ENGENDERING ADJUSTMENT FOR THE 1990s

Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group
on Women and Structural Adjustment

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Commonwealth Secretariat

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Commonwealth Secretariat,
Marlborough House,
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Foreword by Commonwealth Secretary-General

It is now fourteen years since the international community initiated the United Nations decade for women. Much has happened in that time. Substantial efforts have been made to integrate women more fully into the economic, social and political activities of countries, and the results can be seen in terms of greater awareness of the issues, increased legislation on gender equality, and the establishment of more women's bureaux. Many conferences have been held, most prominently the 1985 Nairobi review of the UN decade. But in many developing countries, the economic crises which emerged in the early 1980s and the subsequent efforts to effect adjustment through programmes agreed with the international financial institutions have meant that the economic position of women has got worse rather than better.

In 1985, the first meeting of Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs identified the impact of structural adjustment policies on women as a priority issue. At their second meeting in Zimbabwe in 1987, they recommended that an expert group be established to identify the extent of women's contribution to different economies, examine the evidence of the impact on women of structural adjustment measures, and consider alternatives which would be socially and economically more effective. The proposal was supported by Commonwealth Finance Ministers and approved by Heads of Government at their Vancouver meeting later that year.

I was fortunate in being able to assemble a Group of distinguished Commonwealth women and men with expertise and experience both of women-in-development issues and structural adjustment policies. Their deliberations were chaired by Ms.Mary Chinery-Hesse, formerly Principal Secretary of Ghana's Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and now UNDP resident representative in Uganda.

The Group's Report provides an incisive and moving analysis of the special difficulties women are now facing in many parts of the world.

It points to the severe and often disproportionate impact which women have encountered in carrying out their four major roles of producers, home managers, mothers and community organisers, in the face of the economic crises and ensuing structural adjustment programmes which have been experienced by much of the developing world during the 1980s. It finds that, in practice, these programmes have made additional demands on women as producers, while reducing the quantum of social support and other resources available to them in their other roles. The result is to worsen the already harsh pressures on women's time. In a chapter entitled "So Little Action", the Report catalogues the record of these adjustment programmes from the standpoint of women. The Group finds that though some measures have been taken to alleviate poverty, women have benefited only incidentally, and that measures directed specifically at their particular needs have been much too little and too late. It concludes that a new approach is required incorporating a much broader adjustment strategy.

The recommendations for such a strategy are set out in the context of three guiding principles: an emphasis on social equity and economic growth as well as efficiency; the full integration of women into all decision-making processes; and a supportive international environment. The recommendations themselves are comprehensive and cover a wide area. Most important are the many measures which governments of adjusting countries should incorporate into their structural adjustment programmes so as to help women to carry out their four main roles. Giving special attention to their access to productive resources such as land and credit and to basic goods and services is considered particularly important. But access to other inputs, such as foreign exchange, marketing and training facilities, extension and technical services, is also of the utmost significance, as is an ability to make use of adequate education and health services. Specific recommendations are made in respect of each, and the Group emphasises its view that structural adjustment programmes will only become effective in terms of their stated objectives if women are enabled to raise their production and welfare by playing a much greater role in economies and societies. Recognising that the implementation of its proposals would not be costless, the Group makes detailed proposals for financing the broader structural adjustment programmes recommended. This leads to the third strand of the Group's recommendations, a series of proposals for international action, especially in the areas of finance and trade. Fourthly, the Group sets out some specific requirements for enhanced data and monitoring to assess the continuing impact of structural adjustment on women. Finally, it makes some detailed proposals on implementation including possible procedures for follow-up by the Commonwealth.

At a very early stage of its work, the Group recognised that gender-disaggregated data were generally deficient, and that there was a particular paucity of detailed analyses on how women are affected by structural adjustment. To help rectify these gaps it asked the Secretariat to commission case studies in a range of Commonwealth developing countries. These studies have proved valuable in informing the work of the Group. They are being published separately. In addition, the members of the Group wished to complement their Report with a video film which, by means of interviews with some of those affected, could illustrate more graphically the subject of their investigation. In the preparation of the country studies and the making of the video, additional resources were required: I am greatly indebted to CIDA, UNDP, UNICEF, UNIFEM and UNFPA for their readiness to cooperate in these aspects and for their generous offer of financial support for them.

This is a significant, authoritative and timely commentary on a matter of immense importance. It deserves close and sympathetic attention and urgent responsive action. I commend it to Commonwealth Governments and to the wider international community.

Shridath S. Ramphal

Letter of Presentation

Marlborough House
London

24 June 1989

H.E. Mr. S. S. Ramphal,
Commonwealth Secretary-General,
Marlborough House,
London SW1.

Dear Secretary-General,

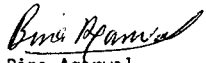
In accordance with the wishes of Commonwealth Heads of Government when they met at Vancouver in 1987, you appointed us as a group of independent experts, chosen from diverse backgrounds, to examine and report on the impact of structural adjustment on women. We now present our Report, which we have signed in our personal capacities and not as representatives of the governments, organisations or countries to which we belong.

We hope our Report will contribute to the sustained effort required to bring to an end the serious situation which has set back the economic and social progress of women in many developing countries during the 1980s. We see the restructuring required in these countries as providing opportunities to resume the advances women were making in earlier years and in the process greatly enhance the prospects for recovery and sustained development in the 1990s.

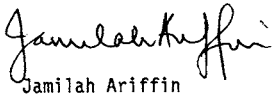
We would like to express our appreciation to you for your confidence and trust in appointing us to undertake this task, and our thanks to your staff for their ready administrative and technical support in helping us to fulfil it.

Please accept, Secretary-General, the expression of our highest consideration.

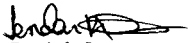
Mary Chinery-Hesse



Bina Agarwal



Jamilah Ariffin



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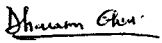

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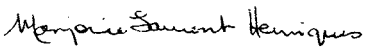
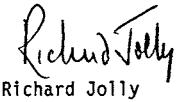


Marjorie Lamont Henriques



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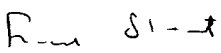

Frances Stewart

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Introduction

The economic crises which hit much of the developing world in the 1980s disrupted the progress women had been making, leading to a decline in many countries in their already unequal position.

In response to this situation, in October 1987 Commonwealth Heads of Government asked the Commonwealth Secretariat to convene an Expert Group, following the recommendation of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs, who had met in Zimbabwe earlier that year. The Group's task was to identify the extent of women's contribution to different economies, examine the evidence of the impact of structural adjustment measures, and consider alternative policies that would be socially and economically more effective*.

This Expert Group was set up early in 1988: members were drawn from a representative cross-section of Commonwealth countries, bringing together experience in two streams of research and policy-making: women in development; and structural adjustment. We held three meetings in London between June 1988 and June 1989. The inadequacy of sex-disaggregated data and the scarcity of studies on the effects of structural adjustment policies on women severely constrained our work. To fill some of these gaps we asked the Secretariat to commission case-studies in nine Commonwealth developing countries†, chosen because their conditions were similar to many of their neighbours, thus providing a regional dimension. The studies were generously funded by CIDA, UNICEF and the UNDP. Their results have enabled us to make a more thorough analysis and consider viable alternative measures.

In the Report that follows we first provide an Executive Summary of the succeeding chapters, highlighting our recommendations by setting out six general areas for action by governments, international agencies

*The Group's full Terms of Reference are at Annex 1.

†Bangladesh, Jamaica, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

and non-governmental organisations. Chapter 1 sets the scene. It describes the broad progress that was experienced by most women from 1950 to 1980 and then reviews the sharp deterioration in the external environment facing many developing countries in the 1980s, with the slow-down in global economic growth, deteriorating terms of trade for primary products and growing debt crisis, leading to a need for radical economic adjustment in many countries, especially in Latin America and Africa. Women were affected more harshly than men in most areas, because of their special social and economic roles. The four roles of women—as producers, home managers, mothers and social organisers—are analysed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 reviews how adjustment policies have affected women in each of these roles. Chapter 4 reports on action taken to ameliorate the adverse effects on vulnerable groups generally and women in particular, both by national governments and international institutions. It concludes that the action so far has been **far too little**. Chapter 5 sets out a strategy for change, with recommendations for a broader approach to adjustment, fully incorporating women's concerns. This approach, we believe, would not only avoid much unnecessary suffering, but also greatly increase the social and economic efficiency of the adjustment process.

Executive Summary

The economic crisis of the 1980s, and the types of stabilisation and adjustment measures taken in response to it, have halted and even reversed the progress in health, nutrition, education and incomes which women had enjoyed in developing countries during the previous three decades. In the 1980s, despite greater national and international commitment towards gender issues, most women have suffered disproportionately during the widespread economic and social disruption that has occurred in much of the developing world. This Report analyses the impact of the crisis and structural adjustment on women and proposes measures to make the process more effective and beneficial, both for the women themselves and for the societies and economies in which they live and work.

2. The essence of women's distinctiveness lies in the multiplicity of their roles. Most men can confine themselves mainly to being producers. Most women, in addition to being heavily involved in economic production, take prime responsibility as home managers, child-bearers and carers of children and the elderly. Both women and men are also community organisers. In consequence, women work longer hours than men, usually with smaller resources, fewer opportunities and lower rewards. Inequities, in fact, typify gender differences. As has been pointed out in the literature on the UN Decade for Women, women account for half the world's population, perform two-thirds of the hours worked (though are recorded as working only one-third of those hours), receive one-tenth of the world's income, and have one-hundredth of the world's property registered in their name.

3. These asymmetries mean that women almost always face more severe constraints and harsher choices in their use of time than do men, and this difference has been magnified by economic recession and structural adjustment. With falls in individual and family incomes, women are obliged to devote more time to their role as producers, i.e. to earning incomes in cash or in kind. This, in turn, requires an intensification of effort by women in other directions, because their

other roles have to be carried out in less time, while often becoming more difficult to accomplish. Greater effort is needed to provide for their families on lower incomes—to purchase basic goods from the cheapest source, and to safeguard their children's health and education at a time when structural adjustment is causing a fall in the 'social wage'.

4. The adjustment programmes being pursued diminish the services available to women in their non-producer roles, without assisting them in their role as producer. As a result, they have damaged the human and capital resource base available to society: this is not only the cause of much current suffering but will have serious future consequences.

5. Our aim in this Report is to propose a broader approach to adjustment, fully incorporating women's concerns, and to identify measures to bring this about. Having considered the evidence on the impact of the crisis and subsequent adjustment on women, we are convinced that short-term stabilisation measures have too often been in conflict with long-term development goals, and have caused hardships severe enough to invalidate the process. It is only by recognising the economic necessity of protecting the social base, particularly as it affects women, and by incorporating these concerns into policy, that adjustment can achieve the desired results. In other words, adjustment policies which fail to incorporate women's concerns fully are not only unjust and cause unnecessary hardship but also imperil the effectiveness of the policies themselves. We must stress that our proposals will not be adequately implemented if they are seen and incorporated only as marginal additions to the present adjustment efforts. The problem of existing adjustment is **not** its omission of a few projects for women—but its failure to take adequate account of the time, roles, potential contribution and needs of half of each country's population.

THE CRISIS IN PERSPECTIVE

6. In many developing countries, the crisis of the 1980s halted the substantial economic and social progress which had been made by women during the preceding three decades. In the earlier period per capita income grew at 2 per cent per annum in low income countries and 4 per cent in middle income developing countries. Social progress in the developing world paralleled or even exceeded economic progress. Women shared in this progress, with increases in life expectancy (44 years in 1950 to 61 years in 1980), in primary school enrolment rates (37 per cent in 1950 to 44 per cent in 1980), and employment levels (37 per cent of the workforce in 1950 to 42 per cent in 1980). Their position nevertheless remained significantly unequal to that of men.

7. By the early 1980s very large imbalances had emerged in the balance of payments of many developing countries, the result of deteriorating terms of trade, increasing developed country protectionism and slower growth in world trade, as well as a sharp deterioration in the capital account caused by high rates of interest and a collapse of voluntary bank lending. Adjustment became inevitable. Resources (including labour) had to be reallocated to more productive uses, economic structures changed, and lives altered. The pace of adjustment, required under the auspices of external agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank, contributed towards the difficulty of combining these processes with economic growth. The adjustment programmes were designed without consideration of their impact on human conditions. Recently there has been more recognition of the poverty dimensions of adjustment, but little action has been taken and there has been no explicit account taken of women's specific needs and concerns. And for many developing countries the crisis has continued.

8. The 1980s have been a period of almost continuous adjustment in many countries of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. But their external payments positions are still far from satisfactory. In Latin America, major improvements in the trade balance have been virtually wiped out by a massive outflow of resources (of around $150 billion from 1982 to 1987), while in Africa imports have diminished by nearly 8 per cent per annum, with a devastating effect on investment. Per capita incomes have fallen substantially—by over a quarter in Sub-Saharan Africa and by around a sixth in Latin America and the Caribbean. In both continents the human condition has worsened correspondingly. There have been declines in real expenditure per head on health and education services, rapidly rising food prices and falling real incomes among poor households. There is evidence in many countries of rising rates of malnutrition and falling educational attainments; in some, infant mortality rates have risen. With few exceptions, the previous steady progress in social indicators has been halted or reversed in both continents.

9. Women have been at the epicentre of the crisis and have borne the brunt of the adjustment efforts. They have been the most affected by the deteriorating balance between incomes and prices, by the cuts in social services, and by the rising morbidity and child deaths. It is women who have had to find the means for families to survive. To achieve this they have had to work longer and harder. Yet they have had no role in the design of adjustment programmes which have in consequence ignored their needs and concerns.

WOMEN'S ROLES, CONTRIBUTION AND SITUATION

10. The ways women are affected by structural adjustment depend on their role and situation in the economy and society, and the contribution they make to each. As producers, women have accounted for an expanding proportion of the labour force, being especially important in agriculture and the informal sector and increasingly so in manufacturing. Yet they continue to earn less than men, even for the same work, and are almost without assets, especially as regards land. Their economic contribution, moreover, is grossly under-recorded in official statistics: adding household work alone would increase estimates of world production by at least one-third. As managers of household consumption, women have had to ensure that their families' basic needs are met; but in general they have done so while having little control over family income allocation. As mothers, they are primarily responsible for their children's welfare and, as daughters, they are relied on for the welfare of aged parents and parents-in-law; they also play a large role as community organisers. The net result is that women consistently work longer hours than men—16 hours a day in parts of East Africa, for example. Their health, education and general welfare have often suffered as a consequence.

THE IMPACT OF CRISIS AND ADJUSTMENT ON WOMEN

11. The evidence shows that women have generally been ill-served by structural adjustment policies and programmes. As producers, many of them have lost their jobs in the formal sector; and when this has happened, they have found it more difficult than men to gain another, partly as a result of discrimination arising from the "male breadwinner ethic". Moreover, the falls in household income have led to an increase in women's search for employment outside the home. In the few adjusting countries where women's employment in the formal sector has increased during the 1980s, this has by no means been commensurate with the need for more jobs. As food producers women have gained less than proportionately from the better terms of trade for agriculture, and any expansion of agricultural wage-earning opportunities for women has not kept pace with the extra numbers seeking such work. The result of these changes in employment and in the labour force has been to throw many more women into insecure jobs in the informal sector. In that sector, however, there has been a drastic decline in earnings (often much greater than the fall in other sectors), even for longer hours of work. Yet despite the meagre returns, women's informal sector earnings have been crucial to the survival of poor families during the crisis of the 1980s, especially in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, as our case studies confirm.

12. As home managers, women have been adversely affected by the reduction or abolition of subsidies on food and other basic goods, while their role as mothers has been made more difficult by reduced social services. The effects have often been catastrophic. In Ghana, at the peak of the crisis in July 1984, even the upper middle civil service salaries could cover barely 10 per cent of the minimum nutritional diet of a five-person household. And per capita health expenditure in 1982 was one-fifth of that in 1975/76, the country losing half its doctors between 1981 and 1984. In Zambia in 1985, despite free primary education, parental expenditure on basic items necessary for one child to attend school was over one-fifth of average per capita income. Children's health and education have suffered accordingly, particularly if they are members of female-headed households, which have been among the worst affected.

13. Women's own welfare has also suffered. Their use of time has been subject to special demands in trying to undertake each of their main roles with diminished resources and greater difficulties. Their health has been adversely affected by increased hours of work and by reduced availability of food and healthcare facilities. Less healthy women are less efficient, reducing their productivity and thereby diminishing national income and national welfare below its potential. In total, therefore, the structural adjustment programmes adopted have reduced the resources available to women in their roles as home managers, mothers and community organisers, while making additional demands on them as producers. The trade-offs in undertaking their multifarious roles have become almost impossibly difficult, for poor women especially.

SO LITTLE ACTION

14. Awareness of the problems which the poor and the vulnerable face as a result of stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes is increasing among international agencies and governments. Both the IMF and the World Bank have now become more conscious of the human costs of adjustment, but only in a few recent cases have special measures been taken to protect the poor and other vulnerable groups from bearing the costs disproportionately. A number of UN bodies have been providing limited support for poverty alleviation measures related to adjustment programmes, as have some bilateral aid agencies and international NGOs. Certain developing country governments have also acted, seeking at least to maintain expenditure on key sectors—such as primary healthcare/education or nutrition—of benefit to the poor. Food-for-work schemes and compensatory measures for retrenched workers have also been started.

15. While these new orientations are very welcome, they are still much too little, too late and in general are not being given the resources and priority they deserve. Moreover, as we ascertained from a survey we had commissioned, rarely has attention been given to women as a specific category, and virtually no measures have been incorporated specifically directed to their needs. Any benefits women have attained from compensatory measures have been only incidental. They have not prevented devastating setbacks in crucial areas such as maternal and child health services, basic education and training, childcare, and the provision of credit, extension and other support services to help women as producers.

STRATEGY FOR CHANGE

16. Our survey has led us to conclude that a much broader approach to structural adjustment is urgently required. Women's concerns need to be explicitly incorporated as integral elements of the objectives, content, monitoring and international support for structural adjustment. This should be done as part of a more general broadening of adjustment, to focus more directly on human needs and long-term goals for sustainable, environmentally-sensitive development. We are convinced that this is possible and will increase the efficiency and sustainability of adjustment efforts, as well as their acceptability. We are also convinced that the time has come for such an initiative—and that the Commonwealth can play an important part in bringing it about.

17. We believe this broader approach requires adjustment policies and programmes to be designed in such a way as to incorporate the following three general principles:

- *an emphasis on social equity and economic growth as well as efficiency;*
- *full integration of women into the decision-making processes; and*
- *a supportive international environment.*

18. In sum, we are looking for an overall policy stance which is oriented towards all the people, meeting basic needs and achieving equality for women, always informed by the need for administrative practicality. Before setting out our proposals in detail we summarise below the six general areas we believe should be given priority consideration for action.

Six General Areas for Action by Governments, International Agencies and Non-Governmental Organisations

I. Broaden the approach of national governments and international agencies to structural adjustment, so as to:

(i) clearly incorporate women's concerns in the basic objectives of adjustment, as part of a more general widening of adjustment objectives to focus on human needs, environmental protection and sustainable development in the long term;

(ii) take account of women's special needs in and contributions to economic production; household management; child rearing and caring (and often caring for the aged); and community organisation, by incorporating measures which:

(a) increase women's productivity and ease their time burdens in all their roles;

(b) enhance women's opportunities for remunerative and productive work by ensuring greater access to credit and key services, and implementing employment creation schemes specially tailored towards women's needs; and

(c) restore momentum for women's advance in the longer term by giving priority to education, health and other goals for women in the 1990s.

II. Institutionalise women's concerns through the strengthening of government and other official machinery by:

(i) placing women's bureaux in strategic areas of a country's decision-making processes;

(ii) establishing women's units in key economic Ministries and development agencies, and ensuring that they participate fully in all decision-making related to structural adjustment and other concerns of women;

(iii) setting up Parliamentary and administrative committees to review legislation and programmes to ensure that all concerns of women are adequately addressed.

III. Involve women fully at all levels of the decision-making processes; introduce anti-discrimination and affirmative action legislation to assist in breaking down the gender segmentation of the workforce; implement measures to ensure women have equitable access to education, training and employment opportunities, and receive equal pay for work of equal value and equality of treatment in all aspects of the law; and undertake publicity and information campaigns to promote a greater sharing by men of domestic and family responsibilities.

IV. Provide a supportive international economic environment for the broader approach to structural adjustment in developing countries by:

(i) increasing external finance for areas supporting women during adjustment; targeting a specific proportion of aid flows to measures which directly benefit women; and initiating debt swaps in support of such measures;

(ii) increasing net resource transfers both from the public and the private sector through additional aid flows and debt write-off by aid donors; lower interest rates, substantial debt reduction, and additional financial flows from the private sector; improving access to developed countries' markets, especially for labour-intensive manufactures, where women are heavily involved; and supporting primary product prices.

V. Ensure the provision of:

(i) accurate, regular and prompt gender-disaggregated data on critical economic and social indicators (including access to land and credit, rates of employment and earnings, levels of education, morbidity, mortality, and nutrition); and ensure that the data on women's work and employment reflect the full extent of their contribution to the economy and the household (including home-based work);

(ii) facilities for regularly monitoring the impact of specific adjustment programmes in operation and disseminating the results;

(iii) detailed surveys and analytical case studies so as to help design more appropriate policies and programmes which mitigate any adverse effects and realise opportunities for improvement.

VI. The Commonwealth to:

(i) take steps to initiate and secure joint sponsorship with appropriate UN organisations for a small international meeting of high-level national and international officials involved in structural adjustment policies. This meeting should seek consensus on the policy goals for a broader adjustment strategy, fully reflecting women's interests, and focus on ways in which such a strategy would be implemented;

(ii) encourage regional meetings and workshops so as to foster intensive discussion, decisions and actions on the issues discussed in our Report.

Specific Recommendations

19. As a result of our investigations, and in the light of the general principles and priority actions just described, we recommend the following specific changes, designed to support women in their four roles.

Our proposals deal first with the *domestic action* which we believe governments should themselves take in the structural adjustment process.

20. We start with women's role as a producer. Concerning their *access to productive resources*, we recommend that governments design adjustment programmes which:

—*employment:* take special measures to employ women (for example, through public works schemes), assist (including through grants for setting up small businesses) or otherwise compensate women and other workers who become unemployed as a result of structural adjustment; ensure satisfactory labour standards for those still at work and review them regularly to ensure adequacy;

—*credit:* ensure that a certain proportion of bank loans are secured by women, and establish special credit arrangements to help them overcome existing disadvantages, including requirements for collateral;

—*foreign exchange:* ensure that in foreign exchange allocation, some foreign exchange is reserved for priority sectors of special concern to women, so that they can purchase vital imports;

—*infrastructure:* provide more feeder roads and small scale decentralised means to generate energy and obtain access to water, so as to help those small enterprises in which women find their greatest employment and reduce pressure on women's time use;

—*marketing:* ensure that the disbanding of state marketing enterprises does not lead to a reduction in services enabling small producers, including women, to sell their output and acquire inputs; encourage women's participation in marketing, including marketing co-operatives, so that they have better opportunities to retain the income from selling their products;

—*training:* restore and expand training budgets, with special schemes for retrenched employees, especially from the public sector; reorient programmes so as to give special attention to providing women with technical and entrepreneurial skills; experiment with innovative

delivery systems for non-formal training, especially of women;

—*extension and technical services:* ensure women have adequate access to agricultural extension services and that there is more emphasis on the activities in which women specialise, such as food crops; increase government provision of and support for technical services and repair centres which women can use in establishing and operating manufacturing and other non-farm enterprises;

—*technology:* promote more long-term R&D into activities or goods of special interest to women as producers or consumers;

—*land:* reform inheritance and land tenure laws to remove gender inequalities; improve the processes for implementing such laws; protect communal land rights (e.g. for grazing) from privatisation through promoting group ownership;

—*environment:* ensure that structural adjustment programmes protect the environment in which women live and work, for example by safeguarding their access to fuelwood, fodder and potable water; and

—*legal:* enact reforms ensuring women have equality before the law in all aspects of their daily lives, and ensure that such laws are effectively implemented.

21. It is also vital that women have sufficient *access to basic goods and services* to be able to carry out their roles as home managers and mothers satisfactorily. These functions provide critical support to the operations of the monetary economy and the nurturing of the human resource base of the future. We recommend that governments design adjustment programmes so as to:

—*basic household needs:* maintain prices of staple food and fuel at affordable levels for low-income families (even if this entails some measure of subsidy) and protect nutritional and school feeding programmes;

—*education:* restore and expand education budgets and review resource allocation within the sector so as to assure supplies of basic text books; avoid charging fees on primary education and make

special efforts (including additional subsidies if necessary) to ensure that girls from poor households and rural areas receive education; reorient programmes towards basic education; and take special measures to avoid pupils dropping out (rescheduling school calendar, provision of creches etc); and

—*health:* protect and if possible extend the number and quality of basic health facilities, especially for maternal and child healthcare; maintain free access to primary healthcare; provide enough community health workers and an adequate referral system; ensure a sufficient supply of basic drugs at reasonable prices; increase expenditure on potable water and efficient sanitation facilities.

22. Women's access to productive resources and basic goods and services can be enhanced by *group action*. In designing structural adjustment programmes, governments should encourage such action, which can be particularly beneficial in respect of access to:

—*credit:* enabling women to obtain loans without providing collateral;

—*land:* assuring women the use of common land without fear of losing rights to others such as money lenders or male relatives;

—*water:* allowing women to take part in decisions on the distribution of water through irrigation systems;

—*fuelwood:* enabling women to participate in decisions on the use of forestry resources for fuel and other purposes;

—*childcare:* allowing women to spend more time on economically productive activities through the provision of communal childcare facilities; and

—*cooking facilities:* saving women time in food preparation by the use of communal cooking facilities.

23. Some of our recommendations will cost governments little or nothing at any time and all will pay for themselves in the long term. But some *financing* will be necessary in the interim. Most of this can be generated internally by reorienting expenditure within or, more importantly, between sectors, or by raising extra revenue—either by introducing user charges for non-priority uses or by increasing taxes on

luxury items and reforming the tax system. But in many cases a balance will be needed from external sources. It is most important for these resources to be made available, and we recommend all governments to act accordingly.

24. An *external environment* more conducive to sustained economic growth and development, and more supportive to adjustment, is essential if developing countries are to be able to follow more expansionary policies, combining adjustment with growth; finance and trade are especially important. We recommend that:

—external resource flows:

all developed countries reach the internationally accepted official development assistance (ODA) targets as soon as possible, channel a higher proportion of their multilateral ODA to agencies whose activities are of particular concern to women, and direct a specific proportion of their bilateral ODA to projects and programmes of special benefit to women;

the resources of the IMF and the World Bank be substantially expanded to assist in debt reduction and meet expanding development needs; enlarged funding and much greater attention be given to integrating women's concerns into the design of structural adjustment programmes implemented under their auspices, as well as into the monitoring, appraisal and follow-up procedures; measures for orderly debt reduction be agreed with all developing countries in need of them.

—international trading:

in the present round of GATT multilateral trade negotiations, governments pay greater attention to the interests of women and the poor, especially in developing countries, and reduce protection of those products of particular importance to these groups;

all policymakers consider coordinating their actions affecting commodity prices, if necessary through production controls, making full use of, and giving greater support to, international mechanisms to encourage producers to diversify, and exploring the establishment of new mechanisms to compensate producers directly for falling prices.

25. Enhanced *data collection, monitoring and evaluation facilities* are of critical importance to effective policy-making in this area. We have suggested a range of economic and social indicators needed. In general we recommend:

- more accurate, regular and prompt *gender-disaggregated data*;
- a *better conceptual basis* to data so as to reflect women's full contribution to the economy and the household;
- improved procedures for *monitoring and evaluation*, including case studies on women's roles and activities during adjustment; and
- more and quicker *dissemination* of the details of programmes, schemes and reforms undertaken as part of structural adjustment in order that the opportunities thereby provided can be seized as soon and widely as possible.

26. To *implement* the broader approach to structural adjustment recommended will require much political commitment, translated into administrative and institutional action, as well as women having greater control over their economic and social roles. Key elements of this process will be the empowerment and organisation of women themselves; affirmative action to incorporate them fully into all decision-making processes, both nationally and internationally, in the private as well as the public sector; institutionalising women's concerns (again both nationally and internationally); and generally educating the public on 'women's issues'. We set out detailed actions required in respect of each. Specifically as regards structural adjustment, we recommend that:

- government departments formulating, negotiating and implementing structural adjustment policies and programmes establish women's units as an integral part of their administrative structures and consult women's affairs ministries, national bureaux and other women's organisations;
- women's affairs ministries, national bureaux and other women's organisations be strengthened in their ability to undertake economic analysis and project appraisal techniques;
- women's organisations concerned particularly with economic issues be adequately financed;
- other women's groups be assisted to collect and disseminate information relevant to structural adjustment, to lobby and to promote improved policies for women in this area; and
- international financial institutions (especially the World Bank) involve their women and development units more fully in the design, implementation, monitoring and appraisal of structural adjustment policies and programmes.

27. Putting our proposals into practice will need *initial impetus from appropriate institutions*. We recommend the Commonwealth take steps

to initiate and secure joint sponsorship with appropriate UN organisations for holding a small international meeting of high-level officials involved in structural adjustment, from governments and the international institutions. This would seek to synthesise proposals for, and reach consensus on, the policy goals for a new adjustment strategy which reflects women's interests, and to discuss how it should be implemented. Commonwealth regional meetings would help to secure discussion and dissemination of these ideas and actions, as could meetings of Commonwealth Finance Ministers and Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs. To provide political support for the process, we recommend a Commonwealth Declaration stating the human effects of structural adjustment, summarising the main elements of a broader approach, and proposing how this might be implemented.

Chapter One

The Crisis in Perspective

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The unequal position of women vis-a-vis men is as old as society: in most eras, in most places, women have borne a disproportionately large share of the work, and have received a disproportionately small share of the benefits from work—of income, of food, and of services. In certain respects, it appears that there was some reduction in the age old inequality, as well as an absolute improvement in the conditions of both men and women in the three decades from 1950. But in many developing countries this progress was halted, and even reversed, as a result of the economic crisis of the 1980s and the stabilisation and adjustment measures taken in response to the crisis. As we shall show in this Report, in the widespread suffering that has occurred over this decade in much of the developing world, women appear to have suffered disproportionately.

1.2 The situations differ, of course, between countries. But in most women account for a high proportion—at least a third—of the formal work force; for a greater proportion of the workers in the informal sector; and are almost exclusively responsible for the care and upbringing of children and the general welfare of their families. Consequently, deterioration in the condition of women, adversely affecting their capacities, has severely negative effects not only on the women themselves but also on the economy as a whole, and on family welfare, especially of children.

1.3 This Report documents the adverse effects the economic crisis and adjustment have had on women, and through them on society as a whole, over the past decade. It finds that these adverse effects **were not**

necessary and suggests improved approaches to adjustment that would protect the role of women and enhance rather than diminish their contribution to economic and social welfare. The report thus recommends that the crisis of restructuring should be turned to opportunity—the opportunity of regaining momentum for women's advance and setting the stage for further progress in the decade ahead, just as earlier the Second World War and the struggle for Independence provided a context favourable for three decades of advance for women.

1.4 In this Chapter we show how in many developing countries the crisis of the 1980s brought to an end much of the economic and social progress of previous decades; we describe the adjustment efforts taken in response to the crisis, and indicate the economic and social consequences of these developments.

II. PROGRESS, 1950–1980

1.5 The three decades following the Second World War were years of economic and social progress in most regions of the world. In the 1960s and 1970s, per capita income grew by almost 2 per cent per annum among low-income countries and double that among middle-income developing countries. Social progress paralleled or even exceeded economic progress: between 1950 and 1980, life expectancy increased; infant mortality rates fell rapidly; and enrolment rates increased fast at every level of education.

1.6 Women shared in this progress, despite inequality in access to income, work and basic services. In the developing world as a whole female life expectancy at birth rose from 44 years in 1950 to 61 years in 1980, an increase of nearly 50 per cent; in Latin America/Caribbean it rose from 53 to 67 years; in Asia (including Japan), from 45 to 63 years; and in sub-Saharan Africa, from 37 to 50 years. Over the same three decades the average infant mortality rate in developing countries fell from 163 to 91 per 1000 births.[1*] The gap between the highest and lowest national levels narrowed significantly, suggesting that the improvement was widespread.

1.7 Women's access to education also showed a striking improvement in virtually all countries. This is a crucial advance since education is a precondition for a fully productive life in the modern world. School enrolment for girls rose more sharply than for boys at every level. By 1980 females accounted for 44 per cent of developing country enrolment at primary level, compared with 37 per cent in 1950, and at secondary

*All references are given at the end of the Chapter.

level they accounted for 40 per cent of enrolment in 1980 compared with 24 per cent in 1950.[2]

1.8 Women's employment in the formal sector also rose over these decades, giving them greater access to monetary income. In 1980, 42 per cent of women in developing countries were estimated to be participating in the labour force compared with 37 per cent in 1950.[3]

1.9 The general improvements in health and nutrition that occurred over this period were also shared by women, who benefited particularly from the decline in fertility rates that affected most regions in the latter part of the period. The average fertility rate in developing countries declined from 5.9 children per woman of child-bearing age in 1950 to 4.1 in 1980, with sharp falls in both Asia and Latin America/Caribbean, but not in Africa.[4]

1.10 Nonetheless women's position remained one of inequality compared with men. Despite regional variations, it has been shown that women (especially of poor households) work longer hours than men in virtually every part of the world. Studies show that women's daily workload extends upto 16 hours in rural India,[5] in rural Nepal to 12 hours (relative to 10 for men), and in Burkina Faso to 9.6 hours (compared to 7.6 for men).[6] At the same time, the remuneration for women's work remains lower than for men's. Women are more likely to be found in the informal sector, where average earnings are lower and more subject to uncertainty. But even in the formal manufacturing sector, women's earnings as a proportion of men's vary from 45 per cent (in South Korea) to 89 per cent (in Burma), with a survey of eight countries showing an average of 70 per cent. These differences are due particularly to the concentration of women in low wage industries, and in less skilled positions within industries. Women also have less access to education, especially at higher levels, as well as to vocational training. They take major responsibility for care of the family, despite being increasingly involved in outside work. Yet, until the economic crisis of the 1980s, it is clear that progress was being made in both the economic and the social dimensions of female welfare in most countries.

III. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF THE 1980s

1.11 Women have been badly affected by the economic crisis. To understand their situation, we need to turn to the source of this crisis.

1.12 World economic growth had begun to slow down in the early 1970s, and became subject to wide fluctuations. Even so, the economies of most developing countries were able to continue growing during that decade. Whereas the trend growth rate of industrial countries nearly

halved after 1973, developing countries as a whole suffered only a small deceleration, from 6.3 to 5.2 per cent per annum during 1973–1979.[7] An important element in sustaining growth in middle-income developing countries was the rapid increase in their borrowing from private banks.

1.13 In the late 1970s and early 1980s very large imbalances developed in many countries' balance of payments on current account. In 1980, non-oil developing countries as a whole faced a deficit of $89 billion. These imbalances differed from the earlier ones of the 1970s because bank lending was not forthcoming to finance them, and because the crisis was so widely shared—with at least two-thirds of the countries of Latin America, the Caribbean and sub-Saharan Africa, as well as a number of Asian countries, finding themselves simultaneously in a similar acute situation.

1.14 The crisis had its main origin in developments in the world economy, outside the control of developing countries, although policy decisions by some developing country governments in the 1970s aggravated the effects. A basic problem in the 1980s was a sharp worsening in both the trade and capital accounts **simultaneously**, whereas previously a worsening in the trade account had often been offset by an improvement in the capital account.

1.15 A series of adverse developments in the world economy worsened the trade prospects for developing countries at the end of the 1970s. A sharp rise in oil prices during 1979–80 led to a deterioration in the terms of trade of non-oil developing countries, and also precipitated a slow-down in world economic growth. There was a major recession among the industrial countries in the early 1980s; although economic recovery followed and has been sustained, world growth never picked up to its previous rate. Over the 1980s it has been about two-thirds of that of the previous decade. Commodity prices were sharply affected by these events: they fell by 1.7 per cent per annum during 1980–1987. A further problem for developing country exports was the rising protectionism among industrial countries in the 1980s. A review concluded: "By the early 1980s, protection was unambiguously growing with only minor offsets. This was most pronounced in industrialised countries' trade with developing countries".[8]

1.16 Developing countries' exports thus suffered from the combined effects of a slower growth in world trade, deteriorating terms of trade and increasing restrictions on market access. However, it was the deterioration on the capital account which precipitated and prolonged the crisis.

1.17 Interest rates rose sharply at the end of the 1970s, as governments of industrial countries espoused monetarist policies, and they remained high, in real terms, throughout the 1980s. These high rates, payable on the large debt accumulated in the 1970s, led to a huge debt-service burden for some countries. Certain of them could no longer meet their debt-servicing obligations. Mexico's near default in August 1982 caused great concern among bankers and led to the collapse of voluntary bank lending to developing countries. Although aid flows held up, they did not expand to fill the gap. The result was a turnaround in the capital account of enormous proportions. Net external borrowing by developing countries from commercial banks—which had been as much as $88 billion in 1981—became negative in 1988, to the tune of some $10 billion. Net borrowing from all sources fell from $117 billion in 1981 to $29 billion in 1988. The net transfer* from developed to developing countries was transformed from an inflow into developing countries of $43 billion in 1981 to an outflow from them of $34 billion in 1988.† There was a particularly large negative transfer from Latin America.

1.18 Huge debts have accumulated which, for many countries, thwart most development efforts, since additional resources are committed to debt payments, at the expense of meeting economic and social needs. By the end of 1988, the accumulated debt of developing countries as a whole was over $1,300 billion. In Africa over one-quarter of export earnings were needed for debt-servicing; and over 40 per cent in Latin America/Caribbean. Debt-servicing also preempts a very large proportion of the government budget—over 40 per cent in Jamaica, Zambia and the Philippines, for example.

1.19 While the sharp deterioration in the external environment was due to exogenous events, the impact on developing countries depended in part on their previous condition. The countries most affected and least able to adapt to the crisis were those which relied heavily on primary products for export earnings and had borrowed a substantial amount; these included both low-income countries with a weak industrial base and countries which had industrialised on the basis of prolonged and deepening import substitution and had not developed manufactured exports.

1.20 The two regions most affected were Latin America/Caribbean and sub-Saharan Africa, though some countries in Asia were also affected. Latin America and the Caribbean suffered particularly from a heavy debt burden, while finding it difficult to develop non-traditional

*The net capital inflows of all kinds less the outflows for amortisation, interest and dividends on existing capital.

†Data relate to a sample of 98 developing countries for which details are available to the United Nations.

exports. GDP per capita for the region as a whole was 6.5 per cent lower in 1988 than in 1980,[9] while there was a dramatic increase in inflation. Sub-Saharan African countries are particularly dependent on a few primary commodities for export earnings, and they experienced sharply worsening terms of trade and also poor supply performance. In addition, the region was badly affected by the disruptions of war, poor weather and worsening ecological conditions. In sub-Saharan Africa as a whole per capita incomes fell continuously throughout the 1980s. In both regions economic performance and living standards are now significantly worse than in the early 1970s.

1.21 The situation in Asia was considerably better than elsewhere in the developing world. On the one hand, India and China were less affected by the economic crisis. Being large and less dependent on the international economy, they were less vulnerable to the deterioration in trade access and financial flows. Sustained growth of agricultural production—the fruit of improved policies, extensive investment and technical improvements in the previous decade—also made an important contribution. On the other hand, the East Asian countries which had diversified into manufactured exports, were less subject to terms of trade deterioration, and they were more able to adjust rapidly to new conditions.

IV. STABILISATION AND ADJUSTMENT

1.22 The debt burden, the deteriorating economic situation and persistent balance of payments crises necessitated major adjustments in most developing countries. The question at issue was not whether to adjust but how to adjust.

1.23 Adjustment—consisting of the reallocation of resources from one part of the economy to another, the redeployment of labour, creation of new skills to participate in new opportunities, leading to a changing economic structure and changing patterns of life—is a normal, indeed essential, aspect of economic development as incomes grow, new technologies emerge and opportunities alter. The economic crisis, however, imposed special adjustment requirements. Substantial resources had to be moved into exporting and import-substituting sectors and out of sectors mainly serving domestic needs, so as to generate and save the foreign exchange required. Moreover, these changes had to take place **rapidly** because of the acute nature of the crisis and the minimal finance available. Yet, to build up new industries for such adjustment often requires investment and time. Neither was forthcoming to the extent needed. Hence the failure of most countries to combine structural adjustment and economic growth; instead, too often, the reality has been of prolonged austerity and cutbacks.

1.24 The majority of countries in difficulties approached the International Monetary Fund, as the institution charged with the responsibility for helping countries to tide over balance of payments problems. The number of countries with Fund programmes in the 1980s was almost double the number in the 1970s, with 30 or more countries typically having one at any given time. However, not all countries in difficulties approached the Fund: some tried to adjust on their own; others started negotiations but failed to come to an agreement; while others broke with the Fund, having failed to meet agreed performance criteria, or considered the policies prescribed would impose what were viewed as excessive costs, and subsequently attempted to adjust on their own.

1.25 Fund support was initially intended to met temporary imbalances, deemed to have short-term and reversible causes, with a standby credit being agreed for 12 to 18 months. As the difficulties persisted, successive standby arrangements were often negotiated. The Fund has typically taken a short-term view. Fund programmes have put heavy emphasis on expenditure restrictions which can be expected to have an immediate effect on the balance of payments. They are thus primarily **stabilisation** programmes, since their main intent is to cutback expenditure in the short run.

1.26 The Extended Fund Facility (EFF), introduced in 1974 and available for three consecutive years, was intended to contribute more to solving problems due to structural maladjustments. But little use was made of the facility and in practice its conditions were very similar to those of successive standbys.

1.27 As the 1980s progressed, it became evident that stabilisation programmes alone were not appropriate because the source of the difficulties was not temporary and reversible, but prolonged and longer-term. Moreover, it also became apparent that stabilisation policies were very costly in terms of loss of output, incomes and investment and non-fulfilment of social needs, which made them intolerable as a solution to such a prolonged crisis. Consequently, the need for medium-term structural adjustment policies was recognised—policies that would focus on restructuring affected economies in the medium term, so that they could adjust to the new economic realities, while sustaining economic growth.

1.28 The World Bank initiated structural adjustment loans partly in response to the evident need for more growth-oriented adjustment. The Bank's structural adjustment policy packages have taken two forms—the Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs) which are comprehensive and economy-wide, and the Sector Adjustment Loans (SECALs), linked to

specific segments of the economy. During 1980–1988 Bank adjustment lending totalled $21.4 billion to 57 countries, mostly in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. Structural adjustment lending had risen to one-quarter of total Bank commitments by 1988. These loans have mostly supplemented rather than replaced IMF stabilisation programmes. All the SALs, and all but seven of the SECALs, have been implemented in the context of an IMF facility or monitoring programme.

1.29 The IMF has also introduced some longer-term policy reforms into its conditionality, and a revitalised EFF extending over four years. New facilities, combining Fund and Bank conditionality and financing (the Structural Adjustment Facility and the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility) were initiated for low-income countries. At the end of February 1989, 17 countries had standby arrangements, two had extended arrangements and six had loans from the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility.

1.30 The main thrust of the IMF stabilisation programmes has been, as noted above, to cutback on expenditure, through controls on credit creation and public expenditure levels, reductions in subsidies, especially food subsidies, and cuts in real wages and public sector employment. In addition, the programmes include measures to encourage resource reallocation to more productive uses and the internationally traded sector, through devaluation, price decontrol and wage restraints. Longer-term measures include financial reforms.

1.31 The Bank's SALs and SECALs reflect a similar market-oriented philosophy to that of the IMF, and include price reform (with increases in agricultural prices a critical element in many programmes) and import liberalisation. The SALs also frequently involve reform of the public sector, with reduced public sector employment and privatisation of parastatals, and measures to increase administrative and institutional capacity. The majority of SECALs have been concerned with the internationally traded sector, providing finance to secure trade liberalisation. To date few SECALs have been related to the social sectors, where the emphasis has been on increasing efficiency and cost-recovery wherever possible.

1.32 Some countries have followed their own adjustment programmes without association with the Bretton Woods institutions. In many cases countries' positions have changed over time, sometimes adjusting with Fund and Bank support, and at other times following more independent policies. There is thus a considerable range of experience of alternatives, but no single pattern has been followed. Most programmes have been heavily influenced by the Fund/Bank prototype, but several countries have tried more expansionary programmes and have made greater use of controls and other interventions than in typical Fund programmes.

Independent adjustment efforts have mostly been stymied by lack of finance, not only from the Fund and Bank but also from bilateral donors and the private sector, generally forcing these countries back into the IMF regime.

V. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PERFORMANCE DURING CRISIS AND ADJUSTMENT

1.33 The 1980s have been a decade of nearly continuous adjustment efforts in many developing countries in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa, and in some countries in Asia. Yet in most of them the decade has seen economic and social regress. Per capita incomes have fallen significantly in the regions affected and, despite the adjustment efforts, most countries are as far from being in a satisfactory external position from which they can resume economic growth as they were at the beginning of the decade. The falling incomes and rigorous adjustment experienced by at least half the countries of the developing world have been accompanied by a significant deterioration in the human condition.

Latin America and the Caribbean

1.34 The Latin America and Caribbean region has suffered a deep economic crisis in the 1980s. Real per capita GDP in 1988 was about 7 per cent below the level in 1980, with a much greater fall (around 16 per cent) if account is taken of the net resource flows out of the region and the deterioration in the terms of trade.

1.35 Adjustment efforts led to an increase of 56 per cent in export volumes between 1980 and 1988, and a decrease of 13 per cent in import volumes, leading to a major improvement in the trade balance. But this improvement was virtually wiped out by the growing debt-service obligations. Interest charges continued to mount, very large amounts of money were transmitted overseas in the form of capital flight (estimated to amount to $65 billion during 1980–84 from eight major countries[10]), and very little new lending occurred. Consequently, there was a massive transfer of resources out of the region (cumulatively of around $150 billion from 1982 to 1987), and the current account remained in substantial deficit. The reductions in imports were achieved largely by cutting back on investment and intermediate goods, severely weakening the future growth potential of the region. Net investment per capita is estimated to have fallen over 50 per cent during 1980–85.

1.36 The human impact of the crisis and adjustments was devastating. Rising unemployment, falling real wages and rising food prices combined to make it impossible for poor households to meet their minimum nutritional needs. For example, in Jamaica in 1984 it was estimated

that a five-person household with two wage-earners could afford only 50 per cent of a nutritionally adequate minimum basket of goods (see also Box 1.1). Between 1980 and 1985, open unemployment in the ECLAC region rose by one million; real minimum wages fell by between 30 and 55 per cent; and informal sector wages dropped by 27 per cent.[11] Food prices increased faster than other prices, and the price of basic foods increased even faster as subsidies were withdrawn.

Box 1.1. A View of Adjustment in Jamaica

At a Caribbean regional meeting of non-governmental organisations, held in Grenada in March 1989 under the auspices of the Caribbean Peoples' Development Agency and OXFAM, USA, Jamaica's experience of crisis and structural adjustment was outlined as follows:

"Before the inception of the structural adjustment programme in Jamaica, the external debt stood at some US$1.7 billion in 1980. However, after Jamaica had undergone eight years of structural adjustment, the external debt was US$4.3 billion. At fiscal year end 87/88, Jamaica's external debt represented 120 per cent of its GDP. What this meant in terms of human suffering was frightening. A study conducted in May of 1985 by OXFAM, USA indicated that 30 per cent of Jamaica's labour force was unemployed and 66 per cent of the female labour force aged 14–24 was unemployed; that one third of the labour force was earning less than J$30.00 a week while the cost of feeding a family of five was J$143.21 a week; that 50,000 children under three years of age were suffering from malnutrition; that one third of all pregnant mothers were found to be anaemic; that the cost of basic drugs had increased since 1982 by 50 per cent to 300 per cent, and all of this in the face of declining health services.

"Much of this was as a direct result of the implementation of structural adjustment strategies which included devaluation of the currency to reduce local consumption; higher direct and indirect taxation on the poor and middle classes; decreasing public spending on social services; reduction of the number of government employees and ownership of enterprises; reduced wages; and the opening of the domestic market to foreign investors".

Source: CAFRA News (Newsletter of the Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action) Vol 3, No 1, March 1989.

1.37 The nutritional status of women and children declined in a considerable number of countries: in seven out of 15 countries for which data are available, the proportion of low birth-weight babies rose at this time; there is also evidence of growing malnutrition among children under five years of age in seven countries, including Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Peru and Uruguay.[12]

1.38 Cuts in household incomes and in public expenditure on health services led to worsening health. Real per capita expenditure by central governments on health fell in 14 out of 23 countries for which there is evidence.[13] Out of 19 countries, there was an increase in infant mortality rates in seven, a slow-down or halt to their improvement in six, and a continued improvement in six.[14]

1.39 There were also sharp cutbacks in real expenditure per capita in education. From 1979 to 1983, 60 per cent of countries in Latin America reduced their education expenditure per capita. Indications of deterioration in education—in numbers and in achievements—were found in at least six Latin American countries.[15]

Africa

1.40 Much the same story can be told for African countries. But here the economic crisis was compounded by severe disruptions caused by drought and war. In sub-Saharan Africa per capita incomes fell by over a quarter in the 1980s. If account is taken of the deterioration in the terms of trade the drop was about 30 per cent. By any standards this is a staggering loss of income. With a per capita GNP of only $370 (1986) or 35 times less than the industrial market economies, it represents a burden of overwhelming proportions. While some countries did significantly better than the average, only eight out of 25 countries for which data are available avoided a fall in per capita income.[16]

1.41 African export earnings continued to fall and the adjustment to the foreign exchange crisis was concentrated on imports, which diminished by nearly 8 per cent per annum. Gross investment fell by over 9 per cent per annum. The brunt of the crisis was borne by the urban population: real wages in the formal sector declined by 30 per cent during 1980–85, with at least a parallel fall in informal sector earnings. There were cutbacks in government expenditure on the social services and on food subsidies. In one-fifth of African countries the primary health-care system was curtailed. In Zambia, the real value of the drugs budget in 1986 was one quarter of its 1983 value (see also Box 1.2). Real expenditure per head on education fell in half the countries for which there are data. "If things continue like this, Africa will have more illiterate people as a proportion of the population than at indepen-

dence", according to Professor Adeybayo Adedeji (Executive Secretary of the ECA), and he added "How can you develop an illiterate society?"

Box 1.2. Striving to Satisfy Basic Needs in an Urban Setting

Jessy lives in a low-income area of a town in Zambia. Her husband was recently laid off from his construction job and is now employed part-time as a night watchman. Jessy works in the home and grows vegetables, selling what she can and keeping the rest for the family. Her earnings are minute. They have two daughters in school and two much younger children. Both of them have parents in the rural areas who rely on the small remittances they send.

Since 1983, prices of food and clothing have risen markedly and her husband's income has failed to keep pace. His recent change of job meant a further drop in income. Most protein foods are now too expensive for them, including kapenta which was always considered an inexpensive protein food. Bread and cooking oil are rapidly becoming luxuries. Mealie meal prices have also increased, and Jessy is no longer able to buy it for breakfast. The children go off to school having had only a bowl of boiled sweet potato or sometimes nothing at all. She worries about their health.

The youngest child fell ill earlier with a respiratory infection. She was not admitted to the hospital because of bed and staff shortages. The drugs she needed were only available at a high price. Jessy had to borrow to pay the bill. The child is now better but the cost of looking after her at home was very high and Jessy is worried that the same thing will happen again before she is able to repay her loan.

One item that has become much more expensive recently is education. There have been increases in school charges, books and uniforms. Jessy and her husband feel it is a priority that their children go through school, but are already worried that they will not be able to afford to send the eldest to secondary school. They may send the middle children to Jessy's parents in an attempt to get the eldest through secondary school. Otherwise, they will have to find ways of earning more income in the formal sector, but that is becoming saturated and the earnings to be made are declining.

(Extract from a case study prepared for the Commonwealth Secretariat by Alison Evans, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.)

1.42 After nearly a decade of adjustment, African economies are still exhibiting major imbalances, and are not in a position to resume sustained growth. Moreover, the debt burden has risen further. Some evidence has been presented to argue that countries following Fund/Bank adjustment programmes—which have received large financial inflows to permit them to import essential inputs—have had a somewhat better performance than non-adjusters.[17] But the evidence is fragile and has been disputed.[18] The external position of African countries has continued to deteriorate. There was a continued fall in commodity prices up to 1987, and poor output performance has led to reductions in export earnings. The debt-servicing burden has risen sharply since the early 1980s; the IMF and the World Bank now contribute heavily to the continent's debt repayment obligations. Cuts in investment in infrastructure, the productive and the social sectors have reduced the economic growth potential, while continued population expansion has further weakened the ecological balance.

1.43 Indicators of the sharp deterioration in the human condition in Africa are abundant. In the mid-1980s, when the crisis was compounded by drought, malnutrition among those under five years of age rose significantly in all countries for which there was evidence. The adjustment policies hit the urban sector hardest, where in many countries most households had grossly inadequate incomes to meet even minimum dietary needs.[19]The rural areas were less badly affected by adjustment policies, and in some cases even gained, but they were badly affected by ecological and climatic problems, as well as by war in a few countries. When the economic crisis coincided with drought, mass starvation threatened.

Asia and the Pacific

1.44 While the overall economic performance was much better in Asia, some countries, for example the Philippines, exhibited severe adjustment problems and were forced to cutback sharply on social and economic programmes, as did certain of the Pacific Island countries. Sri Lanka's shift to more market oriented policies involved a marked reduction in food subsidies, which was followed by evidence of worsening nutrition (see also Box 1.3). In China dismantling some of the social security system has had adverse effects on health and nutrition. In other countries, less affected by the economic crisis, population pressure and environmental degradation combined to make survival a daily problem for many millions.

Box 1.3. Adversities Faced by Poor Women Under Adjustment

K. Leelawathie, aged 46, has three children and lives in a temporary structure in a 'shanty' area of Colombo. She works as a daily wage labourer on construction sites. Pay is Rs.60 a day but there are long spells of unemployment during the rainy season or when work is slack. Family poverty has forced her 14 year old son to take paid work as well. He works along side her on the construction site, receiving the same wage. The work is gruelling, beginning at 7 a.m. and often ending at midnight; lunch and tea are provided on site.

Earlier, as a casual labourer, K. Leelawathie and her family had been able to survive as a result of assistance from her sisters and from state subsidies, which supplemented her own meagre income. But with a reduction in the rice and fuel subsidies and increasing inflation, her main concern had been to feed the children : "we could not live for more than a few days on food and kerosene stamp cards. The prices of food and kerosene increased so much". She then contracted tuberculosis and had a long period without paid work : the ensuing difficulties and poverty compelled her son to drop out of school in Grade 3 and her elder daughter in Grade 2. Her younger daughter (aged nine) longs to go to school. "Where can I find the means?", she asks.

Their housing conditions have deteriorated over the years : the hut which is her home is 20x15 feet, constructed of metal sheets with a mud floor. The roof leaks when it rains and drinking water is provided for the neighbourhood by a common tap across the road.

After the reduction of public expenditure on subsidies and the increase in prices which eroded the value of food stamps and kerosene stamps, life for the women who head such families is one long struggle for survival, in an economic climate which has increased their vulnerability.

(Extract from a case study prepared for the Commonwealth Secretariat by S. Jayaweera, Centre for Women's Research, Sri Lanka.)

1.45 The economies of Pacific Island countries have been expanding very slowly in the 1980s—only 2 per cent during 1981–87—and per capita incomes have frequently declined. All the countries are very vulnerable to external economic shocks. Most of them have suffered deteriorating terms of trade, sometimes of devastating proportions

because of the narrow range of their export products. Severe balance of payments difficulties have led some countries to negotiate stand-by programmes with the IMF. Although social indicators deteriorated in only a few countries—such as Vanuatu as regards nutritional levels and Tuvalu in relation to school enrolment rates—the slowdown in progress was widespread.

1.46 Asia as a whole was subject to less acute economic shocks, and adjusted quickly, as shown by the much smaller use of Fund and Bank facilities. On average, countries continued to show progress in most social and economic indicators. Between 1980 and 1986 GNP per capita in south Asia rose 20 per cent and in south-east and east Asia almost 50 per cent. The Asian region also experienced the fastest reduction in mortality rates for children under five years (3.4 per cent per annum—compared with a fall of only 1.4 per cent per annum in Africa and 1.9 per cent per annum in Latin America/Caribbean). The contrast with other parts of the world indicates the close relationships between economic and social progress. Asian countries, for the most part, showed continued progress in social achievements in the 1980s.

Overall

1.47 In summary, the adjustment decade has seen significant economic and social regress in most developing countries, stopping and even reversing the progress of previous decades. The adjustment efforts have however had some positive results in terms of redirecting resources towards the internationally traded sectors. In Africa, there has been progress in agriculture, but not enough given the continued adverse movement in some commodity prices and the rising debt service. In Latin America and the Caribbean, considerable success in raising exports has been offset by debt problems. But in both regions the adjustment efforts have involved cuts in expenditure on both physical and human capital, which will weaken the future economic potential. Yet, the need for adjustment is by no means over. This has not been a temporary belt-tightening; adjustment efforts of some sort will be necessary for most countries for at least the next five to ten years.

VI. THE CRISIS AND WOMEN

1.48 Women are at the epicentre of the crisis and bear the brunt of the adjustment efforts: it is women who have been most severely affected by the deteriorating balance between incomes and prices, and who have desperately sought means for their families to survive. It is women who have had to find extra work to supplement family income; it is women who have rearranged family budgets, switching to cheaper foods, economising on fuel, and disposing of consumer durables, wherever

possible. It is women who have organised and participated in efforts to counter the crisis by communal buying and cooking; and it is women who have been most immediately affected by cuts in health and educational facilities, and by the rising morbidity and deaths among their children. Women are in the frontline of the crisis in the developing world—and it is they who have been most severely affected and have had the greatest responsibility for adjusting their lives to ensure survival.

1.49 Effective adjustment requires the full participation of women. As producers, women's labour is critical to the output of food and labour-intensive manufactures, both of which are vital to the adjustment efforts, while their earnings are essential to contain the cuts in household incomes. Moreover, these income cuts, which currently form such a big part of adjustment, would have far worse effects on health and nutrition without women's domestic management and adjustment. The economic success of adjustment efforts and the minimisation of social costs are critically dependent on the creative response of women.

1.50 The object of our Report is to consider how adjustment policies should be designed to maximise this creative response, and to minimise the adverse effects of economic recession and adjustment on women.

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Chapter Two

Women's Roles, Contribution and Situation

I. WOMEN'S ROLES AND CONTRIBUTION

2.1 The ways in which women are affected by the economic crisis and structural adjustment policies are conditioned by their varied roles in the economy and in society. Of the many roles of women, four are relevant here, viz those of **producers, home managers, mothers,** and **community organisers.**

2.2 This chapter describes the main characteristics and the complexities of women's activities in different parts of the world. Any analysis of the impact of structural adjustment on women must address this complexity based on an awareness of the multiple burden inherent in women's lives. It must take account of their varied responsibilities beyond as well as within the household in order to understand the wide-ranging social and economic implications.

Producers

2.3 As producers, women contribute to the national product and national welfare as well as generate income for the household. Income generation is particularly important for poor households whose marginal livelihoods can be threatened during adjustment. Women's contribution to production and income generation varies according to a country's culture and history, stage of development and government policy. Its size is typically underestimated because of inadequate statistics, particularly in areas in which women are substantially involved, such as small-scale agriculture, the informal sector and within the household.

2.4 In many countries much of women's productive activity forms part of the subsistence economy, where most of it is consumed (see Box 2.1). In some countries, attempts are made to measure this subsistence output—especially with respect to agriculture—but large segments of women's productive activity are omitted. In Nepalese villages the female contribution to household money incomes was about 22 per cent; but, taking account of production for subsistence, their full economic contribution amounted to 53 per cent of the total.[1] Also, food processing for household consumption and other household activities like health care, education and housework, all of which would have an exchange value if undertaken outside the home, are invariably omitted from national accounts. In the Philippines, estimates of "full income", including the value of work done inside the household, were twice as high as marketed income; women's share of the household's marketed income was 20 per cent, but they contributed almost 40 per cent of "full income".[2] Altogether it is estimated that unpaid household work would add one-third to estimates of world production.[3]

2.5 Women's work in the monetary economy provides money for their families as well as adding to national production. However, women's participation in the monetary economy is less than that of men, while in general they are concentrated in lower income activities and in any given activity are paid less than men. They also have substantially less ownership of or access to productive assets.

Economic activities

— While, on aggregate, women participate less in the monetary economy than do men, their activities have been rising over the past thirty years in many areas, so that they have formed an increasing proportion of the labour force. In Asia recorded participation rates* of females rose from 26 per cent in 1950 to 28 per cent in 1985 when they constituted 34 per cent of the total labour force, compared with 29 per cent in 1950. In Latin America also, there were rises in both female participation rates (from 13 per cent in 1950 to 15 per cent in 1985) and their share of the total labour force (18 per cent in 1950 to 24 per cent in 1985). By contrast in Africa the recorded participation rate of females fell from 28 per cent in 1950 to 23 per cent in 1985 and their share of the labour force remained around 32 per cent. Statistical problems, and especially the failure to incorporate all informal sector and household-based agricultural activities, mean these figures seriously underestimate women's real contribution to the economy. For example, putting an economic value on women's non-monetised activities (not including housework)

*Female labour force as a proportion of total female population, as estimated by the International Labour Office, Geneva.

Box 2.1. Women and Work in the South Pacific

"One of the stereotypes thrown up by the employers and some trade unionists during the [Fijian] Garment Industry Tribunal [in 1986] (and also implied in the Fiji Employment and Development Mission Report 1984) was the notion that women's work was really for 'pin money', and in areas marginal to the 'real work' of the bread winner ... the assumption that 'women do not really work' has been a major obstacle to studies of women and labour in pre-capitalist and capitalist societies in the Pacific. For example [one set of researchers] were told during a survey in Tailevu that ethnic Fijian women only did washing and cooking. In fact, their labour was central to subsistence activities such as fishing and horticulture. A survey of 19 villages in Tonga found, contrary to prevailing stereotypes, that women were heavily involved in agricultural production in addition to domestic duties and handicraft production. Another study of women in Madang, Papua New Guinea, highlights the sexual division of labour and the associated unequal access to power which was already ingrained in precapitalist society. Female labour was essential to food production but generally men controlled gardening, landholding, and the distribution and consumption of foodstuffs, including meat. "Although women were major contributors to subsistence production men were the managers and women were the managed".

"Several researchers have drawn attention to how the penetration of a cash economy and wage labour further added to the sexual division of labour in pre-capitalist Pacific societies. A study in 1984 found that under colonialism new employment opportunities led to a separation between production for consumption, dominated by women, and production for exchange, dominated by men. While it could be argued that the demands on women's labour have increased in villages (especially in more recent years with greater male migration), there also remains throughout the Pacific the residue of Christian and Victorian middle class values which attempted to define parameters for 'women's work'. This has meant that training and development projects have tended to concentrate on promoting 'appropriate' activities for women, such as cooking, sewing, club management, or pre-school education, while the bulk of funding has been directed at training men in agricultural projects. Women's labour may be fundamental to rural development but men continue to control the administration, training and access to funds in these programmes".

(Extract from The Journal of Pacific Studies—Special Issue: Women and Work in the South Pacific, Vol 13, 1987, pp 4–5.)

raised the measured labour force participation rate of women from 32 per cent to 88 per cent in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India.[4]

— The sectoral distribution of the female labour force varies by region. Agriculture accounts for over 80 per cent of the recorded female labour force in Africa and around 70 per cent in Asia, but a much lower proportion in Latin America where nearly 70 per cent work in services. About 24 per cent of women in Asia and around 20 per cent in Africa work in the services sector.

— There are noteworthy regional differences between women's and men's roles in agriculture. In sub-Saharan Africa, where an estimated 60 per cent of all agricultural work is done by women, they spend more time on food crop cultivation (for subsistence and local sale) while men concentrate on cash crops for export (although drawing on female family labour). In Asia, the sexual division of labour is more by task than by crop, women concentrating mainly on transplanting, weeding and harvesting, and being more dependent than men on agricultural wages, thus increasing their risk of poverty.[5] In Latin America, women are heavily engaged in subsistence farming and less involved than men in large-scale cultivation. In addition, across all regions, the tasks of collecting fuel, fodder and water, of caring for small livestock, of foraging for wild fruits and vegetables (which critically supplement diets during seasonal shortages and droughts) are primarily women's responsibility.

— Over the last 15 years there has been rapid growth in female employment in export-oriented manufacturing (especially within export processing zones—EPZs) in many developing countries.[6] The main industries in EPZs are garments, electronic components and electrical consumer goods, and also shoes, chemicals, rubber, and food processing. Estimates suggest that EPZs employ nearly two million workers, most of whom are young women. There is concern however that in EPZs the pace of work is excessive, the conditions harsh, the working hours extremely long (often with compulsory overtime), and the wages low in comparison to productivity. Most of the foreign corporations involved in EPZs have entered into agreements with the developing country governments that there will be no trade unionism within the zones, and consequently union officials face harassment if they try to organise there.

— Within the services sector, women tend to be heavily represented in community activities—health, education and social welfare—in all regions of the developing world. In Latin America, they predominate in retail trade and as domestic servants. In Africa also, they are greatly involved in retail trading including the

marketing of food crops. Both in Africa and Asia, men and women are substantially involved in paid domestic service. Women are also strongly represented in the tourism sector which is of special importance to some countries—particularly small ones—as an earner of foreign exchange.

— Women are especially important in the informal sector, where they often form the largest part of the workforce. Women entrepreneurs are to be found almost exclusively in this sector. In urban Tanzania, for example, about 80 per cent of the female workforce is self-employed, and 53 per cent of all informal sector workers are women.[7] In Peru, 40 per cent of the labour force in the informal sector are women, compared with 18 per cent in the formal sector.[8] Women's concentration in the low paying informal sector is a result of a range of factors: limited opportunities in formal sector employment, relative lack of education and skills, and having to bear the brunt of domestic work and childcare responsibilities which necessitate their seeking more time-flexible sources of earning.

— The rate of women's involvement in wage work is generally higher among poorer households.

— Women occupy a much smaller proportion of administrative and managerial positions than do men (in developing countries 0.4 per cent of such women compared to 1 per cent for men). Cultural values are one factor keeping women out of these more influential and decision-making positions.

Earnings

— On average, women's income per hour is very significantly below that of men. Within the formal sector, they are paid significantly less in every country for which there are data (see Chapter 1, para. 1.10). Even where men and women work in complementary agricultural activities, women receive lower wages than men.

— Average earnings are substantially less in the informal sector, where women are predominant, than in the formal sector. For example, in Brazil informal sector earnings for men are 53 per cent of formal sector earnings and for women, 47 per cent. There is an even bigger difference in earnings between men and women in paid work in the informal sector than in formal sector jobs; women's earnings in the informal sector of Latin American countries are, on average, about half those of males and in urban Malaysia, about a third.

— Large numbers of women do not receive any monetary remuneration for the labour they put in on family farms or other enterprises.

— In general, the proportion of women's economic contribution to the household relative to men's is almost always related to social class.[9] For poor families, women's earnings, even at low rates of pay, are of critical importance for survival (also see para 2.7 below).

Assets

— In developing countries women constitute only a very small proportion of holders of productive assets, especially land. This is mainly due to tradition or the legal framework under which property is invariably registered in the name of the husband or adult male in the household.

— In countries such as Kenya and Tanzania, where women have traditionally had usufructuary rights to some of their husbands', fathers', or brothers' land, reforms have transferred land to an almost exclusively male-dominated tenure system, and relegated women to landless agricultural labourers dependent for their subsistence on men. While customary law in Kenya recognizes women's usufructuary rights and makes provision for the newly-wed to be allocated a plot of land, widows become dependent on inheriting sons, and are virtually landless if they have only daughters. Divorced and separated women also become landless.

— In Asia, too, women's access to land is circumscribed by gender biases in laws (e.g. on inheritance), official attitudes and social customs. Land redistributed under reform and resettlement schemes has typically been in men's names (for example, in Sri Lanka, under the Mahaweli programme).[10] To the extent that women get recognition, it is generally as female heads of households. Instances have even been noted of officials initially refusing to transfer land to women's groups even after these groups had obtained official sanction.* Finally, privatisation of communal land—usually to the well-off—has often resulted in rural women losing access to sources of fuel, fodder, supplementary food items and, in some areas, land for cultivation.

— Because of very limited physical assets and socio-cultural factors, women face greater difficulties in access to credit. For example, only 11 per cent of the borrowers at a sample of 38 branches of major banks in India were women, and they received only 8 per cent of total disbursements. Of 325 women borrowers, 45 received loans only due to the intervention of a social worker who guaranteed the loan, and 19 received loans through a special programme for low-income women run by an intermediary guarantee group.

*A similar case was noted in Honduras where a group of female-headed households who formed an association and requested land on the same basis as men's groups, was refused.

— Women have had lesser access than men to education and training at all levels, and, with lower educational qualifications, have less opportunity of getting the higher paid jobs that require education and skills. The difference is particularly marked among low-income countries: for these countries as a whole in 1985, 88 per cent of girls were enrolled in primary schools, compared with almost universal education for boys (when India and China are excluded, enrolment of girls at primary schools was 56 per cent, compared with 75 per cent for boys); 26 per cent of girls in low-income countries were enrolled in secondary school compared with 41 per cent of boys. In secondary and tertiary education, girls' enrolment is less than boys' among middle- and upper-income countries too.

Female-headed households

— In many countries, the number of female-headed households has been growing in both rural and urban areas. In some parts of the developing world, the proportion is 40 per cent or more.[11] In rural Kenya, it is 40 per cent; in Ghana, almost one-half; in Zambia, one-third, in urban Morocco, one-quarter. It is estimated that women are the sole breadwinners in one-quarter to one-third of the world's households.[12] In rural Bangladesh, 25 per cent of landless rural households are female headed, compared to 15 per cent in the total rural population.[13]

— While the proportion of households headed by women varies sharply between countries, it is everywhere inversely related to income.[14] Surveys on poverty invariably find that women-headed households are disproportionately represented. For example, in Costa Rica in 1982 37 per cent of destitute households were headed by women, compared with only 14 per cent of non-poor households.[15] In rural Kenya, Tanzania and Botswana, women-headed households are among the poorest; and women who head households and operate as farmers are hampered by having less land, labour and cash than other households.[16]

Summary

— Women's contribution to national production is seriously understated because so much of it is unmeasured, and because women's pay (which is taken as the measure of their contribution to national product) is below that of men, even for the same job. Women's contribution to national welfare is even more seriously understated because their unpaid activities are particularly high in low-income households, where any addition to output has a large effect on welfare, and because of the focus of women's activities on meeting the basic needs of the household.

Home Managers

2.6 Women normally have the bulk of the responsibility for managing and budgeting for household consumption, especially for basic needs. Theirs is the basic responsibility for seeing that the household manages to meet its basic needs during good and bad times, whether this is done through home production and processing of food, searching for fuel and collecting of water, or through purchases of these basic needs in the market place.

2.7 Men, however, often determine the broad allocation of household income. A recent study of one hundred households in low-income areas of Lusaka found that only in a tiny minority was money management a joint responsibility of husband and wife.[17] In most cases wives were given fixed housekeeping allowances by their husbands, who were generally reluctant to tell them how much they earned. On the other hand, women who have some control over resources (for instance, through earning a cash income) tend to have greater bargaining and decision-making power within the household.[18]

2.8 Men generally give basic consumption needs a lower priority than women do. For example studies on rubber tappers in rural Malaysia found that husbands' expenditure on personal needs (such as tobacco) was 30–40 per cent more than their wives' expenditure on food for the household. Any income earned by women is channelled almost exclusively into meeting collective household needs, especially those of children.[19] Among poor households in Kenya and Jamaica, the nutritional value of food purchases in female-headed households—where women controlled all the income—is higher than in male-headed households.

Mothers

2.9 Women are primarily responsible for the welfare of children and often also care for parents, parents-in-law and other elderly relatives. As mothers they play a major role in human resource development. It is estimated that three-quarters of all healthcare takes place at the family or individual level,[20] and much education is also household-based. Women have the principal responsibility for most informal healthcare and out-of-school education as well as for feeding; they are also primarily responsible for ensuring that children have formal education and healthcare. In both areas the task is a difficult one, especially for poor households in poor countries, because of lack of income and deficient facilities. There is also a close link between the level of education of the mother and the health of the child (see Box 2.2).

Box 2.2. The Relationship Between Female Education and Mortality

A number of survey and and census analyses have detected a direct relationship between a child's chances of survival and the mother's level of education. Data from the 1960 census of Ghana, for example, reveal that the rate of child mortality is almost twice as high for mothers with no education as for mothers with an elementary education, and nearly four times higher for mothers with no education as for those with secondary schooling. The patterns are much the same for children in urban and rural areas.

A more comprehensive study was conducted in Nigeria as part of the 1973 Changing African Family Project Survey. One component of this study was a probability sample of 6,606 Yoruba women between the ages of 15 and 59 years in the city of Ibadan. The second component consisted of a probability sample of 1,499 Yoruba women over 17 years of age living in southwestern Nigeria. Analysis of these data allowed for an examination of rural-urban differences, which serve as a reasonable proxy for differences in access to modern health services.

The study considered child survival in relation to a variety of variables, including the quality of medical services at childbirth, the parents' practice of birth control, and the family's income as measured by the father's occupation. The analysis concluded that the single most important influence on child survival is the level of the mother's education. In Ibadan the child mortality index for women with some primary schooling was 68 per cent of that recorded for women with no schooling, and the index for women with more than primary schooling was 39 per cent of that for women with no schooling. In southwestern Nigeria the figures were almost the same, 68 per cent and 41 per cent, respectively.

Although the father's education was also found to be significant, it was less important than the mother's in explaining differences in child mortality. Family income, too, was found to be of little importance, after the effects of education were taken into account. Although child mortality was higher in polygamous than in monogamous homes, the effect of a mother's education to the secondary level was at least a 50 per cent reduction in mortality in both polygamous and monogamous homes.... Child survival was found to be higher among parents who practiced birth control, which might be explained by the greater care accorded children in smaller families.

Results in the Sudan from the same Changing African Family Project Survey confirmed the findings on the importance of mother's education to child survival.

(Extracted from "Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalisation and Expansion"; A World Bank Policy Study.)

Education

- In developing countries as a whole, about one-fifth of the boys and one-third of the girls aged 6–11 years receive no primary education whatsoever. This is partly due to lack of school places, but the major reason lies in the circumstances of the poorest households, who even where there is free primary education, often do not send children to school. In Sri Lanka, with a very good record of literacy and primary education, about 250,000 children aged 8–14 did not attend school in 1979 and about 10 per cent of those aged 10–18 were illiterate. Many of them lived in urban slums and on rural estates, supplementing the family income or looking after siblings whilst parents worked.[21]
- The provision of education in different regions of the developing world roughly matches relative income levels; for example in 1985 secondary school enrolment was 34 per cent in low-income countries, 42 per cent in lower middle-income countries and 57 per cent in upper middle-income countries.[22]

Health

- Mortality rates among children under five years of age remain very high in many developing countries. In 1987, 33 countries—mainly in the low-income group—had child mortality rates of above 170 per thousand; a further 40 had rates of 95–170; and another 40, of 31–94.[23]
- Malnutrition is a significant phenomenon in children under five years of age, especially in the 33 countries with very high child mortality rates. During 1980–1986 30 per cent of children in these countries suffered from malnutrition, 6 per cent severely.
- Access to healthcare services is limited in most developing countries. For example during 1980–1987 only about 40 per cent of the population (30 per cent of the rural population) had access to healthcare services in the same 33 countries.
- Access to safe drinking water is even more limited. During 1980–1987 only a third of the population (15 per cent of the rural population) had access to safe drinking water in the 33 countries.
- The degree of immunisation of one-year old babies is also very low in these 33 countries—46 per cent for tuberculosis, 27 per cent for diphtheria, pertusis and tetanus, 28 per cent for polio and 33 per cent for measles.
- In many countries, especially of South Asia, there are significant intra-household gender differentials in access to healthcare and in some cases even to food.[24] This is reflected in higher levels of malnourishment and of illness among girls than boys.

Community Organisers

2.10 Women's roles extend beyond the household and the labour market to a network of community relationships. Women have shown a marked preference for working in groups to solve their economic difficulties, provide social services and infrastructure, and promote community solidarity.

2.11 In the economic domain, women's groups often bring together women from low-income households in urban slums or rural areas for the purpose of pooling their resources and initiating activities to generate incomes and productive employment and to meet the basic needs of their families. Examples of such activities are furnished by women's groups engaged in producing vegetables, crafts, dresses, toys, etc.; in mobilising savings and extending credit to their members; and in providing marketing and extension services.

2.12 Women's groups have also been active in meeting the needs of their members for communal and social services. For example, neighbourhood groups in several Latin American countries have sought to effect economies through joint purchase of mass consumption goods, communal cooking and transport. Furthermore, many women's organisations provide health, training, literacy and family planning services. Examples include the Self-Employed Women's Association and the Working Women's Forum in India; other organisations in which women are active, such as the Association of Women's Clubs in Zimbabwe and the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, are similarly involved.

2.13 Women's groups also act as pressure points to promote economic and social reform in such diverse areas as equal pay for equal work, enforcement of minimum wages, land reform, improvement in women's legal status, and combating practices such as child-marriage, caste discrimination, wife-beating, etc. As members and officials of trade unions, women are fighting in many countries for better wages and working conditions despite their lower level of unionisation then men.

II. DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S WELFARE

2.14 Any assessment of the impact of structural adjustment on women must look not only at their contribution to national and family production but also at the effects of the changes on their own welfare. Vital aspects of women's welfare are their incomes, hours of work, nutrition, health and education and, of course, the welfare of their families.

2.15 Many aspects have already been discussed, in connection with women's various roles. For example, women's relatively low cash

earnings, lack of control over household income, and limited access to assets, mean that their economic welfare is typically below that of men. The generally lower levels of education among girls than boys—in Africa and Asia, particularly, there are wide differences between the sexes at all levels of education—not only limit women's productive potential, but also reduce female welfare in terms of their ability to control their own lives and enjoy the fulfilment that education brings.

2.16 Health is another vital aspect of female welfare. Female life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa remains at only 52 years and for developing countries as a whole 63 years, compared with 79 years in industrial countries.[25] Life expectancy for females is generally higher than that of men, largely for biological reasons. Despite this fact, in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan there are fewer females than males in the population, contrary to the position in the developed world and in most developing countries. This is largely due to cultural attitudes towards females, especially during infancy (see para. 2.9).

2.17 Maternal mortality in developing countries as a whole remains high (346 per 100,000 live births) compared to that in industrial countries (only 11 per 100,000). Maternal mortality is particularly high (973 per 100,000) in sub-Saharan Africa. Estimates by WHO suggest that about 65 per cent of pregnant and 50 per cent of non-pregnant women in developing countries are anaemic.

2.18 The hours of work necessary for women to fulfil their functions is one of the most important factors affecting their welfare. Adding time spent on work outside the household to that on household activities shows that women in developing countries often spend most of their waking hours working, even in better times. Studies across the world have shown that women consistently work longer hours than men.[26] In parts of East Africa they work 16 hours a day doing housework, caring for children, preparing food and growing 60–80 per cent of the crops (see Box 2.3). In Malaysia, female rubber tappers, who come from poor households, have work-days of 18–20 hours, including time spent on domestic duties. In rural India, during an average working day of up to 16 hours, women spend about a third of their time in agricultural and other 'economic' work (including cottage craft and animal husbandry), a little less than half in household work, cooking and food processing, and about one-tenth in searching for fuel (see Table 2.1). In developed countries, too, women spend more time than men working; for example, in Norway, married men have an average work-day of seven hours, with about six and a half hours spent on income-producing work and half an hour on housework. Married women, by contrast,

Box 2.3. The Unending Day: A Woman in Mozambique

"The most vivid image of women in Mozambique is that of a woman in her machamba, or family plot, legs straight, her body forming a V as hour after hour she is bent over double, hoeing, sowing, weeding, day in and day out, under clear skies and hot sun. Sometimes this work is done with a baby on her back and the only rest might be when the infant cries in hunger and the mother finds a place at the edge of the field to nurse her child. She can be in her field as early as 5.30 a.m., and she will work until midday when the sun, high in the sky and burning hot, is too harsh to work under. Men will help with seasonal tasks—clearing the land, for example. Ploughing the fields, particularly if the plough is drawn by cattle, by tradition is strictly the man's domain. The image of women producers is repeated millions of times throughout the vast terrain of sub-Saharan Africa, where women are responsible for some 80 per cent of family production.

"But when she returns home from the fields, the women's work is only partially done. The food has to be processed—hours of pounding with a large pestle into a mortar, both fashioned from tree trunks, removing the husks from rice, pounding maize into flour for the staple porridge, grinding peanuts to a fine meal. The sound of pounding fills the air at all times of the day, a rhythmic thumping that is carried across the African veld. So is the smell of wood smoke from each family's cooking fire. The lighting of the fire comes only after hours of searching for fuel, often travelling long distances as the supplies nearer home are depleted. Water for cooking, for washing dishes, for ablutions, must also be collected. In some dry areas of Mozambique where water sources are few and far between, a journey of two hours in each direction is not uncommon and the return journey is made with a twenty-litre container of water carried on the head, so heavy that it takes two to lift it there. Laundry is often done at a river's edge or other water source, again a journey of greater or lesser distance. The house and living area must be swept and cleaned. Food must be cooked. Leaves must be gathered from wild plants to be used as supplements in cooking. And throughout the day, as a backdrop to all the other work, is the never-ending responsibility for child care. All these tasks are performed with little if any access to technology that could shorten the time involved and reduce physical strain. And all the while, unless a women is infertile or past child-bearing age, she is virtually constantly pregnant or breast feeding."

(Extracted from "And Still They Danced", by Stephanie Urdang)

work on average eight and a half hours, with time spent on income-producing and housework varying directly with their number of children (see Chart 2.1).[27]

2.19 The time factor—the desperate attempt to fit multiple functions into a day whose total length is by its very nature limited—is the feature of women's lives that most vividly distinguishes them from men. It is a feature which is common to most women in most societies, but is particularly constraining for poor women in poor societies, where extra hours of work are the only weapon against poverty and immiseration. All of women's roles have this in common—they take time. It is the time constraint, and the trade-offs this implies, that must form the essential framework within which to analyse the impact of adjustment on women.

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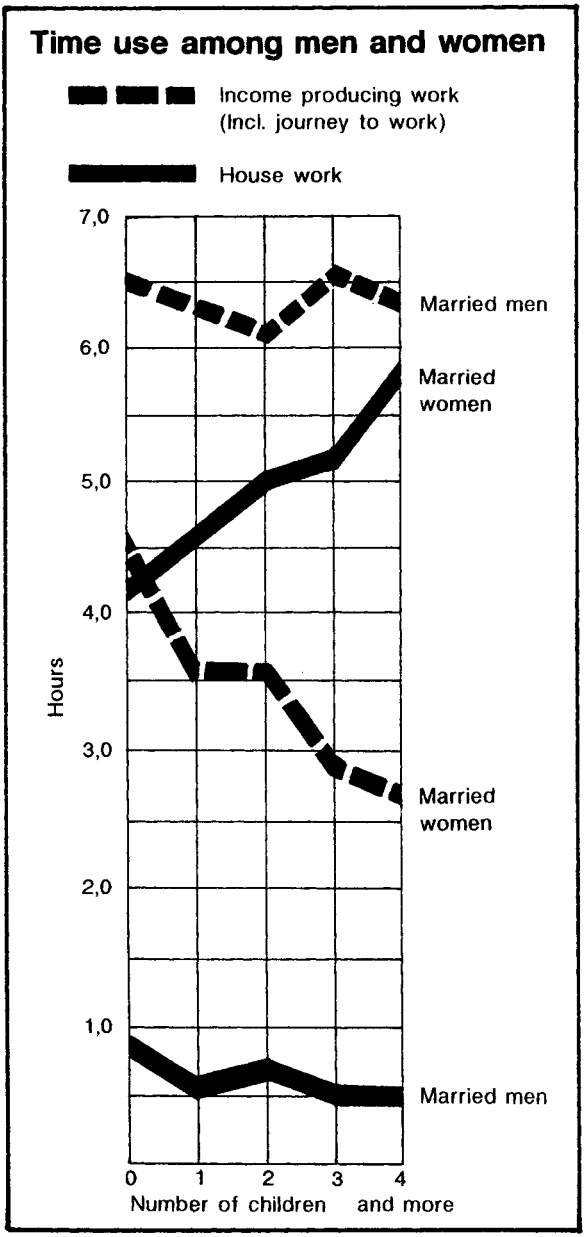
Table 2.1
Daily time utilization of rural women in five Indian states by season
(in hours)

Name of village & State	Season	Household work	Cooking & food processing	Personal work	Animal husbandry	Agricultural work	Non-agricultural work	Cottage craft	Fuel search	Collection of forest produce	Marketing	Total time
N. Suriyan	Rainy	1.96	2.46	0.25	1.62	2.62	0.81	1.06	0.12	–	–	10.90
(Himachal	Winter	3.25	3.85	0.50	3.55	0.25	1.05	1.05	0.25	–	0.15	13.90
Pradesh)	Summer	4.00	3.30	0.40	1.00	–	0.78	0.05	0.08	–	–	9.61
Sehar	Rainy	2.15	4.10	1.15	1.05	3.15	–	–	1.30	1.00	–	13.90
(Madhya	Winter	3.75	4.98	1.15	0.50	1.45	–	0.10	2.05	–	–	13.98
Pradesh)	Summer	1.75	5.43	1.30	0.45	0.30	–	3.07	2.00	1.00	–	15.30
Malari	Rainy	1.44	3.85	0.56	1.12	5.61	–	–	0.56	–	0.06	13.20
(Uttar	Winter	3.01	4.45	0.63	2.37	1.37	–	–	0.75	–	–	12.58
Pradesh)	Summer	3.65	4.41	0.76	2.51	1.85	0.17	–	0.77	–	–	14.12
Deokhop	Rainy	2.25	3.00	0.81	–	2.50	–	–	1.75	0.25	0.93	11.49
(Mahar-	Winter	2.60	2.85	0.75	0.50	0.95	0.90	–	3.85	–	–	12.40
ashtra)	Summer	1.41	1.66	1.00	–	–	6.16	–	2.83	–	0.16	13.22
Rajapara	Rainy	3.29	3.90	1.10	0.55	5.21	–	–	0.17	–	0.07	14.29
(Assam)	Winter	2.37	3.75	1.12	0.50	6.00	–	1.25	–	–	–	14.99
	Summer	2.91	4.41	1.52	2.05	2.33	–	0.33	–	–	0.16	13.71

Note: Sample: two women observed in each village in each season, 1983–84.

Source: S. Dasgupa and A. K. Maiti, The Rural Energy Crisis, Poverty and Women's Roles in Five Indian Villages, ILO, Geneva, 1986.

Chart 2.1. Norway



Source: Norwegian Level of Living Study; Parliamentary Report No. 75, 1978-81.

Chapter Three

The Impact of Crisis and Adjustment on Women

I. INTRODUCTION

3.1 In this chapter we look at the evidence on how women's position has been affected by adjustment policies. Our assessment of the impact of structural adjustment on women will be multidimensional, covering its effects with respect to their four roles as well as important dimensions of their welfare, as identified in Chapter 2.

3.2 There are however several problems in making such an assessment. One is a paucity of information because of the lack of statistics by gender and the scarcity of household surveys. Another is interpretation. Adjustment is required when there has been some change necessitating it. But separating the effects of the (normally adverse) change from those of the adjustment policies is extremely difficult. For this reason, we make little attempt to undertake this separation, and some of the developments described may be due to the change in economic circumstances and not to the adjustment *per se*.

3.3 There can also be inconsistencies between short-run and long-run effects. For countries which face severe external imbalances, measures which restrain demand may be necessary to complement longer-term policies designed to reorient production towards internationally tradeable goods and services and to improve the functioning and efficiency of the economy. The immediate effect of demand restraint is contractionary, whereas the more growth-oriented supply-side policies may bear fruit only over the longer term.

3.4 There are also difficulties in assessment because the effects of measures often depend on their interactions. For example, devaluation

on its own has very different effects from when it is accompanied by import liberalisation or a deflationary budget or cartellised producer prices. It is impossible to explore every possibility, and consequently our generalisations may not be correct in all circumstances.

3.5 We take the major elements of IMF and World Bank packages as the basis of the typical structural adjustment programmes, since their programmes dominate the adjustment process. Although the exact composition varies from country to country, the major elements are usually:

Demand restraint: cuts in government expenditure; credit control; cuts in public sector employment and in real wages.

Price policy: decontrol; increase in agricultural prices; reduction/abolition of subsidies; raised charges for public services and by public enterprises.

Trade regime: devaluation; foreign exchange auctions; import liberalisation.

Credit reform: more unified credit markets; higher interest rates; more agricultural credit.

Parastatals: attempts to increase efficiency and improve profitability; privatisation.

Administration: strengthening institutions through training, technical assistance, reorganisation, etc.

The types of measures incorporated in IMF and World Bank programmes are given in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

II. WOMEN AS PRODUCERS

3.6 The impact of structural adjustment on women as producers is felt through the effects on employment, incomes and conditions of work.

Formal Sector Employment

3.7 The effects of adjustment on women's employment are complex and have differed over time and between countries. Demand constraint has tended to reduce or restrict both formal sector employment and wages, at least over the short run.

3.8 Public sector retrenchment has affected both sexes. Gender-based data are scanty, but evidence from a number of countries suggests that civil service retrenchment has severely affected many workers in the lower grades, including a large number of women. While the exact situation varies from country to country, in both the public and the

private sectors women are sometimes more prone to lose their jobs or having lost their jobs unlikely to gain others, than men, partly because of the prevalence of the 'male breadwinner ethic' and the weakness of women as a pressure group.

3.9 In general, the total number employed in the formal sector stagnated or rose very slowly, much more slowly than the growth in the labour force, so that unemployment rates rose and the number seeking a living in the informal sector also greatly increased. For example, in African countries taken as a whole, it is estimated that during 1980–1985 urban formal sector wage employment rose by just 1 per cent per annum, while the labour force grew by 5.3 per cent per annum. Open unemployment increased by 10 per cent per annum in the formal sector, while informal sector employment increased by 6.7 per cent.[1] There were similar developments in Latin America. Modern sector urban employment grew by 1.9 per cent per annum (1980–1985), with a much greater growth in unemployment (6.3 per cent per annum) and in informal sector employment (4.9 per cent per annum).[2]

3.10 Unskilled female workers, particularly women heads of household, are the most vulnerable. Among industrial workers in Brazil who lost their jobs in the early 1980s, for example, women in unskilled positions were much less likely to find a comparable job thereafter than women in skilled positions. Income pressures forced those unskilled workers who were also female heads of household to take low status wage work outside industry, including domestic service, while many unskilled women in male headed households remained unemployed. As a result of employment cutbacks, many women heads of household suffered large drops in real income.[3] Thus even where there is no disproportionate loss of formal sector employment among women, the consequences of those losses that do occur are severe.

3.11 The number of women seeking work in the monetary economy is also directly affected by changes in male earnings in the household. When men lose their jobs or their wages fall, women enter the labour force in larger numbers as households try to replace lost incomes. But there is no guarantee that women will find employment. This has been noted in developed countries in recessions, and documented for Latin America. The supply of women's labour increased significantly in the years of greatest economic contraction in Chile and Uruguay during the 1970s and in Brazil and Costa Rica during the early 1980s.[4] But jobs for women did not respond correspondingly, and open unemployment among them increased sharply. Similarly in Barbados, unemployment among women rose from 15.1 per cent in 1981 to 24.1 per cent in 1985, compared to 7.4 per cent and 13.0 per cent for men.[5] In Jamaica unemployment among women has been around twice that

among men and affected almost a third of the female labour force at the height of the crisis.[6] In Malaysia unemployment was greater for women than for men in every age group in rural and urban areas during the 1980s.[7] Such increases in female employment as did occur were concentrated in casual, low paid work in the informal sector (discussed in paras 3.26–3.29 below).

Women in Export-oriented Manufacturing

3.12 Most structural adjustment packages increase the profitability of tradeable goods, so that employment opportunities in export-oriented cash crops, manufacturing and services (tourism) are likely to rise over the medium term. Measures include the adoption of more competitive exchange rates and other export incentives, usually accompanied by import liberalisation. There has also been an acceleration in setting up export processing zones (EPZs). Bangladesh, Jamaica, Mauritius and Sri Lanka are among Commonwealth countries which have recently established such zones.

3.13 In many developing countries, export-oriented manufacturing employs more women than men, and employment prospects for women in this sector are therefore likely to improve. But import liberalisation, which forms part of the structural adjustment package, and also longer-term forces (see para 3.15), can lead to a contraction in female employment in older parts of the manufacturing sector, thus offsetting or even outweighing the expansion in new jobs.

3.14 Major beneficiaries of the emphasis on manufactured exports have been countries without a significant industrial base. These countries usually specialise in garments and food processing and, compared to the established producers, have had little difficulty in gaining increased access to the world markets. (For example they still have large unfilled quotas under the Multifibre Arrangement which governs much international trade in textiles.) In Bangladesh nearly 200,000 women are now employed in export-oriented garment manufacturing which represents a significant change in women's urban employment opportunities.[8] Rates of pay are higher than most other wage earning opportunities open to women. But, as noted in Chapter 2 (para 2.5), in EPZs, rates of pay are generally lower for women than for men, hours of work are long, there are restrictions on trade union organisation, and health and safety standards remain very poor.

3.15 For countries with large numbers of females employed in traditional industries, the import liberalisation that often accompanies export promotion can mean that the gains in women's employment in the export-oriented sectors are offset by losses in traditional industries.

For example in 1977 Sri Lanka introduced substantial import liberalisation to accompany its flexible exchange rates and EPZs. The result was that whereas 25,000 female jobs were created in export-oriented garment industries between 1977 and 1984, 37,000 female jobs were lost in textiles alone, mostly in handloom weaving.[9] The handloom weavers were often older women, working at homes spread throughout the country. Displaced weavers were not able to take up the new jobs which were concentrated in the capital city and went predominantly to younger women. Moreover, in some countries longer-term forces are also leading to a contraction of women's employment in manufacturing. For example, in India, technological change has reduced much female employment in the traditional sectors.

3.16 In conditions of general economic contraction and rising unemployment, there is evidence that employers in EPZs prefer to take on women without the burdens of childcare and other domestic responsibilities or men who are prepared to forego the usual premium above female wages. Whereas in Asia women in EPZs have always tended to be young and unmarried, in Latin America they are older and often heads of household, and there is evidence of a shift towards recruiting men in Mexico and the Caribbean.[10]

3.17 Female employees also face a risk of redundancy, especially in established export manufacturing countries, as demand falls because of technological developments, or shifts away as multinational companies change location to take advantage of cheaper or more suitable labour elsewhere. The Philippines and Malaysia provide examples. In both countries, the 1970s saw a rapid rise in the number of women employed in export-oriented industries, especially in electronics and garments. The 1980s have seen retrenchments due to shutdowns, with thousands of young women losing their jobs (see Box 3.1).[11] In the electronics industry in Malaysia, increased automation and competitive pressures to reduce labour costs have led to a trend towards decreasing use of direct labour, with job opportunities only for highly skilled technicians and engineers, hardly any of whom were women. At the same time there were moves to casualise female operators' jobs and reduce wage levels by shortening the periods of contract hiring.[12] This underlines the vulnerability of women, particularly if their skills are not upgraded with economic and technological changes.

Women in Agriculture

3.18 Structural adjustment programmes, particularly in Africa, have sought to improve incentives for farmers, especially to encourage more cash crops to generate higher export earnings and thereby ameliorate the external payments crisis. Where there is a general improvement in

Box 3.1. Cut with a Sword: Retrenchment in an Export-oriented Industry in Malaysia

"The experience of some women workers in Penang left many of them very bitter, and the reaction of the Mostek workers to their retrenchment in September 1985 was so angry that it took most observers, and the government, by surprise.

"As some of the women explained, their angry reaction which led to an immediate picket, sustained for thirty-two days, was borne from a feeling of resentment at their management and the procedures it adopted in the retrenchment. Earlier in the year, in April, the Mostek factory had carried out a 'voluntary resignation' exercise which had cost 500 workers their jobs. A smaller plant elsewhere in Malaysia had closed. Despite repeated questions from the remaining workers about their prospects, the management had consistently stated that there would be no further retrenchments and that their jobs were safe. This reassurance continued right up to the time the management posted a notice at the end of September, requesting workers to clear their lockers and to take a one week holiday, since the factory would be temporarily closed. Some workers believed this; others were not sure. Again, the management reassured them. But the very next day, many of the workers got letters of termination, and within a few days, over a thousand had done likewise.

'It was like I had been cut with a sword. I just sat on the floor and cried', said one woman we interviewed. Others commented as follows:

'All of us had been nervous over the past few months. We knew that factories were facing bad times. But we never expected it to happen like it did.'

'I had been working for seven years. I enjoyed my job. The company had been good to me, I don't mind saying. But I could never describe how I felt that morning I got my letter. It was as if the world had ended for me. I have two children, my husband is dead. I couldn't imagine how I was going to feed them.'

'All the time we had been told, not to worry. Then they sacked us, without being able to tell us straight. I was disgusted. Who did they think we were?'

'Some of us got together and decided that there was no point in keeping quiet. If we were going to be retrenched we wanted to know why. We all felt hurt and angry. I remember telling my friend I felt like rubbish in the dustbin.'

'My husband asked me why I wanted to go and join the picket every day. I told him, every day for the last four years I had

worked hard in the factory. When the management wanted us to do overtime, we would. When they had to make an order, we would help them. We slogged for them, really worked our hearts out. But when we needed their help ..... They didn't even have the decency to tell us to our face."

(Extract from "Retraining for Women Workers in Industry, with Special Reference to those who have been Retrenched"—by James Lochhead & Rohana Ariffin (March 1987).)

the agricultural terms of trade, adjustment policies may also improve conditions for domestic food production. Measures adopted include raising agricultural prices, improving access to credit and inputs (fertilisers, pesticides and technology) and improving marketing arrangements through, for example, reform of parastatal marketing boards. In Asia the emphasis is on spreading the 'green' revolution, especially through providing high-yielding variety (HYV) seeds, fertilisers and irrigation. Some countries have also embarked on land reform, though not usually as part of adjustment programmes.

3.19 However, policy-makers have made no attempt to include women specifically in the adjustment measures. They have often been neglected in terms of access to inputs, pricing policy and land reform. Substantial evidence suggests that because of the failure of policy-makers to take account of the exact nature of women's role in agriculture, the full potential of agricultural incentives has not been realised. Improved incentives often provide little benefit to women who produce food crops for subsistence or local markets. These crops do not typically receive incentives commensurate to those for cash crops. For example, in both Ghana and the Ivory Coast the additional incentives have primarily benefited the producers of export crops (cocoa and cotton), and have hardly affected the production of subsistence crops, which predominate in the poorest part of each country, and in which women are most heavily involved.

3.20 Pricing policies also affect men's and women's decisions about crops differently. There is evidence that women have not been motivated to shift towards cultivating higher priced crops, and away from those for which they control the marketing, because switching could imply a loss of their market transactions and consequent income. For example in Zambia the high price of maize (a man's crop) led many men to increase the size of land planted with maize; but their wives continued to cultivate groundnuts, despite its heavier labour requirements, because they could sell it on the informal market and control the resulting income.

3.21 Evidence also points to women having less access to inputs necessary for stimulating agriculture. For example, in Ghana during the 1970s women, even with large farms, had less access to agricultural credit than men. In Kenya, where women manage two-fifths of the smallholdings, modern facilities were far less accessible to women farmers. Only 4 per cent of the women with income-earning farm enterprises in a western Kenya district received adequate agricultural extension services, compared to five times as many men with similar crops. Extension workers in Kenya are now redirecting their efforts to help women producers, and the government believes that by working through groups, the reach of extension services can be doubled and the cost reduced. The disadvantage that women experience in gaining access to credit and extension services is further illustrated by the case of Malawi during the 1970s, when the prevailing view that female-headed households did not have enough earners to service their debts excluded many of them from being considered creditworthy. The creation of farmers' clubs to provide credit and extension on a group basis continued to exclude women. Malawi has now started pilot schemes involving groups of female farmers.

3.22 There is also evidence that in countries which introduced auctions to allocate scarce foreign exchange on an unstructured basis, large foreign-owned companies acquired most of the currency, with the agricultural sectors and small-scale firms receiving little benefit. The operation of a structured auction in Zambia at least assured some foreign exchange for these sectors, although the extent to which women farmers benefited is unclear. Where export earnings retention schemes have been introduced, the larger producers—especially those who do their own external marketing—have tended to benefit, often at the expense of smaller producers.

3.23 In some countries (for example Bangladesh) prices of inputs rose faster than the price of the main crop (paddy) due to the withdrawal of fertiliser subsidy and increases in import prices.[13] As a result, farmers' incentives to increase output were dampened. Small farmers, who tend to include a disproportionate number of female heads of households, were unable to borrow to purchase the more expensive inputs; their productivity therefore fell and as a result many households were no longer self-sufficient in food. A similar situation existed in Zambia where many women farmers who were heads of household found it difficult, sometimes impossible, to obtain credit to finance the increasing price of inputs and were thus unable to expand their output.[14] The new incentives under adjustment, far from benefiting such farmers, could thus force them out of production altogether.

3.24 Improved incentives for crops controlled by men generally mean increased demand for female family labour. For example, machinery

introduced for swamp rice cultivation in Sierra Leone decreased the work of men but increased that of women who undertook the planting and harvesting. Increases in rice production in Sri Lanka and maize production in Zambia likewise depended significantly on the mobilisation of female family labour, but often at the cost of women switching their labour from producing food for family needs (see Box 3.2).

Box 3.2. Family Tensions over Women's Time and Income

Eva lives in Northern Zambia and is an ex-nurse, married with four young children. One child is in primary school. Since 1982/3, she and her husband have been growing hybrid maize and other food crops, helped by government loans. They also sell beans, groundnuts and caterpillars to traders from the Copperbelt and the husband does casual building work. Since the dramatic increase in the producer price for maize in 1984/5, Eva has expanded the farm. In 1986/7 they had over one hectare and sold over three tonnes of maize to the marketing cooperative.

During the season Eva hired local women to work with her and her husband on the maize crop. She brewed and sold beer to pay the women and buy school books and a uniform and essential food items. In the 1987/8 season Eva was planning to grow more millet to use mainly for beer production. She saw that demand for beer had risen with the increase in cash returns from maize. In her view it was one way in which women could recover some of the income that men claimed from the maize harvest.

With the expansion of the maize crop, Eva found her labour time heavily used. She was able to keep control over part of the income from the maize only after intense struggles with her husband who felt he had prior claim to the income. But she was not able to sustain production of some traditional food crops, such as beans and caterpillars, from which she had kept the proceeds. There was also some conflict, especially in the peak of the season, between time spent on maize production and on household tasks. Although her husband was less than fully employed in crop production, Eva received no assistance from him in household tasks, and she had to rely on her eight year old daughter in the busiest periods. Often she was forced to leave the youngest children in the care of her daughter while she worked in the fields.

(Case history prepared by Alison Evans, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.)

Instances have been noted, however, of women resisting such increased demands on their work time. In a lowland irrigated rice development in The Gambia, women preferred to work in their own fields, which led to the failure of the project.[15] In Tanzania, women on a smallholder tea scheme refused to pick on their husbands' plots until payment was made to individual members and not to the male heads of households.[16] Similarly in the Mumia scheme in Sri Lanka, women chose to work for other men for monetary reward rather than for their husbands.[17] Numerous studies show however that where women lack access to land and other means of earning an income, they have no option but to work on their husbands' farms, typically for remuneration that is not commensurate with their labour.

3.25 Female wage labour is predominant in some of the large export-oriented plantations and agro-businesses. In Sri Lanka, 72 per cent of the female agricultural labour is wage earning; and in India women comprise 52 per cent of tea plantation wage labour. The increased profitability of these export-oriented activities following structural adjustment programmes is likely to generate more demand for wage labour. In Latin America, where the female role in agriculture has been small, the economic crisis of the 1980s, with declining household income and reduced opportunities for employment in the cities, has brought about what has been described as a proletarianisation of women. It has meant the incorporation of young women into paid employment, often at low wages, in those rural areas associated with the agro-export sector (previously a male preserve), and the greater feminisation of agriculture on small farms, mainly involving mothers whose husbands and older children have migrated to areas where they can get paid employment.

Women in the Informal Sector

3.26 Adjustment policies have dual effects on the informal sector, each acting to depress earnings: on the one hand income-earning opportunities lessen with the decline in formal sector incomes; on the other hand the numbers in the sector increase as a result of formal sector retrenchment and more people desperately seeking some sort of livelihood. In Brazil and Zambia, for example, it appears that informal sector incomes and output contracted in line with that of formal sector activity.[18] But there has been a significant increase in the share of the labour force absorbed by the informal sector over recent years,[19] as the reduction or stagnation in formal sector employment has thrown many onto the informal sector labour market to compete for limited business opportunities. As a result average incomes have declined during the period of adjustment. In Latin America, for example, it is estimated that average earnings in the urban informal sector fell by over a quarter during 1980–1985.[20] For women, for whom the informal sector has always offered the main opportunity for income-generating work, albeit

for meagre returns, the effect has been particularly marked. In Sri Lanka, for example, the rate of increase in the numbers of women in self-employment in the informal sector from 1980 to 1985 was twice that of the total numbers of women employed.[21]

3.27 There has been tremendous growth of unregistered casual activities across Africa—as households tried to counter falling incomes from the formal sector. A survey in Tanzania revealed women engaged in staple farming, vegetable gardening, petty trading, beer brewing, poultry keeping and tailoring.[22] While overall demand restraint may have had knock-on effects on informal sector incomes, it may also have encouraged a shift of some purchases away from the formal to the informal sector. Higher food prices are known to have resulted in greater demand for domestically grown products, while in Ghana the non-availability of imported soap encouraged local production—although as soon as imports were liberalised, demand for the domestic product collapsed. In Zambia, the importance of women's informal sector earnings to total family income has increased dramatically in the 1980s.[23]

3.28 A major element of many structural adjustment programmes is deregulation—reducing registration and other formalities—in order to facilitate operating conditions. The spontaneous, competitive, market-driven, labour-intensive activities of the informal sector can not only help meet the immediate needs of the poor but may also contribute to long-term development. For example, economic deregulation is thought to have given increased opportunities to the "higglers" in Jamaica, many of them women, who buy and sell almost anything in an extremely competitive environment.

3.29 Deregulation of credit markets is also an important element of a number of structural adjustment programmes. In many developing countries interest rates for formal sector loans have been below the market clearing level, implying credit rationing, with most of these loans going to the larger firms. Smaller borrowers, including women, have largely had to rely on the informal credit markets, often paying exhorbitant interest rates. But while deregulation may permit greater access for some borrowers, it is unlikely that most small borrowers, including women, have benefited. Apart from the high cost of administering small loans, lack of collateral and socio/cultural barriers continue to inhibit women from easy access to credit.

III. WOMEN AS HOME MANAGERS

3.30 Adjustment programmes usually include the reduction or abolition of subsidies, especially on food; decontrol of prices; devaluation, which raises prices of imports; and the introduction or increase of

charges for public services. Subsidies aimed at maintaining low food prices for consumers form a significant share of government expenditures in a number of developing countries. A ten country study found that in each one the proportion of government expenditure spent on food subsidies declined in the 1980s: while in six of the countries this was fully offset by the decline in international food prices, in the other four—Brazil, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Zambia*—the savings in food subsidies exceeded the decreases in international prices, and resulted in a large diminution of consumer benefits (see Table 3.3).

3.31 The net effect of the price decontrol, devaluation and reduced subsides—taken simultaneously in many cases—has been to increase prices for basic items, including domestically produced ones, quite dramatically. In Sri Lanka between 1977 and 1984, open market prices rose for rice by 158 per cent, wheat flour by 386 per cent, bread by 339 per cent, milk powder by 345 per cent and kerosene by 733 per cent. For some items a major factor was the sharp depreciation of the value of the rupee. The overall Colombo price index rose by 172 per cent, but that of low-income households increased by 226 per cent despite subsidies on food and kerosene. In 1977 the longstanding universal food ration scheme was converted to one targeted on half the population. This and its subsequent transformation into a food stamp programme, with a constant nominal value despite rapidly increasing prices, greatly reduced the value of the subsidy for poor households. Between 1984 and 1987, however, price increases were much more moderate, in part because of the appreciation of the rupee and the somewhat better fiscal and monetary outturn.

3.32 In Zambia the decontrol of prices meant that for low-income urban dwellers the consumer price index rose by almost three and a half times between 1982 and 1987. In Tanzania the price of maize and rice increased thirteen times between 1977 and 1987. In Ghana, where drought reduced food production, the food price index rose to 2719 in 1985 (1977 = 100) while the general index for urban and rural dwellers increased to 3230 and 3935 respectively.

3.33 While prices of basic items increased rapidly, growth in nominal incomes generally did not keep pace. In fact wage restraint has been a key part of most adjustment programmes. The impact, which was not short-lived, was in many cases severe. In Zambia, which has now faced almost two decades of declining per capita incomes, average nominal monthly earnings in Lusaka rose by only 1 per cent between 1983 and 1985 and those of females fell by 17 per cent, implying a most dramatic decline in real incomes. Nor has Zambia been alone in this respect.

*The share of budgetary expenditures allocated to food subsidies in Zambia fell nearly 50 per cent in the early 1980s.

One study reports estimates of reductions in real income ranging from 5.5 to 9 per cent among the lowest income group as a result of a 10 per cent increase in food prices in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Egypt, India and Nigeria.[24] In some places, minimum wages became grossly inadequate to meet household basic needs. Data from Tanzania in 1987/88 show that the minimum wage in that country could cover only 14 per cent of the most basic food requirement of a six-person Dar-es-Salaam household;[25] it could not even cover half the needs of a one-person household. In Ghana at the peak of the crisis in July 1984, even the upper middle civil service salaries could cover barely 10 per cent of the minimum nutritional diet of a five-person household. Similar evidence for Jamaica was given in Chapter 1 (see para 1.36).

3.34 The effects of the sharply rising prices on household consumption depend partly on how resources are allocated within the household. Given the tendency of husbands to provide a fixed housekeeping allowance to their wives, it is possible that women have faced an even sharper drop in real transfers from their husbands to meet basic household needs than indicated by the declines in real wages.

3.35 Women, as home managers, have played a leading role in family survival strategies. As already pointed out, there has been an intensification of female income-generation activities, especially in the informal sector, to try to contain the fall in household income. Women have also engaged substantially in subsistence production. Recent data from Lusaka show that almost 50 per cent of the food of the lowest income group was being provided through cultivation by women in urban vegetable plots.

3.36 Women have also been purchasing foods which are less processed, as well as spending more time trying to find cheap foods and gathering fuelwood and water (all adding to the pressure on their lives). Many low income households have changed their overall consumption patterns. In Chile one study found that, as would be expected, non-basic items were eliminated first, followed by cuts in more basic expenditures on things like protein-rich food and, lastly, in basic staples and children's education. UNICEF found evidence of substitution of cheap for expensive sources of calories in Sri Lanka and Chile, and a deterioration in diet quality.[26] A reduction of daily meals from three to two has been reported by women working in the informal sector in Dar-es-Salaam, suggesting a decline in calorie intake.[27] Evidence from Chile and Ecuador also suggest changes in the intra-household distribution of food when income falls, with women and young girls suffering disproportionately. Deterioration in nutritional standards has also been observed in a large number of countries, including Sri Lanka and Zambia, with Sri Lanka

being notable for greater increases in malnutrition amongst females than males in certain areas.[28]

3.37 Many rural families in Asia and Africa produce less food than they consume. These families are either landless or have very small and relatively unproductive holdings. In Bangladesh the number of such food-deficit households has increased directly as a result of higher pricing of agricultural inputs. Rising food prices have caused great hardship to these rural food-deficit households—many of which are female-headed.

3.38 For women heads of household—whether urban or rural—the decline in real incomes has had a devastating effect on household expenditure. Unless they take on two or more occupations or have older children working, these women have few opportunities to supplement their incomes. They have been unable to take out credit to moderate the effects; nor have they been able to undertake subsistence activity due to their lack of time and family labour and their generally poor access to cultivable land. Their poverty has become even worse, with an adverse effect on their own and their children's nutrition and health. We look at some of the evidence below.

IV. WOMEN AS MOTHERS

3.39 As mothers (and often also as carers of old or sick relatives), women are affected by the cutbacks in government expenditure on education and health, by the decline in household incomes and by the increasing time they have to devote to income-generating activities.

3.40 Although government expenditure on social services has been cut along with other public expenditure as part of adjustment programmes, social sectors have not been cut on average more than proportionately. Nonetheless, because of the width and depth of the cutbacks in government expenditure, there were falls in per capita real expenditure on education and health in about two-thirds of the countries of sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America/Caribbean in the early 1980s. Table 3.4 shows that education suffered more in Latin America/Caribbean and health more in Africa. In some countries there were very substantial cutbacks. In Jamaica, for example, during 1980–1985, per capita real expenditure on education fell by over 30 per cent, and on health by 20 per cent.[29] In Zambia, from 1982 to 1985, expenditure on health fell by over one-third. The cuts were particularly concentrated on non-wage recurrent expenditure and on capital expenditure.[30]

Education

3.41 The brunt of the cuts in expenditure on education have been evident in poorly maintained school buildings, shortages of teachers, teaching aids and equipment, larger classrooms and a general decline in attainment rates. But in the measured language of an analytical description, it is easy to miss the extent and depth of the crisis in education which exists in so many developing countries today, especially in Africa : schools literally without **any** books; children sitting on mud floors or on a few stones, often without even slates to write upon; teachers paid sporadically and then only a pittance—the result of already low salaries in the 1970s eroded five to ten times by inflation in the 1980s. All these have become commonplace today, in total contrast with the typical situation 10 or 20 years ago during the dynamic aftermath of Independence.

3.42 Evidence during the 1980s points to a continuing overall improvement in primary school enrolment rates in developing countries as a whole, but a number of countries experienced declines. Among these were about 30 countries with some form of Fund/Bank programmes during 1981–1985: 16 low-income countries (which registered falls in both male and female enrolment rates), and 14 middle-income countries (including a number of severely indebted Latin American/Caribbean countries which in the past had achieved almost universal primary education) (see Table 3.5). At the same time there is growing evidence of increasing drop-out rates (proportion of enrolled children not completing primary education). Drop-out rates increased in some states in Nigeria, for example, especially following the introduction of fees.

3.43 The budgetary cutbacks have in fact increasingly shifted the burden of education payment from the state to the family. In Zambia, despite free primary education, parental expenditure in 1985 on basic items necessary for one child to attend primary school was more than one-fifth of average per capita income. With the general rise in prices, greater pressures to provide more of what was previously provided by the state, and in some cases the introduction of school fees, parental burdens have greatly increased in many countries.

3.44 For poor households, especially those headed by women, the economic crisis and the ensuing adjustment measures have further intensified the pressures not to send children to school or to withdraw them early because of the growing parental burden of primary education and the opportunity costs of sending children to school compared with using their time in other ways. In rural Mexico, for example, the decrease in purchasing power of wages has obliged women to send their children to work in agriculture; a survey in a region of sugar cane plantations showed that the importance for the family of a child's

labour was a key factor in explaining why 48 per cent of the wives stated categorically that their children should not study.[31] Older female children have also been increasingly kept out of school to look after younger children while their mother is away at work.[32]

3.45 Secondary school enrolment continued to improve during the first half of the 1980s in most developing countries. But enrolment rates as a proportion of the secondary school age group remain low, especially in low-income countries (see Chapter 2, para 2.9 above). This reflects both the limited availability of places in secondary education, as well as the high cost of such education. Secondary education thus mainly benefits better-off families.

3.46 With resources increasingly constrained, some countries have started restructuring education expenditure away from tertiary and often secondary levels to primary education. Coupled with the increase in fees and other cost-recovery measures in a number of countries, the parental burden of secondary level education has risen very sharply. In Zambia, charges for secondary school boarders have almost doubled in a year. In Indonesia education, especially beyond the first level, is income-related, the proportion of children attending school increasing with the household's per capita expenditures. The lower enrolment of girls than boys is more marked for poorer households. Increased poverty has led to a slowdown in secondary-school enrolment and a deterioration in the sex ratios. There is every possibility of this experience being repeated during the late 1980s in a large number of countries undergoing structural adjustment programmes.

3.47 The tragedy of all this, and its significance for development, is that educational under-development today means human under-development 'tomorrow'; both for men and women. Indeed for women, the long-term repercussions are likely to be even more serious, because with resources severely constrained, preference is likely to be given to boys before girls and long-run setbacks in women's education will in turn have repercussions on family education and upbringing for future generations of children.

Health

3.48 The cutbacks in health expenditure per capita have resulted in sharply reduced standards of healthcare. In certain cases the reduction has severely limited the outreach capabilities of health and nutritional programmes. In African countries in particular, the declines have resulted in a severe deterioration of healthcare provision. In Ghana, where per capita health expenditure fell in 1982 to one-fifth of that in 1975/76, the deterioration was reflected in acute shortages of basic drugs and clinical consumables, and an exodus of health personnel.

The country lost more than half of its doctors between 1981 and April 1984, and about a twelfth of its nurses in 1982 alone. There was also a lack of spare parts and maintenance of health equipment and vehicles. In Zambia the real value of the drugs budget in 1986 was a quarter of that of 1983, while only 10 per cent of the budget was actually spent because of shortages of foreign exchange.[33] A survey of rural health centres showed that most critical drugs had been out of stock for long periods. For example, over the previous year, oral rehydration salts had been out of stock for 17 weeks (in some areas for 31 weeks) and chloroquinine for four weeks (in the worst area for 109 weeks). The lack of chloroquinine has had particularly severe repercussions, since it has coincided with a widespread resurgence of malaria which, in the absence of appropriate medicines, has often had severe effects on mortality, morbidity and productivity.

3.49 Women and children have almost everywhere borne the brunt of these setbacks in healthcare. Maternal and child health services are in the frontline for preventing illness and are critical for curative services at the local level. In most countries health workers are able to serve only those who can reach the nearest clinic or hospital, usually in major towns and cities. For rural women such trips can be costly, in both time and money. Even in urban areas, reduced staffing has meant patients waiting longer for services. Faced with compelling demands on their time, women may have been discouraged from seeking healthcare for themselves or their children. A 1987 survey in Zambia revealed women's concern at the cost of having to spend longer caring for sick children and staying with them in hospital. Their concern was not only with the cost of treatment, but also the cost of time spent away from directly productive tasks. In many cases, therefore, where the illness is not critical, treatment may be foregone, often at the cost of increased morbidity and longer time spent at home caring for the sick.

3.50 In some countries the pruning of health services has been undertaken in the name of efficiency. But in practice it has involved no more than a shifting of costs from the monetary to the non-monetary economy with an increasing burden of care falling on women.

3.51 For some governments the economic crisis and adjustment policies have led to the introduction of user fees, with free services provided only to the most disadvantaged. In Jamaica, a system of charges in public hospitals and health centres, hitherto free, has particularly hit the low paid and unemployed. Several studies show that women often spend a large proportion of household income on medicines and immunisation.[34] User fees, by further raising the proportion of income devoted to healthcare, may discourage the use of professional services, with adverse effects on health.

3.52 The reductions in household incomes, the rises in food prices and the severe cutbacks in health services have been the main causes for the deterioration in children's nutrition and health during the 1980s observed in many countries. Another factor may have been the increasing pressure on women to seek work outside the home, though the evidence is ambiguous on whether this affects children's nutrition negatively. A review of the relationship between women's work, infant feeding practices and children's nutrition found that on balance women's work outside the home did not have a negative net effect on children's nutrition, the negative effect of women's lack of time usually being offset by the positive effect of their increased incomes.[35] But where women worked very long hours outside the home for very low wages, there did seem to be a significant negative net impact on children's nutrition. By putting pressure on non-working women to seek outside income and by compressing the incomes of working women, structural adjustment measures adversely affected children's overall nutrition.

3.53 There is evidence of rising malnutrition during the first half of the 1980s in as many as 25 countries, including eight of the ten studied by UNICEF in "Adjustment with a Human Face" (the exceptions were South Korea and Zimbabwe). In Ghana and Peru the deterioration in nutrition was very pronounced (about 50 per cent) while in the other countries it ranged between 10 and 25 per cent. Further evidence of increased malnutrition is provided by data on Zambia. In the decade up to 1983 the proportion of child hospital admissions attributable to malnutrition was fairly low and stable (5–7 per cent) but by 1987 it had risen to 17 per cent. Similarly, malnutrition-related deaths increased from 17 per cent in 1981 to 37 per cent in 1987. Moreover the true extent of the problem remained largely unrevealed, as only the worst cases were admitted to hospital.[36] This escalation of malnutrition is thought to have been a consequence of dietary changes and falling household consumption associated with diminished real incomes.

3.54 Infant mortality also increased substantially between 1980 and 1985 in a number of countries, including 14 undertaking programmes supported by the IMF/World Bank (see Table 3.6). In some countries the deterioration was related to civil strife; in others it almost certainly reflected diminished nutrition and higher morbidity associated with recession and structural adjustment.

3.55 The long-run consequences of malnutrition and ill-health, particularly among women and young girls, can be very serious. A recent survey showed that it could take up to two generations for a young girl to "wash out" the effects of a period of severe malnutrition, since weaknesses in her own reproductive system could influence those of her children and grandchildren, even if they were well fed and received good healthcare.

V. WOMEN AS COMMUNITY ORGANISERS

3.56 Economic crisis and structural adjustment have increased the need for women to co-operate among themselves in community activities, forming groups of producers; organising consumer cooperatives; and helping extend possibilities for communal consumption and social support for childcare. But at the same time it has made it more difficult for them to do so, as the increased burden of work has intensified demands on women's time. Even so, many examples can be cited of women's role as community organisers.

3.57 In Brazil, women have long taken part in movements of the landless and of resistance to eviction. They have also formed urban groups to combat the difficulties created by the crisis—against rises in prices, in favour of better transport services, etc. Poor women have also participated in grassroots ecclesiastical communities, mothers' clubs and mutual aid groups. There are instances of community action, in which women have played a leading part, to cut the cost of basic foods and provide cheaper and nutritionally more balanced meals. In Sao Paulo, Brazil, UNICEF reports that communities, helped by government, organised themselves to purchase basic food from the central wholesale market where prices are 40 per cent lower than at retail; in some cases groups bought food centrally at controlled prices and transported and resold it on local markets. In Lima, Peru, *commodore populares* have developed; each covers 15–50 households, purchases food in bulk and cooks it in specially equipped premises. Food preparation is undertaken by the women of participating households, who alternate in daily shifts every four or five days.

VI. STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND WOMEN'S WELL-BEING

Women's Time as a Variable of Adjustment

3.58 Declining household incomes and the requirements of structural adjustment have thus increased demands on women's already overstretched time for each of their four main roles. Women's time has become a crucial variable of adjustment.

3.59 There is little detailed information on the changes in the pattern of time-use during adjustment. One thing however is clear. As poor women's responsibilities increase, they work longer outside the home, while continuing to engage in home activities. Often they forego recreation, with fewer hours for sleep and leisure. In the Philippines it was found that increases in a mother's time on paid work did not result in decreases in time spent on household tasks.[37] In Buenos Aires, housewives without outside employment spent over ten hours a day on

domestic work, whereas those in paid employment still spent eight hours on similar work, making a working day of at least 13 hours.[38]

3.60 To some extent, increasing pressures on women's time have been met by reducing time set aside for leisure or sleeping. But on occasions, such pressures, especially with respect to outside employment, have reduced the time women can devote to children, with the consequence of reduced standards of care and, in extreme cases, the abandonment of children altogether. A study of low-income women in Indo-Guayas, Ecuador, found that only 30 per cent of the women were coping with their changed circumstances. Fifty-five per cent of them were just hanging on, using up future resources in order to survive today, sending their sons out to work or keeping their daughters at home to take over domestic responsibilities. The remaining 15 per cent were no longer coping, with their young children roaming the streets.[39] The great rise in the number of street-children observed in the large cities of the developing world in the 1980s is partly due to these time pressures.

Women's Nutrition and Health

3.61 Women's health has been adversely affected by increased hours of work and by reduced availability of food and healthcare facilities. Less healthy women are less efficient and this reduces their productivity in each of their roles, thereby diminishing national income and national welfare.

3.62 Life expectancy among women has continued to increase in most places, but at a slower rate than previously in a number of countries undertaking adjustment. Reduction in female life expectancy has however occurred in at least six countries facing war, civil strife, or drought, or where there have been sharp reductions in expenditure on the social sectors as part of structural adjustment (see Table 3.7).

3.63 Nutritional standards among women have also worsened in many of the countries for which data are available. Shortfalls in protein and calorie per person have increased markedly in Brazil since 1975 and more than half Brazilian women have nutritional deficiences. During 1980–1985, daily calorie supply per capita declined in 21 countries with programmes supported by the IMF/World Bank, in many cases falling below the recommended daily requirement.

3.64 One indication of the incidence of malnutrition and anaemia in women is the number of maternal deaths. In sub-Saharan Africa, the average maternal mortality rate is nearly one per hundred live births. Part of the problem is related to poor pre- and post-natal care, lack of professional help with delivery (only 48 per cent of births are attended

by health staff), and insufficient family planning services. But poor nutrition has been a contributory factor: in sub-Saharan Africa 10–25 per cent of the babies are stillborn or have low birth-weight—indicative of inadequate nutrition of mothers. For Africa, there are no data showing changes in these indicators over time, but elsewhere rising rates of low birth-weight babies have been observed in several countries, including Brazil and the Philippines (see Chart 3.1).

3.65 Women have also suffered from the general increase in morbidity. According to information gathered by UNICEF, there has been a resurgence of diseases previously eradicated, such as yaws and yellow fever in Ghana, and a higher incidence of communicable diseases (Philippines) and non-immunizable diseases (Chile), typhoid and hepatitis (Chile) and malaria (Madagascar).

3.66 Women's mental health has been adversely affected by their growing workload. Studies in Mexico and Brazil point to the pernicious effect on the mental health of women with small children who have joined the labour force and are under pressure because they are unable either to earn as much as they need or to care properly for their children.[40]

3.67 The struggle for survival in poor families has also led to increased tensions, which in turn have contributed to divorce and marital problems as well as increasing violence against women. These circumstances have led some women to turn to prostitution and other illegal ways of earning incomes, and the neglect of their children.

Women Heads of Household

3.68 Some categories of women are especially vulnerable to economic retrenchment and adjustment policies. Female heads of household are an obvious case. These households face particular discrimination in access to key agricultural inputs as well as to land. Also, when faced with loss of jobs they have had little option but to take on any work, including low status work,suffering considerable declines in their wages. When confronted with substantial increases in basic food prices, in the absence of adequate income earning opportunities, these women and their families have suffered a significant deterioration in food consumption and nutrition. In addition, the increasing shift of the burden of providing basic services—such as education and health—from the state to the household has further undermined the use female-headed households can make of those facilities. Time pressures on these women have increased immensely, which combined with their poor diet, has frequently led to a significant deterioration in their general health.

Women who Live in Exceptionally Difficult Situations

3.69 Another particularly vulnerable group are women who live in exceptionally difficult situations caused by war or civil strife. Events in many countries, particularly in Africa, have severely disrupted normal economic and social activities and family life. Globally there are estimated to be 12–15 million refugees and displaced persons, and in some areas those who are women greatly outnumber the men. Women living in such harsh and sometimes dangerous conditions are specially vulnerable to economic contraction, as welfare programmes, which are often wholly inadequate to meet even the basic food needs of themselves and their families, are further cut back.

VII. ENVIRONMENT, STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND WOMEN

3.70 Environmental degradation, particularly deforestation and desertification, has become a major problem in many developing countries, greatly affecting women's lives. For example, deforestation, by increasing soil erosion and flooding, has reduced not only agricultural productivity but also the general availability of fuel, fodder, water and forest produce. Also by reducing ground water renewal, deforestation has contributed to falling water tables and drying streams, compounding the difficulties women face in getting drinking water, especially during the dry season.

3.71 Structural adjustment has often aggravated these problems. It has directly encouraged commercial over-exploitation of trees and other natural resources (chiefly for export) as well as intensifying the use of marginal land by the poor for the sheer needs of survival. Moreover, privatisation of some common land (for example in dry areas of India) has resulted in women, especially from landless families, spending much more of their time in search of fuelwood in the reduced tracts of common land. Over-utilisation of ground water for commercial purposes through sinking deep wells has often led to reduced access to safe drinking water. In some countries also water-borne industrial pollutants have led to a deterioration in access to such water. The problems have frequently been aggravated by heightened demand for fuelwood arising from the removal or reduction of kerosene subsidies, as well as the reduced availability of crop and animal waste for fuel following the introduction of new agricultural technologies. For women, therefore, the environmental effects of structural adjustment have made their tasks of collecting fuelwood and water much more difficult.

3.72 Women's fertility plays a crucial role in the balance between population and natural resource base. Cutbacks in expenditure on family

planning and similar social services—associated with some adjustment programmes—can have damaging long-term consequences for this balance, as well as for female health.

VIII. CONCLUSION

3.73 In summary then, structural adjustment programmes, as pursued in practice, have reduced social supports (i.e. the quantum of resources available to women in their non-producer roles), while making additional demands on women in their role as producer. Conditions have become significantly more difficult for women in each of their four roles, and women have needed to spend more time in each role : more time as producers, working outside the home, to contain the falls in household incomes; more time as home managers and mothers to protect family health and nutrition in the face of rising food prices, reduced incomes and reduced social services; and more time as community organisers to help counter some of the adverse effects through community action. Yet even before the crisis women's time was overstretched. Structural adjustment programmes need to be reoriented to help women to escape from these increasing pressures and to improve their overall contribution to national productivity and welfare. These programmes need, on the one hand, to improve women's income-earning capacity and productivity and, on the other, to ease women's role as home managers and as mothers.

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39. Moser, op cit.
40. Barroso, C. and T. Amado, "The Impact of the Crisis upon Poor Women's Health : The Case of Brazil", in "The Invisible Adjustment", UNICEF, Santiago, 1987.

Table 3.1
Policy Content of Programmes[1] Supported by the International Monetary Fund, 1980
(numbers of programmes)

Policy	Stand-By Arrangements	Extended Fund Facility Arrangements	Total
Monetary policies	*17*	*13*	*30*
of which: Credit ceilings	17	12	29
Interest rate policies	11	7	18
Public sector policies	*17*	*13*	*30*
of which: Restraint of: Expenditure	14	12	26
Investment	8	4	12
Subsidies	5	8	13
Transfers	5	7	12
Wages and salaries	10	6	16
Other current expenditure	5	3	8
Reform/improvements	*14*	*13*	*27*
of which: Reform tax structure	5	6	11
Increase in tax rates	9	8	17
Improvement in tax administration	10	9	19
Non-financial public enterprise (NPE)	*12*	*11*	*23*
of which: Curtailment/rationalization of expenditure	6	2	8
Adjustment of tariffs and administration prices	8	10	18
Employment	1	1	2
Wages	2		2
Overall public sector			
Reduction in deficit	12	10	22
Improvement in NPEs			
Reduced bank borrowing (real)	3	3	6
Reduced transfer from government (real)	6	6	12
Formulation of investment plan	6	9	15
External debt policies	*15*	*12*	*27*
Exchange and trade policies	*12*	*12*	*24*
of which: Exchange rate reform	6	6	12
Liberalization/reform of trade and exchange system	9	12	21
Liberalization/reform of trade system	4	5	9
Import substitution measures	–	2	2
Rationalization of import protection	2	1	3
Export promotion or liberalization	5	6	11
Wage and price policies	*15*	*9*	*24*
General wage restraint policies	10	6	16
Wage guidelines in public sector	9	5	14
Producer price adjustments	7	3	10
Retail price adjustments	7	5	12

[1] The total number of programmes in 1980 were 30, of which 17 were standby arrangements and 13 were extended arrangements.

Source: Morris Goldstein, 'The Global Effect of Fund-supported Adjustment Programmes', Occasional Paper No.42, International Monetary Fund, March 1986.

Table 3.2
Types of Policy Measures Adopted in World Bank Structural Adjustment Loans, 1980–October 1986

Measure	Percentage of SALs[1] Subject to Conditions in this area
Trade Policy:	
Remove import quotas	57
Cut tariffs	24
Improve export incentives and institutional support	76
Resource mobilisation:	
Reform budget or taxes	70
Reform interest-rate policy	49
Strengthen management of external borrowing	49
Improve financial performance by public enterprise	73
Efficient use of resources:	
Revise priorities of public investment programme	59
Revise agricultural prices	73
Dissolve or reduce powers of state marketing boards	14
Reduce or eliminate some agricultural input subsidies	27
Revise energy prices	49
Introduce energy-conservation measures	35
Develop indigenous energy sources	24
Revise industry incentive system	68
Institutional reforms:	
Strengthen capacity to formulate and implement public investment programme	86
Increase efficiency of public enterprises	57
Improve support for agriculture [marketing, etc.]	57
Improve support for industry and subsectors [including price controls]	49

[1] Structural Adjustment Loans.

Source: Mosley, Paul, "Conditionality as a Bargaining Process: Structural-Adjustment Lending, 1980-86", *Essays in International Finance, Princeton University*, No. 168, October 1987, p. 5.

Table 3.3
Government Expenditure on Food Subsidies in Selected Countries

	Food subsidies as percentage of total government expenditure			Food subsidies as percentage of GDP		
	1980 per cent	Latest year available	per cent	1980 per cent	Latest year available	per cent
Bangladesh	5.8	1985	3.8	0.6	1985	0.6
Brazil	5.6	1985	1.7	0.5	1985	0.2
Colombia	0.1	1982	0.4	0.0	1982	0.0
Egypt	16.4	1984	15.6	7.2	1985	6.6
India	3.5	1985	2.2	0.5	1985	0.4
Mexico	3.7	1984	2.6	0.7	1984	0.6
Morocco	5.0	1985	7.9	1.8	1985	2.3
Pakistan	7.9	1985	4.1	1.4	1985	0.5
Sri Lanka	7.2	1985	2.8	3.1	1985	1.2
Zambia	2.8	1982	1.2	1.0	1982	0.4

Source: Pinstrup-Andersen, P. (ed.), 'Consumer-Oriented Food Subsidies: Costs, Benefits and Policy Options for Developing Countries', Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987; table reprinted in UNICEF (Cornia, Jolly and Stewart, eds.), 'Adjustment with a Human Face', Vol. 1, Oxford University Press, 1987.

Table 3.4
Countries with the most severe cuts in per capita GDP and Health and Education Expenditures[1]
(cumulative)

	Health	Education	GDP
Africa	1979–83	1979–83	1980–85
Ghana	−40.3[2]	−25.9[2]	−20.1
Sudan	−32.9	−42.4[2]	−12.3
Togo	−26.8	+13.9	−17.2
Malawi	−26.6[2]	+31.1[2]	− 4.9
Liberia	−24.9	− 2.4	−30.8
Mauritius	−23.9	−27.4	n.a.
Tunisia	−18.0[2]	−42.0[2]	+ 7.2
Latin America	1980–84	1979–83	1980–84
Bolivia	−77.7[3]	−45.6	−27.5
Guatemala	−58.3	n.a.	−14.8
Dominican Republic	−46.5	−15.4	+ 1.8
Surinam	−44.2[4]	n.a.	n.a.
El Salvador	−32.4	−28.7	−25.6
Chile	−23.8	+ 2.1[2]	− 6.7
Barbados	−21.3	n.a.	− 5.0
Jamaica	−18.5	−24.1[5]	− 5.6
Costa Rica	−16.5	−41.8[2]	−12.3
Honduras	−15.2	n.a.	−11.5
Argentina	−13.9	−24.4[2]	−13.9
Uruguay	−13.4	−22.3	−12.0
South and East Asia	1979–83	1979–83	1980–83
Sri Lanka	−33.9[2]	+ 4.9[2]	+ 7.7
Philippines	− 3.8[2]	+ 2.4[2]	− 7.9
Middle East			
Israel	−11.0[2]	− 1.2[2]	− 0.3
Jordan	− 9.0[2]	+ 9.5[2]	+ 4.0

[1] Countries for which data were available to UNICEF when preparing the report 'Adjustment with a Human Face'.
[2] 1979–1982
[3] 1980–1982
[4] 1980–1983
[5] 1980–1985

Source: Calculated from data in UNICEF (Cornia, Jolly and Stewart, eds.), 'Adjustment with a Human Face', Vol. 1, Oxford University Press, 1987.

Table 3.5
Countries with Fund/Bank Programmes[1] which have experienced Falling Ratios of Primary School Enrolment,[2] 1980–85
(percentages)

	Total				Female			
	1965	1980	1985	(Change) 1980–85	1965	1980	1985	(Change) 1980–85
Low-income[3]								
Ethiopia	11	43	36	−16.3	6	30	28	− 6.7
Nepal	20	91	79	−13.2	4	53	47	−11.3
Bangladesh	49	62	60	− 3.2	31	47	50	+ 6.4
Mali	24	27	23	−14.8	16	20	17	−15.0
Mozambique	37	93	84	− 9.7	26	79	74	− 6.3
Tanzania	32	104	72	−30.8	25	98	85	−13.3
Togo	55	116	95	−18.1	32	89	73	−18.0
Somalia	10	41	25	−39.0	4	29	18	−37.9
Rwanda	53	70	64	− 8.6	43	67	63	− 6.0
Kenya	54	108	94	−13.0	40	101	91	− 9.9
Sudan	29	51	49	− 3.9	21	43	41	− 4.7
Pakistan	40	57	47	−17.5	20	30	32	+ 6.7
Ghana	69	69	66	− 4.3	57	60	59	− 1.7
Guinea	31	33	30	− 9.1	19	22	19	−13.6
Lao PDR	40	96	91	− 5.2	30	88	79	−10 2
Vietnam	n.a.	116	100	−13.8	n.a.	109	94	−13.8
Middle-income[3]								
Yemen, PDR	23	72	66	− 8.3	10	51	35	−31.4
Philippines	113	110	106	− 3.6	111	108	106	− 1.9
Nigeria	32	98	92	− 6.1	24	n.a.	81	n.a.
El Salvador	82	74	70	− 5.4	79	74	70	−5.4
Colombia	84	128	117	− 8.6	86	130	119	− 8.5
Chile	124	117	109	− 6.8	122	116	106	− 8.6
Costa Rica	106	108	101	− 6.5	105	106	100	− 5.7
Jordan	95	108	99	− 8.3	83	n.a.	99	n.a.
Mexico	92	120	115	− 4.2	90	116	114	− 1.7
Portugal	84	118	112	− 5.1	83	116	119	+ 2.6
Yugoslavia	106	99	96	− 3.0	103	98	96	− 2.0
Panama	102	113	105	− 7.1	99	111	102	− 8.1
Argentina	101	116	108	− 6.9	102	116	108	− 6.9
Korea, Rep.	101	107	96	−10.3	99	96	105	+ 9.4
Romania	101	101	98	− 3.0	100	101	97	− 4.0

[1] Countries which had either IMF or World Bank (structural or sector) adjustment programmes anytime during 1981–1985.

[2] Enrolment ratio is taken as the total number of children enrolled at a primary schooling level (whether or not they belong to the relevant age group for that level) as a percentage of the total number of children in the relevant age group for that level.

[3] Low-income countries are those whose 1986 per capita income was $425 or less, and middle-income countries are those with per capita income above $425. Countries are listed in ascending order of income per capita except where data on income per capita is not available in which they are listed at the end of the relevant list of low-income and middle-income countries.

Source: World Bank, World Development Reports (several issues).

Table 3.6
Countries with Fund/Bank Programmes[1] which have experienced Increasing Rates of Infant or Child Mortality,[2] 1980–85

	Infant Mortality (child under 1)				Child Mortality (child under 5)			
	1965	1980	1985	Per cent change 1980–85	1965	1980	1985	Per cent change 1980–85
Low-income[3]								
Ethiopia	165	146	168	+ 15.1	37	32	38	+18.8
Mali	200	154	174	+ 13.0	47	34	43	+26.5
Madagascar	n.a.	71	109	+ 53.5	18	11	21	+90.9
Uganda	121	97	108	+ 11.3	26	18	21	+16.7
Tanzania	138	103	110	+ 6.8	29	19	22	+15.8
Somalia	165	146	152	+ 4.1	37	32	33	+ 3.1
Kenya	112	87	91	+ 4.6	25	15	16	+ 6.7
Haiti	158	115	123	+ 7.0	37	18	22	+22.2
Middle-income[3]								
Indonesia	138	93	96	+ 3.2	20	11	12	+ 9.1
Philippines	72	14	48	+242.9	11	4	4	-
Zimbabwe	103	74	77	+ 4.1	15	12	7	−41.7
Jamaica	49	16	20	+ 25.0	4	(.)	1	n.a.
Peru	131	88	94	+ 6.8	24	9	11	+22.2
Panama	56	22	25	+ 13.6	4	1	1	-

[1] As in Footnote 1, Table 3.5
[2] Annual number of deaths per thousand live births.
[3] As in Footnote 3, Table 3.5.

Source: World Bank, World Development Reports (several issues).

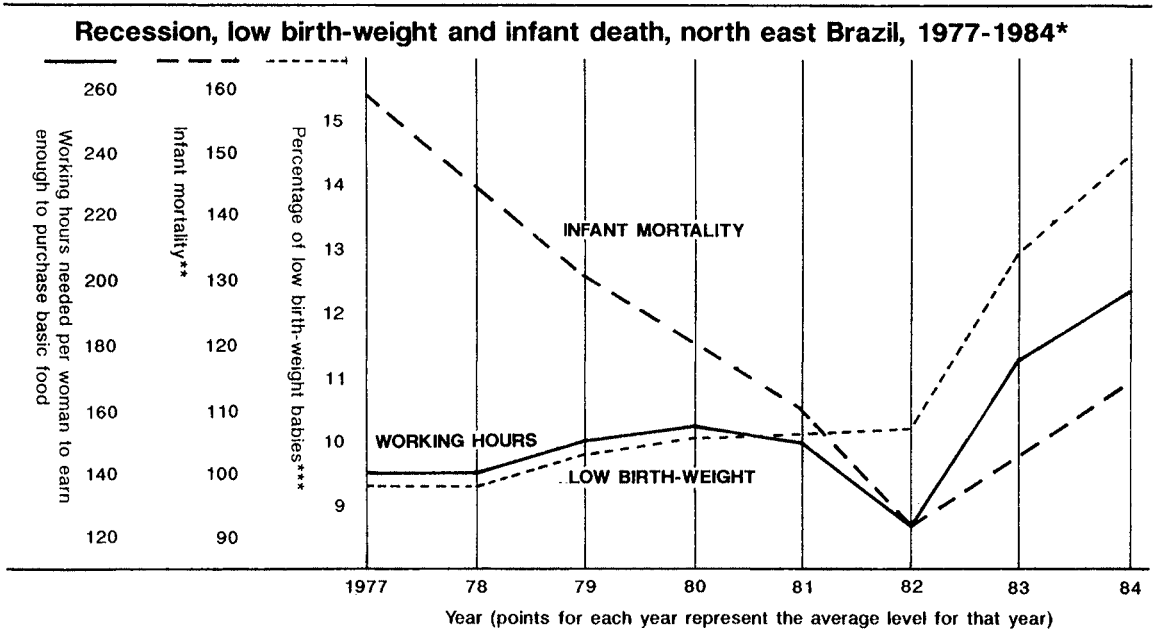
Table 3.7
Countries with Fund/Bank Programmes[1] which have experienced a Deterioration in Female Nutrition or Health

	Female life expectancy[2]				Daily calorie supply per capita[3]				Maternal mortality[4]	% of low-birth-weight babies[5]
	1965	1982	1985	Per cent change 1982–85	1965	1980	1985	Per cent change 1980–85	1980–87	1982–87
Countries experiencing a decline in life expectancy, 1982–1985										
Ethiopia	43	49	47	− 4.1	1,832	1,735	1,704	− 1.8	n.a.	n.a.
Ghana	49	57	55	− 3.5	1,949	1,964	1,785	− 9.1	1,070	17
Kenya	50	59	56	− 5.1	2,287	2,078	2,214	+ 6.5	170	13
Liberia	46	56	52	− 7.1	2,155	2,390	2,373	− 0.7	n.a.	n.a.
Niger	39	47	45	− 4.3	1,996	2,327	2,276	− 2.2	420	20
Philippines	57	66	65	− 1.5	1,936	2,275	2,260	− 0.7	80	18
Countries experiencing a decline in calorie supply only during 1980–1985										
Argentina	69	73	74	+ 1.4	3,209	3,494	3,216	− 8.0	85	6
Bangladesh	44	49	51	+ 4.1	1.964	1,960	1,804	− 8.0	600	31
Chile	63	72	74	+ 2.8	2,591	2,790	2,544	− 8.8	55	7
Cote d'Ivoire	44	49	55	+ 12.2	2,357	2,746	2,308	− 16.0	n.a.	14
Ecuador	57	65	68	+ 4.6	1,942	2,181	2,005	− 8.1	220	10
Guinea	36	38	41	+ 7.9	1,899	2,071	1,731	− 16.4	n.a.	18
Jamaica	67	75	76	+ 1.3	2,232	2,624	2,578	− 1.8	100	8
Korea, Rep. of	58	71	72	+ 1.4	2,255	2,957	2,806	− 5.1	34	9
Madagascar	45	50	54	+ 8.0	2,486	2,466	2,452	− 0.6	300	10
Mali	39	47	48	+ 2.1	1,860	1,871	1,810	− 3.3	n.a.	17
Nigeria	43	52	52	−	2,185	2,595	2,139	− 17.6	1,500	25
Pakistan	44	49	50	+ 2.0	1,747	2,184	2,180	− 0.2	600	25
Rwanda	51	48	49	+ 2.1	1,665	2,364	1,935	− 18.1	210	17
Sierra Leone	34	38	40	+ 5.3	1,836	2,053	1,784	− 13.1	450	14
Sudan	41	49	50	+ 2.0	1,874	2,447	2,168	− 11.4	n.a.	15
Uruguay	72	75	75	−	2,811	2,896	2,791	− 3.6	56	8
Yugoslavia	68	74	75	+ 1.4	3,287	3,565	3,499	− 1.9	27	7
Zaire	45	52	53	+ 1.9	2,188	2,180	2,151	− 1.3	800	n.a.

[1] As in Footnote 1, Table 3.5.
[2] The number of years new born female children would live if subject to the mortality risks prevailing for the cross section of population at the time of their birth.
[3] Daily calorie supply per capita is calculated by dividing the calorie equivalent of the food supplies in the economy (domestic production plus net imports and changes in stocks) by a population as a whole; this therefore provides only an indirect measure of the change in women's nutrition.
[4] Annual number of deaths of women from pregnancy-related causes per 100,000 live births.
[5] 2,500 grammes or less.

Sources: World Bank, World Development Reports (several issues) and UNICEF, The State of the World's Children, 1989.

Chart 3.1



Notes: * Population covered=38 million in 1984.
** Infant mortality=deaths before the age of one per 1,000 live births.
*** Low birth-weight=below 2,500 grammes.

Source: R A Becker, A Lechtig, 'Brazil: Evolucao da Mortalidade Infantil no perido 1977-84', Ministry of Health, Documentation Centre, Brasilia, DF, Brazil, 1986.

Chapter Four

So Little Action

4.1 Developments in the 1980s have been associated with very adverse changes for women in many parts of the world. Yet, as we have shown earlier, the typical stabilisation and adjustment programmes have **not** protected the position of women: indeed they have frequently been responsible for many of the difficulties women have faced. There is now growing consciousness of the need for special measures to protect poor and vulnerable groups during adjustment, although little action has been taken so far. But while some of the measures taken have benefited women, this has usually been incidental, and very few of them have been specifically directed at women. In this Chapter we review measures taken to incorporate women's concerns in the process of adjustment.

4.2 To do so, we asked the Commonwealth Secretariat to draw up two questionnaires—one for governments of Commonwealth countries and the other for external agencies—enquiring about various aspects concerning structural adjustment and women (see para. 4.14). However, we were struck not only by the number of governments which did not respond (three-quarters of those to whom the Secretariat wrote), which suggests that few of those receiving the request considered the issue to be of sufficient importance to warrant a reply, but also at the proportion of the respondents who considered there to be no particular problem and therefore that no special attention was needed. In this context, while we show below that most governments now have "women's" units, bureaux, departments or even ministries, it appears that few if any of these institutions are in a position to influence structural adjustment policies and programmes in a decisive way.

4.3 As for the IMF and the World Bank—the two key international institutions in the design of structural adjustment programmes—our

findings were similarly pessimistic. One of them appears almost to ignore the subject of women and structural adjustment, at least in terms of substantive operational considerations; the other, while having a Division dealing with the broader issues of women-in-development, does not give it much direct operational role. Other international organisations give more substantive treatment to issues connected with structural adjustment and women, but have less financial 'clout' in influencing the way in which the policies and programmes are formulated and implemented.

I. GROWING AWARENESS OF THE SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF ADJUSTMENT

4.4 Until very recently most policy-makers, both in governments and in the international agencies, neglected the social dimensions of adjustment—the impact of the programmes on health, education and nutrition, especially for the poorer groups, and on income distribution and poverty. However, recently there has been growing awareness of these dimensions. Much of the pioneering work was done by UNICEF, whose studies, culminating in the launching of "Adjustment With a Human Face", did a lot to highlight the problems. Other studies have been conducted on the effects of adjustment on income distribution and standards of living. They generally indicate a marked deterioration in those sectors of particular significance to the poor. These studies pointed not only to severe social effects in the short term but also to important consequences for development in the long term. The current worldwide concern about the adverse effects of adjustment policies is reflected in many public statements on the need for remedial action. However, the new awareness has not included explicit recognition of the special concerns of women during adjustment.

Developing Country Governments

4.5 In the last few years, some governments of developing countries, often supported by the World Bank and other agencies, have taken action at several levels. Some have sought to maintain or even increase expenditure on key sectors which benefit the poor—particularly primary health care, primary education, nutrition, rural water supply and basic welfare services. Public expenditure reviews have aimed to provide better budgetary allocations for recurrent expenditures in health and education sectors, for example in Ghana, and for social services including the basic needs of the poor, as in Kenya. Emphases have changed, as in Jamaica where increased attention has been given to basic literacy programmes, and in some cases, as in The Gambia, social programmes have sought not only to protect basic health and education expenditures but to expand them in semi-urban and rural areas. Food aid programmes

have been common, and The Gambia, Zimbabwe and Mauritania, for example, have started food-for-work schemes.

4.6 A number of governments have introduced compensatory measures to relieve the burdens of retrenched workers, especially in the public sector. These range from severance payments for laid-off workers and bonuses for voluntary departures (in Guinea), to job counselling, retraining and self-employment schemes (in The Gambia). Land reforms, resettlement schemes and special credit opportunities have also been introduced by several governments, including Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Jamaica, to ensure the participation of the poor in the growth process.

4.7 A few governments have developed comprehensive poverty-related programmes to complement structural adjustment. For example, the Bolivian Emergency Social Fund, set up with assistance from the World Bank and others, finances small-scale employment and income-generating schemes and also provides financial support for social services, social and economic infrastructure, and production facilities. The Social Well-Being Programme in Jamaica is a comprehensive scheme, covering education, health, nutrition, housing, water, sewage and labour-intensive public works. The scheme is costly (its 1989/90–1992/93 budget is US$1.3 billion), and its full implementation will depend on increased financial flows resulting from adjustment and a hoped-for expansion in external resources. Ghana's PAMSCAD is frequently cited as a model programme for mitigating the social costs of adjustment (see Box 4.1), but even this programme hardly mentions women.

4.8 As most of these programmes are fairly recent, a full assessment of their effects will have to wait. Their major elements are directed towards the poor (with a focus, for example, on primary health care and education, and on food-for-work). But they cover only a few countries, are not yet being given the resources and priority they deserve, and in terms of implementation have often fallen seriously below plans and expectations. Moreover, since many of the measures have been responsive rather than anticipatory, they still seem to be given a secondary role and to have too much of a compensatory or mitigating character rather than an avoiding one. There has been no attempt to redesign the structural adjustment policies themselves to reduce their harsher effects for vulnerable groups.

External Agencies

4.9 The IMF and the World Bank have now become more aware of the human costs of adjustment. The IMF has recently modified a few programmes to moderate their impact on the most vulnerable. For example, in reducing subsidies, SAF and ESAF programmes have tried

Box 4.1. Ghana's PAMSCAD

Ghana's programme of actions to mitigate the social costs of adjustment (PAMSCAD) emerged in 1988, five years after it had begun an Economic Recovery Programme initiated with support from the IMF and the World Bank, and was a response to the adverse impact of adjustment on poor and vulnerable groups "in the short-run". The target groups of PAMSCAD include the urban poor, small farmers (mainly in the Northern and Upper Regions) and retrenched workers.

Initial pledges by donor agencies and governments in support of the Programme amounted to $85 million. The PAMSCAD Secretariat is now assessing community initiative projects planned by district assemblies and the Government has allocated 850 million cedis and $5 million for implementing these projects, which cover the following:

—labour-intensive public works. A two-year programme of priority urban works has been started to provide employment and improve economic and social infrastructure;
—self-help. Around 1000 community projects are underway, covering health, education, housing and sanitation;
—agricultural resettlement. Some 9,600 redeployed persons are being given either public farmland or credit to purchase family farmland;
—food aid. About 18,000 students in 236 boarding schools are benefiting from balanced food packages;
—infrastructure rehabilitation. Secondary school buildings, water and sanitation facilities are benefiting from this programme;
—credit for small-scale entrepreneurs. In 1989 some 850 million cedis are being channelled into credit lines administered by local banks;
—grants to women's groups. Some 50 women's cooperatives are participating in the programme which will provide grants enabling women to undertake small-scale income-generating activities;
—hand-dug wells and low-cost sanitation. Training and construction by participating communities has begun;
—small-scale mining. This has been legalised and the registration of small-scale miners is underway; and
—non-formal education. Some 59 adult literacy centres are to be established.

To achieve the programme's objectives the Government has also developed a *Project for Institutional Strengthening of the Decentralised Implementation of Social Sector Programmes.* This would

strengthen district-level planning. At its core, is a proposal to activate and mobilise ten mobile district planning teams who would provide technical assistance and follow-up for the community initiative projects proposed under PAMSCAD; provide short-term training to district staff in community participation skills; and supply implementation and monitoring services. A government social sector task force is also to be strengthened under PAMSCAD. The Programme needs speedy implementation.

to protect the poorest sections of the population. Together with the World Bank, the Fund has accepted the need to assist countries to assess the policy impact on these groups and it includes in SAF/ESAF Policy Framework Papers a section on the social impact of adjustment programmes over the medium term.

4.10 The World Bank has established a Task Force on Poverty Alleviation. The Bank classifies direct victims of stabilisation or structural adjustment either as the "new" poor, who include, for example, retrenched civil servants and employees laid off because of austerity measures or shifts in production; or the "borderline" poor, who include the old, children, lactating and pregnant women, the landless, poor farmers, and other vulnerable groups hurt by cutbacks in social programmes or by changes in relative prices. It has started to support countries taking special measures to counter some of the adverse effects on these groups. Measures include reorienting government expenditures in the social sectors, especially primary education and health care; introducing compensatory transition arrangements such as severance payments, retraining, resettlement and credit schemes for laid-off public and private sector workers; implementing food for work schemes; and bringing in schemes to facilitate the participation of the poor in the development process, e.g. through specific interventions in relation to access to credit and extension, ownership of land, etc. The Bank, together with the African Development Bank, UNDP and others, is also executing the Social Dimensions of Adjustment (SDA) Project in Sub-Saharan Africa to collect data on the socio-economic impact of policy changes and so help countries strengthen their capacity to design adjustment programmes that will safeguard the living standards of vulnerable groups.

4.11 In recent years other United Nations agencies have also been working to improve awareness of the social costs of adjustment and provide support where appropriate. UNICEF, apart from playing an important role in persuading countries to adopt measures to benefit vulnerable groups, operates, together with FAO and WHO, the Inter-agency Food and Nutrition Surveillance Programme for developing

countries. UNDP, in addition to a growing role in assisting governments to implement structural adjustment, has recently helped a number of countries to devise compensatory programmes. FAO, IFAD, WFC, WFP, ILO, the UN regional economic commissions, the Commonwealth Secretariat and the regional development banks are among those that have also taken action, within their areas of competence, to assist those adversely affected by adjustment and to help improve the effectiveness of the programmes themselves.

4.12 Bilateral aid agencies in developed countries have also been increasing support for poverty related interventions in adjustment programmes. For example, USAID is providing funding for the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) and is supporting various programmes in that country which relate to nutrition, health and maternal care, food-for-work and rural development. Some bilateral agencies including the UK's Overseas Development Administration are also supporting the Bank's SDA project.

4.13 International non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have also started paying attention to the adverse impact on the poor of the economic crisis. They have been supporting schemes, inter alia, for primary healthcare, nutrition (including direct feeding), housing and employment generation, often in collaboration with official international agencies, whose activities they have complemented, especially in areas where small-scale interventions by these NGOs are more effective.

II. THE RECORD ON ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES AND WOMEN

4.14 In our questionnaire to them, Commonwealth governments were asked what special attention, if any, they had given to women in undertaking structural adjustment programmes/measures; whether, if no such attention had been given, the possibility of doing so had ever been raised; in what ways they thought women have been affected by structural adjustment; what evidence there is of these effects; in what respects they thought their actions might be modified so as to improve women's opportunities to undertake their roles more beneficially; and how women could best help them to achieve their structural adjustment objectives. Selected external agencies were asked for any information they had on these issues*.

*The full text of the two questionnaires is set out in Annex 2.

4.15 Replies were received from twelve Commonwealth governments and eleven external agencies*. Much of the information supplied related to the poverty alleviation measures adopted which have had certain, though incidental, beneficial effects on women; few references were made to actions targeted specifically towards women. This, we believe, is symptomatic of the attitudes of many governments and external agencies which usually treat the impact of structural adjustment on women as merely a sub-set of the poverty problem, thus ignoring the important gender aspects of adjustment and development. In compiling our Report, we have therefore relied not only on the responses to the questionnaires, but also on the case studies and on other sources available to us.

Developing Country Governments

4.16 Governments in developing countries have targeted interventions at the poor, but it is by no means obvious that these always reach poor women. To overcome this problem, a few governments have specifically targeted action at particular categories of women. For example special health schemes and supplementary feeding arrangements have been introduced for pregnant and lactating women (as in Jamaica) or have been directed at rural women in exchange for work (as in Bangladesh). But underfunding and other factors have often adversely affected the operation of these programmes.

4.17 Women have been active participants in more general schemes to expand employment and self-employment, launched, for example, in Botswana, Chile and Peru for those affected by public sector retrenchment and other aspects of adjustment. However, the special needs of women have not usually been taken fully into account in planning these schemes.

4.18 Some countries have instituted education and training programmes which have been of particular benefit to women. An example is Jamaica's Human Employment and Resources Training Programme (HEART). Women's participation in these programmes has, however, been limited by the lack of arrangements made to enable them to cope with their multiple roles.

4.19 Certain countries have also developed special schemes to promote the participation of poor women in the process of economic growth and development by providing them with productive resources and other means to increase their productivity. For example, in India, one per

*Governments of Britain, Canada, Cyprus, Dominica, Jamaica, Malaysia, Malta, New Zealand, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tonga and Vanuatu. The following agencies: Asian Development Bank, Caricom Secretariat, ECLAC, ESCAP, IFAD, IMF, INSTRAW, UNDP, UNICEF, WFC and World Bank.

cent of loans from commercial banks are reserved for women borrowers; in The Gambia a Women's Finance Company has been established to improve women's access to credit and business management (see Box 4.2); and in Uganda the Commercial Bank's Rural Farmers' Scheme (launched in July 1987) extends loans at concessionary rates of interest to a sector dominated by women. But many women remain outside such schemes due to limitations of resources and their poor bargaining power.

Women's Groups

4.20 Women's groups in developing countries have been particularly active in trying to protect poor and vulnerable women and harness their productive potential. Besides joint purchases of commodities and setting up of soup kitchens, these groups are taking action to enable more women to work outside the home. In Latin America, for example, various '*clubs de madres*' have set up childcare centres which are managed by mothers in weekly rotation.

4.21 Women's groups have also been active in forming savings clubs, formal credit unions and co-operatives. Some groups have multiple purposes. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India, for example, has instituted a credit scheme for its members, helped set up women producers' co-operatives, provided training courses in a wide range of skills, and sought to solve some urgent social problems through a maternal protection scheme, widowhood benefits, childcare and training of midwives. Formal banking institutions and micro-enterprise credit programmes have also been set up in which women play a large role (as in the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the PROGRESO programme operated by Accion Communitaria del Peru in Lima, and the ADEMI scheme run by the Association for the Development of Micro-enterprises in the Dominican Republic). Governments, too, have been working through women's groups to help raise productivity. The governments of Kenya and Malawi, for example, have been experimenting with women's groups in the provision of agricultural extension services.

Developed Country Perspectives

4.22 Much structural change is taking place in the developed market economy countries as a result of changes in technologies and other production factors, in comparative advantage and consumer 'tastes', and in some cases as a result of privatisation. Although there have been no recent examples of IMF/World Bank-instituted structural adjustment programmes, women have been affected by these developments at least as much as men and in some sectors, much more so. Many who have been particularly affected by the downturn in traditional labour-intensive industries have also experienced difficulties in securing equitable access

Box 4.2. Improving Women's Access to Credit and Business Management

In The Gambia, women constitute the backbone of food and small-scale industrial production and yet their capacity to improve the productivity of their labour is severely handicapped by lack of access to basic business management skills and to credit. Institutional finance reaches Gambian women principally through their husbands, who normally add their own interest spread to the banks'. Women borrowers are generally poorly represented among the clients of Government-supported lending institutions, such as the Indigenous Business Advisory Service and the Gambia Commercial and Development Bank. Informal sources of credit range from family and friends to multi-functional village organisations ('kafo' groups) or local-level revolving savings, credit associations ('osusu'), and private lenders. Informal lending rates range from zero to several hundred percent, or even higher. However, formal commercial banking institutions will not lend to women as long as they lack collateral and the necessary skills to present bankable business proposals.

In recognition of this, the Gambia Women's Finance Company (GWFC) was set up in January 1988 to facilitate women's entrepreneurship. The GWFC is a private, professionally-managed credit programme, which is able to draw on formal institutional structures to supply credit. It also provides individual/group business training, and carries out project analysis and monitoring of follow-up phases.

Because of financial constraints, GWFC is initially concentrating on women in urban and semi-urban areas. The scheme operates through local banks by guaranteeing 75 per cent of loans, with the bank accepting the remaining 25 per cent as its own risk. Because of the guarantee, the bank charges the lender the lowest interest rate available (23.6 per cent p.a. in early 1989). GWFC is currently financed by members' contributions of D.49,000 (US$7,000) to provide initial bank loans of D196,000 (US$28,000). It also hopes to obtain national and external concessionary finance. The World Bank has already provided a $40,000 grant for vehicles and equipment and the services of a banking consultant. Although the high cost of administration prevents the programme being operationally profitable, it is a vital tool linking women with financial institutions.

(Source: The Gambia Women's Finance Company, Draft Business Plan 1989–91, April 1989.)

to retraining or new job opportunities due to continuing discrimination or lower expectations or special problems such as family commitments. Some of the actions which governments and others in the developed countries of the Commonwealth have taken in response to these changes are set out below as an indication of the types of measures which other governments might wish to consider in the future evolution of their own strategies for structural adjustment.

4.23 Developed countries have a wide social security safety net which in many ways cushions the impact of structural change on women's roles as mothers and home managers. Being generally among the lower paid workers, women benefit from such measures as the Guaranteed Minimum Family Income Scheme in New Zealand, the family assistance paid to mothers of low income families in Australia, and the child benefit paid directly to all mothers in Britain (although the value of this benefit is being gradually eroded by inflation).

4.24 Equality in education and employment opportunities, as well as equal pay for work of equal value, is provided for in principle in many countries but exists in reality in rather few. A number of governments (e.g. Australia and Canada) have affirmative action legislation to encourage employers to provide equal opportunities for workers irrespective of gender.

4.25 Some governments have also embarked on special schemes directed at retrenched women. In Australia, a retraining and re-employment package has been introduced to meet the needs of married (and migrant) workers in the textiles, clothing and footwear industries (see Box 4.3). In Canada, the Canadian Jobs Strategy was introduced in 1985 inter alia to facilitate the reintegration of women into the labour force; reforms have also been made to pension arrangements, which will boost women's incomes after retirement (see Box 4.4).

4.26 Several governments, for example of Britain and Australia, have initiated schemes to encourage more women to pursue non-traditional careers in industry, particularly in management,engineering and information technology.

4.27 Some governments have also recognised that additional measures are needed if the conflicts between women's work and home responsibilities are to be avoided. In Australia, the Government has already provided nearly 100,000 subsidised childcare places and is committed to creating another 30,000 during 1989–91; it is also to give tax incentives to employers providing childcare facilities in or near the place of employment. Under the Prices and Incomes Accord, other measures

Box 4.3. Government Retraining Assistance

In August 1988 Joan Millmore was retrenched when the shirt factory where she worked in Australia was closed down. "When the factory went broke," says Mrs.Millmore "the union sent some people to tell us what was happening." "The union got us some retrenchment pay—it was worked out on how many years you had worked there, and I had worked there for four years. They told us to go to the nearest CES [Commonwealth Employment Service] Office and register for a job. They also told us that if we wanted to retrain for some other kind of job we might be able to get some help to do that."

"I applied for a few jobs, but I couldn't get anything," she says. "There is very high unemployment out this way and there are about 80 people applying for every job that's advertised."

When she could not get a job, Mrs.Millmore thought about the retraining option and decided she would retrain as a secretary. In March 1989, she enrolled for a one year full-time secretarial course at the local technical school. The Australian Government, through the CES, pays her fees, books and an allowance of $A100 a week while she does the course. The assistance to Mrs.Millmore is part of a package agreed under the Textile, Clothing and Footwear (TCF) Plan, introduced by the Government in 1986 to help the highly protected and declining industry to restructure and compete internationally. To qualify for the retraining assistance, workers must have spent at least two years in a TCF factory before being retrenched. Retrenched workers can also get money to help move house if they find a job in another area.

Mrs. Millmore is one of the few people in the industry who has taken up the retraining option. Most employees in the TCF industry are immigrants who speak little English. They prefer to look for another factory job than to retrain, partly because they need the money, and partly because of their limited English. English language courses are also offered as part of the retraining option, but not many workers can afford to choose to retrain rather than getting another job on full time pay if one is available.

(Extract from interview with retrenched worker.)

Box 4.4. Canada's Programme to Mitigate Social Costs

The Federal Government in Canada has introduced several programmes and measures to mitigate the social costs of structural adjustment. These include the Canadian Jobs Strategy, and Pension Reform measures.

Canadian Jobs Strategy

In June 1986, the Minister of Employment and Immigration announced the creation of the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS)—a global strategy comprised of six programmes designed to assist the most disadvantaged persons in the work force and the evolution of economic conditions. Two of these programmes affect women in particular: the Job Entry Programme aimed at facilitating the integration of youth and the reintegration of women into the labour force by combining classroom training, practical on-site training, and work experience; and the Skill Investment Programme which is designed to assist male or female workers whose jobs are threatened by technological change or the economic situation. The overall participation rate for women in CJS programmes in 1986–87 was 42.5 per cent.

A preliminary analysis of the effectiveness of these programmes as a whole showed that, in 1987, 60.3 per cent of the women who participated in the CJS were either employed or participating in further CJS programmes, and 74.7 per cent were using the skills acquired during their training. In both situations, these data were collected three months after the completion of the CJS programme.

Efforts are being made to offer these programmes to women living in rural as well as urban areas.

Pension Reform

Generally speaking, before the Federal Government undertook pension reform, private and public pension plans did not guarantee sufficient retirement income for a large proportion of beneficiaries, especially women.

In 1986, the Federal Government made major improvements to private and public pension plans under its jurisdiction. Private pension schemes offered by firms under federal jurisdiction now cover many employees working part-time, and are required to offer survivors benefits equal to at least 60 per cent of those of the deceased spouse. Such schemes must also permit pension credit-sharing and division of pension rights when marriage breakdown

occurs, and they must offer equal pension benefits to men and women who retire under identical circumstances.

The Canada Pension Plan (the public retirement insurance plan) is putting forward new regulations concerning the division of credits in cases of marriage breakdown and the division of retirement pensions. This new plan allows for flexibility in the age of retirement (between 60 and 70 years of age) and improves disability benefits.

Since these changes have been introduced only recently, no proper analysis of their impact on Canadian women can yet be made. However, there is reason to believe that, in the medium term, these changes will have a positive effect on women's retirement incomes and, as a result, will favour women's increased economic independence.

have been drawn up to assist women (see Box 4.5). In the United States the provision of government incentives for childcare facilities is being debated in the Congress. In Britain, on the other hand, the Government has done little to enable working women to cope with their other responsibilities, and when a number of private employers provided child creche facilities, it made such benefits taxable.

4.28 Many governments have set up ministries or departments to help women to integrate fully into the mainstream of the economy and society. Some of them appear well placed to influence the decision-making process. For instance, in Australia (as in some developing countries such as Malaysia) the relevant organ—the Office of the Status of Women (the Secretariat for Women's Affairs in Malaysia)—is in the Prime Minister's Department. This enables it not only to monitor the impact on women of budgetary and other Cabinet policy proposals but also to influence policy. The Australian Government decided in 1984 that all Departments should have women's units, consultative committees or similar mechanisms to ensure that programmes and activities have a positive impact on women. Canada has taken similar measures and Status of Women Canada, a government department, reviews all federal legislation, policies and programmes to determine their impact on women. Machinery exists in many other countries (including developing countries) but it usually consists of only a small unit whose involvement is often of an advisory nature and limited to matters concerning welfare services or community development rather than major economic issues such as structural adjustment. In Britain, for example, there is a Women's National Commission which though centrally placed in the Cabinet Office, has only an advisory function.

Box 4.5. Structural Adjustment and Women: The Australian Experience

In the 1980s Australia has faced economic problems similar to those in many developing countries, including high inflation, rising unemployment, low growth and a balance of payments crisis. The way in which these problems have been tackled has been different from normal, however, mainly because of a unique partnership between the Government and the trade union movement. Measures to assist women have also been built into the Government's economic strategy.

Since the Labour Government was elected in 1983 the key to its approach to economic management has been the Prices and Incomes Accord agreed with the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)—the body which the Prime Minister had headed before entering parliament. The Accord is a cooperative approach to economic management through which the trade unions have delivered wage restraint and a guaranteed wage outcome year by year, in exchange for lower inflation, higher economic growth, more jobs, greater social security benefits, and some income redistribution. There have been few industrial disputes, and close consultation and cooperation between both parties.

Although there have been dramatic improvements in most areas of the economy, in mid-1989 the trade imbalance was still critical. Strong economic growth had led to an escalation in imports, partly as a result of re-equipping manufacturing industry. The Government met this by allowing interest rates to rise sharply in order to dampen demand. As part of The Accord the trade unions in 1989 entered into a new wage fixing system under which wage increases became dependent on job restructuring and an end to job demarcations, boosting skill training and productivity, in order to revitalise the ailing manufacturing sector.

Under The Accord, measures to assist women include a massive increase in jobs and in government-subsidised child-care places, more assistance to low income families with children (paid to the mother), a wage boost to women workers who have been traditionally underpaid (e.g. nurses, child-care workers, clothing workers), national legislation to combat sex discrimination, affirmative action programmes for women workers, legal protection for home-workers in the clothing industry (to give them the same wages and conditions as factory workers), a programme to extend superannuation coverage to all workers, the extension of parental leave (already available to mothers) to fathers, and a programme to move female sole parents out of welfare and into paid employment.

External Agencies

4.29 Regarding the attitude of the two major international financial institutions towards women and adjustment, we felt it noteworthy that in a recent paper for the Development Committee[1], the IMF staff did not once mention the particular problems of women; and neither it nor the Bank even hinted at the loss of income and output caused by the constraints in harnessing women's productive potential. The IMF's omission is perhaps less surprising in view of its reply to our questionnaire, which included the remark that "the Fund does not compile information [i.e sex-disaggregated data] that would be useful to you".

4.30 The World Bank seems now to have adopted a more operational approach towards Women-in-Development (WID) issues but is constrained by funding limitations and the small number of its operations staff who possess WID experience. Moreover, we can find little evidence of attention being given to the specific impacts of structural adjustment on women, especially as producers. For example, in the above-mentioned paper, the staff of the Bank restricted their comments on this to a single line in a short section on adjustment problems and social welfare. In its response to our questionnaire, the Bank commented that those elements in its loans directed towards reducing the social costs of adjustment focused on women largely in their role as reproducers and child-rearers rather than as producers. We also noted that, perhaps symptomatically, the Women-in-Development Division, though having made several pertinent proposals on how to modify adjustment programmes so as to improve opportunities for women, has no direct operational responsibility of significance within the Bank.

4.31 Among other UN agencies, UNICEF reports that its representatives have encouraged governments to give special attention to mothers during adjustment, especially in health, sanitation, nutrition and education. Some of its recent studies have focused on the impact of adjustment on women, and it continues to monitor this in a number of countries. It has, however, rarely had the opportunity to discuss this matter with Ministries of Finance or of Economic Planning, which almost invariably make the final decisions on the composition of adjustment programmes. UNDP now instructs its resident representatives to play an advocacy role in WID but stated that it was not aware of any special efforts or achievements by its Field Officers as regards structural adjustment and women. Nor has UNICEF, itself, undertaken any empirical studies on the issue. FAO and IFAD are assisting rural women and the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, in collaboration with the UN Statistical Office, is building up gender-disaggregated data bases and developing methodological approaches for monitoring and evaluating women's role in development.

4.32 Some bilateral aid agencies, such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the UK's Overseas Development Administration, have also supported the involvement of women in decision-making on and implementation of development policies in developing countries. CIDA has been unusual in translating this common nominal commitment into action, through detailed administrative mechanisms (see Box 4.6).

4.33 Many international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have given attention to the problems of women, including collecting data and monitoring their conditions in countries undergoing adjustment. They have also participated in activities to support women and disadvantaged groups, as in Bolivia where OXFAM and others are helping people affected by the collapse of the tin mining industry. In addition, NGOs have supported nutrition programmes for women and children as well as special schemes for childcare which enable women to work outside the home. But lack of resources has limited their ability to reach more women in need.

III. CONCLUSION

4.34 It is apparent from the brief survey above that the picture is not entirely bleak. We have identified a few actions connected with structural adjustment, and more concerned with development, from which women in certain countries have benefited, though more often incidentally than by design. But **much more needs to be done.** The fact is that the impact of structural adjustment on women *per se* has received almost no attention by policymakers. Gender implications were not explicitly considered when the policies and programmes were drawn up. And the compensatory schemes which have been introduced in a few countries have generally been too little and too late. They have not prevented set-backs in crucial areas such as support for childcare, the involvement of women in education and training, and the provision of credit, extension and other support services for women in their role as producers.

4.35 The development and distributional implications of adjustment programmes require much greater attention by governments and the international financial institutions. It is vital that they redesign policies so as to minimise the adverse impact these can have on women and maximise the realisation of women's productive potential. This calls for practical recognition of women's multiple roles and for the removal of impediments to women taking advantage of the opportunities which some of the measures have created. New policies and programmes are necessary. In the next Chapter we suggest some of the elements we believe should be included.

Box 4.6. From Policy to Action: Institutionalising a Strategy in Canada

The concept of Women-in-Development was introduced by development agencies in the late 1970s, but translating it into action proved elusive. In the early 1980s the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) decided that radical action was needed to make the concept a reality, and embarked on a programme which eventually involved the whole agency.

First, in 1984 a "Policy Framework and Implementation Strategy for Women-in-Development" was approved, setting out the overall goal, seven policy objectives aimed at ensuring that Third World women are included as agents and beneficiaries of the development process, and nine key operational objectives designed to ensure that CIDA's programmes and activities helped to integrate women into the process. The next step was an agency-wide analysis designed to ensure that the goals would not be overlooked either through ignorance or systemic discrimination. A Steering Committee mandated by the President's Committee and chaired by the Vice President, Policy Branch, brought together representatives of senior and operations staff from all parts of the Agency.

No-one was allowed to say "WID doesn't affect my area". The Committee examined programmes and support services, consultancies and finances, NGOs and multilateral agencies. It put together a Plan of Action for 1986/87–1990/91 which provided for staff training, country strategies, affirmative action for consultancies, and performance appraisal. The Committee continues to meet regularly and presents an annual report to the President's Committee outlining progress and recommending further action.

The success of the Plan of Action derives from the fact that it was not imposed from outside but was designed by the very people who would implement it. Now country programme reviews and new projects must include the WID element, fully elaborated, if they are to be approved; field missions have to include the element in their discussions with host country Ministries. There is a new awareness among CIDA staff—especially (largely male) project officers—that development cannot occur without women, and a commitment to take WID into account in CIDA staff appraisals.

These key elements were all put in place by those who had to make the concept work. This, plus an absolute commitment from top management (the CIDA President is a woman), along with a favourable external environment (government departments were at the time applying affirmative action regulations), made it possible to turn the words of a policy into a real action programme.

Reference

1. "Problems and Issues in Structural Adjustment"; background papers by the staff of the IMF and IBRD for the meeting of the Development Committee, Washington D.C., April 1989.

Chapter Five

Strategy For Change

I. INTRODUCTION AND GUIDING PRINCIPLES

5.1 What is needed for the future emerges clearly from what has gone wrong in the past decade. As shown in Chapter 1, rapid economic and social development in all parts of the world led to considerable advances in women's health, education and often their economic situation, from the 1950s to the 1970s. As a result of parallel political developments, awareness of women's needs and rights also advanced during this period and into the 1980s, with changes in laws to assist and consolidate these gains. But though the political process has apparently continued, the economic crisis and the types of stabilisation and adjustment policies followed in the 1980s have brought to a standstill many of the practical advances which women had made earlier, and have actually reversed some of the most fundamental of them like education and health. Economic crisis and inappropriate adjustment has thus robbed women—and society as a whole—of much of the progress earlier achieved. It is also robbing women of what is currently promised under accepted policy. In this respect, the loss of women's welfare in the 1980s is a case not so much of daylight robbery as of theft by stealth in the night—a largely unintended by-product of the economic difficulties of the period.

5.2 To restore the momentum in women's advance, three things are needed:

— a clearer focus on basic goals for women's advance in the longer run;
— action to incorporate specific measures focused on women in current adjustment policy; and

— a system for monitoring women's progress, in order to ensure continuing advance.

It should be stressed that these are needed as a matter of economic efficiency and human welfare, not only of equity. As long as women's skills and energies are inefficiently deployed—under-used or over-used—everyone suffers : their husbands and families, men and children, as well as the women themselves.

5.3 To provide the clearer focus required, our proposals for new strategies on structural adjustment have been guided by the following general principles :

— *greater support for women in all their roles, within a broader policy approach to adjustment, emphasising social equity and economic growth as well as efficiency*

This would require women having equal opportunity to that of men in the use of all productive resources, including land, credit and training. Special efforts and specific measures would be needed to overcome current imbalances and ensure adequate resources for women. We therefore recommend the use of 'structured' markets: that is, the reservation of a certain proportion of credit, foreign exchange and public expenditure to women, in order to ensure that they can obtain access to essential means of production. This can be facilitated by group action among women, in access to and use of productive resources (see para. 5.26).

It would also require giving women more support in their roles as child bearers and carers and home managers. Enhanced access to social services, especially health and education, and basic goods such as food and fuel, would enable women to utilise their time more effectively, allow them to contribute more to the national economy as well as to increase their own income and welfare. To date adjustment programmes have *reduced* social support systems at a time when an *increase* is needed to buttress the overall adjustment process and make it more effective.

The main focus of the adjustment programmes should be shifted from short-term stabilisation to longer-term adjustment; this requires a much less deflationary bias in the balance of the programmes at a macro-level. The reforms themselves should be properly sequenced to ensure full effectiveness and minimise social costs on the poor and vulnerable.

Together, equal opportunity in the use of productive resources, enhanced access for women to basic goods and services, and a longer-term, more growth-oriented adjustment process would

mean an adjustment policy oriented towards the economic and social development of all of a country's people;

— *full integration of women into the decision-making processes, on structural adjustment and elsewhere*

Women should become an integral part of the decision-making process—in governments, international institutions and the private sector, as well as in the home. Achieving this is a necessary element in making structural adjustment and other macro-economic policies more effective in terms of our broader definition of structural adjustment. Here, too, group action can be useful by strengthening the voice and bargaining position of women; and

— *a supportive international environment*

Developing countries have suffered in the 1980s from very large adverse changes in the external environment, including capital flows, interest rates, exchange rates, trade access and commodity prices. They need more time and resources to undertake structural adjustment. A supportive international economic environment, with greater resource flows, more effective procedures for debt reduction and less protectionism, is essential for a resumption of sustained economic growth and development.

5.4 The policy reforms recommended below flow from these general principles. The range of policies covered is wide. Not every policy will be applicable to every country. Variations between situations mean that appropriate policies need to be designed for each context. Some of the proposals could be implemented within a short period of time, but others are longer term and are concerned with issues of development as well as adjustment. But both categories require urgent consideration at the highest level.

5.5 There will be high economic as well as social returns from implementing the proposals, which are designed to ensure that women's full productive and social potential is realised. But there will also be some costs to be met in the short term. While certain of our proposals (such as legal changes) are almost costless, and others very inexpensive, others will need funding. Reallocation of expenditures within and between sectors, improved sources of revenue, including higher charges and taxes on inessential items and tax reform, would provide most of the necessary support; but extra international support may also sometimes be needed. The resource issue is discussed in more depth later (paras. 5.27 to 5.31).

Access to Productive Resources

5.6 Women's role as producer is vital to the survival of many poor families, as well as to the national economy. Women face unequal access to productive resources and their role has been made more difficult during adjustment. Measures are needed to enhance support for women's productive role, especially during these difficult periods. Some measures would arise directly out of the adjustment process—for example special employment schemes. But others are a matter of correcting long-term inequities. These have an even more important part to play during adjustment, because they will permit women to avoid unnecessary hardships, to contribute to the sustenance of low-income households, and to play a full role in increasing the productivity of the economy and thereby enhancing the adjustment process. While the specific changes recommended below are vital, the general macro-economic environment is also of major importance to women as producers. A more expansionary economy would generate easier access to jobs at all levels, reducing the necessity for special employment schemes. Growth-oriented adjustment, with greater emphasis on long-term structural change and less on short-term stabilisation, is a vital element of the broader approach which we support.

Employment

5.7 In the short run many stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes create unemployment, as a result of cuts in public expenditure, credit restraint, import liberalisation and changes in relative prices. To offset this loss of incomes and output we recommend:

— *special employment programmes.* Public works schemes can be particularly beneficial to women as the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Scheme in India has shown. More programmes guaranteeing wage jobs for women, while building up infrastructure, are needed. New types of programmes are also required, to cater for the special needs of women. These include sub-contracting with the formal sector, so as to expand income-earning opportunities for women. But mechanisms are needed to ensure that they are not exploited in the process;

— *selective assistance.* Small and micro businesses in the formal and informal sectors can generate much additional employment. Special measures (ranging from the provision of grants to the furnishing of information) should be enacted to support them; and

— *unemployment benefits.* Governments should where possible establish or improve employment provident schemes to compensate retrenched workers. In some cases such schemes could be wholly or largely self-financing through National Insurance fund arrangements.

5.8 Satisfactory standards at work should also be protected. Governments should enforce existing laws (or implement new ones) on employment protection as regards minimum wages, maximum hours, health and safety regulations, etc., and where possible ensure the provision of basic amenities such as creches; they should also encourage the payment of maternity leave and pension schemes (see also paras. 5.20 and 5.25). ILO standards should be the aim and national standards should be reviewed regularly to ensure adequacy. In this respect we are particularly concerned that in many countries undertaking structural adjustment minimum wages have become insufficient to cover even the most basic food and other essential requirements. Structural adjustment programmes should incorporate guidelines to remedy this. Women, like other workers, should not be discouraged from organising themselves.

Credit

5.9 Governments of developing countries should facilitate the provision of credit to, and offset the discrimination against, women. Women are not inherently a worse credit risk than men—they are often better (as the experience of the Grameen Bank shows)—but present regulations, and the underlying cultural mores, are biased against them. Women often lack collateral, sometimes because the law prevents them holding the title of land or other property and sometimes because they are poor. Where they can borrow, it is usually at exorbitantly high rates of interest from money-lenders and other informal sources of credit. This is not only inequitable for women but inefficient for the economy and inimical to development. To remedy the present position we recommend that:

— *governments ensure a certain proportion of bank loans are reserved for women (and other needy groups).* This could be facilitated by government guarantees. It should not be seen as discriminatory but as a means of improving the functioning of markets while enabling women to obtain the necessary capital to embark upon productive enterprises. Precedents exist as we have already shown (see above, para. 4.19);

— *more bank or cooperative credit arrangements are set up, oriented mainly or entirely to satisfying the particular needs of women.* Arrangements of this type would enable women to establish small-scale projects such as making clothes, or supplying personal services like laundering. For these and similar purposes women's organisations have set up savings clubs, cooperatives and credit unions (see above, para. 4.21). Formal banking or credit institutions have also been established mainly or solely for women (see above, paras. 4.19 and 4.21). Some of these institutions will need support or guarantees from governments, state or commercial banks and NGOs.

Structural adjustment policies should set out specific means by which women may overcome the conventional requirements for collateral through such arrangements. In addition we suggest the Commonwealth Secretariat circulate information on the experiences of member countries in this area and organise exchange visits to study the measures already taken.

Foreign exchange

5.10 Liberalisation of foreign exchange regulations is an almost universal component of structural adjustment policies. For some poor producers, including women, imports are vital to income-earning activities. Yet under newly liberalised arrangements—such as export earnings retention schemes or auction systems—they may be greatly disadvantaged in obtaining access to imports. We therefore recommend that measures should be introduced to ensure adequate access for sectors vital to women. This could be achieved through an allocation system which reserves some foreign exchange for priority sectors such as agriculture or health, and for special categories of producers including those operating small-scale enterprises.

Infrastructure

5.11 Most stabilisation and structural adjustment packages have involved cuts in expenditure on infrastructure. They have tended to provide more for the needs of large-scale enterprises and to give lower priority to those of small enterprises and farms, and to the informal and service sectors. Yet these sectors will provide most of the employment-creating and income-earning opportunities for women. The provision of infrastructure for small-scale enterprises and farms should be protected and if possible extended during periods of adjustment, and their share of total investment increased.

5.12 Specifically, we recommend that governments provide the means for making greater use of small-scale, decentralised sources of energy (including that from water, wind, the sun and biogas); for gaining easier access to clean water, so as to assist women in their domestic, manufacturing and agricultural activities; also for greater provision of feeder roads, which are vital to small-scale producers.

Marketing

5.13 Marketing is a particular problem in women's small-scale income-earning activities. Privatisation of parastatal marketing organisations forms an important element of most structural adjustment programmes. This could provide new economic opportunities for small entrepreneurs, including women. Women should be assisted to exploit such opportunities through the provision of credit and appropriate training. But

privatisation could also leave gaps in the provision of services like transport and storage, especially in remote areas. These gaps should be filled. We recommend that governments should take the necessary measures to ensure that the marketing services provided to women producers are not curtailed or made much more costly. This may mean retaining or adapting some parastatal organisations. Marketing cooperatives among women should be supported, as these provide better opportunities for women to retain the income from selling their products.

Training

5.14 Reductions in training or retraining, which often result from the public expenditure cuts associated with structural adjustment packages, occur at the very times when such activities are most needed, and lead to an immediate loss in production potential. This must not be allowed to continue. There should be special schemes to retrain retrenched employees, especially from the public sector, for productive work in other parts of the formal economy. Particular attention should be given to training women in technical and entrepreneurial skills. This is necessary if they are to understand and be capable of operating new and appropriate technologies, and thus able to participate fully in modern production processes. Innovative methods of delivering non-formal training should be encouraged, especially for women.

Extension and technical services

5.15 It is essential that women farmers are reached by extension services. We recommend that the programmes of field visits by officers from these services should take full account of the high proportion of farmers who are women. To assist in this, the number of female extension officers should increase. Several countries have taken special measures to ensure that women farmers are able to make full use of extension services (see Box 5.1). These services should also give more attention to the crops and activities in which women specialise.

5.16 Similar technical services should be instituted to help women set up and operate manufacturing and other enterprises, in rural and urban areas. Governments should increase support for:

- services offering information and other technical advice to entrepreneurs setting up and operating productive units, especially small-scale enterprises;
- centres to service and repair machinery and electrical and mechanical equipment used mainly by small-scale producers for agriculture and other basic needs purposes;
- facilities for women to acquire the skills required to establish service and repair centres (see also para. 5.14); and

Box 5.1. Agricultural Extension Services For Women

An increasing number of developing countries are making agricultural extension services available to women, some by innovative means. The following are a selection in Africa:

Kenya: Government is now working through women's groups to double the quantum of extension services reaching women while reducing the cost.

Malawi: Pilot schemes have been started to provide extension services and credit to groups of women farmers.

Sierra Leone: In Pujehun, an integrated agricultural development project supported by technical assistance from Germany (FR) experimented by co-opting women farmers and training them to provide extension advice to their female colleagues. The experiment was successful as the message was given in terms which the other farmers could readily understand. The extension farmers also maintained village plots for seed multiplication and demonstration purposes.

Zimbabwe: An extension worker to farmer ratio of 1:800 means that the farmers—who are predominantly women—receive their agricultural advice through groups or multi-purpose village community workers. Most of the latter are women and their prime responsibility is to stimulate communities, particularly the women among them, to participate in the identification of their needs and priorities and in the formulation of village development plans.

— co-operative institutional arrangements to assist women to gain access to technology as, for example, in the Cameroon for pumped water.

Technology

5.17 Most stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes lead to cuts in R&D, which generally already had an insufficient focus on technologies appropriate to the needs of women, both as producers and as consumers. To make adjustment more efficient and equitable we recommend governments should increase their support for R&D into:

— crops grown predominantly by women for consumption within the household or for sale within or outside the country (examples include 'subsistence' crops like sorghum/millet, pulses and cassava; and 'out-of-season' vegetables or cut flowers);

- improving the design and operation of technologies for small-scale (and other) manufacturing processes which provide much employment and income to women (e.g. power-looms, sewing machines, crop-driers, milling machinery etc.) and for agricultural tools to reduce the burden of their food growing activities; and
- improving the design and operation of technologies embodied in goods and services which will help reduce the time and energy women have to spend on household chores (e.g. better wood-burning stoves to speed up cooking as well as cut down on the fuel consumed and smoke inhaled during use).

Land

5.18 Ensuring women's access to land is fundamental to improving their economic welfare, enabling them to deal better with crises, and increasing their access to other inputs into the productive process, notably credit. It would also facilitate women's greater participation in community decision-making bodies, since economic position is usually of considerable importance to the degree of influence in such bodies. We recommend the reform of inheritance and land tenure laws to remove gender inequalities; the improvement of processes for implementing such laws; and the promotion, wherever possible, of a group approach to the ownership and use of land, especially that newly distributed under land reform programmes or land settlement schemes. In addition, recognising that community lands and forests are critical for enabling rural households in general and women in particular to acquire fuel, grazing, fodder, supplementary food, etc., we recommend that such areas be protected from further privatisation and that women's groups (especially from low income households) be granted preferential treatment in their use.

Environment

5.19 Measures to avoid environmental degradation—for example soil erosion, water contamination, atmospheric pollution—are essential if land and other natural resources are to be maintained in such a condition that access to them will be economically and socially beneficial. This is too large a subject to discuss in detail here, but it is vital that in designing and implementing structural adjustment measures, policy-makers take full account of the environmental implications of their actions. They should recognise, for example, the dangers of expecting countries to adjust by increasing their exports of natural resources, such as timber, at too rapid a pace, as well as the general and inextricable link between poverty and environmental degradation. As far as women are concerned, structural adjustment programmes should ensure that the commercial exploitation of forest and hydrological resources does not impair women's access to fuel, fodder and potable water.

Legal

5.20 Legal reforms are vital for improving the economic, social and political welfare of women. They are needed in relation to ownership and use of land and other immovable property, and to conditions of employment such as equal pay for work of equal value (see also para. 5.8). We recommend such legal reforms, with the aim of improving women's welfare, supporting their productive roles, and promoting gender equality before the law. Such reforms would also help to empower women's organisations as well as strengthen the hands of officials responsible for implementing programmes to benefit vulnerable sections of the population. They would be a critical step towards ensuring that women get a larger and fairer share of a country's resources.

5.21 Progress in many of these areas—notably technology development, land reform, environmental measures and legal reform—will contribute to an equitable pattern of development in the longer term, rather than to short-term adjustment. Nonetheless it is vital that they be incorporated into structural adjustment programmes, to ensure that the programmes are just, and lay the basis for full use of women's productive potential over the longer term.

Access to Basic Goods and Services

5.22 The stabilisation and adjustment programmes undertaken have generally reduced access to basic goods and services, through the rises in prices, especially of food, that have accompanied devaluation, fewer price controls and diminished subsidies; and through decreasing expenditure, and sometimes raising charges, on health and education services. These changes, which have increased women's problems as home managers and mothers, have sometimes had devastating effects on health and nutrition. Any policies towards women as producers which help sustain household incomes will also improve access to basic goods and services. Policies to maintain prices of basic goods, especially food and fuel, at a reasonable level are also needed, as are policies to improve access to social services.

Basic household needs

5.23 The devaluation of currencies, decontrol of prices and reduction or abolition of subsidies, typical of structural adjustment packages, often impact harshly on women's purchases of families' basic goods, especially staple foods but also fuel. Prices of these goods should be held at an affordable level for consumption by low income families, even if this involves subsidies. The budgetary cost need not be large. Nutritional and school feeding programmes should also be protected.

Education

5.24 The budgetary cuts on education which are typical of many structural adjustment packages militate against women. Not only do cutbacks in primary education adversely affect today's mothers, who in an already packed day have to spend more time teaching 'life-skills' to their children, but contraction of secondary and tertiary education means that fewer of tomorrow's mothers will have an opportunity to gain the knowledge necessary for a fulfilling and more productive life. These losses must not be allowed to continue. We recommend that governments restore and expand their education budgets and review their allocation of resources within the sector. It is, for example, essential that there is an assured supply of basic text books. We recognise this may involve some direct recovery of costs. This can be acceptable at secondary and especially tertiary level, where social rates of return are lower and the beneficiaries are usually not among the poor, but fees should not be charged on primary education. In addition, the social mores of some countries, and the lower enrolment of girls than of boys in all three developing regions of the world, mean that governments should make special efforts (by additional subsidies if necessary) to ensure that girls from poor households and rural areas receive education. Governments should also consider reorienting basic education curricula, concentrating on literacy, numeracy and some understanding of the scientific and social aspects of the local environment. We suggest that governments try to counter the reduced school attendance, which is an increasing problem in many adjusting countries, by such means as synchronising the academic calendar with the agricultural calendar, where children's labour is significant, and providing creches in or near schools so that girls responsible for childcare can receive education. Provision of creches at adult education centres would also help to improve mothers' attendance. Governments should encourage the broader provision of education for women. One way might be to give employers tax credits for running adult literacy schemes.

Health

5.25 Adjustment programmes should be designed to protect and extend the number and quality of basic health facilities. Free access to primary healthcare should be maintained and measures taken to ensure there are sufficient community health workers and an adequately resourced referral system accessible to all those in need. Special attention should be given to improving maternal and child healthcare (including family planning services). The costs need not be prohibitive: according to the World Bank, less than US$2 per person per year would cut maternal death rates by two-thirds. There should be an assured supply of basic drugs: UNICEF has shown that the 30–35 most basic drugs (including oral rehydration salts vital to overcoming diarrhoea) can be made

available at around US$0.50 per person per year, potentially saving three million lives every year. In this connection we welcome the Bamako initiative in Africa, which seeks to fund the entire maternal and child healthcare programme from sales of basic drugs at very low cost to users, and recommend that governments implement it urgently. Governments should increase their expenditure on potable water and efficient sanitation facilities, which should be provided 'free' or at a subsidised cost that poor families can afford. This would benefit the health of all and save women much time in drawing and carrying water (see Box 5.2). In addition, every government in a position to do so should consider enacting legal provisions ensuring sickness benefits for all employees and paid maternal leave and child benefits payable to mothers. National Insurance schemes could facilitate such provision.

Group Action

5.26 We believe the 'group approach' is very important to women for a number of reasons (see Box 5.3) and recommend that structural adjustment programmes should include measures to promote and support productive and other activities organised by groups. These are especially important in enabling women to obtain loans without collateral and to use common land and other natural resources for productive purposes. Groups can also help in undertaking community projects such as reforestation and well-digging near villages, which would release women from spending so much time on firewood and water collection and enable them to undertake more remunerative work or enjoy leisure. Setting up communal child-care or cooking facilities are other examples of projects that would be particularly cost-effective and beneficial to mothers.

III. FINANCING THE PROGRAMME

5.27 Almost invariably, countries undergoing adjustment are faced with the necessity of reducing large budget deficits. Consequently, when there are such pressures to **cut** expenditure, it is difficult to preserve and increase resource allocations in certain areas.

5.28 Much of the programme to incorporate women's interests into adjustment, which we have described above, would cost governments very little, and important elements like legal changes, which are of critical importance especially in the longer run, would cost them almost nothing. Changes in the allocation of credit or foreign exchange would not involve governments in any expenditure, and by improving the efficiency of resource allocation, would increase income and revenue collection in the medium term. There are, however, some vital areas—related especially to expenditure on women's education and training; primary health services; technology dissemination and development; and

Box 5.2. Women's Unpaid Work in Water Provision

Millions of people depend mainly on women and girls for water supplies which they fetch, can by 20-litre can, and pitcher by pitcher every day. Little girls are taught how to balance containers on their heads and to carry them over anything from a mile to six miles of rough ground. They provide not only the small but vital amounts of water needed for drinking and cooking, but the far larger amounts required for laundry, bathing and cleaning. It is chiefly in non- and newly-industrialising countries that people depend for water supplies on the work of females. Women and girls in many Kenyan households spend 5–6 hours a day. The extent of this particular work and the huge numbers of people, chiefly female, engaged in it may also be gauged from World Health Organisation statistics. They showed that in 1980, in predominantly peasant countries, hardly any of the rural population and only about 55 per cent of the urban populations had water supplies connected to their homes. A further 20 per cent had access to public taps, but supplies to these taps were intermittent.

In rural areas of African countries where women are responsible for providing water, they may organise the whole seasonal range of work in order to make water collection as easy as possible. In Southern Nigeria, for instance, house-building, path and farm clearance are done in the rainy season so that they are free of these jobs in the dry season when water carrying becomes more onerous.

Authorities have been prompted into making safe water available where local industries need large quantities of water, for example fish-processing in Kerala, the north of Sri Lanka and the coasts of some West African countries. Those forced to use stand-pipes by mischance will appreciate the work of fetching every drop of household water.

Extract from "Revaluation of Women's Work" by Sheila Lewenhak, 1987.

special feeding schemes and food subsidies for low income households—which would involve government resources and for which financing might present a problem, especially at a time of budgetary cuts. Nonetheless, this problem can be overcome, even during adjustment, by redirecting expenditure from low to higher priority areas, as many countries have shown. In Zimbabwe, for example, expenditure on primary education doubled during the 1980s, after resources had been redirected from lower priority areas, including defence.

Box 5.3. The Group Approach

A critical component of measures to minimise the negative effects of structural adjustment on women is ensuring their greater access to and more effective use of productive resources. This requires a shift from an approach focused on the individual to one which gives greater scope to groups.

In credit disbursement, for example, NGO-sponsored loan schemes, such as those of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, the Self-Employed Women's Association and the Working Women's Forum in India, have had notable successes in reaching poor women, generating additional income (often in significant amounts) and ensuring repayments. Loans are made exclusively to the poor, without collateral and often conditional on the recipients forming small groups. Though they are made to individuals, there is either group liability or implicit group responsibility for repayment. In the rare instances where government credit has been disbursed through a group approach, as in the Small Farmers' Development Project in Nepal, it has been a noteworthy success.

In land distribution programmes, the group approach can avoid fragmentation through inheritance laws or loss to money-lenders or male relatives. It gives members joint rights to the land, e.g. for cultivation or grazing, and allows no-one the right to despoil land. This approach has been successfully used by groups of poor rural women in parts of India, e.g. Bankura in West Bengal and Udaipur in Rajasthan. Other examples of group cooperation can be found in the traditional systems of common property resource management existing in many parts of South Asia, as in the distribution of water in irrigation systems, the protection or regeneration of forests, and the allocation of grazing rights on village pastures.

The forms that groups take (cooperatives, associations, trade unions etc.) and the sizes to which they grow, vary considerably, but certain common lessons can be drawn. First, that groups require considerable economic and social homogeneity among their members. Secondly, the activity must not pose severe management problems when carried out on a group basis and the community of interest must outweigh conflicts of interest. Thirdly, that compared to approaches oriented towards individuals, those involving groups are more:

— efficient in channelling resources to the poor or for the purposes desired;

- equitable in distributing benefits from the use of resources;
- effective in providing incidental benefits, e.g. in improving the bargaining strength of the poor vis-a-vis the rich, or in exerting peer pressure against wasteful expenditure by individuals or groups, or in enabling women to challenge unequal relations within the family; and
- able to exploit economies of scale.

5.29 In designing public expenditure cuts, the budget needs to be looked at *as a whole*, and priorities explicitly determined, so that the cuts fall on low priority areas and resource allocations for higher priorities can be sustained. In practice, most countries have made cuts in a much more haphazard way, according to administrative ease, and without explicit consideration of priorities within or between sectors. Moreover, most stabilisation and adjustment programmes have placed excessive emphasis on expenditure cuts, and insufficient attention on finding additional sources of revenue. Increasing taxes, for example on cigarettes to help reduce the rapid rise in smoking, especially among women, offers one important source of potential revenue. Raising charges on non-priority government services offers another.

5.30 In summary, domestic sources of finance for a programme such as we have proposed include:

- *reorienting expenditure within sectors.* Examples include switching resources from urban hospitals to primary healthcare, or from tertiary to primary education. In Indonesia, for example, despite a 50 per cent cut in the overall budget, resources for child development and survival were maintained and those on immunisation increased. Most health expenditure cuts fell on urban hospitals;
- *redirecting expenditure between sectors.* Smaller allocations for sectors like armaments, which are not economically or socially productive, or for "prestige" projects with low economic returns, can provide the resources for many beneficial outlays. In Zimbabwe, an improvement in the security situation facilitated a shift from defence which fell from 44 per cent of the government's current expenditure in 1980 to 28 per cent in 1984; whereas that of education and health together rose from 22 to 27 per cent in the same period;
- *introducing charges for non-priority services not used by the poor.* Student loans for tertiary education, for example, have been introduced in Ghana;

— *making greater use of community financing for local services.* Community labour built 38,000 latrines in Ethiopia, for example, and has been used for school construction in much of West Africa. In one area of Benin, generic drugs were sold under community leadership at a substantial mark-up over costs, but still much below normal retail prices. The revenue financed not only the drugs but also 85 per cent of the operating costs of the primary health care undertaken;

— *increasing taxes on the consumption of luxury goods and low priority items.* In some parts of Australia the state governments have imposed a levy on cigarette companies (in addition to federal taxes on cigarettes), which is used for health and other socially beneficial programmes, some of which are specifically targeted at women. In Brazil the government has created a fund for operating programmes in nutrition, health and education and for supporting small farmers. The fund is financed by an additional 0.5 per cent tax on sales and a 5 per cent surcharge on corporate income tax, and in 1982 it received $300 million from these sources;

— *reforming the tax system through closing loopholes and simplifying procedures.* Such reforms have raised considerable sums, for example in Australia, Ghana and Jamaica; and

— *obtaining support from external donors* (see next section). These sources can be of considerable importance. For example they committed $85 million to Ghana's PAMSCAD, a scheme set up to help vulnerable groups during adjustment (see Box 4.1).

5.31 There is no question that the programmes we have proposed can be financed in these and other ways, given the requisite political commitment. The economic cost of **not** financing them is far greater than the accounting costs of doing so. Cuts in education, training, health and nutrition undermine future economic potential, while investing in women, in the ways suggested above, offers high economic returns (see Box 5.4) and would mean that the programmes became self-financing after only a few years.

IV. INTERNATIONAL ACTION

5.32 The external economic environment of the eighties, which has increased the need for developing countries to adjust their economies, has made it much more difficult for them to do so. Increasing debt, high interest rates, sharply diminished external resource flows, growing protectionism, inadequate commodity prices, adverse terms of trade—all need to be addressed by the international community. Improvements in each are vital if sustained global economic growth at an adequate

Box 5.4. The Case for Investing in Women

First, women already contribute heavily to the economy and family—usually far more than is reflected in official labour force and national income statistics. Women produce a large share of the developing world's food crops. They find almost all the fuel and water for household use. And almost everywhere, it is primarily women who care for children and meet the family's basic needs. Moreover, women are moving beyond agriculture and home-based activities; women now account for about one-quarter of the developing world's industrial labour force, and vast—albeit uncounted—numbers of women work as self-employed entrepreneurs in the fast growing informal manufacturing, trading and service sectors.

Second, women often lack the means to work at full or even moderate levels of productivity. They face special gender-based constraints (social, legal, administrative and technical) on access to information and technology, education and training, resources and services—in short, to factor and product markets. They also face special constraints on mobility and time use which limit their capacity to respond to the opportunities that do exist. The result is a loss in productivity and efficiency to the economy and reduced income for women and their families.

Third, expanding opportunities for women makes good economic sense—and in some cases will be more cost-effective than making the same investment in men. Investing in women can make development programmes both more effective and more responsive to the poor; it can improve family welfare; it can improve the management of natural resources and so promote environmental sustainability; and it can reduce fertility and, hence, slow population growth.

(Extract from World Bank Sector Strategy Plan for Women-in-Development Division, FY89–91.)

rate is to be achieved in the 1990s. It is essential that a series of measures be taken which lead to a more supportive environment in the economic relations between nations, and give some renewed content to the phrase 'international economic cooperation for development'.

External Resource Flows

5.33 Developing countries continue to require an increase in external resources to avoid detrimental cuts in short-term expenditure and to help build up the productive capacity necessary to expand output and exports. The fall of over one-half in total net flows of capital to the

developing world between 1980 and 1987 has had disastrous consequences for economic growth and the poor, especially as it coincided with the implementation of adjustment policies. Both official and private net transfers have been falling; official net transfers* were $34 billion in 1981 but only $8 billion in 1988; private net transfers were $8 billion in 1981 and became negative in 1988 when there was a net outflow of resources of $42 billion†. It is vital that both improve, with an increase in official flows, and a reduced outflow on private account, through lower interest rates and debt reduction.

5.34 We add our voice to the call for all member countries of OECD's Development Assistance Committee to adhere as soon as possible to the internationally accepted target of providing official development assistance (ODA) at a rate equivalent to at least 0.7 per cent of GNP. At present their average is under half this figure, with no Commonwealth developed country having achieved the target‡. We recommend in particular that countries set up intermediate targets with definite timeframes so as to expedite a move towards the 0.7 per cent target. We also support a substantially increased share of ODA being channelled to low-income countries and through multilateral channels. Specifically we recommend larger funding for agencies such as UNICEF, UNFPA and WHO, which devote a high share of their resources to activities of benefit to women.

5.35 Bilateral aid agencies should set aside a specific proportion of ODA to be used in projects and programmes of direct benefit to women, a concept already adopted by the United States. More generally, full account of women's interests must be taken when formulating all aid projects and programmes. In this respect we welcome the special measures some agencies have taken to ensure that women-in-development issues are fully integrated into planning procedures and operational modalities (see Box 4.6 with regard to CIDA) and recommend others to do the same.

5.36 The IMF and the World Bank, which are the main sources of international finance during stabilisation and adjustment, also need enlarged resources. This is especially important because many countries have become heavily indebted to them, which is likely to impede country flexibility in implementing policies fostering growth and development.

*Net transfers are defined as the net capital inflows of all kinds less the outflows for amortisation, interest and dividends on existing capital.

†Data relate to a sample of 98 developing countries for which details are available to the United Nations.

‡ODA as a proportion of GNP in 1988 was as follows: Canada, 0.50 per cent; Australia, 0.46 per cent; Britain, 0.32 per cent; and New Zealand, 0.27 per cent.

The recently agreed general capital increase in the World Bank will enlarge the non-concessional resources available for structural and sector adjustment lending, particularly to middle income countries; a substantial expansion is also required in the resources of the Bank's concessional arm, the International Development Association (IDA), whose replenishment is currently under negotiation, if low-income countries are to receive sufficient resources for their programmes. In addition a substantial expansion is required in the IMF's quotas, which determine the availability of its non-concessional resources, and in its concessional SAF/ESAF facilities. Both institutions have already recognised the need to take some account of the impact of adjustment on vulnerable groups; they should now give effect to this by paying much more attention to integrating women's concerns into the design, implementation, monitoring and appraisal of adjustment programmes (see para. 5.53 below). They should also devote more resources towards specific interventions to help support women undertake their four main roles.

5.37 Foreign direct investment is another vehicle for channelling resource flows to developing countries. Public sector agencies, such as the International Finance Corporation, have a major role to play as a catalyst enhancing such flows. The long-standing African and Caribbean Project Development Facilities and the IFC's recently-established African Enterprise Fund, help small entrepreneurs prepare and fund projects. These agencies should pay greater attention to women entrepreneurs so as to enable them to undertake more economically remunerative and productive activities.

5.38 The debt overhang and huge debt-servicing obligations are among the main features inhibiting economic growth and development in many developing countries, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America/Caribbean. Debt reduction is essential. Some measures have been implemented but as yet they are on an inadequate scale. For some countries, the major problem arises from official debt; for others—especially in Latin America and the Caribbean—the critical issue is debt owed to the commercial banks. We recommend that those OECD countries which have not already done so, should follow the lead of Britain, Canada and others which have undertaken a policy of ODA debt forgiveness for a number of low income countries. We also urge speedy implementation of the consensus, reached by industrial countries at Toronto in 1988, on relieving sub-Saharan low-income countries of their non-concessional official debt. This consensus should be broadened to cover debt-distressed countries outside sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, it is important that the debt relief provided has an immediate impact in reducing transfers out of these countries and that it is not undertaken at the expense of reduced aid flows.

5.39 Orderly debt reduction is also essential for middle-income highly indebted countries. We welcome the initiative by US Treasury Secretary Brady and support the introduction of new mechanisms to speed-up debt reduction. We strongly recommend that debt-swaps are encouraged for programmes related to the concerns of women.

International Trading Environment

5.40 In addition to a more supportive international financial environment, there are many other areas of the international agenda where much needed reforms would help the implementation of our recommendations. They are too numerous to mention here but one vitally important and topical area concerns the international trading environment.

5.41 Protectionism is greatest or has increased most for many of the exports in which women are heavily employed. The Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations in the GATT is not scheduled for completion until the end of 1990. But already sectors of critical importance to women's livelihoods are proving among those most difficult for the negotiators to make progress. In reviewing their strategy for the remainder of the Round, developed country (and other) negotiators should pay greater attention to the interests of women and the poor, especially in developing countries. For women, it is specially important that there is an early and full integration of the textiles and clothing sector into the 'normal' disciplines of the GATT, and that significant progress is made in reducing non-tariff measures (including those grey area 'voluntary' export-restraints taken outside GATT auspices, on such items as consumer electrical and electronic goods, and footwear). In agriculture, there should be improved access to industrial countries' markets for non-traditional products such as out-of-season vegetables, in which women are finding increasing employment.

5.42 Other measures are also required to help women derive a better livelihood from the production of food and raw materials. Structural adjustment programmes have contributed to depressed international commodity prices by increasing supply (e.g. through World Bank SALs for cocoa tree planting in West Africa). These prices need supporting. All policymakers should take full account of the effects of their commodity production and export decisions on international prices. We recommend that:

— national policymakers coordinate their actions internationally, if necessary through production controls;

— international mechanisms (including the Second Account of the UNCTAD Common Fund for Commodities) be used more intensively and given greater support, to encourage commodity diversification; and

— a new international mechanism be established to make funds more directly available to compensate certain categories of producers, e.g., low income farmers, for falls in prices or earnings.

V. DATA AND MONITORING

5.43 In the preparation of this Report the lack of accurate, regular and prompt gender-disaggregated data, both nationally and internationally, was immediately apparent to us. Better data are vital to formulate more effective and beneficial structural adjustment programmes, and to monitor and evaluate their effects. Data needed extend over a range of economic and social indicators, including the ownership of and access to productive resources such as land, housing and credit; employment and unemployment (in the formal and informal sectors); wages and earnings; literacy and education; morbidity and mortality; birth weights and infant mortality; life expectancy; and nutrition. Data on some of these items need to be collected fairly frequently, say quarterly; on others, at longer intervals. It is also important that such data are disaggregated by rural and urban areas and, to the extent possible, by income class. We recommend that governments and appropriate international organisations take the necessary steps to collect and disseminate such information.

5.44 We also recommend that data on women's work and employment be gathered in such a way as to reflect the full extent of women's contribution to the economy and the household, taking explicit account of home-based economic production as well as domestic work. This would involve, among other things, redefining concepts of 'work', etc, and amending procedures for data collection to embrace all 'economic activity' undertaken by women, including that of a casual, part-time or seasonal nature. Suitable micro-level time-allocation studies could form the basis for improving the definitions used and questions asked in large-scale data collection procedures to better capture women's multiple roles and contributions.

5.45 Regular monitoring of the impact of structural adjustment measures is also vital, so as to ensure that any negative effects are mitigated and there is maximum realisation of the opportunities provided for improving women's productivity and welfare. We recommend the undertaking of base-line surveys at the start of adjustment and regular follow-up thereafter; also detailed case studies to examine the impact of specific adjustment measures on women.

5.46 To ensure that the opportunities inherent in the adjustment process are seized widely, requires publicity. We recommend that details of the programmes, schemes, legal and other reforms undertaken should

be disseminated, not only nationally and regionally but especially at community level, and in different media.

VI. SECURING IMPLEMENTATION

5.47 A broadened approach to structural adjustment, so as to include more gender-sensitive policies, requires high-level commitment, in developed and developing countries, and in financial institutions and development agencies. It is essential that decision-makers recognise not only the need to reverse the negative effects of structural adjustment on women, but that women constitute a vital resource for carrying out the process. Making better use of this resource will entail modifications to the roles which women and men play in the economy and in society as a whole.

5.48 This will require a political commitment which will be translated into administrative and institutional action. Greater control by women over their economic and social roles is a pre-requisite to improving their situation. Key elements of this process will be:

- the empowerment and organisation of women themselves;
- affirmative action to incorporate women into the decision-making processes, both nationally and internationally;
- institutionalising women's concerns, nationally and internationally; and
- general education on 'women's issues'.

5.49 The empowerment and organisation of women requires, among other actions:

- dealing directly with women on all matters involving their lives. Planners must not assume that women's concerns are automatically taken care of;
- assisting women's organisations to make greater use of their political power in lobbying government. In Canada, women's groups have been successful in having women's issues debated prominently in federal elections; and
- ensuring legal recognition of women in their own right and not in relation to male family members. In most countries this is crucial in inheritance laws, and thus for land access.

5.50 Affirmative action includes:

- establishment of targets for employing women in the public and private sector—as, for example, in Canada;
- appointment of women to key decision-making positions, nationally and internationally—as, for example, in UNFPA;

- reservation for women of parliamentary seats—as, for example, in Pakistan; or of places as trade union officials—as, for example, in Australia; and
- assignment of women to areas of work where women's needs must be recognised—as, for example, of agricultural extension workers in Zimbabwe, where women form the majority of rural workers.

5.51 Institutionalising women's concerns includes:

- strengthening government machinery, by placing women's organisations, especially women's bureaux, in strategically powerful positions within government and giving them wider-ranging powers to intervene in government (see Box 5.5 on the Zimbabwe experience);
- incorporating women's concerns in all aspects of government activity, through the establishment of women's units in all government ministries, reporting to centrally placed women's bureaux;
- establishing Cabinet and Parliamentary Committees to review legislation and programmes to incorporate women's concerns; and
- strengthening machinery dealing with women's concerns in development agencies and in the multilateral system (not only in the UN but particularly in the international financial institutions), and ensuring that such machinery has the power to influence the system as a whole on all aspects of adjustment (see Box 4.6 on Institutionalising a Strategy in Canada).

5.52 General education on women's issues includes:

- supporting women's lobbies, as above, and groups involved in women's issues generally;
- removing gender bias from all educational and information material; and
- training staff on the role of women in development. A very successful short course developed by Harvard University has been used by a number of development agencies.

5.53 Specifically, we emphasise that the negotiating process on structural adjustment must fully incorporate the interests of women, especially poor women. At present it is managed by central banks, finance ministries and the international financial institutions, which do not take women's interests into significant account. This must change.

Box 5.5. Institutionalising Women's Concerns in Zimbabwe

The Government of Zimbabwe is in the process of strengthening the planning and economic analysis function through national machinery for women's affairs. This is designed to incorporate women's concerns in the formulation and design of macro-economic policies through the:

- establishment of focal points in ministries;
- use of women's bureaux as focal points for monitoring and evaluating programmes to ensure that women's concerns are taken into account;
- development of gender sensitisation in training programmes for personnel administering national machinery, including finance and economic planning ministries; and
- empowerment of women through using village community workers to

  encourage communities, particularly women, to participate in identifying their needs and priorities for local development;

  promote socio-economic activities and identify possible external technical resources—i.e. government or NGOs;

  assist in mobilising women to fill their quota in village and ward development committees; and

  conduct meetings for disseminating information on women and communities.

We recommend that:

- finance, budgetary, economic planning, 'aid' and other government departments establish women's units as an integral part of their administrative structures and consult women's affairs ministries, bureaux and other women's organisations when formulating, negotiating and implementing structural adjustment policies and programmes;
- women's affairs ministries and women's national bureaux be strengthened in economic analysis and project appraisal. This would enable them better to negotiate with 'economic' ministries, so that all aspects of stabilisation and structural adjustment policies and programmes have gender dimensions, and to monitor the results;
- women's organisations concerned particularly with economic issues (women's sections of trade unions, self-employed, business or professional women's associations, women's cooperatives,

associations of women farmers, etc.) be adequately financed. The provision of resources directly to their members can enhance the sustainable growth of production;

— other women's groups be assisted in the collection and dissemination of information, in lobbying and mobilising public opinion, and in promoting changes which lead to improved policies for women; and

— international financial institutions (especially the World Bank) involve their women and development units more fully in the design, implementation, monitoring and appraisal of structural adjustment policies and programmes.

VII. PROPOSALS FOR COMMONWEALTH FOLLOW-UP

5.54 To ensure that the proposals we make in this Report are given the fullest consideration, we recommend the Commonwealth take steps to initiate and secure joint sponsorship with appropriate UN organisations for a small international meeting. This would consist of high-level officials involved in adjustment policies in a selection of countries. Officials from the international institutions—particularly the IMF, the World Bank and the United Nations bodies which have been involved in structural adjustment, such as UNICEF, UNDP and the UN Branch for the Advancement of Women—would also participate. The meeting would seek to synthesise proposals for, and reach consensus on, the policy goals for a broader adjustment strategy fully reflecting women's interests; it would also focus on the ways in which such a strategy would be implemented.

5.55 The Commonwealth should encourage intensive discussion of the issues concerned, using the opportunity provided by our Report. This could be done by supporting regional Commonwealth meetings, including at Ministerial level. These meetings could serve to help governments develop improved structural adjustment programmes and be better prepared to negotiate them with international financial institutions and bilateral donors. They should focus on the economic aspects of structural adjustment as well as on the socio-economic aspects arising from the impact on women. They could also serve as a preparatory process for the Commonwealth Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs in 1990, which we hope will make this subject a main agenda item. In addition, regional meetings could discuss and help to promote and disseminate these ideas.

5.56 Follow-up is required in other fora, not only to monitor the action taken but to assess the need for further modifications to structural adjustment strategies and packages. At a Commonwealth level this

might best be done at meetings of Finance Ministers and Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs. There are also opportunities for developing countries associated with the European Community to ensure that any new mechanisms for structural adjustment incorporate the women's dimension. At a more global level the United Nations will doubtless wish to further its involvement in the issue of women and adjustment through the Branch for the Advancement of Women, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. This could also involve more wide-ranging bodies like the UN Second Committee or the Economic and Social Council and more specialist forums like the UN Commission on the Status of Women.

5.57 Such follow-up, to be effective, will need political impetus. This would be assisted by a Commonwealth Declaration, defining structural adjustment in terms of how people—especially women—are affected; summarising the elements of broader policies and programmes which would minimise the adverse effects on the poor and vulnerable—especially women—and maximise the utilisation of the productive potential of available resources—again, especially women; and making proposals on how and when these new packages might be implemented.

5.58 There are other vehicles for influencing events. The media are particularly effective. The women's dimensions to development and structural adjustment, and alternative adjustment policies giving greater attention to their requirements, need to be documented and disseminated in the popular press. Films may be an even more effective medium of communication, and to make our message more graphic and compelling we requested the Commonwealth Secretariat to make a video. Its images will not only complement this Report but doubtless for many recipients tell the story far more persuasively. But whatever means of communication is used, the message is clear: action is needed now; "adjustment with a human face" is not enough; what is required in the last decade of the century is "development with a human face".

Annex 1

Terms of Reference of Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment

(a) To establish the extent of women's contribution to the economy (paid and unpaid) and its implications for structural adjustment measures.
(b) To examine available evidence on the impact, both direct and indirect, of structural adjustment measures on specific groups of women, in particular women farmers; self-employed women; women employed in the public and private sectors; women heads of households.
(c) To consider alternative structural adjustment measures which could be more socially and economically effective.
(d) To suggest measures for influencing international aid and finance institutions in the light of the findings.

Annex 2

Questionnaire sent to Commonwealth Governments and to Selected International Organisations

QUESTIONNAIRE TO COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS

1. What special attention, if any, has been given by your government to women when

(i) making structural adjustment policies, and

(ii) undertaking structural adjustment programmes/measures,

distinguishing where appropriate between women's roles as

(i) producers,

(ii) consumers,

(iii) reproducers/child-rearers, and

(iv) organisers (home, community, cooperatives, trade unions etc.), and

differentiating between rural and urban areas.

In answering this question, governments should, where possible, take the following examples into account:

(i) in reducing or reorienting *public expenditure*, have any attempts been made to exempt or shield those programmes (e.g. food, health, education and training) of special importance to women?

(ii) in increasing *taxation*, have any attempts been made to exempt or at least to raise taxes less than proportionately on those items (e.g. kerosene) which are of particular importance in women's budgets?

(iii) in adapting *credit policies*, have any special measures been put into operation so as to assist or protect women producers and thus enhance their contribution to the structural adjustment process?

(iv) in formulating *exchange rate policies*, have any analyses been made of the effects of devaluation or currency appreciation on women?

(v) in determining domestic *pricing policies*, have any analyses been made of the effects on women of decontrolling prices (e.g. of 'essential' goods)? To what extent are 'social factors' taken into account in decisions to maintain subsidies?

(vi) in deciding *wage policies* (including equal pay legislation), is any account taken of women's multiple role or their existing disadvantage in wage rates?

(vii) in undertaking *trade liberalisation* and orienting economies more towards exports, what cognizance is there of the effects this can have on women's welfare (e.g. as employees in export processing zones)?

(viii) in implementing *privatisation* measures, what special efforts (if any) are made to ensure that women benefit (e.g. as shareholders or from enhanced entry into the market or from being given comparable access to productive inputs as that available to men)?

(ix) in carrying out structural adjustment policies, to what extent have governments taken action to mitigate their *social costs*? How are these costs identified? What alleviating measures have been adopted and do women stand an equal chance of benefiting from them?

2. If no special attention has been given to women in the structural adjustment process, has the possibility or desirability of doing so ever been raised with your government?

If so, by whom and why was it not found possible to take action?

3. In what ways does your government think women in your country have been affected

(i) adversely, or

(ii) beneficially,

by any structural adjustment programmes/measures it has undertaken since, say, 1980?

(Please categorise your answers, to the extent possible, along the lines of the nine topics given as examples in question 1.)

4. What evidence is there of these effects?
Have any special studies of them been undertaken by

(i) your government/its parastatals

(ii) national NGOs

(iii) universities/research institutes

(iv) international institutions

If so, why were they undertaken/to whom were they directed/what are their conclusions/can you make a copy available?

(The sort of studies we have in mind would relate to topics of the type given as examples in question 1.)

What institutional arrangements are there in your country for regular monitoring of the impact of adjustment measures?

What does the monitoring process measure (e.g. nutritional level of food intake; time-use)?

5. What are the most important ways your government thinks structural adjustment policies/programmes/measures can be modified to improve opportunities for women to undertake more beneficially their roles as

(i) producers,

(ii) consumers,

(iii) reproducers/child rearers, and

(iv) organisers (home, community, cooperatives, trade unions etc.),

differentiating between rural and urban areas?

(Please categorise your answers, to the extent possible, along the lines of the nine topics listed as examples in question 1.)

6. In what ways does your government think that women can best help to facilitate the achievement of its structural adjustment objectives?

QUESTIONNAIRE TO SELECTED INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

1. What special attention, if any, is your organisation aware of as having been given by developing country governments to women when

(i) making structural adjustment policies, and

(ii) undertaking structural adjustment programmes/measures,

distinguishing where appropriate between women's roles as

(i) producers,

(ii) consumers,

(iii) reproducers/child-rearers, and

(iv) organisers (home, community, cooperatives, trade unions etc.), and

differentiating between rural and urban areas.

In answering this question, your organisation should, where possible, take the following examples into account:

(i) in reducing or reorienting *public expenditure*, have any attempts been made to exempt or shield those programmes (e.g. food, health, education and training) of special importance to women?

(ii) in increasing *taxation*, have any attempts been made to exempt or at least to raise taxes less than proportionately on those items (e.g. kerosene) which are of particular importance in women's budgets?

(iii) in adapting *credit policies*, have any special measures been put into operation so as to assist or protect women producers and thus enhance their contribution to the structural adjustment process?

(iv) in formulating *exchange rate policies*, have any analyses been made of the effects of devaluation or currency appreciation on women?

(v) in determining domestic *pricing policies*, have any analyses been made of the effects on women of decontrolling prices (e.g. of 'essential' goods)? To what extent are 'social factors' taken into account in decisions to maintain subsidies?

(vi) in deciding *wage policies* (including equal pay legislation), is any account taken of women's multiple role or their existing disadvantage in wage rates?

(vii) in undertaking *trade liberalisation* and orienting economies more towards exports, what cognizance is there of the effects this can have on women's welfare (e.g. as employees in export processing zones)?

(viii) in implementing *privatisation* measures, what special efforts (if any) are made to ensure that women benefit (e.g. as shareholders or from enhanced entry into the market or from being given comparable access to productive inputs as that available to men)?

(ix) in carrying out structural adjustment policies, to what extent have governments taken action to mitigate their *social costs*? How are these costs identified? What alleviating measures have been adopted and do women stand an equal chance of benefiting from them?

2. Where no special attention appears to have been given by governments to women in the structural adjustment process, is your organisation aware of any cases where the possibility or desirability of doing has ever been raised with governments?

If so, by whom and why was it not found possible to take action?

3. In what ways does your organisation think women in developing countries have been affected

(i) adversely, or

(ii) beneficially,

by any structural adjustment programmes/measures governments have undertaken since, say, 1980?

(Please categorise your answers, to the extent possible, along the lines of the nine topics given as examples in question 1.)

4. What evidence is there of these effects?
Have any special studies of them been undertaken by your organisation?

If so, why were they undertaken/to whom were they directed/what are their conclusions/can you make a copy available?

(The sort of studies we have in mind would relate to topics of the type given as examples in question 1.)

What institutional arrangements is your organisation aware of for regular monitoring of the impact of adjustment measures?

What does the monitoring process measure (e.g. nutritional level of food intake; time-use)?

5. What are the most important ways your organisation thinks structural adjustment policies/programmes/measures can be modified to improve opportunities for women to undertake more beneficially their roles as

(i) producers,

(ii) consumers,

(iii) reproducers/child rearers, and

(iv) organisers (home, community, cooperatives, trade unions etc.),

differentiating between rural and urban areas?

(Please categorise your answers, to the extent possible, along the lines of the nine topics listed as examples in question 1.)

6. In what ways does your organisation think that women can best help governments to facilitate the achievements of their structural adjustment objectives?

Annex 3

Members of the Expert Group

Ms. Mary Chinery-Hesse (Chairperson)	UNDP Resident Representative in Uganda; formerly Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Ghana
Dr. Bina Agarwal	Professor of Economics, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi University, India
Dr. Jamilah Ariffin	Associate Professor, Faculty of Economics and Administration, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Ms. Tendai Bare	Secretary, Ministry of Community and Cooperative Development and Women's Affairs, Government of Zimbabwe
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Ms. Marjorie Lamont Henriques	Deputy Director-General, Planning Institute of Jamaica
Dr. Richard Jolly	Deputy Executive Director (Programmes), UNICEF, New York; formerly Director, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Britain

Ms. Hilda Lini*	Member of Parliament, Vanuatu; consultant, women and development in the Pacific; formerly in-charge of Women's Affairs, South Pacific Commission
Ms. Iola Mathews	Coordinator, Action Programme for Women Workers, Australian Council of Trade Unions
Ms. Carolyn McAskie	High Commissioner for Canada in Sri Lanka; formerly Director-General, Multilateral Technical Cooperation Division, Canadian International Development Agency
Dr. Frances Stewart	Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford; Senior Research Officer, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, Britain

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*Ms. Lini was able to attend only the first meeting of the Group.

Printed for the Commonwealth Secretariat
by Hobbs the Printers of Southampton
(2535/89)

ENGENDERING ADJUSTMENT FOR THE 1990s

Having considered the evidence on the impact of the crisis and subsequent adjustment on women, we are convinced that short-term stabilisation measures have too often been in conflict with long-term development goals, and have caused hardships severe enough to invalidate the process. It is only by recognising the economic necessity of protecting the social base, particularly as it affects women, and by incorporating these concerns into policy, that adjustment can achieve the desired results. In other words, adjustment policies which fail to incorporate women's concerns fully are not only unjust and cause unnecessary hardship but also imperil the effectiveness of the policies themselves. We must stress that our proposals will not be adequately implemented if they are seen and incorporated only as marginal additions to the present adjustment efforts. The problem of existing adjustment is not its omission of a few projects for women – but its failure to take adequate account of the time, roles, potential contribution and needs of half of each country's population.

From the Report

The Group's Report provides an incisive and moving analysis of the special difficulties women are now facing in many parts of the world. It points to the severe and often disproportionate impact which women have encountered in carrying out their four major roles of producers, home managers, mothers and community organisers, in the face of the economic crises and ensuing structural adjustment programmes which have been experienced by much of the developing world during the 1980s. It finds that, in practice, these programmes have made additional demands on women as producers, while reducing the quantum of social support and other resources available to them in their other roles. The result is to worsen the already harsh pressures on women's time.

From the Foreword by the Commonwealth Secretary-General

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

ISBN 0 85092 340 9

ISBN 978-1-84859-456-2

9 781848 594562