.1	84.5	83.6	84.5
Capital expenditure	28.0	21.1	20.6	16.9	15.5	16.4	15.5

Source: Colclough, C. (1988) from Table 5, p55.

Table 5 shows the occupational distribution of male and female workers in 1985. Over 50 per cent of the female labour force were in service and sales jobs, with sales being by far the most important category. Most sales jobs were in the private and informal sectors and therefore not directly affected by cuts in public-sector employment, although, as argued below, the indirect effects on the informal sector have been severe. On the other hand, around 45 per cent of the male labour force was employed in production, transport and labouring jobs, most of which were in the parastatal sector (mining, construction) and therefore directly affected by declining copper production and cuts in government spending.

TABLE 5: Lusaka Urban Occupational Structure and Gender Distribution (percentages)

Occupational Category	Males	Females	Total
Professional, technical and related workers	9.6	9.1	9.4
Admin. & managerial	3.5	1.0	2.8
Clerical & related workers	10.8	16.2	12.4
Sales workers	13.1	47.9	23.4
Service workers	14.6	14.9	14.7
Agricultural & forestry workers	3.3	2.5	3.0
Production, transport operators & labourers	45.2	8.3	34.3

Source: Lusaka Urban Labour Force Survey (1987) Table 8 p16.

Changes in public sector employment did affect women workers in low-wage and low-skill occupations, such as clerical and public sector services. During the 1970s, it had been Government policy to try to protect the incomes of low-paid, low-skilled workers by ensuring that wage awards stayed ahead of inflation. In the face of protracted economic decline however, the policy had the effect of making lower-paid employees relatively more costly to employ. Severe budget constraints and the imperative of reducing the public sector wage bill meant that these low-paid workers were the first to be made redundant. The result, contrary to the Government's objective, was a shift in the public-sector labour force which favoured the higher-grade employees over the less well paid. During the INDP (1987-88) it is estimated that total employment in the civil service fell by 3.5 per cent. The decline was most dramatic at the administrative level (12.5 per cent), the technical and educational level (8 per cent), the secretarial level (6.9 per cent) and the district messenger level (10.1 per cent). At the general professional level, employment rose by 7.8 per cent over the period. One commentator has summarised the effects as follows:

> As a result of the structural shift in and composition of wage employment, low-paid, low-skilled workers have borne the brunt of the stagnation in wage employment opportunities. ... Also, many workers were downgraded or forced into lower-paying, less-secure positions. The combination of these factors led to a much more rapid decline in

> the expected income of lower-paid workers, especially young workers and women.[19]

Job losses in these low-paid occupations had serious ramifications for the living standards of workers - male and female - in these occupations who tend to be from poor households and can ill-afford to lose regular income[20].

Data for the mid-1980s showing the effects of public sector retrenchments on male and female employment were not available. Fragmentary data suggest that unemployment was severe, was more serious in urban than rural areas and was especially serious among youth. However, definitions of 'open unemployment' are generally misleading in this context because, in an economy without a system of social security, workers categorised as unemployed are invariably engaged in some kind of economic activity in order to survive. Definitions of open unemployment therefore capture only part of the overall problem because they exclude disguised employment and underemployment. In that context it has been said:

> The unemployment problem is really more severe than has been depicted by the census data. If one were to include the marginally employed or underemployed populations the dimension of the unemployment problem in Zambia would be horrific. ... In the absence of any growth in formal sector jobs, the unemployed are forced into the informal sector where they may be "employed" by census definitions, but earn very low incomes. What is worse, those low incomes may well be getting lower over time as more people compete for a limited supply of income-earning opportunities.[21]

The growth of youth unemployment represents an additional strain on urban households as the number of non-working dependents increases. In 1986, 27 per cent of males and 28 per cent of females between the ages of 15 and 24 were recorded as unemployed[22]. The implications were particularly serious for large, low-income households with few economically active adults, as was the case for many female-headed households in the cities.

The picture presented by the official macro-data is partly confirmed by data from a micro-study carried out in 1986, covering 100 low-income households in urban Lusaka[23]. The study found only 18 per cent of women in the sample were in formal sector wage employment. The majority of these women were heads of households, being either unmarried with dependents or separated, divorced or widowed with dependents. Over 60 per cent of the married women - living with their husbands - declared themselves unemployed, even though some had secondary school education. The remaining women were engaged in income-generating activities in the informal sector.

In the sample, most women heads of household were working in the formal sector while some worked in self-employment. This was unexpected, given the widely held belief that female heads of household lack opportunities for education and training in order to enter formal sector employment. The study did not specify the kinds of employment these women were involved in - whether they required formal education and skills or not - nor did it specify whether they were in employment prior to the period of economic reform or in response to economic hardship. However, the fact that the majority of wives in the study declared themselves as unemployed or self-employed implied that it was less difficult for some women heads of household to enter formal employment than it was for married women, who had to overcome the double

discrimination of the labour market and their husbands' view if they were to enter the formal sector. Most of the husbands were in formal wage employment while almost all the remainder were in self-employment. Only two male respondents declared themselves unemployed, which indicated how important it was for low-income households to participate in some kind of economic activity in order to survive.

It was common, in households with an adult male, for a wife to be earning from self-employment activities. The study found that the importance of such activities had grown dramatically since 1983 as rising prices and falling real wages in the formal-sector increased difficulties in meeting basic consumption levels. The overall financial position of joint-households was generally better than that of female-headed households because of the possibilities of combining incomes from the formal and informal sectors or supplementing wage earnings with subsistence income from home grown produce (see sub section 3). In most cases where the female head was the sole earner, the time she had available to supplement falling wage incomes with own-account work was more limited. Thus, total household income was lower.

According to the 1980 Census, 30.6 per cent of all urban households were classified as female headed, and while many female heads of household were employed in the urban formal sector, they were predominantly in low-wage occupations - services and clerical[24]. Amongst these households, any loss of women's employment would be expected to have very direct negative effects on their own and their children's welfare. In joint households, it was the decline in male employment that had the most dramatic effect for women and children.

Women heads of households not engaged in the formal sector were active in own-account work; trading in fresh fruits, vegetables, brewing beer or undertaking domestic service. These occupations were, nonetheless, indirectly affected by the cuts in formal sector employment and household disposable incomes and the rise in competition amongst marketeers for ever decreasing shares of the informal sector market. This is discussed in more detail below.

As well as cutting back on public sector employment, the Government's reform programme also included guidelines on wage levels and restrictions on wage awards. These guidelines were for increases in wages generally well below the rate of inflation, implying a substantial decline in average real wages during the programme period.

The data in Table 6 show some erosion in average monthly earnings between 1983 and 1985 in the occupations that dominated the public sector - administrative and clerical. Only in the professional stratum and amongst production workers did nominal earnings actually rise. In all other occupations, they were lower in 1985 than in 1983. However, in the sales and services categories the dramatic drop in nominal earnings probably reflects the inclusion of informal sector activities in the 1985 survey and cannot be interpreted as an accurate reflection of the decline in monthly earnings. On the other hand, aggregate figures from another source (the CSO Monthly Digest of Statistics) indicated that real earnings in formal-sector community, social and personal services declined on average by 20 per cent between 1980 and

TABLE 6: Average Monthly Earnings of Paid Employees in Urban Lusaka, 1983 and 1985

Occupation	1983 Overall Average (Kwacha)	1985 Average (Kwacha)	Change (%)	1985 Average for Males (Kwacha)	1985 Average for Females (Kwacha)
Professional worker	394	546	+39	546.2	346.9
Administrative worker	808	699	-13	698.9	500.0
Clerical worker	278	261	-6	261.4	314.8
Sales worker	317	242	-24	242.3	144.3
Service worker	185	134	-28	134.5	105.2
Agricultural worker	135	133	-1	133.0	52.3
Production worker	185	206	+11	232.8	166.7
Total	243	246	+1	252.8	218.5

Source: Manpower Survey 1983 and Labour Force Survey 1987.

1985, which does lend further support to the data presented in Table 6. What is striking is the disparity between male and female earnings by occupation, which indicates the extent of discrimination in both formal and informal sector employment.

Table 7 shows the dramatic decline in real earnings at the administrative level of the public sector. The trends in the data support the view (Valentine (1985) and others) that the initial decline in earnings for low skilled and unskilled groups was less sharp than for the more skilled groups, whose basic starting salaries in 1983 were less than half their real value in 1975. However, as the effects of government austerity began to bite

TABLE 7: Indices of Salaries in the Public Sector: General Administration Scale, Real Terms, 1979-86 (1975=100)

Post	Jan 79	Aug 80	Jan 82	Jan 83	Nov 83	Oct 85	Jul 86
Under-Secrty	60	68	59	51	45	29	19
Ass. Director	60	62	53	46	41	27	18
Graduate entry	58	63	53	46	41	27	19
Diploma entry	59	67	57	50	44	31	21
Lowest paid employee [1]	71	89	89	87	83	70	49
Unskilled non established	73	85	90	91	88	75	53

[1] Lowest paid salaried employee.
Source: Colclough, C. (1988) extracted from Table 7, p59.

after 1983, the lowest paid workers suffered as well, particularly after October 1985 when the introduction of the currency auction system and the subsequent rise in domestic inflation caused real earnings across the board to plummet.

Comparing the data in Tables 5, 6 and 7 it can be observed that in the sectors and occupations where women were concentrated, average nominal earnings stagnated or fell, and in real terms the deterioration was more severe than in earnings from other occupations. According to Colclough (1988), during 1986 and early 1987 prices increased by approximately 65 per cent, compared with a 40 per cent increase in nominal earnings for most workers. It was shown in Table 5 that most women in formal employment were engaged in low-wage occupations, and labour market studies have shown that low-skilled, low-wage labour bore a disproportionate share of the cost of adjustment associated with public wage and employment restraints.

Data on formal sector incomes are, nevertheless, likely to over estimate the fall in household real incomes, given the importance of income generated outside the formal sector. A 1984 study of five low-income areas in Lusaka estimated that, amongst the lowest income households with garden plots, garden produce contributed about 37 per cent of total household income and about 50 per cent of household expenditure on food. For the slightly better-off households, garden produce was less important. Nonetheless, own-production provided them with an important buffer against the vagaries of the economic climate. The importance of urban gardening is discussed further in sub section 3.

b) The informal sector

While the urban formal sector has stagnated since the mid-1980s, the urban informal sector has become the source of employment and income for increasing numbers of individuals and households[25]. These workers were either squeezed out of formal sector employment or lacked the education and skills to enter into paid employment, or they have been trying to supplement rapidly dwindling formal sector wages. Yet, the lack of economic growth in the urban areas, combined with the growing urban labour force, means that those entering the informal sector face intense competition, whether in selling vegetables on the street corner, making charcoal or manufacturing import substitutes. Falling real incomes in the formal sector have also reduced the purchasing power of urban consumers for informal sector goods and services.

A few studies have confirmed that informal sector employment has been expanding rapidly and although the figures relate mainly to the late 1970s they are indicative of trends occurring in the 1980s. For instance, in one of the major compounds in Lusaka (the George Compound) it was estimated that between 1969 and 1977, the proportion of household heads employed in the informal sector increased from 5 to 24 per cent. In 1976 it was estimated that between 20 and 25 per cent of the total labour force in Lusaka were self-employed in the informal sector. By 1980 the proportion had increased from 25 to 30 per cent. Partly as a result of these increasing numbers entering the informal sector, household incomes in real terms in the compound were estimated to have fallen by only 7 per cent and 6 per cent in 1973-76 and 1976-77 respectively[26].

The data indicated that informal sector activity expanded during the period of economic reform, yet the numbers of people the sector could reasonably sustain remained limited by the scale of economic decline in the formal sector. Workers in the informal sector also have little protection against inflation and normally only limited access to credit and resources (or at a very high black market price) to improve their competitiveness. In this respect women producers and traders are especially badly off, having few or no capital assets with which to hedge against inflation and an insecure financial status.

Table 8 shows that in 1985 the proportion of persons working on their own-account was twice as high for women as that for men, although includes women trading in the informal sector and working in small family businesses for no direct remuneration; it does not, however, include women who work in the home (housewives), as they are considered outside the labour force.

TABLE 8: Employment Status in Lusaka Urban Working Population by Gender, 1985 (percentages)

Employment Status	Males	Females
Employer	3.1	1.5
Own-account worker	15.9	31.6
Paid employee	79.0	60.0
Unpaid family worker	2.0	6.9

Source: Lusaka Urban Labour Force Survey 1987.

There is a clear gender division of labour in the urban informal sector. Male operators dominate the more lucrative businesses such as electrical and mechanical repairs, tin-smithing, carpentry and related trades, grocery stores, tailoring and other small manufacturing enterprises. Female operators are concentrated in petty marketing, mainly of food and related items. Their products are normally highly perishable and prices can be high compared to official retail prices. Nonetheless, profit margins are very small compared to the more lucrative activities[27].

There was some indication from the 1985 Labour Force Survey that the occupational categories dominated by informal sector participants have longer working hours than in the formal sector. In the reference week, between 34 and 40 per cent of service and sales workers worked 57 hours or more; less than 10 per cent of professional, administrative and clerical workers did so. Furthermore, only 18 per cent of the men but 25 per cent of the women worked more than 57 hours, which is probably indicative of the greater involvement of women in informal sector activities, especially in trading.

Most young males consider work in the informal sector a temporary measure until opportunities in the formal sector improve. In contrast, it has been argued (by Bardouille) that most women - young and old - are permanently entrenched in low-level trading for want of better employment possibilities and that conditions have worsened since the economic crisis in Zambia. Women are more likely than men to remain static or be downwardly mobile in the informal sector because of the practical constraints such as lack of capital

and of access to business goods and storage facilities, and increasing competition within narrow trading opportunities. Also, since 1986-87 the Government has placed tight restrictions on street traders in an effort to stop over-pricing and black market practices. In so doing, women petty traders and youths have been harrassed and, in some cases, driven off the streets and fined or forced to set up stalls in markets for a daily rent. These kinds of pressure, really aimed at traders exploiting consumers due to the shortages of essential goods, pose a serious threat to the small incomes many women rely upon for meeting daily needs.

2. Social Expenditure

The IMF rarely makes explicit its views on reductions in government social expenditures. In a recent study, however, it did find that cuts in health and education expenditures accruing to the poor can adversely affect poverty groups, both in the short run (in terms of immediate consumption of services) and in the long run (by threatening the productive capacity of the poor).[28] Pressures to reduce total government expenditure and to switch resources away from so-called 'non-productive' sectors, often force governments into making cuts in their social expenditure programmes. This was the case in Zambia where between 1983 and 1985 per capita public recurrent expenditure fell in real terms by 23 per cent, while real per capita expenditure on health and education fell by 16 per cent and 13.6 per cent respectively.[29]

Health services

In a study of the social impact of economic reforms in Zambia since their advent in 1983, the World Bank attributed marked changes in both the quantity and quality of health and education services to the reform programme itself.[30] Health service provision deteriorated markedly in the mid-1980s due to falling real per capita expenditure, the increased cost of imported drugs - especially after the 1985 devaluation - and the exodux of medical personnel as real incomes in the health service declined. For example, the real value of the drugs budget in 1986 was estimated to be less than one-quarter its value in 1983, while between 1983 and 1986 the number of doctors per 100,000 of the population fell from 13 to 5.[31] All these factors can be associated with the economic reform programme.

The longer-term effects of cuts in health services expenditure are likely to be seen in changes in the health of the population. At the time of reporting it was still too soon to assess the full implications of the economic reforms for the nation's health. However, there is some evidence to show that general health conditions in Zambia worsened over the reform period. Of prime concern was the marked deterioration in nutritional standards during the 1980s. The incidence of malnutrition and malnutrition-related diseases increased markedly and, in the urban areas, was thought to have been aggravated by the economic downturn and rapid inflation. Other relevant factors include: high growth rates of population and inadequate housing, sanitation and water services in the poorer urban areas. The escalation of malnutrition since 1983 is thought to be a consequence of dietary changes and falling food consumption associated with diminished household real incomes. The latter are in turn associated with changes in employment, wages and prices brought about by the economic reforms.

The data in Table 9 give an indications of the seriousness of the nutritional problem in Zambia. In the decade up to 1983, the proportion of child hospital admissions attributable to malnutrition was fairly low and stable. After 1983, the proportion increased noticeably, along with a significant increase in the percentage of child hospital deaths attributable to malnutrition. These figures refer to hospital admissions and deaths only, and normally only the very worst cases of malnutrition are ever admitted into hospital. Thus, the extent of the problem of increasing malnutrition may still be largely undetected.[32]

Most of the available data on nutritional status concern children; very little information is available on women's nutritional status, although as a UNICEF/Government of Zambia (UNICEF/GRZ) study argues, there are a number of indications that it is a significant problem. One indication is the evidence of a relationship between total maternal deaths and the incidence of malnutrition and anaemias in women.[33] A less direct, but nonetheless important, indication of women's nutritional status is the increase in child malnutrition and malnutrition-related diseases. For example, it is suspected that high mortality amongst the newly born and during the perinatal period in hospitals is due to low birth weight as a result of malnourished mothers. There is also some indication that, although dietary changes and falling consumption of food have an impact on all household members, skewed patterns of intra-household income control and food allocation mean that adult women and children are the most directly affected. That is, mothers will forgo consumption of food in favour of their children, whilst a husband's control of household income may mean that he supplements his own consumption before that of other family members.[34]

TABLE 9: Malnutrition in Children Aged 0-14:
Hospital Admissions and Deaths, 1973-87
(percentages)

	Hospital Admissions	Hospital Deaths
1973	5.0	11.5
1975	5.2	10.7
1977	6.0	13.7
1979	6.2	16.8
1981	6.4	17.2
1983	7.0	23.5
1985	11.0	29.5
1987	17.0	37.0

Sources: UNICEF/GRZ (1986) & Clark and Keen (1988)

For the majority of urban residents the only alternatives to the health services provided by the state are those that have traditionally been available at the community and household level. One effect of the financial restraint imposed on the health service - shortages of drugs, equipment and personnel in hospitals and clinics - must be to shift a large part of the burden of health care back to the household. This has potentially negative ramifications for low-income households in particular, which do not have adequate facilities - housing, water and sanitation - or income to treat sick family members properly. Also, given the household division of labour, an

increase in the burden of health care in the home directly affects women's time allocation. In households where women are in paid employment, any time they take off to care for sick family members has a significant opportunity cost in terms of income (and potential consumption) forgone. In situations where women's income (from formal or informal sector worker) is vital for family survival, the opportunity cost of their time is high and positive and can force women into debt in order to pay for hospital treatment or drugs that allow them to continue working.

As yet, no data are available on the effects of changes in health service provision on womens' paid and unpaid work. But it is clear that changes in the level of health care administered by the state, combined with deteriorating health conditions, especially amongst children, has put additional strain on women's unpaid labour time as reproducers and carers. The stress on women's unpaid work affects their capacity to participate effectively in income - generating activities outside the home. The 'squeeze' put on their household labour time as public social services are cut back means that many women are forced into, or to stay in, casual part=time and low-paying work that can be combined with increasingly time-consuming unpaid responsibilities within the home.

Education provision

On the whole, reductions in recurrent expenditure on education have been less severe than the cuts in that on health-care, although in real terms they have been significant. The effects of the cuts are to be seen in the shortages of basic educational materials and equipment and the lack of maintenance of school buildings. Most of the education budget is now spent on salaries and wages, but at the cost of maintaining schools and supplying materials.[35]

Since independence, Zambia has been moving toward a system of free, universal primary schooling. Recent literacy surveys reveal that great strides have been made since 1964 in improving educational status. Nevertheless, illiteracy is still a significant problem, especially amongst women.

The reason for the higher rates of literacy amongst males is that more than two-thirds of the females in the 15-19 age-group are out of school. In the 20-24 age group, only 3 per cent of females attend higher education compared to 15 per cent of males. It has been estimated (Mulenga and Mwansa, 1985) that 48.5 per cent of the female adult population in Zambia was illiterate compared to 29.5 per cent of the male adult population.

Tables 10 and 11 both reflect the existing gender bias in the provision of and access to education. Females are slightly under-represented in Zambia's primary schools and grossly under-represented in the secondary schools, both as students and as teachers. As one writer has stated, "Zambian reality ... is one of unfulfilled promise regarding the removal of gender as a basis of discrimination"[36]. It is argued that these biases have been aggravated during the reform period by the increased burden placed on some households for meeting education expenditures through the introduction of school user fees in the face of declining real incomes.

TABLE 10: Literacy Rates by Gender, 1969 and 1980
(Zambians aged 15 years +)

Age Group	1969 % Males	1969 % Females	1980 % Males	1980 % Females
15-19	61.4	43.8	76.7	72.2
20-24	57.5	22.3	84.5	69.1
25-44	36.5	10.7	71.9	36.0
45+	12.3	5.0	32.8	7.2
age not stated	21.5	14.1	48.5	14.7

Source: UNICEF/GRZ (1986), Table 83, p.116.

TABLE 11: Girls Enrolled in Secondary Schools
(Selected Provinces), 1975 and 1980
(percentages)

Province	% females in province	1975 % girls in schools	1980 % girls in schools
Copperbelt	49.5	36.3	38.0
Lusaka	48.8	32.5	32.9
Southern	50.8	34.1	33.0
Northern	52.9	34.0	33.7
All Zambia	51.0	34.3	35.1

Source: Musonda, S. (1985) 'The Structure of Education in Zambia: Some Issues' p302, in Osei-Hwedie, K.E & Ndulo, M. (eds) 'Issues in Zambian Development', Roxbury, Mass.

A study by the University of Zambia in 1985 showed that parental expenditure on basic items necessary for children to attend primary school - learning materials, school funds, transport, lunches and uniforms - was around K200 per pupil in the urbanised regions of Lusaka, the Copperbelt and Central Province. In secondary education the average was K450, which was almost half the average per capita income of K950 (US$= 351.50) in 1985.[37]

Since 1985, the real value of the parental contribution has increased further with the general rise in prices, and this undoubtedly weighs heavily on the shoulders of parents. In 1986 the size of the parental contribution was further increased by the introduction of school user fees as part of the Government's efforts to reduce the financial burden of education funding. Initially the fees of K100 per term were levied on secondary school boarders only. The effect was not therefore universal, but for those parents with children boarding at school, the introduction of fees almost doubled their annual expenditure on education.

Although there is no direct evidence that girls and women are actively discriminated against in education provision, the data on illiteracy and enrolment indicate there is a structural gender bias in the education system. It is widely observed that boys are given preferential access to education, especially after primary-school level, and that cultural as well as financial constraints mean that girls do not benefit educationally to the same extent as boys. The drop-out rate is higher for girls at all levels of education, as they are more likely to be withdrawn from school in the event of a fall in household income, either to serve as unpaid family labour or to work alongside their mothers in petty trading and marketing.

3. Prices and Consumption

Since before independence, the maize subsidy has been the cornerstone of Zambia's food pricing policy. Maize provides almost half the calorie intake of the population and between 1975 and 1986 the subsidy absorbed between 5.6 per cent and 15.8 per cent of total Government expenditure. In 1986 it represented around 3 per cent of Zambia's GDP.

In 1982, as a precursor to the 1983 Stand-by Agreement with the IMF, the Government introduced measures to eliminate all controls on wholesale and retail prices, except for wheat flour and bread, maize meal and candles. The effect of the decontrol of prices is clearly seen in changes in the urban consumer price index shown in Table 12.

TABLE 12: Urban Consumer Price Index, 1980-87
(1975=100)

Category	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Low-income[1] earners	203	231	260	311	373	513	733	938
High-income[2] earners	189	209	236	279	336	446	644	..

1 Low income (about two-thirds of the population) = income in 1974/5 below K100/month.
2 High income (about 10 per cent of the population) = income in 1974/5 above K300/month.
Source: Clark & Keen 1988, Table 2. p.24.

The figures in Table 12 show the dramatic rise in the cost of living resulting from the decontrol of consumer prices. The effects on low-income households were more dramatic than on high-income households, mainly because of the predominance of previously 'protected' food items in the consumption basket of low-income households. Efforts to reduce the maize subsidy also threatened the food-purchasing power of low-income households, for which the subsidy represented a significant income transfer, equivalent to approximately 20 per cent of the minimum government wage.[38]

Table 13 shows that prices of certain 'low-income' foods increased more sharply than those of foods eaten more by higher-income households. In particular, the price of the higher-grade and more expensive breakfast maize meal actually declined in real terms between 1983 and 1987. By contrast, the less expensive roller meal had almost doubled in real terms by 1983. Another important food in low-income diets - kapenta - increased dramatically in price between 1981 and 1983, while the price of chicken, which is more commonly consumed in higher-income households, fell in real terms during this period.

TABLE 13: Average Urban Retail Price Index, Selected Goods Deflated by Low-Income Food Items CPI, 1977-87 (1976 = 100)

	Breakfast Meal 50kg	Roller Meal 50kg	Bread 800g	Chicken 1kg	Dried Kapenta 1kg	Cooking Oil 5lt	Salt 500g
1977	85	85	138	96	96	85	102
1979	79	108	115	92	278	75	80
1981	87	137	141	100	330	89	71
1983	97	151	102	84	432	84	84
1985	86	137	134	84	321	106	150
1987	55	84	156	90	na	104	185

Source: Strickland (1989) op cit.

A study of the micro-effects of the rise in consumer prices on lower-income groups (Munachonga, 1986) found evidence of deteriorating child health and falling consumption levels in the majority of the households sampled. Two crucial ways in which households were attempting to cope with rising prices were identified. The most common strategy was to reduce the frequency of buying certain foodstuffs, particularly protein foods which had become prohibitively expensive. Many households reported having stopped buying meat altogether. Another item that many households no longer purchased was bread. Households were, in the main, relying on mealie-meal and vegetables for their daily diet, although some had even reduced their purchases of mealie-meal and had also cut down on the frequency of eating 'nshima' - maize porridge - their stape food. However, the substitution of foods within the diet of low-income households implies that the estimates of the Consumer Price Index in Table 12 may overestimate the real increase in the cost of living because the figures are based on a fixed consumption basket.

Table 14 compares the kinds of consumption strategies of husbands and wives in joint households, single male households and female-headed households. The data suggest that female heads of household chose to cut down

TABLE 14: Survival Strategies used by Different Types of Household: Responses in a Sample Survey, 1986

Strategy	Couples		Single Males	Female - headed households
	Males	Females		
	(n=67)		(n=14)	(n=19)
Borrowing/salary advance	30	29	4	4
Reduced number of meals per day	9	12	3	2
Reduced purchase of foods eg: bread, meat	7	10	1	8
Combination of all three methods	13	10	1	4
Growing vegetables, small business (wife)	7	5	2	-
Consumption unchanged	1	1	3	1
Totals	67	67	14	19

Source: Munachonga, M.L. (1986), Table 4, op cit.

their expenditure on certain foods, whilst the majority of joint-headed households chose to borrow or get an advance to cover food expenditures.

One explanation for the different strategies chosen by joint and female-headed households could be the constraints that single or separated women experience in borrowing or getting salary advances, compared to married men.[39] For example, socio-cultural norms can prevent women heads of households from borrowing money from men because their actions may be misinterpreted either by the men or by the public at large.[40] Moreover, women tend to be considered a greater financial risk than men, even when they are in business or wage employment. These views limit the access that women, especially women heads of household, have to alternative sources of cash. Thus, they are forced to stretch their limited income by reducing the amount and kinds of foods they buy.

Table 14 also shows that a number of joint households opted to grow their own food or to set up in business in order to survive. Urban cultivation or garden is not altogether a new phenomenon in Zambia, but recent research in Lusaka shows it increased since the early 1980s. Out of a sample of 250 households in five low-income areas, 99 per cent responded that their households were growing more food than in 1980, and 79 per cent attributed this to their household's declining purchasing power.[41]

In the study, none of the female-headed households responding cultivated garden plots, which may have been due to lack of time and family labour or poorer access to cultivable urban land. In another study (Sanyal) poorer households lived on small plots of land without adequate space for

gardening so they would have had to cultivate gardens on the urban periphery; this not only involved substantial travelling time, but land was also becoming increasingly scarce. In contrast, the better off households had garden plots close to their homes and invariably had more family labour available to work on the plots. Lack of data prevent further exploration of the differential access between female and joint-headed households to urban land. However, it might be hypothesised that because female-headed households tend to be amongst the poorest urban households and because, in Munachonga's study, female heads were found to do no gardening, they either experience difficulties in getting access to land or have insufficient time and resources to devote to own-production.

Sanyal's study found that garden produce could represent, on average, 50 per cent of household expenditure on food among the lowest-income households, which suggests that female-headed households without gardens are less able to supplement falling real earnings with subsistence production and, as a result, experience an even greater shock from rising consumer prices than non-female-headed households in the low-income bracket. Sanyal also found that women did most of the work on the gardens. Men normally did only the heaviest tilling at the early stages of crop planting, although younger men did more work than older men. Children assisted in many operations, normally at weekends so that they were not necessarily withdrawn from school for such purposes. The fact that women spent more time on gardening than other household members is explained by the household division of labour, in which women are responsible for food provisioning.

If, as the Sanyal study suggests, urban gardening has grown in response to worsening economic conditions and specifically to rising food prices, it can be argued that some women were able to respond positively by cultivating food for own-consumption. The evidence from the five low-income areas as a whole was that 73 per cent of households with gardens grew food solely for self-consumption while only 10 per cent sold some of the produce. Thus, the strategy of growing food was not considered, by the lowest income households especially, to be a source of cash income; rather it was meant to substitute specific purchased food items with home grown produce. This implies that it was the rising cost of basic fresh foods that encouraged women to cultivate their own food, rather than a desire to sell the produce and consume more expensive non-food commodities.

The importance of urban gardening in terms of household expenditure patterns is shown in Table 15. The data show that the lowest income group spent the highest proportion of income (77 per cent) on the purchase of food. For them, 37 per cent of their income and 50 per cent of their expenditure on food was provided through home cultivation, while for the better-off low-income households only 8 per cent of their income and 13 per cent of their expenditure on food was provided for by cultivation.[42]

TABLE 15: Monthly Expenditure and Benefits[1] for Different Income Groups, 1980 (Kwachas and percentages)

	Income Groups		
	K0-54[2]	K55-107.5[2]	K107.6-164.5[2]
Total expenditure: % of Y[3]	100	92	89
Expenditure on food: % of Y	77	92	59
Expenditure on non-food: % of Y	23	31	30
Benefit from gardening: % of Y	37	15	8
Benefit as % of total expenditure	37	16	9
Benefit as % of food expenditure	50	20	13

1 All expenditure and benefit estimates are median figures for each household category.
2 K54 = 0.5 times median income of low-income household,
K107.5 = median income of low-income household,
K164.5 = 1.5 times median income of low-income household.
3 Y = monthly income

The data presented so far go some way to showing that the effect of the decontrol of consumer prices (and to some extent of the devaluation of the Kwacha) was to increase the financial hardships of low-income urban households, with direct effect on the pattern and level of household consumption. Munachonga suggested that because of patterns of income allocation and control in joint households, the financial strain on women was particularly great. Mulenga argued similarly:

> Evidence indicates that men's advantaged position in terms of access to cash income enhances their position as regards allocation and control of family income. There is also evidence that the way the marriage relationship operates tends to reduce women's effective control of family income even when wives contribute their labour in family businesses.[43]

Munachonga, reporting on systems of allocation of money in households of married couples, found that no wife in the study was in total control of all the family income, while a large proportion had no access to the husband's income: husbands controlled and managed all the money and some did major grocery shopping. The majority of wives received fixed housekeeping allowances, the amounts being determined by the husbands (the earners). A minority of couples managed money jointly and shared responsibility for purchasing food and other essential goods and services. Thus, women often lacked direct control of the resources (cash) needed to provide meals. Unless husbands were willing or able to maintain the real value of housekeeping allowances, women found it very difficult to meet family consumption needs and were forced to adjust consumption patterns by purchasing less food, switching to cheaper and often inferior foods, or by preparing meals less regularly, as described above. Unfortunately, the absence of detailed data at household level precludes a closer analysis of the consequences of the economic reforms on certain types of household and on individual household members. Nonetheless, it is evident that the effects of the reforms were determined first by socio-economic status - high or low-income - and secondly, by the

gender relationships existing within households and outside in the sphere of employment, and by access to resources.

Summary

Women's position as producers and carers has been affected differently by the policy changes, depending on their socio-economic position and marital/residential status. On the whole, women in households with few economically active members and a large number of dependents probably fared worst, especially if they themselves were the sole income earner. Married women with few dependents and in paid employment probably fared best, although those who were not employed were dependent on their spouses' incomes, which declined in real terms, or were forced into earning supplementary incomes in the informal sector.

IV. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFORMS IN RURAL ZAMBIA

1. Agricultural Production

Despite the differences in structural adjustment programmes in Africa, they hold one major objective in common: to bring about a major change in the rural-urban terms of trade and an improvement in output and incomes from agriculture. Much of the World Bank's programme lending to Zambia has been with a view to introducing major policy changes in the agricultural sector.[44] These were designed to increase production of both food and export crops by increasing incentives (prices) to farmers, improving the efficiency of the state marketing apparatus, removing subsidies and allowing the private sector to enter the marketing of agricultural produce. In practice, policies have involved paying higher prices to producers and the lifting of many marketing restrictions within Zambia.[45]

Table 16 shows the gradual increase in the proportion of the national product contributed by agricultural output which despite its fairly small share, was still responsible for over 70 per cent of employment in 1985. The proportion of national income accruing to workers in the agricultural sector remained very low, but it did rise, albeit marginally, between 1980 and 1985, whereas that of non-agricultural workers actually fell over the same period. This suggests that, during the reform period, there was a slight redistribution of income between urban (non-agricultural) and rural (agricultural) workers, partly as a result of the introduction of price incentives.

TABLE 16: Average Incomes of the Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Sectors, 1965-85 (percentages)

	1965	1980	1985
Share of agriculture in GDP	8.2	15.2	16.8
Share of non-agriculture in GDP	91.8	84.8	83.2
Share of agriculture in total employment	79.0	73.0	71.2
Share of non-agriculture in total employment	21.0	27.0	28.8
Share of agriculture workers in GDP	0.104	0.208	0.236
Share of non-agriculture workers in GDP	4.371	3.178	2.889

Source: Strickland (1989) op cit.

During the period of policy reform, agricultural producer prices were raised steadily in nominal terms, although increases in real terms were smaller and, as the figures in Table 17 show, sometimes negative, e.g. for cotton and tobacco.[46] Also, in spite of changes in producer prices, agricultural exports continued to perform poorly. In volume terms, those in 1980 were only 1 per cent of total merchandise exports, and in 1985 only 3 per cent. Only sugar and, to a much lesser extent, cotton showed any kind of success in export markets in recent years.[47]

Table 18 gives some idea of changes in aggregate crop area, production and sales after the initial round of price incentives and trade adjustments. It shows that crop areas and sales of maize and cotton increased signficantly, whereas the areas devoted to wheat and groundnut dropped markedly, despite an increase in producer prices in the 1980s. This suggests that price incentives did not automatically lead to increased production and that supply-side conditions (for example, crop labour requirements, credit availability) were also influential in shaping producer responses. However, as the Government had hoped, price incentives successfully reinforced the role of maize in national production.

The increased producer prices for maize, sunflower, groundnuts, soyabeans and coffee did not provide much incentive for the bulk of small-scale farm-households. These mainly produce cassava, millet and sorghum, whose producer prices were not increased. According to an ILO report, the cash income per economically active member of the 'subsistence' farming sector fell by 13 per cent between 1976 and 1985.[48] As Clark and Keen observed:

> This sector has borne the brunt of the recession in all aspects. There is still considerable migration to the towns and those left behind (often female-headed households) cannot provide the labour

TABLE 17: Index of Agricultural Producer Prices in Real Terms, 1965-88
1975 = 100

Period	Maize	Groundnuts	Cotton	Tobacco
1965-70	118	104	91	138
1970-75	111	91	89	112
1975-80	99	91	93	97
1980-85	119	106	59	97
1983-88	133	103	50	89

Source: Strickland (1989) op cit.

TABLE 18: Area, Production and Sales of Selected Commodities, 1985/86-1987/88

	Activity	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88	% Change 1986/87-1987/88
Maize	Area[1]	588	610	780	27.9
	Prod[2]	14,000	11,367	15,384	35.3
	Sales[3]	10,607	7,200	11,187	55.3
Wheat	Area[1]	6.0	6.9	1.7	-74.8
	Prod[2]	313	447	77.5	-82.7
	Sales[3]	33.8	42.2	68.1	61.3
Cotton	Area[1]	52.0	38.2	61.8	61.9
	Prod[2]	33,357	20,156	42,119	109.0
	Sales[3]	33,357	20,156	42,119	109.0
Sunflwr	Area[1]	57.2	31.6	39.9	26.1
	Prod[2]	612	340	246	-27.7
	Sales[3]	537	139	245	76.1
Grndnts	Area[1]	34.4	149.0	58.3	-60.9
	Prod[2]	227	593	401	-32.4
	Sales[3]	78.5	22.1	69.8	214.9

1 Thousand hectares.
2 Thousand bags.
3 Quantity marketed through official channels only and therefore figures quoted are an underestimate.

Source: Interim National Development Plan, Progress Report No. 2, July 1987-March 1988, NCDP/Republic of Zambia, p.102.

needed for farming, non-farm and wage labour activities and usually cannot afford to employ labour. Their poverty is compounded by the shortage of labour resources.[49]

Whilst a minority of small-scale producers have directly benefited from changes in producer prices, many more have been affected by price increases for essential food and non-food items. Contrary to the belief that rural households are able to meet most of their subsistence needs from own-production, the pilot household-budget survey for 1985 estimated that rural households spent 55 per cent of total expenditure on food, 19 per cent being spent on maize alone.[50]

The data in Table 19 show that rural consumers generally paid higher prices for staple foods than did urban consumers.[51] For processed foods, higher prices in rural areas were due to transport costs and the large distances between suppliers and consumers. The removal of price controls in 1982 had a widespread effect on both urban and rural consumers. Rural producers (predominantly women) reliant on selling 'traditional' food crops found their incomes being squeezed by stagnating producer prices and rising transport costs on the one hand and rising consumer prices on the other.

TABLE 19: Urban and Rural Consumer Price Index, May 1986
(National average = 100)

Area	Mealiemeal: Bkfast 25kg	Mealiemeal: Roller 25kg	Chicken 1kg	Cooking Oil 750ml	Bread 800g	Kapenta 1kg
Urban:						
Lusaka	96	99	98	95	98	120
C/belt	92	96	99	125	96	89
Central	98	99	90	90	105	87
Rural:						
North-West	105	114	n.a.	86	115	135
Northern	104	127	157	113	n.a.	78
Luapula	146	113	n.a.	152	89	57
Eastern	92	n.a.	92	94	130	107
Southern	107	102	110	98	118	81
Western	110	101	n.a.	92	n.a.	90

Source: "Pricewatch", Prices and Incomes Commission (1986) 2(3).

2. Household-Level Implications

In macro-economic terms, improved agricultural prices and better rains have had some of the desired effects by stimulating agricultural output (mainly maize) and farm incomes. At the micro-economic level, however, the effects are more complex. There is evidence that the income effects have been highly unequal between and within rural households, largely because of bottlenecks and inequalities already existing in the systems of agricultural production, crop marketing and distribution.

A study of household labour allocation, conducted amongst maize producing households in Northern Province during 1987, found that increased attention to marketed production coupled with higher producer prices for maize did not benefit all households or all members of households in the same way.[52] For example, in joint-headed households producing hybrid maize for sale (as well as for household consumption in some cases),[53] wives were having to allocate a greater proportion of their time on maize production, often at the expense of time spent growing other food crops - millet, beans, groundnuts - or on essential domestic activities. According to a study by the Rural Development Studies Bureau of the University of Zambia, women generally contributed more labour hours per day (8.5) than males (7.4) in agriculture as well as in non-agricultural tasks: 5 hours for females compared to 1-2 hours for males.[54]

The full extent of the shift in work patterns associated with the improvement in maize prices could not be determined precisely, because of the lack of time-series data on labour-use patterns. Informal interviews showed that the experience of both men and women was that their time was more fully employed under maize cultivation, although much of the increase in labour was concentrated in activities which absorbed more labour from females than from males, i.e., weeding, harvesting and post-harvest tasks.

There was no evidence that farm-households expanding hybrid maize production (and still using hoe technology) faced a critical problem of labour supply.[55] However, certain measures were adopted to spread seasonal labour inputs, especially at peak periods, and they were mostly practised by women farmers - weeding once only, mixing fertilisers, intercropping, and storing pre-prepared cassava flour for consumption during the peak labour season. These measures were evidence of periodic pressure on women's labour time.

In households headed by women, either widowed, separated or as a member of a polygamous marriage, problems with labour supply were generally more serious[56]. These households did not to produce hybrid maize, or only very little. They were often poorly endowed with adult labour of working age, especially male, and experienced difficulties with labour supply during peak work periods. This was reflected in smaller cultivated areas and their reliance on crops and activities that required less labour generally and male labour in particular - cassava, beans, local maize; beer brewing, petty trading and casual work. In these households, the increase in the producer price of maize had little direct impact on their incomes. In a number of ways they were constrained from responding to, and therefore benefiting from the higher prices, because of the cost of credit[57], shortages of labour, especially male for clearing land, and other key inputs such as fertiliser. Their lack of cash/capital resources was compounded by the limited market value of the crops that they did produce - mainly millet and cassava - and the cost of transporting the more valuable of them to market. On the whole, it was not feasible for these producers to switch their cropping patterns in response to changing price incentives.

Households that were able to respond to changing relative prices were well endowed with family labour resources and had sufficient capital to cover the cost of credit and buy in additional labour during periods of peak demand for labour.[58]

One consequence of the expansion of commercial maize production in the areas studied was an increase in the demand for casual labour. To a large extent this was met by an increase in the supply of women doing casual work (not a new phenomenon in the areas studied) and, to a lesser extent, of adolescent male labour. The women who participated in piecework tended to be from the less commercialised households and female-headed households. For them, casual work was a direct source of both food and commodities. The declining purchasing power of their cash incomes, due to rising prices for basic commodities, especially salt, soap and commercially sold maize-meal, and to the low market value of 'traditional' crops, encouraged these women into selling their labour in direct exchange for food/commodities. Wages paid in kind for piecework were, nonetheless, low, both absolutely and relative to wages paid in cash.

The effects of changing producer incentives were not, however, limited to changes in household labour use. The effects on women and men also depended on the process of intra-household income allocation and control. The labour allocation survey revealed that a major interest among men in cultivating hybrid maize was to gain direct control over cash income. In the areas studied, hybrid maize income was largely under male control, despite the fact that women supplied proportionately more labour time to its production. On the whole, wives did not have direct control of the proceeds of their labour on maize, although the degree of access they had to maize income varied between households. Men tended to control the disposal of the crop (to the marketing union) and to organise spending of any profits either on large purchases for the household, or on themselves, or to reinvest in maize by purchasing inputs for subsequent seasons. Some wives received a proportion of maize profits for purchasing clothes for themselves and their children, including school uniforms. The size of maize profits was nonetheless extremely variable by household and by season, and in some cases the share that wives received was wholly inadequate to purchase any durable items, being quickly absorbed into expenditure on daily essentials.

Whereas men tended to control maize income and any benefits accruing from changes in its price, women were in more or less direct control of any income accruing from the sale of other food crops, to which they also supplied most of the necessary labour input[59]. Income from these other crops was, normally, well below anything that could be earned from selling maize. In addition, the purchasing power of such income was declining as crop prices failed to keep pace with the prices of processed and manufactured goods.

A case of rising cash income was found, however, among women producing home-brewed beer. One effect of the increase in cash income among maize producers was the expansion in effective demand for locally produced beer. Produced from millet and maize, this became a major source of income for many women. With the increase in cash circulating among men, combined with the shortage of factory produced beer, local consumption of the domestic brew rose. It was estimated that the value added from beer brewed with home grown millet and maize could be between 60 and 200 per cent.[60] An investigation by the Adaptive Research Planning Team at Kasama, Northern Province, during the 1985/86 season showed that, in three sample areas, beer production was the most lucrative source of off-farm income (besides remittances) and more so than all on-farm activities except for sales of maize and beans. In Mbala, Northern Province, it was estimated that, in one sample household, beer production constituted about 30 per cent of the value of household production, while in other households, it provided between 5 and 14

per cent of the total.[61] For the sample as a whole, beer production represented about 7 per cent of the total value of production, which was more than the contributions of piecework, crafts, sales of charcoal and fish put together.[62]

There were, nonetheless, some negative implications to the rise in beer production: first, declining household food stocks with the increasing amounts of maize and millet used to produce beer; and secondly, a rise in the level of domestic conflict due both to the rise in beer consumption and to the increase in income under women's control.[63]

3. Rural Health Provision

Section III.2 mentioned the level of health service provision in Zambia, especially of the urban bias of much of this provision and the extent to which changes in government spending in recent years may have aggravated this bias.

Table 20 shows the magnitude of the urban bias in the health care system, despite government efforts to develop rural health services and, more recently, to adopt a primary health care approach. (the figures are taken from a review of primary health care in Zambia).

Table 20: Annual Allocations for Health Expenditure, 1980-82
(Kwachas per capita)

Rural Health Centre (RHC) areas	0.60
RHC + District Hospital areas	1.50
RHC + District + Provincial Hospital areas	2.35
Lusaka (Urban) areas	12.27

Source: Freund, P. (1986) 'Health Care in a Declining Economy: The Case of Zambia', Social Science and Medicine, 23:9, p 879.

A survey of health centres in 1986 showed that, as well as a bias in the regional distribution of services, 73 per cent of the centres had staff vacancies, 51 per cent of all vehicles were off the road and many of the rest were in very poor working order.[64] The most critical problem for rural health centres has been the supply of essential drugs and equipment. According to UNICEF estimates, only about K15 million of the budgeted K106 million was released for drug purchases in 1986/87 because the funds were not available. A survey of 63 rural health centres showed that, in some Provinces, the average out-of-stock period for essential oral rehydration salts, prophylactics and antibiotics was around 30 weeks.[65] The shortage of foreign exchange has also hit supplies of other essentials - from bicycles to syringes to soap. Immunisation schemes have been severely affected by lack of transport and shortage of kerosene to run refrigerators. As shortages worsen, a parallel market in essential drugs has begun to flourish, but at a very high price to the average rural household.

The decline in the services provided by rural health centres had a direct effect on the primary services most often used by women and children, such as maternal and child health clinics which undertake immunization etc. As a result, rural people have been forced to travel further to receive treatment and drugs. This meant that individuals and households have incurred

additional transport costs as well as substantial time costs in order to seek medical attention. In many cases, where illnesses have not been critical, treatment has been foregone, but at the cost of prolonged morbidity and, potentially, a decline in productive capacity.

This situation was described in a labour study[66] which cited female respondents who could not 'afford' to be ill, because of the direct cost of treatment and the time spent away from productive tasks. They spoke of the increased time spent caring for sick members of their household, especially if the children were required to attend the local hospital (30km away), where mothers are expected to stay with them to provide meals and subsidiary care for the duration of the treatment. One woman, who had taken time out to accompany her husband while he was receiving hospital treatment, had missed the entire planting season. As a result the couple were subsequently dependent on gifts and transfers from relatives and on hiring out their labour in order to make ends meet.

No data were available on the nutritional implications of changing cropping patterns and rising food prices in rural areas. A nutrition study conducted in the same area as the labour allocation study revealed that while child nutritional status was generally poor, there was no clear evidence to suggest that the expansion of commercial maize production or the increase in female labour-time spent on farm were contributory factors. However, the report does argue that increasing household income through the expansion of maize production does not necessarily improve the welfare or nutritional status of children or other household members, such as women. While income has undoubtedly increased for some (albeit not necessarily in real terms), the cash has had little effect on the local food system. In addition, household welfare is dependent on a combination of 'independent' enterprises and sources of income which are partly under threat from the expansion of hybrid maize cultivation. The report concludes by noting that:

> "There is evidence that child welfare in households with a variety of individual farming and food-processing enterprises is significantly better off than that in households whose resources and labour are concentrated in the hybrid-maize farming of one member".[67]

V. CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study was to examine the distributional implications of the economic reform programme in Zambia (1983-87) for women as producers, reproducers and carers. Ultimately, however, inadequacies in the data prevent the presentation of any conclusive evidence of the implications for women. Nonetheless, from the quantitative information available, it is possible to suggest a number of preliminary conclusions. These are as follows:

(i) In the urban formal sector, stagnant or contracting opportunities for wage employment have directly affected many women workers, especially in the low-paying, low-skilled strata of the public and private sectors. In numbers employed, however, retrenchments in public-sector spending have probably affected males to a greater extent than females. Falling real earnings have, nonetheless, been a phenomenon among all strata of the public-sector and have affected male as well as female employees.

(ii) Stagnant employment in the formal sector combined with rising consumer prices and falling real wages have contributed to the expansion of own-account or self-employment activities in the 'informal sector'. The rise in the number of women participating in the sector is particularly noticeable. These women are generally from lower-income households and are either supplementing their husband's (or their own) formal sector wages or are providing the main source of income as heads of households. In spite of the increased importance of self-employment activities, women in the sector generally lack the resources or skills to develop their earning capacity. As a result, most women are confined to petty trading of fruits, vegetables and home-processed foods for very low returns. Generally, men working in the sector have better access to basic capital and inputs, as well as better chances of returning to formal sector jobs if the opportunities arise.

(iii) The economic reforms have had mixed effects in rural areas. Although aggregate statistics suggest the beginnings of a redistribution of income from urban to rural producers, micro-data suggest that the effects are highly variable between and within rural households. For example, small-scale farm-households able to grow hybrid maize are 'better-off' since the reforms, compared to households growing only the 'traditional' staple crops. However, since household members possess different degrees of bargaining power, the benefits of improved maize income do not accrue evenly within these households. Men tend to be indirect control of maize income and generally make the decisions on how it is to be spent. Women, on the other hand, although they provide more than 50 per cent of the labour time on maize, have only minimal control over maize income or subsequent expenditures. They normally control income from the sale of other, less lucrative crops, which have not been affected by the policy changes. In real terms, therefore, the value of 'women's income' has failed to keep pace with 'men's income', which has direct implications for household consumption patterns.

(iv) Rising consumer prices and shortages of certain essential commodities have affected women both as managers of household consumption and as direct consumers. A micro-study in urban Lusaka revealed a number of different strategies used by women in low-income households to cope with falling real purchasing power. They included: buying less food, buying less protein foods, preparing fewer meals per day and substituting home-grown vegetables for purchased vegetables. In rural areas, women, mainly from poor households but also from some better-off ones, were found to be doing piecework directly in exchange for food and commodities that had become increasingly expensive and difficult to find in rural shops.

(v) In rural and urban areas, retrenchments in government social expenditures have affected the provision of health and education services. The cuts in per capita spending on health services have been particularly serious, and have had the effect, especially in the urban areas, of shifting some of the burden of

health-care back into the home. This directly affects the household position of women, both as reproducers and carers. It is women's unpaid labour time that is most directly affected by family ill-health, while drug shortages, the introduction of hospital user fees (in urban areas) and staff and equipment shortages, have all put additional strain on their household time and resources. Caring for the sick can mean diverting time away from directly productive activities and cause a significant loss of income and, potentially, of consumption, especially in low-income households. The increase in women's/girls' unpaid labour time is one major (albeit hidden) cost of the reduction in government social expenditures.

VI. RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS ON DATA COLLECTION

It is argued that women's greater involvement in both the formal and the informal-labour markets, plus their increased workload within the household sector due to reduced resources and social services provided by the state, have all contributed to intensifying women's labour. Furthermore, inflation and the removal of food subsidies have raised the cost of living to an extent that consumption has been reduced. Conclusive evidence of the distributional implications of these effects is not however available because of inadequacies in the data base. Therefore, household-level data are needed on the following issues:

(i) labour-time allocation within urban households and the adjustments that are made to accommodate increased involvement by women in economic activities and unpaid family labour responsibilities - providing basic consumption, health-care etc.;

(ii) longitudinal labour-time data within rural households and the adjustments that are made to accommodate changes in production and the costs of social production;

(iii) household income and expenditure patterns by gender[68];

(iv) nutrition and health status disaggregated by gender and age;

(v) the nature and sequencing of household and community "coping" strategies in rural and urban areas, according to a household's socio-economic position, the gender and age of household members etc.

Studies such as the present one almost always conclude with a demand for more detailed data on a range of micro-economic and social issues. While the demand is usually justified, the reality is that data collection, especially of disaggregated household data, is very costly in both human and financial terms. In times of public-sector spending cuts and worsening living conditions, resources for data collection have a prohibitively high opportunity cost which make it unreal to expect yet more data to be collected without very careful consideration. In addition, some of the necessary data may already exist in small-scale surveys and field studies that have not yet been uncovered. Thus it is recommended that: first, an examination of existing sources of data be carried out before any demands are made for new surveys; and second, that on certain topics such as "coping" strategies,

consumption patterns, health status etc., additional data be generated by using small-sample and rapid appraisal techniques which can produce quick and effective results at minimal cost.

Notes

1. Colclough, C. (1988) 'Zambian Adjustment Strategy - with and without the IMF'; IDS Bulletin Vol. 19:1.

2. Ibid.

3. In 1963, 20.5 per cent of the population was urban, in 1969 29.5 per cent and in 1980 43 per cent - the third largest urban population in Africa.

4. Strickland, R. (1989) 'IMF Stabilisation and the Effects on Income Distribution and Welfare: The Case of Zambia', Ph.D thesis, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. The loan package was worth an estimated K650m (US$300m).

8. Colclough op cit.

9. Clark, J. & Keen, D. (1988) 'Debt and Poverty: the Case of Zambia', Oxfam

10. Strickland op. cit.

11. This helped to ease import constraints. Aggregate agricultural production showed marked gains during the year, due to a combination of good rains, higher producer prices and increased availability of foreign exchange for spare parts and inputs.

12. K8.00 = US$1.

13. The Economist Intelligence Unit (1988) 'Country Report: Zambia', No.3, London.

14. Only fragmented, cross-section data are available for this section and the analysis should be interpreted with some caution.

15. That is excluding non-Zambians.

16. The number of economically active females is considered to be an underestimate, however, due to problems in accounting for women's unpaid economic activity - see Bardouille, R. (1988) 'Opportunities for Women in Economic Activities in Zambia', Zimbabwe Journal of Economics 2:1.

17. This figure refers to both rural and urban Zambia, although most formal sector jobs are based in urban areas.

18. In the 1985 survey this includes the informal sector.

19. Valentine, T.R. (1985) 'Income-Distribution Issues in a Structurally Dependent Economy: An Analysis of Growing Income Inequality in Zambia', in The Zambian Economy: Problems and Prospects; IDRC (Ottawa) p228.

20. Low income can be defined in a number of ways. In urban Zambia the low-income group included households with gross monthly incomes of less than K150 in 1980 (below K481 in 1985). High income households included those with incomes above K400 per month in 1980 (K1,284 in 1985). Strickland, R. (1989) from CSO, "Consumer Price Statistics", Bulletin no. 1, 21.1980.

21. Bardouille, R. (1986) 'Manpower and Employment: Review of Recent trends in the Labour Market in Zambia'; UNDP Restructuring and Development in Zambia: Roles for Technical Cooperation, New York.

22. Lusaka Urban Labour Force Survey (1987).

23. Munachonga, M.L. (1986) 'Impact of Economic Adjustment on Women in Zambia'; UNDP Restructuring and Development in Zambia: Roles for Technical Cooperation, New York.

24. Mulenga, A.P. (1986); UNDP op.cit.

25. The Government's 'New Economic Recovery Programme: Fourth National Development Plan, 1989-1993' states that "formal sector employment would have to grow at the annual rate of 15 to 17 per cent to absorb the new additions to the labour force.... In the absence of employment opportunities in the formal sector (consisting of officially registered and licensed economic activities and businesses) a large section of the labour force is compelled to resort to other activities generally referred to collectively as the informal sector" (p67). The same report defines the informal sector broadly as consisting of all subsistence farmers, all own-account workers and all employers in unlicensed and unregistered businesses. It draws a further distinction between subsistence activities, which constitute 72 per cent of total informal sector employment, and 'modern or market oriented' unregistered or unlicensed activities which constitute about 22 per cent of total employment and almost equals formal sector employment.

26. ILO/SATEP (1984) 'The Impact of the Recent World Recession on the Zambian Economy; Lusaka (First Draft, p69).

27. Bardouille, R. (1988) op. cit.

28. IMF (1988) Occasional Paper no. 58, pp32-34.

29. Strickland (1989) op. cit.

30. IBRD (1986) "The Social Impact of the Economic Reforms in Zambia".

31. Clark, J & Keen, D. (1988) op. cit.

32. As available figures are not disaggregated by gender it cannot be established whether girls are more vulnerable to malnutrition and related diseases than boys.

33. Kwofie (1984) in UNICEF/GRZ (1986) 'Situation Analysis of Women and Children in Zambia', p.73.

34. Munachonga, M.L. (1986) op. cit.; Mulenga, A.P. & Mwansa, L.K. (1986) op. cit.

35. Swedish International Development Agency (1987) 'Education and Economic Crisis - the cases of Mozambique and Zambia'; Education Division documents No. 38.

36. Musonda, S. (1985) p. 301, op. cit.

37. K1= US$ 0.37 in 1985.

38. Clark, J and Keen, D (1988) op. cit.

39. Young single men may also have experienced greater difficulty than married men who tended to be older and in more secure employment.

40. Munachonga (1986) op. cit. p. 13.

41. Sanyal, B (1984) 'Urban Agriculture": A Strategy for Survival in Zambia'; Ph.D. UCLA.

42. Ibid, p. 166.

43. Mulenga, M.L. et al (1986), op. cit.

44. The agricultural sector in Zambia is characterised by dualism. Approximately 87 per cent (610,000) of all households in the rural areas are classified as 'traditional' or 'subsistence'. On the other hand there are 1,500-2,000 commercial farmers, many of them Europeans, who benefit from ready access to inputs, markets and services. They produce most of the country's agricultural exports. Between these two segments are a small group of "emergent farmers", the majority of whom are Zambian, ex-migrant and located on good quality land with adequate access to markets and services (Sanyal, B. (1988) 'Rural Development and Economic Stabilisation: Can They Be Attained Simultaneously?').

45. Clark, J & Keen, D (1988) op. cit.

46. The producer price for maize rose in nominal terms by 142 per cent between 1980 and 1985, although in real terms the increase was only 6 per cent. National maize output increased by 26 per cent over the same period. ODI Briefing Paper 'Agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa', 1987.

47. Kydd, J. (1988) 'Zambia'; Chapter 4, in Harvey, C. (ed) 'Agricultural Pricing Policy in Africa: Four Country Case Studies'; Macmillan.

48. ILO (1987) 'Employment and Incomes in Zambia in the context of structural adjustment'; Summary Report, ILO/SATEP; in Clark & Keen, op. cit., p. 33.

49. Ibid.

50. Zambia, Prices and Incomes Commission (PIC) and Central Statistical Office (CSO), Pilot Household Budget Survey 1985, PIC/CSO (Lusaka), 1987, pp.33-35.

51. These are officially gazetted prices only.

52. Evans, A. & Young, K. (1988) 'Gender Issues in Household Labour Allocation: The Case of Northern Province, Zambia'; ODA/ESCOR Research Report. The study used time allocation data for 1982/3 and cannot, therefore, provide quantitative evidence of the effect of changing producer prices on women's labour time. However, during 1987, additional (qualitative) research was carried out which provided information on the effects of higher producer prices on maize growers.

53. Some households in the sample areas had been growing hybrid maize since the late 1950s. Most however had not started to grow it until the late 1970s or early to mid 1980s. Local maize had been grown widely as a 'traditional' crop although usually as a relish/snack food. Finger millet, cassava and sorghum were the traditional staple crops in the area.

54. Due, J (1986) 'Intra-Household Gender Issues in Farming Systems in Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi'; paper presented at a conference on Gender Issues in Farming Systems Research, Gainsville, Florida.

55. Most were able to hire some casual labour (mainly female) at peak labour periods.

56. According to the 1980 Census, the proportion of households headed by women in the Northern Province ranged between 34 per cent and 52 per cent (CSO, 1980 Census Results, Table A-9).

57. Annual interest rates for agricultural credit in 1987 ranged between 20 and 25 per cent.

58. The most successful maize producing households tended to be headed by ex-migrants who had returned to their villages with savings or compensation from urban employment and who had invested in non-farm enterprises - bars, grocery stores, grinding mills - whose profits were used to fund agricultural expansion, labour hiring etc. There was only one example of a female-headed household operating in this way, and she was dependent on income transfers and investments from her husband who ran a bar and shop on the Copperbelt and was planning to return to the village on his retirement.

59. See Geisler, G. et al (1985) 'The Needs of Rural Women in Northern Province: Analysis and Recommendations'; Republic of Zambia NCDP/NORAD. Also Due, J. & Mudenda, T. (1985) 'Women's Contributions to Farming Systems and Household Incomes in Zambia'; Michigan State University WID Series No. 85, East Lansing.

60. IRDP (SMCI)/NFNC (1987), 'Report of the Nutritional Anthropology Investigation'.

61. Total value of production refers to the estimated value in cash or kind of on-farm and off-farm activities during the 1985-86 season. The difficulties in estimating the value of certain activities, including beer production, mean that the estimates cannot be precise; but they are nevertheless useful indicators of magnitudes (figures are gross, not net).

62. These data were provided to the author by Richard Bolt, the ARPT economist, during a visit in July 1987.

63. In the past, beer had been brewed for social occasions and as refreshment for communal work parties, and not directly for sale. Hence its consumption was more closely regulated.

64. Zambia in Figures (1986), Central Statistical Office, Lusaka.

65. Cited in Clark & Keen, op. cit., p30.

66. Evans, A & Young, K, op. cit.

67. IRDP (SMCI)/NFNC (1987) op. cit.

68. A major USAID/RDSB (UNZA) household-budget survey has been underway in Zambia for some years. The results are as yet not available, but when they are, they should provide a rich and invaluable source of household level data.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN ZIMBABWE: ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN

R S Maya

ON ASSIGNMENT FROM THE
CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

for

The Government of Zimbabwe: Ministry of
Cooperatives Community Development and
Women's Affairs

November 1988

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN ZIMBABWE: ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN

		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	371
	1. Definition of Structural Adjustment	371
	2. Instruments to Achieve Structural Adjustment	372
II.	REVIEW OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES AND RELATED ARRANGEMENTS	373
	1. Exchange Rate Devaluation	373
	2. Removal of Consumer Subsidies	373
	3. Support for Farmers	377
	4. Credit Facilitation for Small Enterprises	380
	5. Import Liberalisation	381
	6. Export Promotion	381
	7. Budgetary Allocations for Public Expenditure	381
III.	ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJSUTMENT ON WOMEN	382
	1. Action to Improve Women's Economic Position	382
	2. Impact of Specific Structural Adjustment Instruments	384
	3. Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women's Employment	388
	4. Female Participation in the Education System	390
	5. Impact on Women of the Government's Health Programme	393
IV.	ANALYTICAL SUMMARY AND PROPOSALS TO HELP UPGRADE WOMEN'S ECONOMIC STATUS	394

Page

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Phasing Out of Consumer subsidies, 1980-84	374
2.	Some Products with Controlled Prices: Price Increases, 1982-87	374
3.	Minimum Wage Stipulations, 1980-88	375
4. (a)	Maximum Permitted Rates of Increases of Income, January 1982	376
4. (b)	Maximum Permitted Rates of Increases on Imcome, January 1985	376
4. (c)	Maximum Permitted Rates of Increases of Income, March 1988	377
5.	Agricultural Trading Subsidies: Government Payments to the Grain Marketing Board: 1985/86-1987/88	378
6. (a)	SEDCO Loans: Distribution by Type of Ownership, 1985-87	380
6. (b)	SEDCO Loans: Distribution by Sector, 1985-87	380
7.	Ministry of Cooperatives, Community Development and Women's Affairs: Income Generating Projects in Zimbabwe	383
8.	Enrolment of Literacy Learners, 1983-87	384
9.	Size and Sex Distribution of the Labour Force by Sector, 1981 and 1985	385
10.	Distribution of Skills by Sex	386
11.	Budgetary Allocation for a Worker on a Minimum Wage	386
12.	Reasons Given by Women for Entering the Informal Sector: A Sample Study, 1987	389
13.	Employment of Labour by Sector and Sex, 1984	389
14.	Permanent and Casual Employment Trends, 1977-84, Based on Aricultural Sector	390
15. (a)	Enrolment in Primary Schools by Sex and Grade, 1979-86	392
15. (b)	Enrolment in Secondary Schools by Sex and Form, 1979-86	392
15. (c)	Enrolment in Tertiary Institutions by Sex, 1980-88	392
16.	Primary Health-Care Programme, Related Infrastructural and Construction Projects - Completed by the First Half of 1984	393

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

1. (a) Number of AFC Loans per Farm Category, 1980/81-1987/88 379

1. (b) Value of AFC Loans per Farm Category, 1980/81-1987/88 379

1. (c) Value to Volume Ratios for Loans to Resettlement and Communal Farmers, 1980/81-1987/88 379

2. (a) Enrolment Trends in Primary Schools by Sex, 1979-86 392

2. (b) Enrolment Trends in Form 6 of Secondary Schools by Sex, 1979-86 392

2. (c) General Enrolment Trends in Secondary Schools by Sex, 1979-86 392

FOOTNOTES 396

I. INTRODUCTION

The task of assessing the impact of structural adjustment programmes on the women of Zimbabwe is unusually difficult for four basic reasons. First, there is no clear definition in Zimbabwe of which particular programmes of government constitute the structural adjustment effort or are intended to effect structural adjustment in the economy. Secondly, there has been no pronouncement by the Government that Zimbabwe has embarked on a programme of structural adjustment. Rather, it has strongly denied implementing an International Monetary Fund type of structural adjustment, let alone doing so at the behest of the IMF.[1] Rather, the Government has claimed that Zimbabwe has begun, or is preparing, to effect its own form of structural adjustment. As early as 1982, Senior Minister Chidzero, in explaining a decision to tighten foreign currency allocations, said that:

> We must take measures which will promote exports ... and will sustain production for export ... for our minerals, agricultural produce, and manufactures. To do these things we must take a number of policy measures for adjustment.[2]

Speaking at a World Bank-sponsored regional seminar on structural adjustment, held at Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, in March 1988, the Minister of Trade and Commerce rejected structural adjustment of the type promoted by the IMF and World Bank because, in his view, "the Structural Adjustment that is expected of us is an adjustment to suit our masters rather than to suit us". He also criticised mandatory exchange rate devaluations and trade liberalisation on the grounds that they do not result in increased exports of manufactured goods. Thirdly, the impact of structural adjustment programmes on women is simply difficult to quantify. Fourthly, government interventions are occurring in the midst of an overall policy which seeks to re-orient the economy towards socialism.

For all these reasons it is necessary at the outset to attempt first to define what is meant by structural adjustment in the Zimbabwean context and then to distinguish which of the Government's interventions can be linked specifically to the structural adjustment concept.

1. Definition of Structural Adjustment

Structural adjustment can generally be defined as the reorientation of the economy towards a different set of relationships between various sectors of the national economy on the one hand, and between the national and the international economy on the other hand. The convention to date tends to identify structural adjustment with IMF and or World Bank-mandated measures which seek primarily to:

(i) reduce government involvement in determining the sectoral relationships in the economy - i.e. liberalise the local factor and product markets;

(ii) liberalise international trade, mainly by opening up the local market to foreign products - especially by lifting protection of local industries;

(iii) evolve an export-led process of industrial development;

(iv) reduce government spending, mainly by cutting social support or subsidy programmes;

(v) relinquish the activities of public-sector statutory production or service organisations to private hands, particularly for the purpose of improving efficiency; and

(vi) encourage private self-interested initiative as a path to economic development.

Generally, critics of the IMF and World Bank have said that the above guidelines are intended not to benefit the implementing country but to guarantee that the two institutions can recover the money they have lent to the adjusting country.

As stated earlier, the Zimbabwe Government has denied the influence of, let alone any instruction by, the IMF or World Bank in its policy development; yet it has also admitted considering its own interventions as a form of structural adjustment whose objective is to shift the economy towards a "self-financing" position, whereby the productive sector can both finance itself and support the budgetary costs of social and other non-productive elements of the national programme. In planning for the 1988/89 budget, the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development prepared three major papers on this subject; one dealt with trade liberalisation, the other two concerned subsidies.

2. Instruments to Achieve Structural Adjustment

The instruments used in Zimbabwe's type of structural adjustment have not so far been made very explicit. However, there have been a number of Government activities and instruments of intervention which fall within the purview of the Zimbabwean concept of structural adjustment, as well as those which are included in the IMF's or the World Bank's prescriptions for structural adjustment. But there are are yet other instruments whose effects might at one point or another negate the objectives both of the Government and of the IMF/World Bank.

Since independence the Government has used the following instruments to intervene in the economy:

(i) exchange rate devaluation
(ii) removal of consumer subsidies
(iii) support for farmers
(iv) credit facilitation for small enterprises
(v) price controls
(vi) income controls
(vii) labour relations controls
(viii) education subsidies
(ix) investment controls
(x) import restrictions
(xi) import liberalisation
(xii) export promotion
(xiii) land reform
(xiv) rent control
(xv) reduction in welfare spending
(xvi) expenditure switching

(xvii) transport subsidies
(xviii) health care subsidies.

Of these 18 instruments only seven can be described as belonging to the concept of structural adjustment. These are: exchange rate devaluation, removal of consumer subsidies, support for farmers, credit facilitation, import liberalisation, export promotion and reduction in welfare spending. The educational subsidy is under discussion and may be withdrawn.

In Section II an attempt is made to "contextualise" these instruments of structural adjustment and to examine any cushioning measures that have been introduced in connection with each of them. Section III attempts to assess the impact of structural adjustment on women's socio-economic position and aspirations, and Section IV summarises women's position and makes some proposals to help upgrade their economic status.

II. REVIEW OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES AND RELATED ARRANGEMENTS

1. Exchange Rate Devaluation

Early in 1983 the Zimbabwe dollar was devalued by about 20 per cent in the wake of negotiations with the IMF on a standby agreement which was concluded in March 1983. Neither the devaluation nor the negotiations with the IMF were popular with the public, some members of parliament or the industrial establishment. It was felt by some that the Government might well have devalued and taken other steps either at the behest of the IMF or as a voluntary initiative in preparation for the standby agreement. It is not however clear which of these was the case.[3]

The industrial establishment was concerned with the immediate effect of the devaluation on the local costs of debt denominated in foreign currency and of imports. For though devaluation was intended to raise the "exportability" of Zimbabwe products, it had the effect of reducing local capacity to import foreign inputs to industry. In the absence of (i) adequate supplies of foreign exchange, (ii) assured export markets, and (iii) sufficient local supplies of capital equipment and inputs to manufacturing, it is difficult to visualise how the devaluation could have helped economic expansion.

2. Removal of Consumer Subsidies

Soon after independence the Government adopted a policy which allowed for the gradual reduction of consumer subsidies, with a view to achieving their eventual elimination. Table 1 shows the level and rate of removal of consumer subsidies in 1980-84.

The Government argued that subsidies exert an undue financial burden on the state and also tend to benefit high-income urban people more than low-income rural groups. In line with the objective of shifting resources away from the 'non-productive' sectors of the economy so as to benefit the 'productive' sectors, subsidies have now been removed from all consumer items. Their removal has, however, been tied in with the parallel implementation of both a pricing policy and an incomes policy.

As regards the pricing policy, the Government in 1982 established a Price Control Board and a Price Control Committee whose functions were to: advise the Minister of Trade and Commerce on matters relating to price control; check on profiteering and public exploitation by traders; and determine whether basic commodities are available at reasonable prices.

TABLE 1: Phasing Out of Consumer Subsidies, 1980-84
(Z$million and percentages)

Subsidy	1980	1981	Per cent change	1982	Per cent change	1983	Per cent change	1984	Per cent change
Bakers flour		14.9	n.a.	8.5	-43	0	-100	0	0
Edible oils		5.0	n.a.	6.2	24	0	-100	0	0
Maize meal		12.5	n.a.	64.8	418	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Opaque beer		0.7	n.a.	0.4	-43	0	-100	0	0
Total consumer	8.1	33.0	307	79.9	142	52.0	-35	28.0*	-46
Total producer and consumer	37.7	68.7	82	122.1	78	126.5	4	64.5	-49

* Wheat and maize meal subsidy only.
n.a. not available.

Following a general freeze on prices for all commodities introduced in 1981, various price controls were instituted between 1982 and 1987, as shown in Table 2. But it has to be appreciated that these controls are basically nominal, as the Government has been unable to enforce them at retail outlets.

TABLE 2: Some Products with Controlled Prices: Price Increases, 1982-87
(Percentages)

Olivine bottles	375ml	83.6
" "	750ml	81.7
Panol bottles	375ml	83.3
" "	750ml	81.7
Helio bottles	750ml	82.5
Covo bottles	375ml	83.6
Solo bottles	738ml	82.5
Roil bottles	375ml	83.3
Holsum fat	125g	83.3
" "	250g	81.8
" "	500g	83.8
Beef fillet	kg	88.7
Beef rump steak	kg	101.2
Beef topside	kg	98.3
Soft drinks	175ml	50.0a
" "	300ml	42.1a
" "	750ml	42.5a
" "	750ml (screw top)	40.5a

a Percentage change 1983-87.
Source: Estimates by Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies.

Under its incomes policy the Government enacted minimum wages on the one hand and imposed wage freezes with controlled adjustments for both industry and the public sector on the other hand. Minimum wages were instituted for each year from 1980, as shown in Table 3. Under this arrangement the average real income for workers paid the minimum wage in 1988 was about 5 per cent below the 1980 level and about 20 per cent lower than the 1982 peak of Z$83.90. Real incomes for agricultural and domestic workers on the minimum wage, however, increased by 43 per cent. The incomes of people not on the minimum wage are periodically reviewed by the Government and increased according to a percentage schedule. Some of these increases are shown in Tables 4(a)-(c).

TABLE 3: Minimum Wage Stipulations, 1980-88
(Z$s)

Year	Average, nominal terms	Average, real terms	Agricultural workers, real terms	Domestic workers, real terms
1980	70	70	30	30
1981	85	75	30	30
1982	105	84	30	30
1983	115	75	50	50
1984	125	67	65	65
1985	143	71	75	75
1986	158	69	n.a.	n.a.
1987	158	61	n.a.	n.a.
1988	182	67	115	120

Sources: Col. 2: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions; Cols. 4 & 5: Government Gazette.

Other instruments which affect incomes, particularly those of women, are contained in the Labour Relations Act. These prohibit discriminatory wage practices on the basis of sex and grant paid maternity leave under certain conditions.

TABLE 4(a): Maximum Permitted Rates of Increase of Income, January 1982

Income (Z$)	Maximum Increase (Percentages)
1 200 or less	23.5
1 201 to 2 200	20.0
2 201 to 3 000	17.0
3 001 to 4 000	16.0
4 001 to 5 000	15.0
5 001 to 6 000	14.5
6 001 to 7 000	14.0
7 001 to 8 000	13.5
8 001 to 9 000	13.0
9 001 to 10 000	12.5
10 001 to 12 000	9.0
12 001 to 15 000	5.0
15 001 to 18 000	2.0
18 001 to 20 000	1.0
over 20 000	0

Source: Government Gazette.

TABLE 4(b): Maximum Permitted Rates of Increase on Income, January 1985

Income (Z$)	Maximum Increase (Percentages)
3 600 or less	15.0
3 601 to 7 200	14.0
7 201 to 10 800	12.5
10 801 to 14 400	11.0
14 401 to 18 000	9.5
18 001 to 21 600	8.0
21 001 to 25 200	6.5
25 201 to 28 500	5.0
28 501 to 32 800	3.5
32 801 to 36 000	2.0
over 36 000	0

Source: Government Gazette.

TABLE 4(c): Maximum Permitted Rates of Increase of Income, March 1988

Income (Z$)	Maximum Increase (Percentages)
3 600 or less	15
3 601 to 5 400	14
5 401 to 7 200	13
7 201 to 10 800	12
10 801 to 14 400	11
14 401 to 18 000	10
18 001 to 21 600	9
21 601 to 25 200	7
25 201 to 28 800	5
28 801 to 32 400	4
32 401 to 36 000	3
36 001 to 39 600	2.5
39 601 to 45 000	2
over 45 000	0

Source: Government Gazette, Statutory Instrument 26A, 1988.

3. Support for Farmers

There are four categories of farmer in Zimbabwe: the large-scale commercial farmers (LSCF), the small-scale commercial farmers (SSCF), the farmers still on comparatively poor communal land assigned to them during the colonial era, and those farmers who have recently been or are in the process of being resettled in more productive land areas.[4]

For the farmers on communal land, producer prices above levels at which the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) sells products to its customers are granted to compensate for high input costs and to enable them to enjoy some margin on their sales. The level of subsidies to these farmers can be estimated by the value of the compensation payments made by the Government to the GMB. These are shown in Table 5 for the period 1985/86-1987/88. Grain marketing facilities are also being extended to the more remote farming areas, as part of the normal process of agricultural development.

TABLE 5: Agricultural Trading Subsidies: Government Payments to the Grain Marketing Board: 1985/86-1987/88 (Z$ million)

Agricultural Product	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88
Maize	47.99	44.07	88.78
Soya Beans	2.51	1.63	1.62
Wheat	10.73	6.06	17.50
Sorghum	.74	-	3.70
Groundnuts	.01	.23	.74
Mhunga	.40	5.26	8.27
Sunflower	-	.17	-
Rapoko	-	1.70	3.27
Total	62.38	59.12	123.88

Source: GMB.

In another form of subsidy, loans are granted to farmers in all four categories, through the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC). These carry a much lower interest rate than loans from the commercial banks (13 per cent and 23 per cent at the time of writing). The Government acts as guarantor for AFC loans to farmers in communal and resettlement areas. If the AFC fails to recoup these loans, it has recourse to the Government to recover the sums involved.

The pattern of AFC loans to the four categories of farmer between 1980/81 and 1987/88 is depicted in Figures 1(a), (b) and (c). Figure 1(a) shows trends in the number of loans given to each category ; Figure 1(b) shows trends in the value of those loans; and Figure 1(c) compares the value of the loans with their volume in respect of two of those categories, viz. communal farmers and resettlement farmers. Over this period, 68.2 per cent of the value of total loans went to the LSCF, 8.7 per cent to the SSCF, 19.6 per cent to those on communal lands, and 3.5 per cent to those being resettled.

The AFC requires that the borrower be a registered farmer in his/her own name and that he/she submit a viable farming programme. Consideration is also given to previous farming records, collateral security, and the application's own contribution to the cost of the farming programme for which the loan is being sought. The conditions are very relaxed and have enabled the corporation to lend to a growing number of farmers since 1980, as shown in Figure 1(a).

FIGURE 1(a)

No. OF AFC LOANS PER FARM CATEGORY, 1980/81 - 87/88

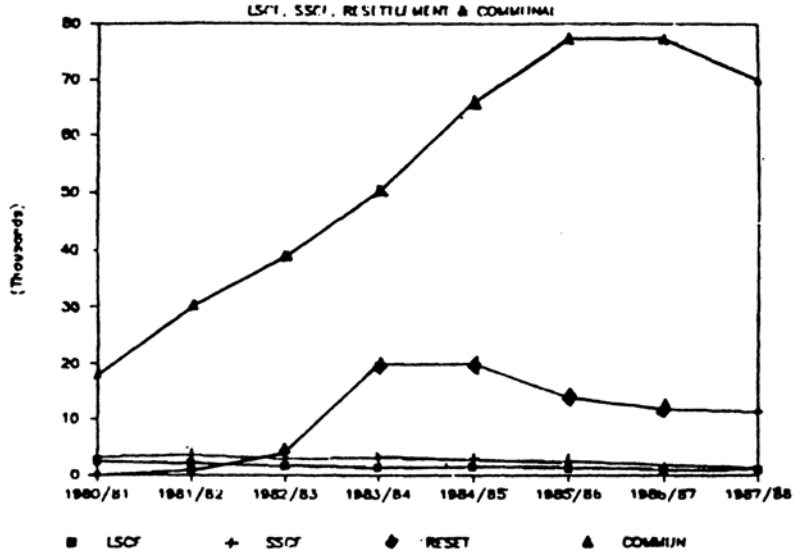


FIGURE 1(b)

VALUE OF AFC LOANS PER FARM CATEGORY, 1980/81 - 87/88

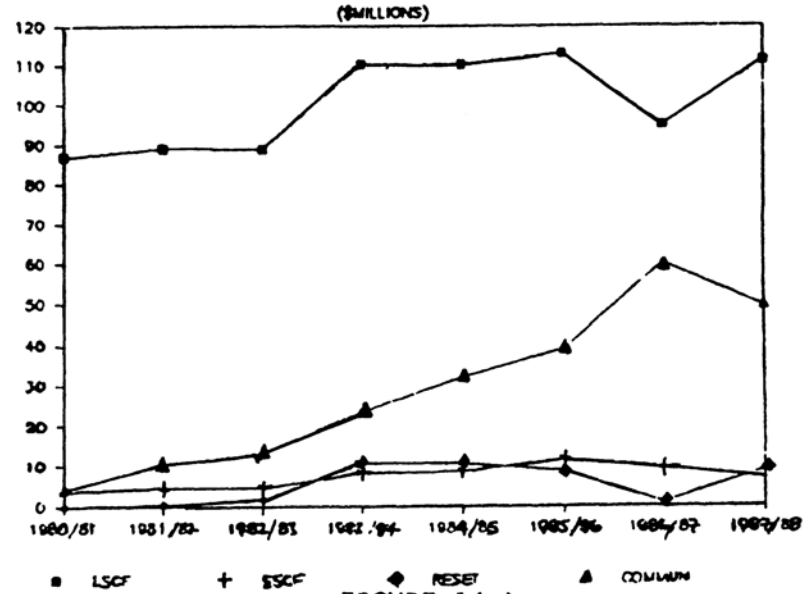
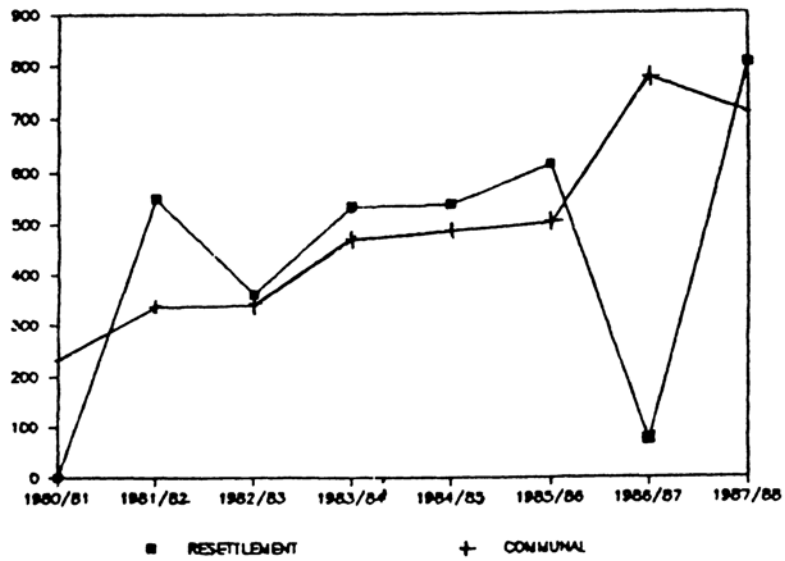


FIGURE 1(c)

VALUE TO VOLUME RATIOS FOR LOANS TO RESETTLEMENT AND COMMUNAL FARMERS, 1980/81 - 87/88



4. Credit Facilitation for Small Enterprises

Government intervention in the agricultural credit facility is matched in the area of commercial credit by an intervention through SEDCO, the Small Enterprises Development Corporation. SEDCO offers loans to individuals or groups wishing to engage in a wide range of enterprises as sole proprietors, co-operatives, companies, or partnerships. Generally these forms of enterprise combine men and women. But as with the AFC, SEDCO does not have any specific provision to support women or give them special consideration beyond that available to people from any other social grouping applying for its services. On the other hand some practices, procedures or policies could discriminate against women applicants. Among them is that SEDCO requires an applicant or group of applicants to put forward 15 per cent of the equity in order to quality for funding. Another form of possible discrimination could occur in the event of SEDCO favouring projects or areas of investment which are less well patronised by women, although to date no such bias has been detected.

The distribution of SEDCO loans is given in Tables 6(a) and 6(b) for the years 1985-87.

TABLE 6(a): SEDCO Loans: Distribution by Type of Ownership, 1985-87 (Percentages)

	Sole Proprietors	Partnerships	Co-operatives	Companies
1985	51.9	3.7	29.6	14.8
1986	64.1	8.3	9.0	18.6
1987	68.9	5.9	4.6	20.6

Source: SEDCO Annual Reports, 1985-87.

TABLE 6(b): SEDCO Loans: Distribution by Sector, 1985-87 (Percentages)

Year	Commerce	Industry	Construction	Services
1985	54.1	25.9	1.5	18.5
1986	61.4	24.4	3.1	12.1
1987	50.8	37.2	-	12.0

Source: SEDCO Annual Reports, 1985-87

SEDCO figures indicate that female borrowers received 6.4, 13.9 and 11.0 per cent of the total loans made for the years 1985, 1986 and 1987 respectively. However, these figures apply only to women in the sole proprietorship category.

5. Import Liberalisation

This instrument was instituted in October 1987 and affected mainly consumer items imported for personal use. Basically the liberalisation enabled people to import without duty or licence, items valued at up to Z$500 per person. Restrictions on the type of items imported were also lifted. Under this arrangement people returning from holiday and business trips brought in a wide assortment of items at twice the former rate. They included motor vehicles, sewing machines, knitting machines, typewriters, cash registers, motor spares, VCRs, TVs and small household items. Within a short period, there was a significant increase in holiday and business trips to certain neighbouring countries, mainly by women who later sold their imported goods locally at much higher prices. A significant segment of the informal sector thus came into existence. The Government decided to curtail this practice by limiting the amount allowable for the purchase of personal items and requiring an import licence for electrical and electronic goods. The major impact was to make it almost impossible for travellers to use their allowance to purchase cars.

Liberalisation of imports required by industry and other major sectors of the economy was not significant, due mainly to foreign currency limitations. There were however a number of increases in foreign currency allocations for industrial inputs. In his Financial Statement of 21 July 1988, the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development announced refunds of import duties and sales taxes to assist manufacturers to import capital equipment for new industrial projects.

6. Export Promotion

Exports are promoted through fiscal incentives which include a duty drawback scheme providing manufacturers with duty-free imports, a 9 per cent export subsidy applied to all manufactures, and a revolving fund to guarantee foreign exchange to producers exporting manfuactures and, since 1987, agricultural and mining products.

7. Budgetary Allocations for Public Expenditure

Trends in public expenditure on 'productive' investment, agriculture, education and health-care need to be reviewed in order to determine the degree to which expenditure has been, or is being, switched to the 'productive' sectors at the expense of items which exclusively or primarily concern women. According to the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, the major 'non-productive' sectors in terms of budgetary allocations are education, defence and the civil service.

Trends in budgetary allocations showed some changes in the pattern of government expenditure between 1980/81 and 1985/86. While the proportion allocated to defence, for example, remained fairly steady, that on education increased markedly. The proportion of budgetary resources allocated to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Government's main conduit for social expenditure, rose until 1983/84, but subsequently declined by half. Data on expenditure by the Ministry of Cooperatives, Community Development and Women's Affairs are combined with those for Youth, Sport and Culture. Moreover, given the frequent changes in purpose and composition of different ministries, it is not easy to keep track of budgetary allocations to them. But those to this Ministry remained a very small proportion of the total,

albeit an increasing one. The Public Service Ministry, a major concern of the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, and an obvious target for IMF strictures, accounted for 4 per cent of the total budget in 1981/82 and remained at around that level in the subsequent years cited.

It is not easy to assess whether the Government has begun substantially to reduce social spending or to switch resources to the 'productive sectors' at the expense of the 'non-productive' ones. Signals from the allocations for labour and social welfare can be misleading, since changes also reflect outlays for other purposes such as drought relief and, earlier, for demobilisation. Generally, it may be said that the Government has a tendency to favour the 'productive' sectors, albeit in a rather cautious manner.

III. ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN

The reasons for the inherent difficulty of trying to assess the impact of specific structural adjustment instruments on women's socio-economic position and possible aspirations were stated in the Introduction and the constraints highlighted in Section II.

First, data and other administrative information in the country are generally not disaggregated by sex. Second, the statutory mandates of the parastatals like the AFC and SEDCO do not give consideration to sex-specific or sex-biased resource management. Third, the thrust of the Ministry of Finance, Economic Planning and Development does not take account of the specific interests of women beyond recognition of the activities of the Ministry of Co-operatives, Community Development and Women's Affairs (CCDWA). These limitations reduce the following material to the status of general inferences offered with low levels of confidence. These inferences, nevertheless, should be useful in indicating areas of possible policy improvement.

It is well known that in many Third World countries structural adjustment, while intended to benefit the general economy, does have negative effects on certain groups, particularly the under-privileged such as women. Governments undertaking structural adjustment programmes should recognise this and to seek to cushion the victims in a variety of ways.

1. Action to Improve Women's Economic Position

Before assessing the specific impact on women of the instruments reviewed in Section II and their associated cushioning arrangements, it should be noted that structural adjustment is being undertaken against a background of general efforts to elevate the status of women in the economy and society and thus to ameliorate its negative economic effects on them. These efforts include funding of certain projects initiated by the CCDWA Ministry, extending credit to women through SEDCO and AFC (as discussed in Section I), entitlement of women farmers to land, separate taxation, and a general attempt to improve the position of women in the traditional sectors of employment.

Most of the CCDWA Ministry's projects are concerned with small-scale, community-based enterprises, in Table 7, generally dependent on local markets. Some of the projects are listed but which also indicates the level

of women's participation. Most of the community projects cost around Z$200 each, with the bulk of this amount being provided by the Ministry.

(Take in 2 parts of Table 7)

TABLE 7: Ministry of Cooperatives, Community Development and Women's Affairs: Income Generating Projects in Zimbabwe

Types of Project	Number of Projects	Number of Participants Male	Female	Total
Bakeries	491	570	12,146	12,716
Uniform making	612	621	13,091	13,712
Soap making	22	62	374	436
Wire making	3	13	27	40
Crafts	218	241	574	815
Pottery	76	24	490	514
Poultry	339	729	4,264	4,993
Rabbitry	25	143	52	195
Fish ponds	22	153	116	269
Co-op gardens	704	2,455	16,090	18,545
Co-op shops	18	185	883	1,068
Basketry	170	31	1,269	1,300
Sisal asbestos	6	78	69	147
Leather work	1	17	-	17
Carpentry	13	45	-	45
Hawkers' coops	11	35	247	282
Weaving	4	2	106	108
Knitting	69	-	607	607
Pig raising	51	191	231	422
Wood carving	3	10	45	55
Brick moulding	81	275	167	442
Bee keeping	11	4	20	24
Fruit canning	3	-	260	260
Cattle fattening	27	39	20	59
Crotchet work	80	-	92	92
Dressmaking	212	-	2,547	2,547
Irrigation schemes	10	659	356	1,015
Crop farming	2	78	703	781
Grinding mills	6	7	-	7
Timber cutting	2	na	na	356
Fishing	na	na	na	187
Blacksmiths	1	24	4	28
Totals		6,573	54,805	62,084

It has not yet been possible to evaluate the success of these projects, but it is clear that they are not of the type or size to effect a transformation of women's economic position in society. The Ministry has, however, started two "national-level" projects for women at Seke, which demonstrate an effort to promote a more meaningful position for women in the country's 'productive' sectors, over and above their role in agriculture.

The Ministry has coupled its community-based projects programme with a skills training programme. Under this it has so far organised about 520 courses which, coupled with the adult literacy programme (see Table 8), should provide an effective support system for the managerial aspects of implementing the small-scale income-generating projects that are being mounted in rural communities.

TABLE 8: Enrolment of Literacy Learners, 1983-87

Year	Females	Males	Total
1983	26,277	13,375	90,052
1984	100,038	17,423	117,461
1985	89,527	15,676	105,203
1986	68,703	13,435	82,138
1987	n.a.	n.a.	107,000

Source: Bare T., Draft Paper on Structural Adjustment and Women (Unpublished).

The Government has sought as well to improve the position of women by removing sex-based tax differentials in 1987. The benefits of this enactment, however, have been uneven. Some women, particularly single women, have been disadvantaged by the separate taxation formula, although it does have positive implications for most married women.

2. Impact of Specific Structural Adjustment Instruments

(i) Exchange rate devaluation

This instrument has had a generally negative effect on the economy but it has hurt the import-based segments more than those which are less dependent on foreign inputs for producing goods.

At the time of devaluation there were no women engaged in any notable way in import-based manufacturing or allied activities outside agriculture. Women were not significant importers, nor were there any large projects intended to promote their enterprises in the import-dependent category of the economy. In that regard, women producers were not directly hurt by devaluation. This conclusion would also apply to women as private importers. The cross-border trade phenomenon mentioned in Section II.5 had not fully materialised as a source of income at the time the dollar was devalued, and it was, moreover, shortly to become an illegal use of the holiday travel allowance. The erosion of women's import capacity would thus not constitute any substantical undermining of their economic position, although if devaluation had occurred during the 1987-88 period of cross-border trade relaxation, the impact on them would have been sharp and immediate.

Devaluation could, however, be said to have affected women as workers in the import-dependent manufacturing sector if it had resulted either in their loss of existing jobs or in precluding them from taking up new ones. But there is no evidence that the devaluation of the dollar in 1983 did lead

to any loss of employment. Nor did the private sector make submissions to the Government requesting staff retrenchments on the basis of the impact on foreign inputs stemming from devaluation.

Table 9 shows that women comprised under 8 per cent of the total employed in manufacturing, the sector most dependent on imports, for two representative years, 1981 and 1985. But this represents only a small proportion of employed women, the bulk of whom work in agriculture and the service sectors. Women's employment in the fast expanding community and social services segments was substantially higher in 1985 than in 1981, whereas that in professional services and distribution failed to keep up with the growth in the total numbers employed in the sector.

TABLE 9: Size and Sex Distribution of the Labour Force by Sector, 1981 and 1985

Sector	Workers					
	1981			1985		
	Total Number	Male %	Female %	Total Number	Male %	Female %
Agriculture, hunting, forestry & fishing	57,660	95	5	134,180	89	11
Mining and quarrying	24,067	93	7	28,869	97	3
Manufacturing	74,067	92	8	103,205	94	6
Electricity, gas and water	3,010	93	7	5,678	96	4
Construction	8,747	97	3	22,869	98	2
Wholesale and retail restaurants & hotels	40,578	77	23	44,587	86	14
Transport, storage and communications	27,006	91	9	10,431	93	7
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	16,297	58	42	27,038	76	24
Community and social services	8,747	72	28	59,327	74	26
Total	298,391	86	14	436,364	88	12

Table 10 shows that women are in a minority in respect of all the categories of skill enumerated, but that they form a larger proportion of the work force in the professional and other skilled categories than in the semi-skilled and unskilled ones.

TABLE 10: Distribution of Skills by Sex (percentages of total, all sectors)

	Males	Females
Semi-skilled	90.4	9.6
Unskilled	88.6	11.4
Professionals	74.1	25.9
Other skilled	77.1	22.9
Staff-in-training	82.1	17.9
All categories	86.7	13.3

(ii) Removal or reduction of consumer subsidies

The removal or reduction of consumer subsidies has had a more direct negative effect on women in an urban than a rural situation. For the urban dweller the result has been to greatly increase the burden women bear as family providers and organisers. Reading Table 1 (Section II) in conjunction with Table 11 below, shows that the reduction or removal of subsidies affects the most important item in the family budget, namely foodstuffs.

TABLE 11: Budgetary Allocation for a Worker on a Minimum Wage (percentages of total expenditure)

Foodstuffs	54.9
Rent, fuel, lighting	18.4
Transport	4.7
Drink and tobacco	5.4
Clothing & footwear	6.6
Household stores	4.6
Miscellaneous	5.4

Source: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

The Government has taken the position that the removal of direct subsidies on foodstuffs has been cushioned by minimum wage enactments and price controls. But the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions maintains that the Government's income control measures fell short of allowing wages to reach a level which would enable workers to meet their basic needs. As described in Section II.2, real incomes in Zimbabwe generally declined and prices were not held down effectively.

The effect on many women of a concurrent reduction or removal of subsidies, inflation, and declining real income was to force them to resort more to informal sector activities, vending in most cases but also cross-border trade. (The reduction of women working in the formal sector

would probably have been rather different, although survey data were not available). The sample study by Jassat and Jirira, quoted earlier, indicates that 84 per cent of women surveyed stated that they had entered the informal sector for income-related considerations and (in the main) an ability to find alternative sources of employment. For the low-income urban groups it had become vital for women to supplement their husband's incomes. However, as this had been the practice for these women even during the period of food subsidies, it is not possible to link their entry into the formal sector with the removal of the subsidies, although it obviously did make the need to seek a supplementary income even more acute.

(iii) Subsidies for farmers and small enterprises

Producer subsidies are not a structural adjustment instrument in the IMF sense - the Fund would in fact urge their removal. But within the Zimbabwean objective of shifting resources to the 'productive' sector, these subsidies can be considered an instrument of structural adjustment. They not only support agricultural production but also benefit consumers who would otherwise have to pay higher prices to cover the subsidy payments made to the Grain Marketing Board by the Government.

The assistance these subsidies give to women is tremendous. Women account for the majority of food-grain and commercial crop producers in the communal areas and the subsidies enable them to obtain an adequate sales margin even taking account of the high cost of agricultural inputs. In another perspective this instrument can be seen as a useful element in the Government's general effort to make women economically independent. Its benefit to women should, moreover, be assessed in the light of the prevailing rural family structure. A recent ZIDS study surveyed women on questions relating to government support for services such as agricultural extension. Among the findings was that in a family situation, women make very few decisions on farming, partly because so few of them held growers' cards and therefore directly controlled the marketing of their products. This survey was, however, limited to a sample of only 100 people in the Makonde area. More broadly based data from the AFC indicate women to have greater independence. Thus, some 60 per cent of the AFC's communal and resettlement area clients are women holding their own growers' marketing cards. Producer subsidies for agriculture do therefore benefit women and can be seen both as a 'cushion' and as an instrument of structural adjustment, playing a significant role in the Government's economic reorientation programme.

Credit facilities which are made available for small enterprises through SEDCO have not so far been of much benefit to women, as the figures quoted in Section II.4 indicate. The contribution to the project budget required of SEDCO borrowers (15 per cent at the time of writing) immediately eliminated many women from consideration given their financial status. But provided the persons qualify, SEDCO does make loans for projects where the recipients have the necessary competence and it can thus help more women to enter the 'productive' sectors of the economy.

(iv) Import liberalisation

Although import liberalisation might hurt import-competing activities and adversely affect those employed in them, it has not affected women in significant numbers as few of them work in the (manufacturing) sectors involved. On the other hand, their gains from cross-border trade through the

use of 'holiday allowances' were significant during 1987-88. (The FEPD Ministry estimated that the Government lost some Z$69,000 in revenue during that period). The gains were however shared between men as well as women, in proportions which it was not possible to determine.

(v) Public sector expenditure

Cuts in public spending have not been drastic but they have impacted upon some programmes of interest to women, including education, nutrition, water and sanitation facilities, and primary health care, responsibilities which would otherwise have been borne by women. Some of these are considered in more detail in Sections III.4 and III.5, below.

3. Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women's Employment

The effect of structural adjustment in increasing the importance of the informal sector has affected the Government in several ways. First, it has recognised that the sector exists as a matter of necessity, not least to satisfy "the need to supplement incomes from the formal sector".[5] Secondly, in the Transitional National Development Plan of 1982-85, the Government undertook to provide the informal sector with the necessary infrastructure and assistance to promote productive employment, relieve it from harassment, and assist it in organising co-operatives. Although these commitments were not specific to women, they could be treated as part of the Government's efforts to bolster the income-generating activities of women.[6]

This official recognition of the informal sector did not of course emerge solely as a response to structural adjustment, which it predated by a considerable period. It is theoretically possible, though, to try to ascertain whether some women did enter the sector because of the effects of structural adjustment. This could be tested either by statistically correlating the trends in entries with structural adjustment events or by questioning participants on their reasons for entering the informal sector. Unfortunately, the first approach is rendered untenable by the lack of data. The second one, while feasible, is not necessarily very useful as entries into the informal sector are random and closely linked to individual perceptions of economic difficulty. Moreover, the causes of such difficulty are themselves numerous and random in occurrence. Under these conditions any attempts to associate decisions to enter the informal sector directly with the effects of structural adjustment would yield inferences of only limited relevance.

Table 12 summarises the reasons for entering the informal sector given by a sample of women interviewed for a recent study.[7] However, this type of information cannot of itself establish a clear link with the effects of structural adjustment. Thus, for example, although the table shows that 45 per cent of the women interviewed entered the sector for reasons of income, it can reasonably be supposed that these women would have wanted the right to employment to generate this income with or without the effects of structural adjustment. Similarly, the fact that 33 per cent of the respondents entered the sector because of a lack of alternative employment suggests that their decision was a response more to the country's general economic difficulties than specifically to the effects of structural adjustment as such. Indeed, the only women who could afford not to engage in income-generating activities were likely to be those with working husbands, and even for them the desire to be in formal gainful employment would probably prevail if they were not hampered by family restrictions or other social pressures.

TABLE 12: Reasons Given by Women for Entering the Informal Sector: A Sample Study, 1987

	Percentage
Income	45.0
Could not find a job	33.5
Increase family income	3.0
Like to be independent	10.0
Need to supplement subsistence income	3.0
Skill acquisition	2.5
Too old for formal sector employment	0.5
Religious reasons	2.5

Source: Jassat & Jirara, op.cit.

The situation of women as regards formal sector employment has another dimension: namely, their role in the casual labour force. It has been argued that for reasons of economic difficulty women have been increasingly forced to accept exploitative casual employment mainly in agriculture. This is not exclusively applied to women, however. Table 13 shows that both males and females are employed as casual labour in most sectors; and while women predominate in agriculture, men predominate in all the other sectors.[8]

TABLE 13: Employment of Labour by Sector and Sex, 1984

	First Quarter			Second Quarter		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	34,063	58,780	92,843	26,801	46,475	73,276
Mining	392	30	422	512	15	527
Manufacturing	2,899	493	3,392	3,081	389	3,470
Electricity	12	-	12	162	-	162
Construction	1,046	2	1,048	2,139	1	2,140
Finance	143	9	152	73	88	161
Distribution	3,524	184	3,708	2,607	149	2,756
Transport	259	25	284	859	6	865
Public Admin.	643	353	996	477	105	565
Education	23	3	26	61	17	78
Health	107	98	205	39	57	96
Other services	2,141	282	2,422	3,054	944	3,998
Total	45,252	60,258	105,510	39,865	48,865	88,111

Contrary to the general perception, the data shown in Table 14 indicate that at least during 1977-84, the participation of women as casual labourers fluctuated without showing any clear trend. While the role of female casual labour remained greater than that of males, the number of males so occupied doubled between 1977 and 1984. Significantly, however, the number of women permanently employed in agriculture fell almost continuously, from 24,000 in 1977 to 4,000 in 1984. Put in that perspective, it could be argued that women were used more as casual labour than on a permanent basis. But the difference cannot easily be attributed to the effects of the Government's

structural adjustment policies. Rather it should be seen as a consequence of the recession, which had a negative effect on the labour absorption capacity, especially of the formal sector.

TABLE 14: Permanent and Casual Employment Trends, 1977-84, Based on Agricultural Sector

	Permanent employment			Casual employment		
Year	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1977	215,040	24,295	239,335	14,546	43,158	57,704
1978	210,170	23,765	233,933	11,908	39,686	51,594
1979	205,287	25,236	230,523	14,927	41,375	56,302
1980	181,251	17,017	198,268	20,349	52,674	73,023
1981	181,051	10,379	191,430	19,117	45,320	64,437
1982	158,564	5,480	164,044	18,327	37,857	56,184
1983	149,920	4,818	154,738	21,837	39,438	61,275
1984	146,000	4,213	150,601	24,523	40,366	64,889

Source: Central Statistical Office

4. Female Participation in the Education System

The significance to women of governmental support for education is partly in its ability to reduce the incidence of decisions to curtail the education of girls in those cases where families do not have adequate resources to educate children of both sexes. Traditionally, this had led to many girls not being educated beyond primary level, where free tuition is available. It is noteworthy that, as Figure 2(a) shows, the enrolment of girls has exceeded that of boys at this level since 1982. But even at primary level, parents still have to make significant contributions to various school funds and levies, as well as having to pay for school uniforms. Tuition fees, in fact, are often only a small portion of the total costs of education which families have to bear. It follows that many parents may still not be able to send all their children to primary schools. In the cases where this occurs, the girls usually continue to be discriminated against. At secondary school, the tuition fees and levies parents have to pay vary widely, depending on the school. University students get government loans but polytechnic students pay a standard government-stipulated fee.

To try to determine the position of females in the formal education system, enrolment patterns at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels have been analysed in Tables 15(a)-(c) respectively. Total enrolment in primary schools increased rapidly - 138 per cent from 1979 to 1982, and levelled off gradually between 1982 and 1986. As shown in Figure 2(a), the rise in enrolment slackened more for boys than for girls. Secondary school enrolment showed different trends. Figure 2(b) indicates that at the most senior level, enrolment for girls was consistently much lower than for boys until 1986, while Figure 2(c) illustrates that in all secondary school forms taken together, enrolment of boys continued to increase faster than than that of girls. At the University of Zimbabwe and at the Harare Polytechnic, enrolment grew for both sexes but women continued to be a small proportion of the total - 22 per cent at the University and 21 per cent at the Polytechnic during the period 1980-88.

TABLE 15(a): Enrolment in Primary Schools by Sex and Grade, 1979-86

Grade	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		Special	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1979	87044	83046	72503	67465	70744	59362	57771	51781	53132	45517	48981	39306	47031	35179	479	245
1980	190304	186088	107714	100185	88707	81713	75964	68782	67265	58712	62090	50800	55364	41735	353	218
1981	221426	212876	175945	165738	107355	93775	84533	74637	73958	63959	68187	56307	59758	56059	0	0
1982	205362	203418	212270	209227	181003	170762	119540	106874	98091	85921	89306	74777	84492	64394	1047	741
1983	185805	182524	188924	185926	201553	196181	171227	159805	118437	101380	99745	83753	94163	74606	300	158
1984	180700	177548	171458	167665	180222	177039	187686	182318	163391	148212	116617	96581	100726	80324	1099	718
1985	175184	171775	164317	159975	166688	162543	174477	170637	181911	173309	160184	141863	118544	93556	1175	740
1986	178894	175787	158912	154186	158917	154988	160296	157682	168754	163906	176045	164975	156615	132114	1733	1249
	1424719	1393062	1252043	1210367	1155189	1096363	1031494	972516	924939	840916	821155	708362	716693	577967	6186	4069

TABLE 15(b): Enrolment in Secondary Schools by Sex and Form, 1979-86

Form	I		II		III		IV		V		VIM/VIL		VIU		Special	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1979	9740	8612	8756	7275	7684	5930	6934	5267	1179	962	1433	960	692	375	253	163
1980	12402	9799	9609	7516	8945	6946	7330	5481	1081	849	1571	1070	1006	407	188	121
1981	49435	34056	14383	11630	9751	7135	8652	6671	1379	1072	1582	959	1175	498	193	119
1982	57281	40471	47822	32323	14924	11494	9263	6509	1369	982	1983	1144	1210	519	232	121
1983	64432	46293	56880	38659	46283	30289	14078	10431	1283	906	2487	1193	1954	936	186	148
1984	80002	58902	62218	42875	55006	36071	44085	26929	1738	1374	2791	1234	2142	769	134	143
1985	84493	63509	78591	54801	59714	38963	55697	33820	2075	1341	3964	1459	2390	891	137	155
1986	95525	70643	81515	56721	74352	48959	60767	37053	4483	1816	3988	1270	158	177	0	0
	453310	332285	359774	251800	276659	185787	206806	132161	14587	9302	19799	9289	100727	4572	1323	970

M = male; F = female

TABLE 15(c): Enrolment in Tertiary Institutions by Sex, 1980-88

	University of Zimbabwe			Harare Polytechnic		
Year	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1980	1,746	494	2,240	965	16	981
1981	1,956	569	2,525	1,014	274	1,288
1982	2,371	680	3,051	916	298	1,214
1983	2,815	805	3,620	1,123	284	1,407
1984	3,168	933	4,131	999	307	1,306
1985	3,632	1,110	4,742	1,257	366	1,623
1986	4,486	1,400	5,886	1,495	406	1,901
1987	5,197	1,676	6,873	1,922	476	2,398
1988	5,769	1,930	7,699	1,980	666	2,646

Source: University of Zimbabwe & Harare Polytechnic

FIGURE 2(a)

ENROLMENT TRENDS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL BY SEX, 1979-86

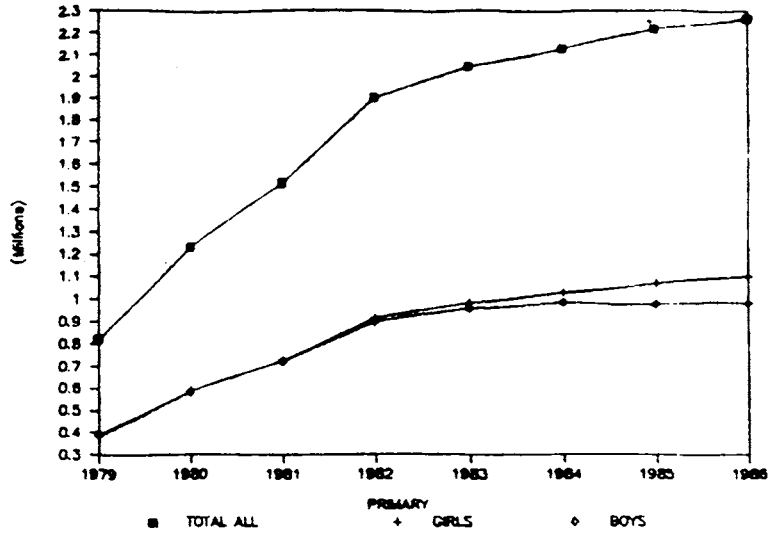


FIGURE 2(b)

ENROLMENT TRENDS IN FORM 6 OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY SEX, 1979-86

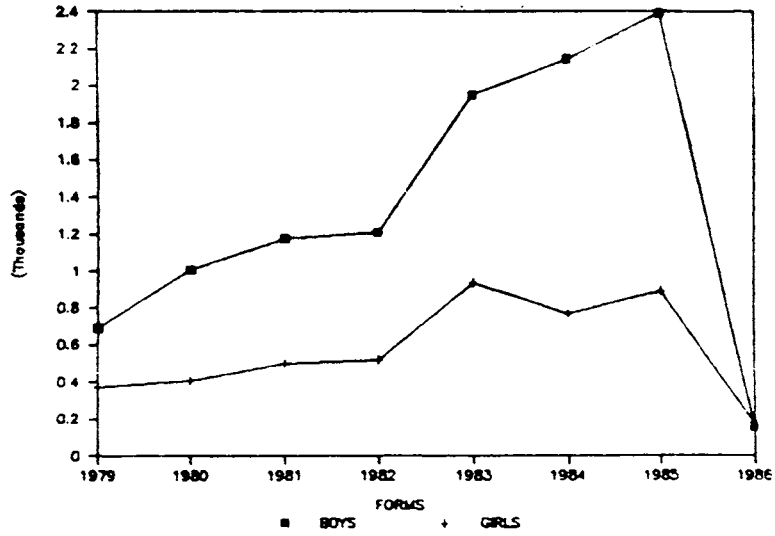
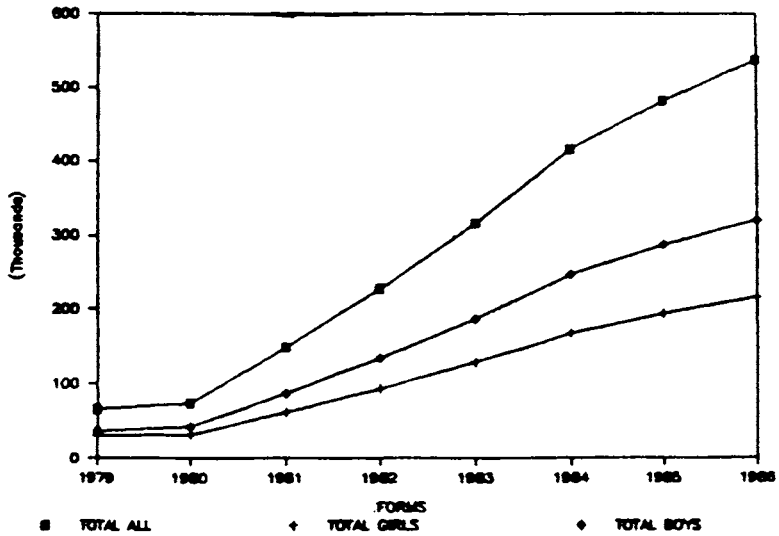


FIGURE 2(c)

GENERAL ENROLMENT TRENDS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY SEX, 1979-86



5. Impact on Women of the Government's Health Programme

A major health programme was launched by the Government in a manner intended to cushion women from some of the negative effects of structural adjustment - e.g. in reducing public sector expenditure. It includes both conventional curative health facilities and primary health-care facilities. With respect to the former, the Government sought to satisfy the WHO objective of achieving "Health for all by the year 2000", and followed a policy which sought to strengthen health services at central, provincial, district and village levels, using the instruments of infrastructural development and primary health-care systems. The primary health-care programme gave priority to considerations of affordability, appropriateness, and acceptability of health-care delivery systems, and emphasised effective linkages with community activities. It envisaged the construction of some 7000 more primary water supply points and 70,000 blair latrines, and the undertaking of a massive reduction in the incidence of malaria through a National Malaria Control Programme. Projects in the primary health care programme already completed are set out in Table 16.

TABLE 16: Primary Health-Care Programme, Related Infrastructural and Construction Projects - completed by the first half of 1984*

Type of Project	Number of Projects Completed
Protected wells	666
Toilets	2,801
Dams	41
Pre-schools	1,210
Bore-holes	1,352
Water tanks	1
Health centres	66
Wells	174

*This summary only includes projects carried out by the Ministry of Co-operatives, Community Development & Women's Affairs.

In addition, the 1986-1990 National Development Plan envisages the construction of 93 rural health centres in a programme of 316 centres as well as the improvement of Family Health Programme facilities in eight districts and 80 associated clinics to enhance nutrition and family planning services.

Judging from these programmes and the substantial share of the national budget allocated to the Ministry of Health, it can be concluded that a strong health-care delivery system is in place and enjoying priority standing even in the face of structural adjustment. The policy which underlies it is an integral component of the Government's National Development Plan which recognises health-care both as a human right and as a necessary condition for economic development.

While not categorised specifically as a 'women's programme', the health-care delivery system recognises and seeks to rectify current

deficiencies of particular relevance to women, who have primary responsibility for the health of their children. The health-care programmes therefore cannot be directly linked to structural adjustment. But it can be argued that they help cushion women from the adverse effects of structural adjustment, to which as a group they are particularly vulnerable.

Government support in this area is moreover of direct economic berefit to women as the health-care programmes have the effect of lightening their burden in the 'non-productive' sector and thus enable them to make a more effective transition into the 'productive' sectors. However, it has not been possible to determine the extent to which women have already moved into these sectors as a result of the health-care provisions.

IV. ANALYTICAL SUMMARY AND PROPOSALS TO HELP UPGRADE WOMEN'S ECONOMIC STATUS

At the time of compiling this report, the Government of Zimbabwe had not publicly embarked on a structural adjustment programme. Rather it had undertaken ad-hoc problem-specific interventions in the economy, within a programme of transition to socialism and in the context of strengthening the productive sectors. Within that policy context Government interventions had sometimes been with structural adjustment instruments of a type usually prescribed by the IMF and at other times with instruments which reflected its own view of structural adjustment.

In only very few cases had the Government sought immediately to cushion particularly disadvantaged groups from the adverse effects of the application of structural adjustment instruments. Otherwise, it had sought to achieve such amelioration mainly through a general development programme intended inter alia to bring women into the mainstream economy. This part of the development programme, spearheaded by the CCDWA Ministry, has, however, as yet remained largely ineffective, in that it has not succeeded in bringing significant numbers of women into the productive sectors as a whole, although they have managed to enter the agricultural sector in increasing numbers.

As regards the adjustment instruments so far employed by Government, only a few - welfare spending cuts and removal of consume- subsidies on the negative side, and credit facilitation on the positive side - have had a direct impact on women in their various roles. The rest have affected them only through their impact on the general economy.

The Government would have to proceed even more vigorously with its programme to strengthen the 'productive' sectors of the economy if the country is to avoid dependence on borrowing and harsh social policies in the future.

In a zero-sum situation, which is a tenable theoretical position to start from, and in the context of budget deficits and borrowings, strengthening the 'productive' sectors would initially mean welfare losses to women to the extent that cuts in social programmes were necessary. Women would need to be cushioned from the full impact of these cuts, which would involve channelling some resources away from the 'productive' sectors.

The Government should regard the task of moving women into the 'productive' sectors as a primary part of its programme to strengthen those sectors. This approach would not only further strengthen productive capacity

but noticeably reduce the size of the 'non-productive' sectors, which in turn would reduce the Government's need to undertake women-specific social programmes. Thus the Government's investment programme should include the cost of moving women into the productive sector. To accomplish this objective an innovative system should be created and incorporate a major re-orientation in the focus of programmes and projects for women.

To date, the CCDWA Ministry has concentrated mainly on: (i) preparing women to assume meaningful roles in the political and economic activities of the country; (ii) seeking to influence other ministries to include the interests of women in their respective programmes; and (iii) initiating small-scale community-based projects for women. Yet its activities have not proved very effective in enabling women to become owners and controllers of productive resources on the same footing as men.

This is partly because the 'development ministries' have so far failed to incorporate the recommendations of the CCDWA Ministry into their programmes. As a consequence, while the advocacy role of the CCDWA Ministry can be commended as an essential first step towards securing women's representation in the development planning process, it has been unable to bring about a transfer of resources to the projects and programmes which is required to bring about an upgrading of women's economic capacities.

As long as the 'development ministries' continue to disregard the need to promote the movement of women into the productive sectors, the activities of the CCDWA Ministry will remain largely ineffective in any practical sense. It might therefore consider requesting the Government to redefine its role by giving it a mandate, and the necessary funds, to enable it to function inter alia as a 'development ministry', instead of merely as a technical support body. Unless there is a change in the attitudes of the existing 'development ministries' or in the status/role of the CCDWA Ministry, women are likely to remain at the bottom of the economic ladder and to continue to preoccupy themselves with seeking government assistance, which in fact may serve merely to delay serious consideration of the more important objective of enabling them to occupy a more commanding position in the economy.

Footnotes

1. Parliamentary Debates, 6 September 1983.

2. Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, "Quarterly Economic and Statistical Review", September 1982, p.21.

3. See "Zimbabwe in the Grip of the IMF", Moto, April 1983.

4. There is, however, some debate as to whether the resettlement programme, which is placing many farmers on ranchland, can succeed in increasing crop production. See Moyo, S., "The Land Question: the Political Economy of Transition", Council for the Develoment of Economic and Social Research in Africa, Ibbo Mandaza, Ed. 1986.

5. See Government of Zimbabwe, "Growth with Equity: an Economic Policy Statement" and Mukandawire, T., "The Informal Sector in the Labour Reserve Economies of Southern Africa - with Special Reference to Zimbabwe", ZIDS Working Paper.

6. The Government was, however, primarily motivated by the labour absorption capacity of the sector.

7. Jassat, E.M. and Jirira, K.O, "Industrial Development in Zimbabwe: The Case of Women in Manufacturing Activities," a ZIDS Consultancy Report, December 1987.

8. Shopo, T., and Moyo, S., "Vulnerable Working Households in Zimbabwe's Segmented Labour Markets", ZIDS Working Paper.

A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF COUNTRY STUDIES ON

WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

(Bangladesh, Jamaica, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia and Zimbabwe)

Susan Joekes,
Institute of Development Studies
University of Sussex

July 1989

A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF COUNTRY STUDIES ON WOMEN AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

		Page
I.	INTRODUCTION	401
II.	NATURE OF THE ASSESSMENT	401
	- Message of the Expert Group's Report	401
	- Empirical testing and summary findings	402
III.	FINDINGS OF THE CASE STUDIES AT COUNTRY LEVEL	405
	- Africa (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Nigeria)	405
	- Caribbean (Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago)	408
	- Asia (Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia)	409
IV.	EVIDENCE ON THE FUNCTIONAL IMPACT OF ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN	413
	- Women as producers	414
	- Women as household managers	415
	- Women as mothers	416
	- Women as community organisers	416
	- The welfare impact	416
	NOTES	417

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews the empirical findings of the nine country studies on Structural Adjustment and Women commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat and assesses them in relation to the Report of the Commonwealth Group of Experts ("Engendering Adjustment in the 1990s").

The review starts by summarising the central message of the Group's Report. The kind of supporting evidence required for addressing this message is then set out. The task set to the authors of the case studies is seen to be very data intensive. The next section makes it clear that lack of data - in some cases exacerbated by the conditions of the adjustment programme itself - is a major problem in many of the case countries. In only four of the nine countries (Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Jamaica and Zambia) is an overall assessment of the impact of adjustment on women possible. Even then other methodological difficulties remain. The findings of each of the nine country studies are then summarised, in respect of the main hypotheses of the Report. Finally, the edividence is discussed thematicall, with brief remarks on the impact of adjustment on women in each of their four functional roles and on their individual welfare. The studies are able to present the most plentiful evidence on the impact of adjustment on women's activities as producers and to a lesser extent as household managers, with less information available on their role as mothers, and almost nothing on their work as community organisers.

II. NATURE OF THE ASSESSMENT

Message of the Expert Group's Report

The essence of the Expert Group's Report is that women's distinctiveness as social and economic actors is their unique multiplicity of roles, categorised as producer, household manager, mother and community organiser. Implicitly, men concentrate their effort to a far greater extent on being producers and on activity in the community-political sphere. In addition and not coincidentally, leisure time is inequitably distributed, with women's various activities taking up more of their waking hours than men's. Given these facts of community organisation, women face a harsh trade-off in use of their time and labour effort:

- working a greater time as "producers" to increase subsistence or cash earnings requires and intensification of effort in other directions, because the remaining functions have to be accomplished in less time;

- if household income declines, women have greater difficulty in fulfilling their non- "producer" roles. More effort is required in the transformation of purchased goods into consumable form, for example, as the composition of purchases shifts towards cheaper, less refined items of food, fuel, housing etc. Women's task as mothers becomes more demanding because the level of consumption may decline e.g. the nutritional value of food purchases fall and threaten their children's health.

The argument is that structural adjustment typically intensifies this trade-off for women. Economic contraction leads to falls in average individual and family incomes, so that women have to devote more time to their role as producer (i.e. to earning income). Even so, family income is

unlikely to be maintained at the previous level and, at the same time, reduced provision of state services and cuts in consumer subsidies, serve also to make performance of women's non-producer roles doubly more difficult. Women's welfare is reduced even beyond cuts in consumption to the extent that there are increases in the total level and intensity of their labour effort - already greater than men's. The report does not state directly that the prospective loss of welfare under adjustment is greater for women that men, but the inference is there.

More specifically, the argument is that while a decline in family income is general to any economic contraction, structural adjustment programmes, as pursued in practice, specifically reduce social support (i.e. the level of resources available to women in their non-producer roles), without redressing women's disadvantages in their role as producer.[1]

We may note here that the strategic possibilities for improving women's economic position relate to the trade-off noted above. The potential escapes from the trade-off fall logically into three classes:

- renegotiation of the sexual division of labour, so as to reduce the burden of women's non-producer functions;
- reduction of the content of the non-producer functions or improvement in the means of fulfilling them;
- improvement in women's income earning capability and /or productivity.

Items under the first head seem not to be susceptible to economic or social policy. There is little sign of any movement in this direction in any country, developed or developing, however great women's involvement as producers. The report thus argues that structural adjustment programmes should therefore be directed towards the second and third of these possibilities in order to minimise damage to women as a social group (or, more pointedly, to eliminate gender bias). Not only would this not prejudice the declared objectives of adjustment, but it would better help these programmes achieve the goal of growth and economic development.

Empirical testing and summary findings

The arguments of the Report present considerable difficulties when it comes to verification. It requires a lot of empirical information in areas where data is subject to unusually severe problems, both conceptual and practical. Furthermore, there are severe methodological difficulties in this type of investigation. There are two main problems. The first is to establish the counterfactual scenario - that is, to know what the situation would have been without a structural adjustment programme. The effects of adjustment can properly be evaluated only by reference to the counterfactual situation - which might have been worse than the situation with adjustment. In addition, there may have been underlying secular changes which continue in the period of adjustment but which are not to be ascribed to the adjustment programme itself. With respect to women's position, the long term increases in women's participation in the conventionally recorded labour force in many countries is the main consideration of this kind. It may mean that increases in female participation rates during adjustment need to be discounted when the historical trend is taken into account.

The second problem is the difficulty, even impossibility, of ascribing specific effects to particular features of adjustment programmes in a situation of comprehensive change of policy context. The usual method in the social sciences is to analyse changes at the margin; that is, effects of change in one factor while all others remain fixed. That approach is ruled out here. The case studies stand rather as descriptions of changes in women's economic position over the period of adjustment than as detailed analysis of the impact of adjustment measures. Nevertheless, as discussed in the Report, adjustment programmes have been similar in character among countries, with certain predominant economic effects. In the light of these, the findings of the country studies build up a circumstantial case of the general effects of adjustment on women.

Even without strict regard to casuality in these various respects, support of the argument requires information for each case country from:

- **representative survey** that has been carried out (or better still **a series of surveys** starting before the adjustment period) to obtain quantitative and/or qualitative historical information about women's experiences of the adjustment period;

- and, in relation to the central proposition of the Report, **time use survey data** for more than one year, providing evidence on women's total workload and time allocation patterns;

- **and/or** an assemblage of statistical information on the following points:

  changes over time in women's income earning capacity as producers (i.e. their search for and access to jobs, the types of jobs they take, hours of work, wages, and, for own account workers, earnings) and access to productivity enhancing resources such as credit and training;

  changes in the resources available to women as household managers as a function of nominal income and prices of the consumer goods and services that contribute to family welfare;

  changes in the resources available to women as mothers (i.e. provision of childcare, health and nutrition and education services);

  changes in the resources available to women as community organisers (i.e. in services delivered at community level, such as water and housing) and demands made on them in this capacity; for example, new forms of community facilities and services set up by women at the local level.

The impact of structural adjustment on women's welfare is determined by the sum of the outcomes of these effects (e.g. changes in nutritional status, relative incomes, unemployment) and consideration, additionally, of the labour effort entailed. Information is, therefore, also needed on changes in the number of hours of work required and the work intensity of those work hours.

The country case studies were in most cases commissioned from researchers in the countries concerned, who, in view of the time and resources available, were constrained to work with secondary sources. The case studies show that, unfortunately, no relevant historical surveys have been carried out in any of the case countries. (The authors of the Tanzanian and the Nigerian case studies, carried out small surveys of their own, but these were limited in scope.) Nor do any comparative time series data on time use or labour allocation exist for any of these countries.

The authors, therefore, assembled evidence on various aspects of the question from existing statistical sources. Information on consumer prices, social services provision, public sector employment, some sectoral wage rates, and health and nutritional status indicators is generally available. But few country case study authors were able to describe women's activities in community organisations and in women's groups. And other information can be problematic, even where official statistics exist:

- for the producer role: statistics on employment, though usually voluminous, tend to be incomplete and unreliable, especially so for women. The concepts of "labour force participation" and "unemployment" are particularly dubious when applied to women, so is recording of the "informal sector", where women are concentrated. The data have to be used with care;

- for the household manager role: the incomes actually available to women cannot be ascertained without in-depth survey information, given the apparently universal existence (to a greater or lesser degree in different societies and types of household) of income sharing or pooling within households;

- for the welfare impact: techniques have not been developed (or at least are not deployed by economic statisticians) to measure intensity of labour effort.[2]

A fairly consistent picture emerges from the case studies despite all the difficulties of data and interpretation, some countries of course exhibiting the negative features, others the positive, more strongly than the rest. Overall, the main thrust of the Report is strongly confirmed. Structural adjustment programmes have done nothing to alleviate the specific difficulties women face in balancing demands on their time, which are a source of both social injustice and economic inefficiency. Adjustment has made the balancing act even more difficult than before. There have been in almost every case severe cuts in consumer subsidies and social services and declines in real income, all of which impinge especially on women because of their responsibilities for household welfare. At the same time, economic pressures have increased the need for women to step up their producer role. Their attempts to do so have often been in vain or for very low returns. Female open unemployment has increased, having typically been higher than men's from the start, and there is some evidence that women have taken on even more work in informal sector activities, where most women's employment is in the smallest scale and lowest income activities. In the absence of special programmes, which are evident only on a small scale in one or two instances, women's position in the informal sector - which is most important to women as a source of income - has probably deteriorated. The same may be true of agriculture, insofar as demands on women seem to have increased most in unremunerated work (i.e. unpaid family labour). As independent operators,

women's farms are typically small, and the case studies reveal a considerable size bias in the adjustment programmes against small farmers. On the other hand, retrenchments in the public and private sectors seem not to have affected women more than male employees, while women have been the main beneficiaries of the most marked source of new employment attributable to the policy changes under adjustment, with the growth of the export manufacturing in several countries outside Africa. Women's access to formal sector employment then, while still very restricted compared to men's cannot be said to have been worsened under adjustment. The case studies add little information on changes in women's roles as mothers and as community organisers, but even so, in the absence of the complete picture, these findings of the pincer effect of changes in women's roles as producers and as household managers is evidence enough of intensification of demands on women's time and energy, without affecting declining levels of real income.

III. FINDINGS OF THE CASE STUDIES AT COUNTRY LEVEL

The nine country studies are grouped regionally, but the studies are too few to allow for generalisations about regional differences. The regional dimension does not coincide in any case with the distribution of characteristics of national economies such as size, previous openness to international trade and the social welfare stance of governments, which might explain variations in the impact of adjustment programmes. Some of these factors are explored in the individual case studies.

Africa

Zambia

Women have not escaped the drastic falls in real wages and personal incomes over the past decade in Zambia. In urban areas women have faced reduced formal sector employment opportunities, though perhaps less retrenchment than men in the public sector. The female formal labour force participation rate has fallen, as has the male rate. As a result, very many women have chosen to supplement their formal sector jobs by working in the lowest productivity activities in the informal sector. Within the informal sector however, women are concentrated in small scale activities and generally lack assets and access to credit, and so have relatively low earnings and are less financially secure. Female heads of household have probably found it more difficult to take on this type of extra work than women in joint-headed households. The importance of such activities to household incomes has increased dramatically over the 1980s. Those entering the informal sector face intense competition, and real earnings have decreased partly for this reason and partly because the purchasing power of urban consumers has fallen.

In rural areas, despite some evidence of an improvement in aggregate income relative to urban areas, it seems likely that women have not shared in the increase, which has been based mainly on non-traditional cash crops, where women provide labour but do not receive a wage payment.

Women have made many and varied adaptations in food preparation and consumption patterns at the household level. These testify to their resourcefulness as household managers in the face of reduced real income. There are significant differences in the types of adaptation by household type, with female headed household forced to keep consumption in line with income because they are less able to borrow or to supplement their income through informal activities.

Cuts in social service expenditures by government have been severe, especially in health, and in both health and education user charges are heavy in relation to average incomes. One result may have been increases in malnutrition and morbidity among children, of which there is some evidence. Reductions in government health and education services seem likely to have diverted demands for health care back into the home, where they can be met only by women's unpaid labour contribution.

Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe study is hampered by lack of statistical data. There is no reliable information on changes in the numbers of women in formal sector employment although there was a precipitous decline (by five-sixths) in the number of women employed in permanent positions in agriculture. While the officially recorded female labour force seems not to have increased between 1981 and 1985, the proportion of women within the total in "casual employment" increased significantly, mainly in the agriculture sector which more than doubled its share of employed women. The author takes this shift towards more exploitative employment to be synonymous with an increase in women's involvement in the informal sector. But the author specifically disclaims it as an effect of structural adjustment, taking it rather as a consequence of general contraction and unemployment. No information is given on the rate of casualisation of male labour for comparison.

There are no data on changes in the actual real wages or incomes received by women, or on participation and unemployment rates. However, some inferences are possible. As noted, the employed female labour force did not increase between 1981 and 1985 while the employed male labour force increased approximately by 90 per cent, being absorbed mostly in agriculture, construction and a variety of services. This suggests that women <u>were</u> strongly discriminated against in access to new formal employment opportunities (quite apart from casualisation).

A major factor, however, not conveyed in the study, is that formal opportunities of this kind must represent only a very small part of women's income (or subsistence) earning activity. The enumerated female labour force accounts for only about 12 per cent of the female population of working age. Even though agriculture accounts for a small share of women's reported employment, the known involvement of women in agriculture throughout Southern Africa and the report that women are the main cash crop and food producers in the communal areas suggests that the impact of structural adjustment in agriculture will have been far more important to women. But the study presents no information on changes in the level and composition of output of income in agriculture. It does however, note that a number of special measures were built into the adjustment programme, notably extension of credit facilities and entitlement to land, and that these did benefit women and served as a cushioning mechanism. But it is not clear whether women benefited in proportion to their importance as farmers, and whether these institutional reforms played any role in raising women's productivity and control of income in agriculture.

Public expenditure has not been severely cut. Instead emphasis has been upon retargeting programmes at vulnerable groups particularly in the health sector where primary health care is being expanded. The reduction of consumer subsidies has affected food prices and the author suggests that real incomes have declined rapidly.

Tanzania

Tanzania resisted major structural reforms until 1986. The early 1980s were characterised by high inflation, low growth in real GDP from 1980-1985 (the annual average growth rate was only one per cent) and declining agricultural output (this fell by eight and nine per cent in 1981 and 1982 respectively). The economy has improved since 1986 with nearly four per cent growth in 1986 and 1987 and increased agricultural production for domestic and export markets. However inflation is still high, having fallen only slightly from 33 per cent in 1985 to around 30 per cent at the end of 1987, and income levels have declined in real terms.

There are no data in this case to show whether or not under adjustment there was a decline in relative or absolute formal sector employment for women. The author suspects that the 1985 retrenchment in public sector employment most affected the grades where women's jobs are concentrated. In 1988 one third of employed women in a low income area of Dar es Salaam, but only 14 per cent of urban women generally, had a job in the formal sector. No precise data seems to be available on rates of unemployment, or changes in real wages. However, average wages from employment are known to have fallen way below subsistence level, and as in other countries, all household members, including children, have been drawn into informal sector activity to add to family incomes. Women are particularly active, and their earnings are comparable to wages from formal sector employment.

There is unfortunately little information in the study on the impact of structural adjustment on agricultural production and on labour use and incomes in rural areas, where the great majority of the population lives.

While steep rises in consumer prices are documented, there is no information on cuts in consumer subsidies. Expenditure on health and education has fallen sharply as a proportion of the total budget, and correspondingly the quality of these services has deteriorated with infant deaths and pupil/teacher ratios rising since the early 1980s.

Nigeria

The early 1980s was a period of declining real incomes, high inflation and economic hardship in Nigeria. Per capita income fell from an average of $1000 in 1980 to $370 in 1988, reflecting a negative GDP growth rate of three per cent between 1982 and 1985.

The information given in this study on changes in women's position in formal employment is insufficient to reach any firm conclusions, and in omitting any information on agriculture, it leaves out the sector that probably provides a major area of productive activity for women. Total official unemployment has risen, but no information is given on either the breakdown by sex or on changes in the female labour force participation rate. Indeed the information available on employment and unemployment rates by sector and/or sex as well as other structural data has been severely constrained by structural adjustment cuts in government expenditure.

Since, among women, unemployment is concentrated among the age group 15-24 years, the implications are first, that new entrants to the labour force have been unable to find work and second, as the author states, that women

generally have been crowded into the informal sector, though the evidence available to support this statement is slight.

Many examples of women's home based income generating and consumer expenditure saving activities are given, but no evidence that women's informal sector involvement has increased. (It is of course highly plausible that this has happened, given that real incomes have fallen very substantially, partly because of across the board cuts in subsidies and social service provision - but this must remain a premise in the lack of firm evidence.) The evidence relating to changes over time in women's total workload and to the allocation of working time between their different functional roles in unclear. There is some indication of a deterioration in the nutritional status of children, and also of decreased rates of hospital deliveries, both of which suggest women's greater difficulty in fulfilling their childrearing function. On the other hand, official statistics of national child and infant mortality rates show no deterioration over the 1980s. But as in other countries reliable national infant and child mortality data are not available. The standard methods of data collection in this area are inadequate.

Caribbean

Jamaica

The Jamaican economy has followed a turbulent path in the 1980s. Following economic recession in 1980, the economy stagnated in 1981-84, and contracted sharply again in 1985. However, there was a strong recovery in 1987. Per capita income and total employment followed a similar trajectory. Open unemployment has recently fallen - but only to the same levels as were experienced ten years before. There is an enormous and unchanged gender differential in unemployment, the female rate being 2-3 times higher: it touched 41 per cent in 1982.

Structural adjustment led to considerable reshaping of employment possibilities for women, with some sectors and occupations severely cut but others expanding quite strongly in response to new opportunities. On balance, there was no net change to women's position as producers. While some jobs for women were forthcoming in services and manufacturing (notably garments) with the growth of tourism in particular, it was not enough to support any increased participation of women in the labour force. Jobs for women were lost in the public sector (especially nursing and teaching) with expenditure cutbacks. Most women continue in relatively low paid jobs, though there has been a trend, not attributable to adjustment, towards greater representation of women in higher professional grades. The importance of agriculture as an employer of female labour has declined by 7 per cent since 1985 due to increased emphasis on large scale export-oriented agricultural production. Structural adjustment is thought on the other hand to have stimulated increased informal sector activity with 30 per cent more women entering the distributive trades between 1980-87 and many others moonlighting. It also led to the emergence of a new and very lucrative occupation for women, "informal commercial importer", probably as a result of the dismantling of entry barriers with changes in regulations. The distributive trades have ended up being the greatest source of income equalisation in the 1980s and women are extremely active in this area.

On the social services and consumption side, there were significant falls in budgetary allocations and, despite changes in the composition of

expenditures to the benefit of the poor, low income groups certainly suffered cuts in their standard of living. A 22 per cent per capita reduction in health expenditure since 1981 has had far reaching effects on women and children's access to health care and health education. Women have also suffered from the declining funds of the National Housing Trust making it harder for them to obtain housing loans. Jamaica's food aid programme fails to provide an adequate safety net for the vulnerable groups.

Trinidad and Tobago

The Trinidad and Tobago economy suffered consistent negative economic growth between 1982 and 1987. The Gross Domestic Product fell unabated until 1987 when the rate of decline slowed to a negative four per cent in 1988 (compared to the previous year's negative seven per cent). Agriculture was the only sector which grew throughout this period. Production rose by five per cent yearly whereas construction like most other sectors suffered a negative growth rate. It fell by an average of 15 per cent from 1982 to 1987 until growth resumed to five per cent in 1988.

Women have suffered increased unemployment with adjustment, along with men. Their rate of unemployment was higher than men's, though the differential is small compared to some other countries (e.g. Jamaica) and has not widened. There was no increase in the female labour force participation rate. Public sector employment has not diminished in importance for women, though (unspecified) wage cuts were imposed. An increase in self-employment among women is alleged, but it is not borne out by the data. Thus, the evidence points to some, but not major, overall deterioration in women's position as producers (at least as regards access to formal employment) and no great changes in the employment structure. The cost of living is said to have tripled between 1985 and 1988 whereas average earnings rose by only nine per cent over the same period. No information is given of specific changes in incomes, subsidies, or social provision, whereby the consumer effect could be assessed.

Asia

The Asian case studies are notable for the fact that their economies have not been subject to major shocks or contraction during the 1980s. They are not untypical of the a region in this respect.

Bangladesh

The main hypothesis - of reduced social supports under adjustment on the one hand and lack of opportunities on the other - does not hold in Bangladesh. Expenditure on health and education was not reduced, the food subsidy programme was maintained and successfully redirected in part towards women and children in need, and some major employment openings appeared for women with growth of non traditional exports. Moreover trade liberalisation measures were phased so that the textile industry, where many women work as handloom weavers, remained protected till very recently.

The situation in Bangladesh is, however, unusual in several respects. It has exceptionally low per capita income, which stagnated rather than declined during the period of adjustment, and absolutely minimal levels of social support ($3-4 US per capita per annum public expenditure on health and education combined), and pervasive discrimination and disadvantage is

suffered by women to an extreme degree. Women's nutritional status is worse than men's at all ages, as are female mortality rates, and women's life expectancy is unnaturally less than men's as a result.

The issue here should therefore be the extent to which structural adjustment is seized as an opportunity to bring about a social transformation to remove these fundamental welfare biases against women. On this score the adjustment programme does not bode particularly well. Stabilisation has been achieved quite quickly but mainly at the cost of sharp declines in investment and, probably partly as a result, in reduced rates of growth of output in agriculture and industry. There has been no increase in the minimal levels of social expenditures which are inadequate to build human resources. However, there has been some success in implementing compensatory social programmes for credit and training as well as food disteribution which benefit women considerably, though they still remain very limited in scope.

As regards women's direct income earning opportunities, agriculture is by far the most important sector. The adjustment programme took place at a time of major but counteracting changes in the pattern of rural women's employment. Technical change in rice milling, by far the largest single source of employment for women, has led to massive displacement of women workers. In contrast the introduction of high yielding varieties has resulted in increasing demand for women's paid (and unpaid) labour across the board and seems to have encouraged women's entry into a wider range of field tasks. Most paid employment is on larger farms but as the adjustment programme was in practice biased against small farmers it was probably not directly damaging to women's employment. The income polarising effects seem likely to add to supply side pressures in the labour market and indirectly therefore to have a negative effect on women's earnings.

As regards other rural activity, women's income earning capacity in some areas has been increased by the expansion of government and NGO small scale credit and training schemes notably the Grameen bank. But despite the Grameen bank's success in setting up a model scheme benefiting 350,000 assetless women, it still reaches only 3-5 per cent of the target population of women from landless households.

In industry women have benefited in employment terms from the recent rapid expansion of garment manufacture and shrimp processing for exports Garments alone now employ 4-5 per cent of the total active age female urban population,[3] at a level of nominal wages far higher (by a factor of 8) than average female urban wages. This is directly attributable to the policy changes that have lifted controls on private sector operations and increased export incentives. On the other hand decontrol of investment is thought likely to hasten technical change in industrial production. This would be to women's disadvantage in present employment patterns because it would reduce labour intensity and lead to relocation of production away from domestic premises. So far the delayed introduction of import liberalisation in textiles has prevented such pressures taking effect in the weaving sector, protecting women's jobs in the less mechanised parts of the sector for the time being.

As regards changes in the distribution of women's work between the formal and informal sector, the relative expansion of exports of manufactures entails a new source of formal sector job for women. A significant proportion of these jobs are of a casual or temporary kind. Adjustment clearly did not,

in this case, lead to a reduction in formal sector employment for women. There is no clear evidence on the direction of net change in women's earning capacity in non-contractual employment in agriculture or industry, given the various complexities noted above. Nor is any information given on possible changes in labour intensity of women's informal employment; no time-use survey data is cited in the study.

Female headed households exist in large and probably increasing numbers in Bangladesh. They are significantly poorer than other households and reliant to a much higher degree on women's wage earnings. They seem to have benefited from the redirection of state expenditure on food industries by way of a major programme of vulnerable group feeding (limited to female headed households with young children) and a food for work programme, which has been modified to attract women participants. Overall food for work programmes provide 10 per cent of total wage-work days in a rural areas. Total per capita food grain availability in the public food programme has increased slightly in the 1980s. Perhaps related to this, infant and child mortality rates are declining, having peaked in 1983-4. The total fertility rate is also on a steadily declining trend.

These data suggest that despite possible underlying forces towards further immiserization in rural areas accompanying adjustment, no intensification of poverty among vulnerable groups has yet been observed. On average, adjustment has not in this case led to short term cuts in incomes; real wages in rural areas have been rising throughout the 1980s.

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka is another exceptional case in that the first stage of structural adjustment was not prompted by a fiscal crisis but by long term structural considerations, so that it took place in a context of growth rather than contraction.

The case study authors believe that overall the employment position for females improved under adjustment. Total employment increased by 30 per cent for women between 1980 and 1985. But this rested almost entirely on a doubling of the share (to 23 per cent) of unpaid family workers (mostly agriculture) and a large increase in the number of self-employed women in the informal sector. Among low-income families women are still confined to the informal sector to a much greater extent than men, although they also account for most of those who take up relatively well paid domestic service work abroad. Among women in paid employment, average earnings increased by about the same amount as men; and the share of women in the total number of income earners rose. But the unemployment rate among women remains double the male rate, at about 20 per cent, and while there was some increase in the size of the female labour force, the main source of this was, ominously, increases in participation by 10-14 year olds.

There were marked shifts in the distribution of female employment among economic activities. Women participated in the expansion of export orientated products in agriculture and industry that followed devaluation; there was a net increase in total manufacturing employment for women, concentrated in the Export Processing Zones. But trade liberalisation had a clear negative effect on the small scale, industrial sector that was previously protected; many women's livelihoods were eliminated. While adjustment contributed directly to this result, the authors point out that

other factors were also at work, such as rationalisation and changes in production organisation with new technology.

While manufacturing was an important source of new employment, most of the increase for women was in unpaid agriculture. Most of the work was in paddy and related crops where output was expanded in response to changed price incentives. This seems to be an instance of the mobilisation of female labour into cash production without direct reward and at the expense of their other functions. Women have also been discriminated against in agriculture in the formal allocation of newly irrigated land under the Mahaweli scheme, whereby 20 per cent of the population were given land or had their tenure regularised. The majority of women on these lands are full time farmers and on average contribute around half the household income. But title to land was granted only to male heads of households.

On the social services and consumption side, there was a major reduction in resources, especially for the poorest. Even though attempts were made to ensure that the reductions impinged less than proportionately on the lowest income households, shifts in the composition of the health, education and food subsidy budgets were not enough to outweigh the effect of a 50 per cent cut in the food subsidy budget and could not prevent falls in real income for the poorest groups. Relatively greater rises in malnutrition were recorded for women than men, clear evidence of cuts in welfare at the most basic level, and of socio-cultural biases in provision of consumption to women. (At least this shows that interventions previously redressed such biases).

Malaysia

Structural adjustment in Malaysia, like Sri Lanka, has been characterised by consistent steady economic growth which dropped only temporarily in 1984 and 1985.

The employment rate grew four per cent yearly in the 1970s but this fell to three per cent in the early 1980s and two per cent from 1985/88. Along with a decline in growth, there was a marked redistribution of the workforce from primary to secondary sector employment - notably into construction where employment grew seven per cent annually between 1980 and 1985, and the commerce and service sectors which both expanded by six per cent over the same period. The sharp fall in GDP in 1984/85 was mirrored by a contraction in the construction industry which suffered negative growth of -2.1 per cent between 1985 and 1986. In contrast the service and commerce sectors continued to expand with an average growth rate of four per cent each year. Female employment, in line with general employment, has risen slowly from just below to just above one third of the total workforce over the last fifteen years.

Women suffered greatly in the economic downturn which especially hit the export industries though men in the agricultural sector - notably the rubber and oil palm estates - were also badly affected. Overall unemployment arose from five to nine per cent between 1980-85 with consistently greater unemployment amongst women in both the rural and urban areas. The author documents the growing proportions of unemployed professionals.

The government is a major employer in Malaysia. Public sector employment grew at nearly six per cent between 1970 and 1980 but growth was

checked to approximately one per cent since 1985 due to a cut in recruitment levels as part of the government's fiscal cutbacks. Female participation has increased however, while male employment rates have declined, as the government continued to take on staff in the vital sectors (teachers, nurses) during the recession. Women still occupy the lower ranks of the occupational structure. A slight wage distribution, from the high to the lower paid during the recession benefited female government employees.

A growing number of women are moving from the agricultural sector into labour intensive manufacturing export industries. The proportion of women in this sector grew to over a fifth of total female employees in 1983 with most jobs concentrated in highly automatised export industries (especially semi-conductors). Government support (tax incentives and grants) in the free trading zone helped cushion the effects of the recession but retrenchment did occur on a wide scale between 1983 and 1986. This mainly affected female production-line workers who either temporarily moved back into agricultural production or joined the ranks of the informal sector. Women are concentraed in precarious lower ranking positions which are highly susceptible to increasing automisation.

The service sector has grown to become the largest employer of female labour with nearly 50 per cent of the female workforce. In comparison this sector's share of total employment only increased from 20 to 30 per cent between 1970 and 1988. The more educated women tend to be employed in government jobs but as more women move away from agriculture, the informal sector is swelling. Industrial retrenchment in the 1980s caused further movement into this sector as women try to combine child-rearing with wage labour. Piece-meal work in manufacturing and food processing plants is common, as is office/house cleaning and food production for petty-trading.

The importance of agriculture as a major employer continues to decline, aided by positive government discrimination for the indigenous Malaysian population to leave agriculture and find jobs in the modern industrial sector. Despite the tendency for women to return to this form of employment during retrenchment the proportion of women in agriculture has continued to fall.

Overall, women have not been disproportionately hit by austerity measures in Malaysia. Unlike most other countries undergoing structural adjustment, health and education expenditure were not cut and government cuts in subsidies (mainly petroleum products) did not have an unduly harsh effect on the poor. The authors document the increasing cost of living and tell of economic measures employed in poor households. They refer to children, especially young girls, being taken away from school to look after their siblings and young girls at the age of sixteen being sent to work in Malaysian factories. Poor households are said to cut back on education and food in times of hardship and engage children in informal sector employment.

IV. EVIDENCE ON THE FUNCTIONAL IMPACT OF ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN

In this section we draw out thematically the main summary conclusions from the case studies concerning the impact on women and of their response to structural adjustment. Following the argument of the Report, the ordering is: the effects of demand restraint, modification of the trade regime and market liberalisation on women as <u>producers</u>; the effects of demand restraint, and

price decontrol on women as household managers; the effects of changes in social service expenditures on women and mothers, or more generally as supporters of the family including their own; and on the demands put on them as community organisers.

Women as Producers

In all the case countries, except Sri Lanka and to a lesser extent Malaysia and Bangladesh, structural adjustment has occurred during a period of economic contraction, with falls in national income and marked reductions in real wages.

Women have experienced these changes alongside men. It is not clear that they have suffered disproportionately from these declines. Modification of the trade regime has altered the sectoral structure of employment to a greater or lesser degree in all countries, and especially in the higher income and/or more open economies of Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Jamaica and Trinidad. Some opportunities have probably opened up for women in all countries with this restructuring, but others have been lost in activities with reduced returns. In aggregate women have not clearly lost out in this process. But then neither have the changes supported any significant improvement in women's employment position. It is possible nevertheless that particular sub-groups of women or households do suffer, losing employment in one sector and being unable to take jobs in newly expanding industries because of location, lack of skill, or age. In the Malaysian case there is rapid growth of female participation in the highly automated manufacturing sector which has a long term trend of declining direct labour use in the industry.

The major structural change in women's employment has been a tendency towards casualisation of their employment, primarily through expansion of their involvement in the informal sector. This is more or less well substantiated in almost all the countries, with the exception of Bangladesh[4] and apparently Trinidad. Increased competition within this sector has reduced individual earnings (in total or at an hourly rate) in Africa as it has in Latin America.

But in general, evidence on all aspects of women's incomes - individual wages, real earnings, and total incomes controlled by women - is elusive. The Jamaican case, however, is a reminder that not all of women's activity in the informal sector is low income, and also that some informal sector activity, especially perhaps services, deal in tradables which would in principle be advantaged by changes in the trade regime under adjustment.

In the light of this general relative expansion of informal sector activity, it is difficult to put much weight on data, where available, on women's official rates of labour force participation, and even more so, of unemployment. In most cases there is little or no change in female participation, and increases in the level of unemployment. In richer countries where employment data are more reliable (including several in Latin America), increases in female labour force participation rates are commonly recorded during recession particularly in lower income groups. The fact that many of the present case studies do not show rises similarly should not be given much weight in interpretation. The Bangladesh study indicates that women's labour force participation is subject to the same sort of influences. The trend in female participation rises over time in association with rising average income, and women in poor households are much more likely to take paid

work than the average. There is therefore a prima facie case even here that declines in real household income would lead to increases in the numbers of women seeking paid employment. Micro-data on household expenditures and on falls in the purchasing power of average formal sector wages, especially in Africa, are persuasive circumstantial evidence that women have indeed probably had to devote more time to income generating or consumption expenditure saving activities.

Finally, it is worth remarking that the case studies produce little information on how women have fared in agriculture, a sector where producers have in principle supposedly strongly benefited under adjustment. The only two studies with detailed information suggest that women have not done well: in both Zambia and Sri Lanka, where cash crop output has increased, it has been with a large input of unpaid female labour. Whether this is at the cost of diminished subsistence food production is not clear. In Zimbabwe, by contrast, it is implied that women farmers may have profited with the expansion of subsidised credit schemes to which they have access; however, the evidence is far from conclusive. Bangladesh lacks good data on agricultural employment for women, but it is argued that the adjustment package has been biased against small farmers and as such has adverse effects on women in two ways. Women heads of households are disproportionately represented among smaller farm-size classes and women wage workers may see their earnings fall because of pressures on the female wage rate.

Women as Household Managers

All the studies confirm marked rises in consumer prices, due to reduction of consumer subsidies and rises in producer prices, together with stagnation or falls in nominal wages and incomes.[5] Thus there is no doubt that real incomes have been squeezed in most countries. To the extent that low income families, first, are not able to place extra household members into well paid positions in the labour market, and second if these families benefited previously from food and other subsidies, they will have been doubly subject to reductions in their standard of living. None of the studies, however, adds significantly to our knowledge of income sharing practices in poor households, and none is able to document changes in the income controlled by women within the household.

Examples of the kinds of adaptation that women make in trying to maintain the consumption of their families in the face of falls in income are given in a number of the studies. Commonly there have been cuts in the consumption of protein and other nutritions foods reduction in the number of meals and greater time spent procuring food and other items. For Zambia it is noted that female headed households, which are relatively poor, are less able to take out credit to moderate the consumption effect of falls in real income. Women, and the children of poor families (and children in female headed households), seem likely to be especially damaged by cuts in social services which offered them a route to build up their human capital, and compensation for their lack of other assets.

Reliable comparative data on the deterioration of nutritional standards is available from Sri Lanka and Zambia. Sri Lanka is notable for the greater increase in malnutrition among women than among men in certain areas. Other studies refer to increased incidence of malnutrition but fail to compare with statistics from previous years.

Women as Mothers

Women's access to household consumption resources is the primary feature of this role, and as such has clearly been reduced by cuts in income, and probably by increased time spent on income earning activity. At the same time, reduction in provision of (and with increased charges in some instances, reduced access to) health and education services, in particular, has increased the demands on women's time. The country studies confirm that where there are fiscal crises, cuts in health and education and consumer subsidies are a feature of most programmes of adjustment.[6] They add some detail on the nature of those time demands, showing that children are routinely tutored outside school in some African countries, that more time is needed for nurturing children and others through periods of sickness (e.g. Tanzania, Zambia), whether or not morbidity is rising, and that women are specifically disadvantaged by deteriorating standards of provision and maintenance of water supplies.

Women as Community Organisers

It is disappointing that the studies say virtually nothing about women's activities in this sphere. This might be because community activities are most important in Latin America which the existing literature would suggest, or, more likely, because this is a phenomenon not yet documented elsewhere so that information was not available to the authors of the studies reliant on secondary sources.

The Welfare Impact

In general, it seems on the basis of these studies that women have not seen any significant net change in their position as producers with the introduction of adjustment programmes. They have not seen any relative deterioration in their (disadvantaged) access to income from formal employment, although the employment impact of adjustment has not been inherently biased against women. Figures on female participation rates are an incomplete guide to the lack of women's involvement as producer. But women do seem to have drawn into casual income earning activities, mainly in the informal sector, probably to a greater extent than men, to try and add to falling real wage income. And given the probable decline in average unit earnings in the informal sector it seems likely that women have had to devote more time to the producer function in that sector. Some studies point to increased use of women as unpaid family workers in agriculture in newly profitable crops, which may also be counted as a negative welfare impact.

As regards social services and consumer subsidies, vital elements in family welfare on the consumption side, there is clear evidence in every case except Malaysia and Bangladesh of drastic declines in government expenditure on social services and/or consumer subsidies, which are vital elements in family welfare. This is likely to have had a negative effect on family consumption. The poorest households have been proportionately worst hit by cuts in subsidies. The exception to this would be remote households mainly dependent on subsistence agriculture, unreached by previous subsidies, but the case studies provide no evidence about such groups in the population.

In general then these findings bear out the argument of the Report that women's welfare under adjustment has declined as a consequence of a distinctive conjunction of circumstances. There have been more or less severe

cuts in subsidies and declines in real income which impinge especially on women because of their responsibilities for household consumption and welfare. While women's position in formal employment may not have been specifically disadvantaged by adjustment, they have been subject, along with men, to increases in recorded unemployment, at relatively higher rates and they seem to have taken on extra work in the informal sector in many different country settings. While there is no direct information in any of the studies on the intensification of women's labour efforts, nor clear evidence of an increase in total hours of work, such increases can be inferred as a consequence of this pincer effect: on the one hand increased time demands for family welfare have fallen on women as public services and subsidies have been cut, and on the other hand women have met constant or greater demands on their producer function for falling or constant returns. Women's role as producer has become more important during adjustment, while demands on them in their roles of household managers and as mothers have increased.

NOTES

1. This leaves aside the moot point, at this stage, of whether such programmes will be seen to have induced sustainable aggregate growth, not otherwise attainable, once the adjustment period itself is over. At issue is the nature of damage caused in the interim; for what good is ultimate growth if, in the short rather than the long run, we are dead, or "the crossing of the desert". (a phrase sometimes used to refer to the transitional period during adjustment) is <u>not</u> accomplished? With respect to women, there is the additional possibility of setbacks to women's economic emancipation from one generation to the next.

2. Changes in nutritional status can be indicative of changes in food energy requirements as well as of food intake. At low levels of food consumption, intensification of women's labour effort leading to increases in food energy requirements can reduce nutritional status. Such detailed information has been documented in rural populations related to the agricultural cycle, but not in other contexts.

3. The most generous estimate puts the female urban labour force participation rate at 12 per cent in 1981. Garments therefore absorb about one third of the formal female labour force.

4. The situation is anomalous here. The official rate of female labour force participation is extremely low, although survey data shows that women make a major economic contribution in home based activities, mainly in post harvest food processing and in a range of urban and rural small industries which might be referred to as informal sector. There is no evidence as to whether women's participation, and work intensity in such activities has increased with adjustment. The main development, directly attributable to adjustment has been the emergence of a major new source of employment for women in the formal sector, in non-traditional manufactures for export.

5. Bangladesh is again an exception. Real wages have been rising. But food deficit households (small farmers and landless households) accounting for well over half the population have been hit by the rise in the market prices of the staple grain, rice. On the other hand, public food distribution programmes have been significantly redirected to reach more vulnerable groups particularly women (especially female heads of household) and children.

6. In Malaysia, there were no significant cuts in health or other social development programmes, and in Bangladesh cuts in these programmes have not been made - but mainly because expenditures on health and education were extraordinarily low and scarcely offered scope for cutbacks.

© Copyright 1991

Printed and published by
The Commonwealth Secretariat

May be purchased from
Commonwealth Secretariat Publications
Marlborough House
London SW1Y 5HX

ISBN 0 85092 381 6

