# WOMEN ...aworld survey 

## Ruth Leger Sivard

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men [and women] are created equal." US Declaration of Independence 1776 [and Elizabeth Cady Stanton 1848]

## Acknowledgements

This brief summary of developments relating to women in the world community owes its origins and the information it contains to the efforts of many scholars, men and women, who have worked to explore and illuminate the facts. My hope is that it will help to open the door to others who begin as I did with little information and a willingness to try to see what is at issue.

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The interpretations of the material are wholly my responsibility and do not necessarily reflect the views of the advisors or the sponsoring organizations.

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## FOREWORD

Over the years I have spent much time in the company of womennot only in the great cities of the world, but in small and hidden places in countrysides so impoverished that a woman who finds two or three pieces of firewood after a day's search counts herself fortunate, while others wait for hours for some drops of water to trickle into their empty buckets. Then there are those of us rushing to our work, collecting pay checks for our efforts, discussing guilt feelings about time spent away from our children.

It is the great merit of Ruth Sivard's world survey of women that in its pages we discover once again that we are all sisters under the skin.

There are "two and one-half billion women in the world, speaking 2,976 languages and living in countries where the average annual income ranges from under $\$ 200$ to $\$ 30,000$ per capita'', she begins. After presenting a wealth of statistical information, she concludes that "Women's sense of inequality shared has triggered a movement for change which is now emerging everywhere; it differs from earlier drives for equality in being worldwide and focusing on broad issues."

This too has been my experience as I have traveled the world as an Ambassador of Good Will for UNICEF. The painstaking collection and classification of statistics documenting women's inequality in health, education, the workplace, in the law and in society irrefutably support my own, often painful, observations and experiences. Ruth Sivard's WOMEN . . a world survey brings to life the comment of an English physician who said of the science of statistics that, after all, it only represented people with the tears wiped off.

This report is sober evidence that we can trust our senses.


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The purpose of this survey is to bring together in an easily accessible and abbreviated form a range of factual information on the situation of women in the world community today. To give perspective to the picture, the focus is on changes which have occurred since World War II; in the statistical record, this is essentially the 35 -year period beginning 1950.


The changes achieved in women's status during the period since World War II have been extremely uneven and, on the whole, modest. Whether in the economy, education, health, or government, there is no major field of activity and no country in which women have attained equality with men.

The influx of women into the paid labor force has not significantly narrowed the gap between men's and women's pay; nor has it stemmed the rising tide of poverty among women. Despite the key role that women have in Third World economies, they have been largely by-passed in development strategies.

Throughout the world women are still disproportionately represented among the poor, the illiterate, the unemployed and underemployed. They remain a very small minority at the centers of political power.

Yet the "silent revolution" is slowly gaining in strength. Women are more educated, more active economically, more successful politically than they were a few decades ago. There is an undercurrent of confidence and cooperation among them that is new to the world, and has great promise.

The unpaid labor of women in the household, if given economic value, would add an estimated one-third, or $\$ 4,000,000,000,000$, to the world's annual economic product.
Rural women account for more than half the food produced in the Third World; for as much as 80 percent of the food production in Africa.

The hourly wages of working women in manufacturing industry are on average three-fourths those earned by men.
In 1950 there were 27 million more boys than girls enrolled in primary and secondary levels of education; currently there are 80 million more boys than girls enrolled.
Women are 50 percent of the teachers in primary schools, 31 percent in secondary schools, and 26 percent in higher education.
In developing countries two-thirds of the women over the age of 25 (and about half the men) have never been to school.
Educated women rank higher in verbal skills than educated men but in the global community, not including China, there are 130 million more adult women than men who cannot read and write.

Women account for half the students studying for advanced degrees in the humanities, education, and fine arts; for one-quarter in the more powerful fields of law, engineering, and medicine.
Both males and females born in developing countries have shorter life expectancy than babies born in developed countries; for males the average life span is 10 years shorter; for females it is 15 years shorter.
Nutritional anemia afflicts half of all women of child-bearing ages in developing countries, compared with less than 7 percent of women of those ages in developed countries.
Ten of the eleven oldest democracies in the world waited until the 20th century to give women the right to vote: the first to grant electoral equality was New Zealand (1893) and the last was Switzerland (1971).
Although they comprise 50 percent of the world's enfranchised population, women hold no more than 10 percent of the seats in national legislatures.
In one government in three there are no women in the executive council which represents the highest decision-making body of the country; in those cabinets where women are included, there is usually only one woman.

Female Life Expectancy
at Birth, 1985
national averages

| Age |
| :---: |
| 80 <br> 79 |
| Norway, Swedand, Japan |

Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France Netherlands, Switzerland, US
Austria, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Spain, UK Bulgaria, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Greece, Ireland, Poland, Portugal
Fiji, Hungary, Israel, Malta, Romania,
Singapore, USSR
Argentina, Barbados, Costa Rica, Guyana, Jamaica, Kuwait, Panama, Trinidad \& Tobago, Uruguay, Yugoslavia

Albania, Chile, China, Venezuela
Bahrain, Lebanon

Mauritius, Mexico, Sri Lanka
El Salvador, Malaysia, Paraguay, Syria
North Korea, South Korea, Mongolia, United Arab Emirates
Brazil, Columbia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador Thailand, Turkey
World Jordan, Philippines, Average South Africa

Guatemala, Honduras
Peru, Qatar, Tunisia
Libya, Morocco, Nicaragua
Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Kenya
Zimbabwe
Burma, Iran, Liberia, Saudi Arabia, Uganda, Vietnam

Tanzania
Haiti, Lesotho, Papua New Guinea
Bolivia, Botswana, Ghana, Zambia
Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan
Cameroon, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, India, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique Oman, Togo, Zaire
Benin, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Swaziland

Bangladesh, Cambodia, Central African Republic Gabon, Guinea, Laos, Yemen People's Dem Republic

Angola, Burundi, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta, Yemen Arab Republic

Gambia, Nepal, Somalia

Ethiopia
Afghanistan, Chad

## Perspectives

Forty years ago the Charter of the United Nations reaffirmed the signers' "faith in fundamental human rights . . . in the equal rights of men and women." In 1948 the principles of the Charter were made more explicit in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In many respects the years since World War II represent a period unique in history. Like human rights, national rights gained new attention. Ninety-three independent countries were born. Growth, as well as change, was in the air. The global economy expanded at an unprecedented rate. The rise in world population was larger than the total increase in the three centuries preceding. Dizzying advances were made in science and technology.

For the 50 percent of the world population that is female, this relatively brief period-little more than the life span of one generation-opened up new vistas of promise and equity. In the decade beginning 1945 more nations extended suffrage to women than had granted it over all the years prior to World War II. New constitutions were written and old ones amended to incorporate UNinspired principles of equality of rights and of opportunities for both sexes.

Looked at now, 40 years after the Charter, the progress toward equality actually achieved by women is considerably more modest than the promise. The factual evidence available shows a continuing wide gap between the status and rights of women and of men. There is no country in the world where this gap has been eliminated in all major fields of activity. It is clear that discrimination, imbedded in attitudes, customs and laws over thousands of years, cannot be removed in a few decades.

Yet there are some bright spots in the record of these few decades, and it is the intention of this report to explore what they are, as well as what is left undone.

## Diversity

Two and one-half billion women, speaking 2,976 languages and living in countries where the average annual income ranges from under \$200 to $\$ 30,000$ per capita, represent a vast and far from homogeneous portion of humanity. All generalizations about their situation, roles, and status in society must be seen as simplifications of a variety that is virtually infinite.

Yet national averages can convey a sense of the scope of this diversity. Life expectancy, illustrated in chart 1 , is a broad measure of national well-being. It shows that the average life span of women in some countries is almost double that in others. In fact, women in richer countries may hope to live 30 years or more longer than women in some of the poorer countries. Adult literacy rates, shown on map 1 opposite, have an even wider gulf between the highest and lowest national averages. From 99 to 100 percent in most developed countries, the proportion of adult women who are literate drops to a low of 3 percent in the least developed. (In both life span and literacy, the range from highest national average to lowest is greater among women than among men.)

Other evidence provides contrasts that are equally broad. There are countries where nine out of ten women over the age of 25 have had no schooling whatsoever; at the other extreme, six out of ten women of university age are enrolled in higher education. In some countries, women begin their reproductive years before age 15 and as a rule bear seven or eight children in their lives; in others, the average is less than two children. In some, women take an active political role-and in a few have reached the pinnacle of political power-but in others they have not yet attained the minimal political right of suffrage.

At subnational levels and in comparisons between urban and rural areas, these contrasts may become even stronger. A brief report of this nature, however, must confine itself largely to averages, and draw out of them what information they can yield about the nature of women's public lives and the processes of change affecting them.


MAP 1

## Commonality

Despite the diversity of experience and status, women have recently, and to a surprising degree, begun to come together on common ground. The gulf between the most and least privileged among them may seem in many cases to be wider than the gulf between women and men in particular cultures, but what women have found to bind them together is a single thread that winds through all cultures. They share a sense of an inequality of opportunity, the injustice of the traditionally-imposed second place, whether in the family, social, economic or political setting.
Women's sense of inequality shared has produced a movement for change which is now emerging everywhere. It differs from earlier drives by women for equality in several respects:
. . . It is geographically broad-based, with links worldwide. The United Nations, which sponsored an International Decade for Women beginning in 1976, has been the mechanism to attract world attention and set standards for action. In August 1985 it will help to bring together 8,000 women from over 100 countries to assess the results of this Decade.

The issues and focus are also broad. Women are coming together to address problems that are often quite remote from their own lives. They are beginning to break through institutional barriers to help one another. They are looking at their rights as human beings, but also, and with increased sophistication and power, at the social structures and public priorities which affect these rights: in particular, at issues of justice, development, and peace.
... And, more than before, they are finding awareness and support by men and male-dominated institutions. The link between women's advancement and social-economic progress in general begins to be more widely recognized. When women are better informed and educated, the evidence shows, the family's health and income benefit. When women are given training and skills, the nation's productivity gains and the economy grows. What is good for women is also good for society at large. This is the solid basis for the progress that is underway.


Between 1950 and 1985, more people were added to the world population than in the previous three centuries.
Of the 2.3 billion increase between 1950 and 1985.
號

Urban
$\ldots 60 \%$ were added to the burgeoning
populations of urban centers.

## Background of Change

There has been a complex interaction between the social/economic/ political forces of the period since World War II and the changing situation of women. In ways which would not have been believed possible by futurists a few decades ago, the world has been going through a period of unusually rapid transformation. Many of the changes affected women's place and opportunities. But women were not merely passive beneficiaries or victims. They have also had a role, and sometimes a leading one, in the transition.

This section briefly reviews some of the major developments in the global background. The interplay between these trends and measurable changes in women's employment, education, health, and political and legal status will be discussed in more detail in later sections.

## Population Growth

One of the most dramatic of the developments in the period following World War II was the upward spiral in world population (chart 2). Several factors, including advances in medical science and in sanitation, contributed to a widespread improvement in health conditions, bringing mortality rates down sharply. Birth rates also declined but more slowly. Over the span of one generation, the number of people in the world doubled, with most of the increase concentrated in the developing countries.

These unprecedented growth rates intensified and created a variety of problems for world society, among them:
. . . Added strains on countries trying to develop and expand weak economies.
... An overload on natural resources, causing hardship especially in agri-cultural-dependent areas. In Africa particularly, where population grew much faster than food production, serious malnutrition became common.
. . . New pressures on public programs for social development, such as education, health, care of growing numbers of elderly citizens-programs of broad concern to women because of their traditional responsibilities within the household.

Some aspects of demographic change also had direct effects on women's status. As the family's first line of defense against sickness, women faced new responsibilities. More was expected of them in modernizing societies: standards for preventing illness--cleanliness, sanitation, nutrition-were higher. New technologies for health protection and family planning had to be learned and applied. Women everywhere were the primary providers of better health, the responsible partners of medicine in reducing morbidity and mortality. Better education for women was a key need and one which public authorities increasingly recognized.

In addition, women found that they had gained new control over their own lives. Vastly better chances of child survival, especially in industrialized countries, reduced the incentive for larger families to ensure the desired number of children. A reduction from high levels of fertility through family planning improved women's health, as well as their children's, giving more time for education and training, and possibly for paid work outside the household. Even urbanization, despite all its problems, made for greater freedom in some respects, opening up new job markets for women.

## Economic Development

The postwar period was also one of unprecedented economic and technological growth. From 1955 to 1980 the world's output tripled in real terms and, despite the sharp increase in population, income per capita on average doubled. In every region of the world, the World Bank estimates, growth surpassed both expectations and previous records. A rapid expansion of trade, production, and capital flows made room for large numbers of a burgeoning population of working age. From 1950 to 1980 the paid labor force grew by an estimated 700 million people, 40 percent of them women.


Infant Mortality-Comparisons with a century ago illustrate the speed with which death rates have been reduced since 1950. From 1850 to 1885, the average infant mortality rate of fourteen European countries (all now in the category of developed countries) was brought down from 185 to 160 per 1,000 live births. Over the same time span in this century, the developing countries of the world have cut their average infant mortality rate from 163 to 85 , developed countries from 50 to 15 .


Fertility-Birth rates have been slower than mortality rates to join the demographic revolution. The spread between them, particularly in the developing countries, has produced the phenomenal increase in population shown in chart 2. While the highest fertility rates are in the economically less privileged areas, it is the education of the mother, rather than the level of income, which has been found to have the greater bearing on the decline of fertility.


Urbanization-The population of urban areas in the Third World has grown more than twice as fast as the rural population, although rural dwellers still represent two-thirds of the total. In developed countries, the rural population has actually shrunk since 1950; three-fourths of the people now live in cities. Male migration to the cities in search of work has increased the burden on women and the number of impoverished women-headed families in many developing countries.

The economic growth was far from uniform, however, and for many of those living at the margin of subsistence there was little visible improvement in their lives. In the low-income countries where population pressures were especially strong, the expansion of the modern industrial sector was unable to absorb the large increments in the labor force. There was an increasing number of unemployed and underemployed among both women and men of working ages. At poverty levels, women were a growing majority. Overall, the disparity in income between developing and developed countries continued to widen and there was virtually no change in the distribution of income between the richest and poorest countries of the world (charts 6 and 7).

Significant structural shifts also characterized the economic background of the postwar period. One aspect of structural change was the wide variation in the rates of progress achieved among Third World countries. Oilproducing countries and a number of middle income developing countries in the Far East and Latin Americathe "newly industrializing"-had fast growth rates. These countries acted as magnets for capital and for people seeking work; in 1980, ILO estimates, the number of job-seeking international migrants reached 20-22 million. Meanwhile, the very poorest countries continued to drop further behind. In the 1970's, Africa's gains in per capita income were less than half the average for all de-
veloping countries; by 1983 the growth rate was negative.
Another striking feature of the economic transformation was the decline in the relative importance of agriculture. The agricultural sector of the world economy, which in 1950 had employed almost two-thirds of the world's paid labor force, by 1980 accounted for less than half of the total (chart 12). Employment in both industry and services, ILO estimates, grew twice as fast as in agriculture. A shortage of manpower developed in certain skills and as a result there was a strong increase in the demand for female labor. The expansion of the service sector in particular became an important haven for the growing number of women seeking paid jobs.

By the beginning of the 1980's, relatively buoyant economic growth had given way to a general malaise. The world recession in the years 1980 to 1983 was the most prolonged since the great depression of the 1930's. It highlighted the failure of successive development decades to reduce proverty, illiteracy, and malnutrition for the majority of the world's population living in developing countries. The crisis was marked by a high rate of price inflation coupled with large-scale unemployment, an unusual combination in a period of recession, and one which bore most heavily on the poorest countries and the most vulnerable sectors of the population. Women continued to enter the labor force in large numbers but their unemployment rate rose faster than men's.

CHART 6



## Social Change

Beyond the demographic and economic elements of change, the social landscape was undergoing radical transformation. The range and complexity of the forces at work defy simplification into a few indicators that can be shown in graphic terms. Yet basic institutions are being altered; moral values have been shaken and age-old attitudes and standards called into question. There is a new emphasis on independence and the human right of self-determination. Modern communication and transportation span widely disparate cultures and transmit change at speeds unknown a few decades ago. No nation has been isolated from these influences.

Two institutions-the family and government-illustrate the dynamic nature of recent trends. Both have experienced instability and a challenge to traditional authority.

The family, long recognized as a basic unit of society, has been transformed in a relatively brief period. It has shrunk in size in both developed and developing regions. In large part the decline in size reflects the drop in fertility. But it also reflects an increasing number of oneparent families, most of them headed by women. Births outside of the marriage union also have become much more frequent. In the developed countries, these births now represent between 10 and 17 percent of all births.

Marriages as a rule occur later and are less numerous in relation to the number of women of marriageable age. In developed countries, separation and divorce are much more common; the divorce rate on average almost tripled between 1960 and 1980. UN estimates are that in these countries 25 to 50 percent of marriages end in divorce. Only scattered information is available for the Third World but what evidence there is suggests high marital instability there as well.

Many factors, including broad cultural influences, underlay the changes in the family. Women's new roles and activities were certainly among them, particularly in the industralized countries. Participation in the paid job market provided a measure of economic independence for more women, increasing options for delayed marriage or the dissolution of unsatisfactory marital bonds. In a broader sense, both women and men created and responded to a greater social acceptance of spinsterhood, bachelorhood, and single households. Life styles among
younger people in particular were radically different, and so were the opportunities for choice.

Political life too was changing in response to a new social order. Unlike the family, the institution of government was growing rather than shrinking in size. Its share of the economy expanded as it continually broadened the scope of its authority, taking on new responsibilities and expanding old ones. In industrialized countries (not including the centrally planned), IMF records show, government revenues now range from 35 to as much as 55 percent of the gross domestic product.

In many ways the government can act as an essential agent for equity and justice. Its interventions for development, including development of human resources, have produced rapid gains in public education, which have in turn affected infant mortality, family fertility, and women's entry into the labor market. Government financing and insurance have given more people access to modern medical science, a significant factor in the decline of mortality rates. At least 130 governments now provide various forms of social security for their citizens.

A large annual investment in military forces in the name of national security has also become a more prominent feature of the exercise of government power. In the Third World, half of all governments are now under military control. Government expenditures worldwide for military "defense" have climbed to new record highs, squeezing out social programs especially important to women. In 1983 alone, world military expenditures exceeded $\$ 700$ billion, considerably more than all governments spent for the protection of their citizens against the everyday hazards of disease, accidents, and ill-health.
The expansion of governmental power raised new issues and concerns about relative national priorities. Citizens were taking a more active role in questioning priorities in the allocation and use of public funds. Prominent among these questioners were women. In most countries they had attained the right to vote only in the last 30-40 years of civilization. They had as a group suffered more than men from the global neglect of social development and equity, and on the whole their views differed significantly from men's in the relative emphasis given to the use of military force. Women's representation at the centers of political power was still relatively small, but on the way up.

## Women's Work

In this period of rapid change, what role did women play in the expanding economy? One important aspect of an economic relationship which is still evolving was an increase in the number of women participating in paid employment.

The increase is significant especially in comparison with the economic role women have traditionally played. Much of the work that women have done, and do today, is unpaid. Their responsibilities in the household-bearing and caring for children, cleaning, washing, guarding the family's health, providing food, and in rural parts of the Third World, also growing and processing food, and providing water and fuel as well-undergird all productive activities of society, but are not counted among them. This daily work is given no economic value. Nor is women's work in the family farm or business, whether paid or unpaid, adequately recorded in employment or income accounting.
> "The magnitude of rural women's labor and the range of their activities have been underestimated or ignored. . . Women are involved not only in food production but in its processing and distribution as well. They also build their own homes and perform activities such as hunting."

> Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, South Africa, 1983

Entry into paid employment in the market place brings millions of women into the mainstream of economic activity for the first time. It destroys the isolation and screen of invisibility which have had a damaging circular effect on women's status: on the values attached to the paid work that many of them do, the security and prestige of their position in society, and the attention accorded to their needs by political authorities. Participation in the paid labor force can break the vicious circle. Whether it will also mark a significant step toward equality of economic opportunity for women will depend on a complex of factors which are only in part related to the conditions of the market place. The empirical record so far indicates that integration is a slow process, which is still in an early stage.

## Paid Labor

If greater economic visibility through work outside the home can be taken as one measure of progress for women, available statistics give some encouraging reading. According to ILO projections for the world as a whole, 675 mil-

## Fancy and FACT

> Men produce the world's food; women prepare it for the table. In the Third World, where three-fourths of the world's people live, rural women account for more than half the food produced. Women work to supplement the family's income. Women are the sole breadwinners in one-fourth to one-third of the families in the world. The number of women-headed families is rapidly increasing. When women receive the same education and training as men, they will receive equal pay. So far, earning differentials persist even at equivalent levels of training. In professional fields, for example, comparisons of men's and women's salaries show a large gap between them even when samples are matched for training and experience. Men are the heavy workers and where food is short they should have first priority. As a rule, women work longer hours than men. Many carry triple work loads, in their household, labor force, and reproductive roles. Rural women often average an 18-hour day. Nutritional anemia is a serious health problem for women in the Third World. In modern societies, women have moved into all fields of work. Relatively few women have entered occupations traditionally dominated by men. Most women remain highly segregated in low-paid jobs.

lion women are currently at work or seeking work in the labor market.* They represent somewhat more than one-third of the total labor force. Their numbers have doubled since 1950, outstripping the relative rise in the female population of working age and in the number of men workers as well. One woman in two in the ages 15-64 is in the paid labor force.

The increase in women's paid productive labor represents a significant change since 1950 and, if statistical specialists are correct in their assessment of reporting problems, the numbers and rate of growth are even larger than those shown in the official records. As the cautionary note on this page suggests, data on the women's labor force suffer from sex biases as well as conceptual and operational problems. In part because of the multiple character of women's roles, their economic activity tends to be understated, and this is even more likely where there are strong cultural preconceptions about the role women should have. Cultural values affect the recognition and the reporting of the actual economic activities in which they are engaged.

Taking the official statistics as general, if not infallible, guidelines, what clues do they give to the proportion and distribution of women's participation in the labor force?

As chart 8 shows, women generally represent a larger part of the paid labor force in the developed countries than in the rest of the world. The ILO projections for 1985 put women at 41 percent of the total in developed countries and at 32 percent in developing; in 1950 the percentages were respectively 38 and 28. Although women still represent a minority of the labor force in developed as well as developing countries, their rate of growth since 1950 in both parts of the world has outstripped the rise in men workers by two to one.

Regional variations-Looked at in more detail, the record reveals a picture of marked diversity among the regions of the world, in both the change and the dimensions of women's economic role (chart 9). From 1950 to 1980, six regions showed a rise in the representation of women in the paid labor force (working ages 15-64), two a decline, and one virtually no change. The largest influx of women into the labor market occurred in North America.

In view of the qualifications associated with these data, it is somewhat risky to draw firm conclusions from the regional variations. There are, however, known demographic and social differences among the regions which may reasonably be expected to hinder or to encourage women's participation in the labor market. The regions showing the two extremes of economic activity for women exemplify these differences. In Eastern Europe and the USSR, exceptionally high male mortality during World War II made women's employment essential in the recovery period; in the USSR until recently women outnumbered men in the labor force. Women's representation in paid employment in this region is 90 percent of men's, by far the highest of any.

At the low end of the regional range is the Middle East, where religious traditions limit women's activities outside of the household; the ratio of women to men in the labor force there is reportedly a low 29 percent, down from 36 in 1950. Similar traditions keep the women's recorded economic profile exceptionally low in Northern Africa. In Latin America as well, cultural values also affect women's access to gainful employment, and the acknowledgement and recording of the paid work that they do.

Despite these considerable regional variations, there are clear signs that the trend in most of the world is toward greater visibility of women in the economic sphere. Aside from Africa, where the official data currently available show a slight regression in women's visible economic role in most countries, a large majority of the other countries in this survey- 69 out of the 88 for which projections are available-had a growing participation of women in the paid labor force between 1960 and 1980.

[^0]Women as a Percent of Men
in the Paid Labor Force, by region


## Problems of Integrating

Women's economic progress is more complex and precarious, however, than the increasing numbers entering the labor market may suggest. Other objective evidence that is available is limited in coverage but helps to flesh out the picture in terms of the types of work women do, their status and pay, and some of the special problems they encounter as they move in increasing numbers into the world of paid labor. These additional pieces of information indicate that women's large influx into the labor force has not appreciably changed the nature of work for the vast majority, or reconciled women's productive and reproductive roles. It has not significantly narrowed the gap between men's and women's pay. Nor has it stemmed the rising tide of poverty now engulfing the world's women.

The characteristics of women's work and the problems it raises are extremely diverse. To condense them into this summary report, the discussion below targets four issues of major importance.

Unemployment-A relatively large portion of the women's paid labor force is unemployed, or underemployed. Income-earning opportunities have not risen as fast as the influx into the labor market. Women's rate of unemployment runs higher than men's even in official figures, and supplementary information suggests that in real terms the discrepancy may be substantially greater. There is more hidden unemployment among women. Large numbers are in the informal sector or involuntarily working part-time.

Evidence of the male-female disparity in unemployment comes from both the industrial market economies and the Third World. Chart 10, showing a selected group of these countries, indicates that the higher unemployment of women is not uniform throughout (Great Britain is an exception and recently Canada and the US as well), but in most countries, since 1970 at least, official records show women's unemployment rates significantly above men's. Among the countries on the chart, women's unemployment rates in 1982 compared with men's ranged from 13 percent higher in Sweden to over 100 percent higher in France, Italy and Japan.

In the limited data available for developing countries, a similar malefemale spread is apparent. ILO reports an open unemployment rate in 1980 of 7.8 percent for women vs. 5.2 percent for men (table 2). These rates are not regarded, however, as adequate indicators of the total underutilization of labor in these countries, and they may give only a hint of the disparity between the sexes. In the Third World, an especially large proportion of women are known to be self-employed, often as vendors or on piece work at home. There is no adequate information on the extent of their underemployment either in terms of hours of work or minimally adequate pay.

CHART 10

## Unemployment Rates

 of Women and Menpercent of civilian labor force








| Open Unemployment Rates in Developing Countries*, 1980 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Men | Women |
| All deveioping | 6.0 | 5.2 | 7.8 |
| Latin America |  |  |  |
| Low income | 8.1 | 7.4 | 10.3 |
| Middle income | 5.6 | 7.8 | 8.4 |
| Asia |  |  |  |
| india | 4.6 | 3.3 | 7.3 |
| Other low income | 4.5 | 2.3 | 10.2 |
| Middle income | 3.4 | 3.4 | 3.4 |
| Africa \& Middle East |  |  |  |
| Low income | 14.8 | 15.9 | 12.6 |
| Middle income | 7.7 | 4.7 | 8.7 |
| Oil producers | 5.4 | 6.1 | 4.0 |
| *excluding China |  |  |  |

Percent of Employed Women Who Are Married

|  | 1960 | 65 | $\mathbf{7 0}$ | $\mathbf{7 5}$ | $\mathbf{8 0}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Canada | $\ldots$ | 52 | 56 | 60 | 60 |
| US | 53 | 56 | 59 | 58 | 56 |
| Denmark | 38 | 48 | 64 | 67 | 63 |
| West Germany | 45 | 50 | 56 | 60 | 61 |
| Italy | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $51^{*}$ | 54 | 64 |
| Norway | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $64^{\star}$ | 66 | 69 |
| Sweden | $56 \dagger$ | 58 | 63 | 62 | 59 |
| Japan | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 59 | 64 | 67 |
| Australia | $\ldots$ | 49 | 59 | 64 | 62 |
| *1972 $\quad$ 1962 not available |  |  |  |  |  |

Even in countries with the most advanced statistical coverage, unemployment is likely to be underestimated. Official unemployment records usually do not include people who are not registered for work. Women are more likely not to register for work or to withdraw from the market, becoming "discouraged" workers during periods of slack employment. In the US, for example, women accounted for 64 percent of discouraged workers in 1982, although they represented only 42 percent of the labor force. In Australia, 85 percent of discouraged job seekers in 1983 were women. An even larger number wanted to work and were available for work but were not counted in the labor force. If both of these groups were included in unemployment, the Australian study found, the unemployment rate would have risen from 9.9 to 12.8 percent for men and from 11.2 to 26.7 percent for women.

In industrialized countries, women also represent the vast majority of parttime workers, a category of employment which has grown fast since the early 1970's. The nature of work in the service industries permits it, and often family responsibilities require it. The majority of employed women are married (table 1). Even when employed, current surveys show, they continue to carry the main burden of household work.

Table 3 opposite indicates the considerable proportion of women working part-time in the OECD countries and the large share of all part-time work done by women, ranging up to 94 percent in the UK. The concentration of women part-time workers in the prime age group for employment (25-35) suggests that many are engaged in this work as a temporary measure - most often because of the lack of child-care facilities or of alternatives such as an extended family to share the care of children. National studies also show a rise in the proportion of women involuntarily working part-time because they could not find full-time employment.

Wage-gap-There is also a persistent, substantial gap in earnings between men and women. Although some differentials have lessened in recent years, in no country do women appear to have reached a broad parity with men in wages and salaries. Comparisons available for manufacturing industry ( 25 countries reporting to ILO) indicate that in 1982 women's hourly earnings averaged less than three-fourths of men's (chart 11). For the limited number of developing countries in the reporting group, the earnings ratio was somewhat lower than in the developed. In both groups of countries, however, national averages showed a wide range. The highest average for all countries was in Sweden (women's earnings 90 percent of men's); the lowest in Japan (43 percent of men's).

ILO attributes the earnings gap mainly to the concentration of women in lower-paying occupations, rather than to overt differences in pay scales for the same or similar jobs. "Mainly" may be a key word in this observation since job-for-job comparisons often show wide disparities still existing. Aside from the more blatant forms of direct discrimination, which government legislation has helped to diminish but not wipe out, indirect discrimination which results in lower pay levels persists in many forms, implicit in recruitment procedures, and training and promotion policies which favor men.

| Women'sShare in Part-Time <br> Employment |  | Table 3 |
| :--- | :---: | ---: |
|  | Percent |  |
| OECD Countries | 1973 | $\mathbf{1 9 8 1}$ |
| Australia | 79.6 | 79.0 |
| Belgium | 89.8 | 86.2 |
| Canada | 69.5 | 72.0 |
| Denmark | 93.4 | 92.0 |
| Finland | 81.0 | 80.2 |
| France | 82.1 | 84.6 |
| Germany, West | 92.4 | 93.8 |
| Greece | $67 .$. | 63.0 |
| Ireland | 55.4 | 68.6 |
| Italy | 60.9 | 64.1 |
| Japan | 83.3 | 67.3 |
| Luxembourg | 71.3 | 87.5 |
| Netherlands | 77.0 | 78.6 |
| New Zealand | 88.0 | 77.9 |
| Norway | 92.1 | 84.5 |
| Sweden | 68.4 | 94.3 |
| United Kingdom |  | 70.3 |

To correct basic pay inequality, it is generally recognized that further progress must be made through:
. . . Statutory minimum wages for all wage earners.
. . . Broader access for women to all occupations and to higher paying jobs.
. . . Wide acceptance of equal pay for jobs of comparable worth.
The first of these measures has already been implemented in many countries, including in the Third World. Virtually all developing countries now have minimum wage laws covering an increasing number of workers, and many of them have modified pay structures to make them more egalitarian.

The second and third remedies mentioned above, involving basic attitudinal as well as structural reforms, have made less progress. Job segregation, to be discussed below, remains a major obstacle to gender equalization. There is evidence, however, of some legislative movement toward the broadened concept of pay equality through emphasis on work of "comparable worth." In addition to ILO Convention No. 100 on "equal pay for equal value,"* the Council of the European Communities has helped to give wider acceptance to the principle. Its directive of 1975 on equal value also specifies that criteria for job classifications must be drawn in such a way as to exclude any discrimination on grounds of sex.
Job segregation-The increased employment of women had little impact in reducing the occupational segregation which is at the base of the inequality of pay between the sexes. Women tend to be highly concentrated in a narrow range of fields and in jobs considered to be of lower responsibility, and skill, and therefore paid less. Relatively few reach supervisory and management positions. Job segregation occurs in both developing and developed countries, but in broad terms the fields of concentration differ between the two.
In developing countries the majority of people live in rural areas. Agriculture in these countries represents the principal employer of female labor. AIthough it has steadily declined in relative importance since 1950, in 1980 agriculture still provided at least two-thirds of the paid jobs for women in the Third World (chart 12). Industry and the services accounted for roughly equal shares of the rest of the women's labor force.

Within all three major fields women are clustered in unskilled, dead-end jobs with low pay and little potential for training or advancement. In agriculture, if cash crops are grown, women tend to do the back-breaking planting, weeding and harvesting; men to operate whatever mechanical equipment is available. In the services, women are largely in menial jobs, primarily as domestics, or in the informal sector, selling food and home-grown crops. In industry, they provide cheap assembly-line labor for the rapidly growing multinational operations in textiles, apparel, and electronic products.
*As of March 1983, 93 countries had ratified the Convention.


CHART 12


## And Women's Increased Participation



The rapidly expanding services sector has been a haven for the growing number of women seeking paid jobs. Service industries include trade, transport, communications, finance, public services (such as education, social welfare, and military defense), and professional and personal services.

Occupational segregation in the developed countries centers especially in the service sector, which has absorbed the bulk of women's influx into the labor force. More detailed occupational breakdowns in these countries indicate how narrowly focused the job concentration is. In Austria in 1981, 63 percent of women worked in six out of a total of 75 occupations. In Sweden, out of 270 occupational categories in the census, more than 40 percent of women were in just five jobs: secretary, nurse's aide, sales worker, cleaner, and children's nurse. The occupations which were common for women generally included very few men; in the Swedish list, for example, there were nine women to one man.

Women's occupational concentration is associated with unfavorable work patterns: lower wages, lower status, longer hours, fewer or no fringe benefits, and less security. A hierarchy in pay reflects gender ratios in occupations: fields in which women predominate are generally lowest, fields employing both men and women somewhat higher, and fields predominately or exclusively occupied by men at the top of the pay scale. Work done at home, and part-time, seasonal, and temporary jobs, in which women are the large majority, not only are low in pay but generally have few job benefits and inadequate social protection, such as health insurance or vacation rights, and are less likely to provide training or career development.

The evidence available indicates relatively little change overall in the degree of occupational segregation in recent years. There has been some gender cross-over: women have now entered many fields of work previously confined largely to men and men have moved into jobs once almost exclusively female, but their representation in numbers is generally very small. Women fill comparatively few management positions and in top management they are extremely rare.

Labor market segregation and inequality reflect cultural patterns and stereotypes which are not easily changed. Conceptions of gender-related roles are much more extreme and rigid in some societies than others, but on the whole women as well as men are conscious of differences in responsibilities and status, and both sexes develop self-images from the earliest years. In the schools and in the home, women are identified with caring and supportive roles. They carry these over into the world of paid work, choosing jobs which can be combined with family responsibilities, and accepting work which may be repetitive, dull, and demanding, because they have no other options.

If change is slow, it is nevertheless possible, as progress in some areas has shown. Throughout the Third World, women's self-help groups have been successful in breaking down stereotypes and giving women a new sense of self-worth. The Nordic countries have led in emphasizing the provision of child-care facilities and a better balance between men's and women's responsibilities in the home. Legislation has helped to limit sex discrimination and to provide supporting measures in terms of hours of work, parental leave, and facilities for child care. Experience has shown, however, that laws are not enough. Affirmative action is also needed: direct support in the form of training and guidance to help women break away from technical illiteracy and a narrow choice of careers.

Poverty-Unemployment, low pay, unskilled work, add up to a spreading blot of impoverishment among women. Throughout the world, there are more women than men who are poor, and their numbers are growing. In the US, one of the most prosperous countries on earth, two out of three adults living below the poverty level in 1983 were women; one elderly woman in six was poor; one in every two poor families was headed by a woman.

The feminization of poverty is increasingly typical of both richer and poorer countries. But among all of those who live in poverty, women who are the rural poor of the Third World are a special case. Most numerous of all, they are also the most disadvantaged. An 18 -hour working day is not uncommon for them. Overworked, undertrained, often undernourished and illiterate, they have limited chance to enter the cash economy, although they account for more than

## "Women want equal power to make decisions on the allocation of resources for development." <br> Olivia Muchena Zimbabwe, 1983

|  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Women in Foreign-Assisted |  |  |  |
| Training Programs, 1982 |  |  |  |

half the food produced in the Third World, and for as much as 90 percent of the family food supply of rural Africa.

A complex of factors is increasing the economic burden for rural women in the Third World and imposing greater inequality between women and men. Several factors can be briefly mentioned.

Women are poor because increasingly they are left with children to support. The growing number of women-headed households is a characteristic common to most countries today, but the trend has been intensified in rural regions by the out-migration of men to urban centers and to other countries in search of paid work. Left behind with the burden of providing for the family are women who are severely handicapped not only by a lack of resources but in many countries by laws and social institutions which give them no independent status. They may have no rights to own, lease, buy, or sell the small piece of land which they cultivate for the family's food. Without property rights, they are also often deprived of access to credit to buy seed, fertilizers, and farm implements.

Development programs, including the $\$ 400$ billion provided in official foreign assistance since 1960, have not yet adequately addressed the economic needs of women. Planning has tended to be male-oriented, assuming a social structure based on the man as household head and primary producer.

Traditionally the division of labor in the rural family had been well-defined and more equal in most countries, with women and men sharing labor functions and status. Modernization of agriculture has often altered the balance between the sexes, increasing women's dependent status, as well as their workload. Productivity-enhancing mechanization and training have been directed primarly to men. With few exceptions, women and their economic functions have been by-passed by the new labor-saving technology.

In general, commercialization of agriculture has had the effect of increasing women's workload, while reducing their opportunities for independent cash income. As the production of crops for sale increased land under cultivation, women's work in the fields also increased. Men, however, controlled the marketing of cash crops. Women continued to have responsibility for child care, producing food, gathering fuel, getting water, functions that were economically invisible and yielded little or no cash. Their customary sources of small earnings from the production of handcrafts or the sale of produce and fish in the market diminished in competition with commercial operations.

The International Decade for Women helped to stimulate official awareness of the increasing impoverishment of women in the Third World and of the central role they had always had in the agricultural economies of these countries. Authorities appeared to agree that the "trickle down" concept of development was not working for women. A greater focus on their economic needs was deemed necessary for development's sake, as well as for equity. Program emphasis, which had been primarily on women's reproductive role, would have to give higher priority to their productive functions.

It is not yet clear, however, that significant change has occurred in development programming in women's favor since the mid-1970's. Executive boards of the major international aid agencies still tend to be exclusively male. A lack of clear quantitative information in this area makes it difficult to judge progress, but the few statistics that are available on allocations under international aid programs are not highly encouraging. The US Agency for International Development (AID) in 1982 spent $\$ 53$ million for "women in development" activities, or 4 percent of the $\$ 1,300$ million in total development aid by the agency. Eight OECD member countries (table 4) show an average of 17 percent women among students and trainees in aid programs in 1982. It may take more time, and more specific information on what foreign aid programs have done for women in ensuring training and credit access, before the full scope of development efforts affecting women will show. At present the evidence suggests that women are still a long way from being equal partners in development planning or programs.

## Women's Education

Education may well be the area in which women have made the greatest gains in recent decades. Since education influences women's economic participation and earning power, and also the number of children they have and the health their children will have, progress here can be the harbinger of expanding opportunities in the future. Education develops the human potential. In the modern world it is seen as vital for a fully productive role in life for women as well as men.

## "There is no greater threat to women's health and family health than ignorance; and the best remedy for that is education." <br> Pan American Health Organization, 1984

Most governments have acted to remove formal barriers to entry into school systems and give equal access to girls and boys. Laws requiring compulsory attendance are widespread. According to UN records, 161 of 194 countries with autonomous school systems had compulsory schooling by 1980. Of these, most countries ( 94 of the 161) required 8-10 years of schooling; 55 required 7 years or less; 12 called for 10 years or more.

A remarkable rise in school enrollment over the postwar period therefore gives grounds for optimism that education has become a major force for the improvement of women's lives and status. Statistics, which are more abundant on this subject than on employment, can tell us how far girls' education has advanced over these years. The increases in numbers enrolled in school are substantial. That large disparities still exist is also evident, however, and the record is not complete without a look at these deficiencies as one guide to the progress which must still be made.

## Enrollment

In 1985, according to UNESCO projections, about 300 million more girls will be enrolled in the world's schools and universities than in 1950. Girls' enrollment quadrupled during this period, rising from 95 million in 1950 to a projected 390 million in 1985. The rate of increases has been even faster than the big jump in school-age population. At all age levels relatively more girls are now able to attend school.

School-age population-Despite these favorable trends, and a growing body of law guaranteeing full access, it is also apparent that basic elementary education is not yet available to a large proportion of the world's children and that girls are particularly disadvantaged. Laws requiring compulsory education are not uniformly enforced. One-quarter of children of primary school age are not in school. School systems in many developing countries (at least one in three, UN estimates) are not yet equipped to take care of all children who should be in school. In Africa, for example, four out of ten eligible children could not be enrolled in 1980. In all developing countries girls are more likely than boys to be among those left out.

When first and second levels of education are considered together, the gap between school-age population and enrollment broadens further (chart 13). In developing countries, almost 60 percent of girls 5-19 are not in school. The ratio of enrollees to population is higher than it was in 1950 but in absolute numbers the difference between the population of girls and the number in school amounts to 350 million, 100 million more than in 1950. The gap is broader still when drop-out rates and absenteeism are considered, both of which are more common for girls than for boys. In rural areas of the Third World especially, the advantages to the family of girls' work at home can often override what benefits are seen in female education.


Gender comparisons-The increase in girls' enrollment since 1950 has so far failed to eliminate a broad disparity between the sexes. At all levels of education, boys still represent a majority of students. In the world enrollment totals, at both the primary and secondary levels, boys are 55 percent, girls 45 percent; at the third level, the ratio changes slightly to 57 percent boys, 43 percent girls.

Gender comparisons, on average, have shown perceptible but not dramatic change since 1950. At the primary level the proportion of girls in total enrollment has gone up one percentage point (from 44 to 45); at the secondary level, three percentage points (from 42 to 45 ). The most significant improvement in female participation has occurred at the highest level of education where girls have been farthest behind. In 1950 girls were only 32 percent of the student body at the third level, in contrast to the current 43 percent.

Behind these averages are continuing major differences in national and regional patterns. Developing countries in general reveal greater sex inequalities in education than do the developed. At successively higher educational levels the inequality becomes more pronounced. At the university level in the Third World men outnumber women almost two to one.

## Literacy

In trend and geographic comparisons, literacy in some respects mirrors the patterns evident in school enrollment. There has been a record increase in the number of literate women in the world, a gain of close to 500 million since 1960 to over one billion currently. Literacy has outstripped the rise in adult population as well, so that the literacy rate for women (not including China) is now 68 percent, compared with 59 percent in 1960.

As in school enrollment, however, women suffer a decided handicap compared with men. The wide gap in literacy rates between men and women has not diminished significantly with the years. The estimated global differential in 1985 amounts to 10 percentage points: i.e., 78 percent of adult men are able to read and write compared with 68 percent of adult women, a discrepancy which means that in the world excluding China there are 130 million more women than men who are illiterate. In developed countries there is virtually no gap between the sexes, but in the Third World a literacy average of 50 percent for women contrasts with 68 percent for men.

Low literacy rates for women as well as broad sex differentials have a common denominator in poverty (chart 15). At least 60 percent of the 500 million women who are unable to read and write live in countries where the average per capita income in 1980 was below $\$ 300$. In many of these countries, espe-
"Ignorance was and still is a factor in the subservience of women. From their earliest years they tend to be kept in ignorance of schooling possibilities. Later they are kept in ignorance of their matrimonial, social and legal rights . . Information is the only guarantee of individual freedom."

Yvette Roudy
France, 1983


#### Abstract

Table 5 Academic Ranks and Salaries in US Institutions of Higher Education


| Academic Rank | \% Women by rank 1974-75 1982-83 |  | Salaries, Women | $\begin{gathered} 1982-83 \\ \text { Men } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Professor | 10 | 10 | \$31,703 | \$35,557 |
| Assoc. prof. | 17 | 21 | 25,400 | 27,006 |
| Assist. prof. | 27 | 36 | 20,928 | 22,428 |
| Instructor | 40 | 52 | 17,064 | 18,164 |
| Lecturer | 40 | 47 | 18,347 | 20,980 |
| No acad. rank | 33 | 36 | 23,721 | 26,358 |
| Average | 24 | 27 | 23,020 | 28,394 |

In US higher education, 10 percent of the professors are women, a proportion which has not changed over the past 8 years. In the lower ranks women's representation is increasing. Segregation by rank is further emphasized by faculty pay differentials. At each academic rank men continue to average higher salaries than women. For all ranks, the average pay for women in 1982-83 was 81 percent of men's; 8 years earlier it was 83 percent of men's.

cially in Africa and South Asia, four out of five women over 25 years of age have never had any schooling at all. In addition, the continuing shortage of school places for younger generations steadily adds to the number of illiterates. The data on illiteracy are a reminder that the poorer countries are still far from the goal of basic education for all. To achieve it and a significant reduction in the number of illiterates, it seems clear that they will need help to make greater progress up the economic ladder.

## Content and Other Constraints

Equality of education for women suffers not only from lack of access to schooling but also from restrictive stereotypes outside of school and in the education process itself. Stereotypes of what is "natural" and "acceptable" for each sex create subtle barriers to the full development of intellectual abilities even when academic access is unlimited.

The socialization process begins at the earliest ages within the family and community. Culturally-imposed sex roles and constraints shape self-images, attitudes, and ambitions. The process is common to all societies, although much more rigidly observed in some. In general, girls are expected to be passive and obedient; boys active, competitive, combative. Even modern media of communication tend to reinforce sex stereotypes: e.g., advertising consistently identifies women with household cleaning products, men with machinery and advanced technology.

Curriculum content-Textbooks and school curricula can help to alter or to reinforce stereotypical patterns. Teachers serve as role models, especially in societies where educated adults are rare. In all cultures the treatment they give to subjects in the curriculum, their reactions to students of both sexes, can help to suppress bias or to perpetuate it.

Relatively little information with broad coverage is available on the content of education as it affects the images that girls have of themselves or their occupational orientation later. The evidence at hand suggests that teachers as well as teaching materials in the past have tended to reflect cultural stereotypes. There is a likelihood that this tendency is diminishing, at least in industralized countries, as teachers have become more aware of the need to eliminate material suggestive of academic limits and choices for women. Emphasizing that what students see in print they believe, educators are giving closer scrutiny to teaching materials, and some texts are under revision. Progress is slow, however, and recent empirical evidence indicates that discriminatory materials are still common, for example:
... A study prepared for the European Parliament reported little change over the years in school textbooks, which on the whole remained stereotyped.
. . In Latin America, CEPAL, the UN Economic Commission, found that books at the primary level, where attitudes are most easily and permanently formed, continue to be highly discriminatory in the images that they convey, reflecting cultural emphasis on masculine domination, and women in passive roles, usually as housewives.

A state study in the US found that 75 percent of the illustrations in textbooks showed activities of boys or men only; if machinery appeared in an illustration, males were invariably shown.

Teaching staffs-Segregation within the school system itself can have done little to banish sex stereotypes. Women teachers are clustered in the lower grades and ranks, teach the softer subjects, and in equivalent positions average lower pay than men. Data for 96 countries (chart 10) show that women teachers are in the majority in the first level of schooling but are a progressively smaller proportion of the teaching staff as the educational level rises. Even where

Fields of Specialization by Third-Level Students

women outnumber men in teaching staffs, they are a minority among school principals and heads of departments.

Within institutions of higher education, vertical segregation is equally pronounced. Relatively few women hold professorial rank. Reports from three major European countries show less than 10 percent women among professors in universities: France, with the highest proportion among the three, had 9 percent women, West Germany 5 percent, United Kingdom 3 percent.

Wherever teachers specialize by subject, there is also evidence of a strong pattern of horizontal segregation. Women teachers are over-represented in the human and social sciences, such as languages, culture, history. They are severely under-represented in mathematics and technical subjects. In European universities, for example, these subjects are taught almost exclusively by men. Only 2 percent of the women holding chairs in German universities are in math, physics, chemistry, and engineering.

Fields of specialization-Given curriculum choices, girls tend to select subjects that conform to their cultural image, and not necessarily to their own potential ability. Textbook stereotypes, in other words, become self-fulfilling prophecies. UNESCO studies show that in vocational and technical education at the secondary level, girls in 1980 represented close to 100 percent of the enrollment in home economics and health-related programs. Boys predominated in industrial programs and engineering, and in agriculture.

As chart 17 illustrates, a similar pattern persists in third level education. In the six fields of specialization selected for comparison, women's enrollment increased relatively more than men's between 1960 and 1980, and the gain was especially pronounced for developing countries. But the greater relative increase occurred in three fields in which women have traditionally been strong: humanities, education, and fine arts. In 1980 as well as in 1960, the large majority of women students ( 63 percent in developed countries and 72 percent in developing) were specializing in those fields.

Men, on the other hand, favored the more technical, and higher paid, fields of law, engineering, and medicine, and it was in these subjects that their enrollment increased most from 1960 to 1980. In both developed and developing countries, the proportion of men students specializing in law, engineering, and medicine in 1980 was twice the proportion of women students in these fields.

The persistence of these relatively narrow fields of specialization, with their negative implications for occupational entry and pay levels, indicates that in education as well as in employment, positive programs are needed in order to ensure diversified choice and adequate training for women. Equality of access to education alone will not guarantee equality of opportunity.

Map 2 overleaf

## The Gender Gap in Education in the Third World

For a rough summary measure of the gap between the sexes in educational opportunity in the Third World, female-male comparisons in literacy and school enrollment have been combined in a simple average for each country. The results show broad national and regional differences, with Latin America recording the smallest gender gap and South Asia the widest. If the patterns of the 1980's continue, a woman's chances of obtaining an education in the developing world will be about two-thirds those of a man's.

## Women's Health

In the household and in the community, women are the informal providers of health care. Because of their childbearing function, they also have special requirements for adequate diet and health protection. There is growing recognition that their own health and their role in promoting health care are the keys to health for everyone. Yet the general information that is available indicates that in much of the world they are more likely than men to be malnourished, poor, and illiterate, to carry a heavier workload, and to have less access to medical facilities. The adverse effects on their own health extend to their offspring as well.

## Life Expectancy

What we know in global terms about women's physical well-being comes primarily through records of mortality. The widely used indicator is life expectancy, which is based on age-specific mortality data. This provides the only consistent basis at present for judging changes in women's general health over time and differences among countries. While it tells us nothing specific about the quality of health during life, it does convey one encouraging message: in 1985, the average female at birth will have 13 more years of life than the female baby born in 1950. The bad news is that there continue to be very large variations below the average, and female babies in poorer countries still have a shorter life ahead than those in richer countries did 35 years ago.

Geographic differences-While still extreme, the gap between the highest and lowest national life expectancy for females shows some narrowing over the years. The spread illustrated by chart 1 would have been longer still in 1950. Then the difference between the countries with the highest and lowest life expectancy for women was 47 years; the UN projections for 1985 reduce the gap to 36 years. Chart 19 shows the narrowing of the range in terms of trends in regional averages between 1950 and 1985. The upward trend has slowed in the developed regions shown at the top of the chart. They appear to have approached a ceiling in longevity gains, although some of the wealthiest countries still have marked internal ethnic and geographic differentials.

All developing countries achieved substantial increases in life expectancy between 1950 and 1985. In 1985 the average girl in the Third World could hope for an added 18 years of life compared with her mother's generation. Yet female life expectancy remains unacceptably low in many developing countries. In contrast to the average of 77 years in developed countries, 14 of the poorer countries, representing a female population of 66 million, have not yet attained a life expectancy of 50 years; with one exception, these countries are in Sub-Saharan Africa or South Asia.

Gender differences-Genetically programmed to have lower mortality than men, women live four years longer on average, according to projections for 1985. The differential is not uniform, however, and the variations are of interest in illustrating the relationship between women's longevity and the economic-cultural setting.

In the developed countries, women's original biological advantage is apparently enhanced by factors favorable to good health. In these countries, the gap between women's and men's life expectancy appears to have widened in the past 35 years, from 5 years in 1950 to 7 years in 1985. Declines in cardiovacular diseases among women and sharp increases in mortality from malignant neoplasms and respiratory disease among men primarily account for the widening sex differentials in life expectancy.

Studies show a strong correlation between women's life expectancy and per capita GNP in the developed countries, stronger than between men's life expectancy and GNP. While benefitting from medical and other advantages associated with socio-economic progress, women seem to have been less inclined to adopt some of the unhealthy habits often associated with affluence: cigarette smoking in particular, but also excessive consumption of food and alcohol, fast driving (and high accident rates), high levels of stress. Changes in life styles, especially the recent increase in women's smoking habits and the increased stress for women trying to deal with the competing demands of the

CHART 20

home and the workplace, may in time erode the marked differential in women's favor.

In the developing countries, sex differences in life expectancy are narrower: the Third World average in 1985 of 62 years for women compares with 60 years for men. In three countries of South Asia (India, Nepal, and Pakistan), the difference in life expectancy is actually in men's favor; in each country the average spread is estimated at about one year.

While the female advantage in life expectancy at birth is a nearly universal phenomenon, there are vulnerable ages in which female mortality frequently exceeds male in Third World countries. The most common years in which the reverse differential occurs are early childhood and the childbearing ages.

In Asia and Africa, the frequency of higher female mortality in both periods of life appears to be associated with the relatively low cultural position accorded girls and women in a number of countries. In rural areas particularly, a boy is much more highly valued than a girl for his economic potential, and is given correspondingly greater care. In India and Bangladesh for example, female mortality between 1 and 5 years may range as high as $30-50$ percent above male. Selective care, including more medical intervention for boys, and the relative neglect of female children, may not be the only factors in higher mortality at birth or in the early ages. There is also evidence of infanticide in some cases. China is an example, with a reportedly large increase in female infanticide after the inauguration in 1979 of a policy of one child per family; one demographer estimates that 250,000 baby girls may have been killed since 1979.

## Factors Affecting Health

The very broad differences among women in life expectancy naturally raise questions about factors affecting health that are specific to women. For at least partial answers we will have to look primarily at two subjects on which a certain amount of practical evidence is available.

Malnutrition is frequently described as the major health problem affecting women in the Third World. Women do not have an exclusive on malnutrition. FAO has estimated that one-quarter of the population in developing countries is undernourished, but precisely how many of these are women is not known. Yet there is ample evidence both in social custom and in surveys that malnutrition occurs disproportionately among girls and women. Food taboos are more commonly imposed on women. Furthermore, in many societies it is customary for the men to eat first, boys next, girls and women last. If protein is scarce, it goes primarily to the men.

As a consequence, nutritional anemia (chart 20) is a serious health problem for women in the Third World. WHO studies indicate that it afflicts close to half of all women in the child-bearing years (15-49) and 60 percent of pregnant women. In contrast, a study in several European countries found 4 to 7 percent of women anemic; in the US the average was 6 percent. Anemia is povertyrelated, as differences within the Third World also show; it is more common in Asia and Africa than in Latin America where income levels are higher.

In its usual form anemia does not lead to death, but it lessens resistance, adversely affects the capacity to do physically-demanding work, and contributes to the overall mortality associated with malnutrition. In pregnancy it threatens the health of the mother and may affect the infant as well. Even when anemia does not appear in mortality statistics, it means energy deficiency and debilitating effects which undermine the quality of life for women in the underdeveloped countries.

Repeated childbearing, short birth intervals, and pregnancy at an early age, all pose high risks to the health of women. World fertility is decreasing, but on average 3.8 children are born to a woman in developing countries (compared with 2.0 in developed) and national averages still go as high as 7.9 children. It is estimated that at any one time one woman in six in the ages $15-49$ is pregnant in developing countries (excluding China), compared with one woman in seventeen in developed countries.

Proportionately fewer pregnancies result in surviving infants in the poorer
"Too many, too close, too early and too late pregnancies are a major cause of maternal, infant, and childhood mortality and morbidity." International Conference on Population Mexico City, 1984

countries. Infant mortality runs as high as 20 percent-one birth in five-in some national averages, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. An Indian study found that a woman in that country with six surviving children over one year of age has typically been pregnant eight times over the 30-year span of her reproductive life. Since each liveborn infant is generally breastfed up to 2-3 years, she will have spent 200 months, or 50 to 60 percent of her reproductive years, in pregnancy and lactation.

Every pregnancy is a drain on women's health reserves. One study estimates that about 100,000 calories are expended per pregnancy, about 1,800 calories per day during lactation. Although nutrient requirements rise, among impoverished people the diet often cannot change to compensate. Malnutrition drives up maternal mortality and overall death rates in women's fundamentally strong mid-life years.

The contrasts shown on chart 21 between maternal mortality in Latin America and the developed regions of North America and Europe appear to be sharp, but in fact diet and health indicators in Latin America are in general above average for the developing world. While there is not yet broad statistical coverage of maternal mortality, as there is for infant mortality, national or local studies throw light on some of the extremes in death rates. For example, averages of 370 deaths per 100,000 births in India, 700 in Afghanistan, as many as 1,000 in some parts of Africa, contrast with national averages of 2 to 8 deaths per 100,000 births in the Scandinavian countries.

Serious under-reporting makes it difficult to judge the full extent of women's mortality resulting from births in the Third World. WHO estimates that deaths from maternal causes are among the five leading causes of death for women in the ages $15-44$; in one-third of the countries maternal causes come first or second in overall death rates. Private studies indicate that in developing countries, complications of pregnancy and delivery may account for onequarter of the deaths among women 15-49; in the US the average is under one percent.

The availability of family planning programs is one factor which can make an appreciable difference in the survival rates of women and infants. Family

Table 6
15 Countries with the Lowest Female Life Expectancy, 1980

Low life expectancy and high fertility rates go together. Countries with the lowest life expectancy for females also suffer from high illiteracy rates, low per capita income, and hunger.

|  | Female Life <br> Expectancy <br> years | Total <br> Fertility <br> rate | Infant <br> Mortality <br> rate | Women's <br> Iliteracy <br> rate | GNP <br> per capita <br> US \$ | Calories <br> \% of <br> requirements |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| World Average | $\mathbf{6 4}$ | $\mathbf{3 . 6}$ | $\mathbf{8 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 4}$ | $\mathbf{2 , 6 1 6}$ | $\mathbf{1 0 7}$ |
| (140 countries) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Afghanistan | 41 | 6.9 | 205 | 94 | 240 | 75 |
| Chad | 42 | 5.9 | 143 | 92 | 113 | 76 |
| Ethiopia | 43 | 6.7 | 143 | 95 | 137 | 74 |
| Gambia | 44 | 6.4 | 193 | 88 | 384 | 94 |
| Nepal | 44 | 6.2 | 144 | 94 | 135 | 87 |
| Yemen Arab Rep. | 45 | 6.8 | 153 | 98 | 578 | 94 |
| Upper Volta | 45 | 6.5 | 204 | 95 | 221 | 85 |
| Somalia | 45 | 6.1 | 143 | 97 | 283 | 92 |
| Senegal | 45 | 6.5 | 141 | 86 | 471 | 95 |
| Niger | 45 | 7.1 | 140 | 94 | 325 | 94 |
| Mauritania | 45 | 6.9 | 137 | $\ldots$ | 414 | 89 |
| Mali | 45 | 6.7 | 148 | 92 | 196 | 85 |
| Burundi | 45 | 6.1 | 117 | 85 | 210 | 92 |
| Angola | 6.4 | 148 | 81 | 902 | 90 |  |
| Bangladesh | 45 | 6.2 | 133 | 80 | 129 | 85 |
| n.. not available | 47 |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 7
Percent of currently married women aged 15-49 using contraception
East Asia 65

## Latin America

40
South Asia
25
Middle East \& N. Africa 22
Sub-Saharan Africa

planning makes it possible for women to avoid high-risk pregnancies and the illegal abortions which are a major cause of death among women in developing countries. Tens of thousands of women in the Third World die every year from complications of illegal abortions.

Family planning, the World Bank notes, also has a wide range of positive benefits for women. By enabling them to control their fertility, it enlarges the choices open to them, freeing them to become better educated, to improve opportunities for their children, and to increase their own participation in economic development. The Bank reports that 85 countries in the Third World, representing about 95 percent of its population, now provide some form of public support for family planning programs. Yet use of contraception varies widely among regions and countries (table 7 opposite) and also between urban and rural areas. In Africa, where infant and maternal mortality are highest, poverty most extreme, and population growth most rapid, contraceptive use is the lowest. In virtually all developing countries surveyed, the majority ( 50 to 90 percent) of married women of childbearing ages want either to limit or space births. Many publicly supported programs do not provide adequate coverage, however, and there is a substantial unmet need for user-oriented family planning services which also offer general health-care counseling for women, particularly in rural areas.
"The effects of development are submerged unless we bring about a low birth rate."

Indira Gandhi
India, 1983

## Health Care

Sex differentials in both the provision and use of health services are marked. Despite women's childbearing function, men reportedly have a higher rate of occupancy of hospital beds. In the developing countries especially, women's family responsibilities and lack of free time limit their access to health facilities unless they are close at hand. An estimated 50 percent of births in the developing countries are assisted only by traditional birth attendants or female relatives; in Africa the proportion is nearer 75 percent.

Health care reform in the past decade has recognized two target groups most at risk: women in the childbearing years and children. Major changes in government health programs are underway to give greater emphasis to primary health care and community-based health systems. The new policy emphasis should help to address women's special needs more directly and may also help to elevate the position of the woman health worker.

Women were the pioneers in health care. They remain in the majority as providers of health care but seldom in a position to determine priorities. Within the medical profession, they are primarily in support roles, under the direction of a male administrator or physician. As chart 22 indicates, there has been a pronounced segregation within the health professions. Women in the 1970's represented over 90 percent of nurses but only 20 percent of physicians-and generally less than that outside the socialist countries. WHO estimates that only 1 percent of female doctors are in positions of authority in countries where they practice.
There are encouraging signs, however, that at least part of the pattern is beginning to change. In developing countries more priority is now being given to the training of women both as physicians and community health workers. In industrialized countries there is an appreciable increase in the representation of women in medical schools. Compared with the proportion of women among physicians ten years ago, the ratio of women among medical school graduates in the 1980's has increased by one-third in Japan, by two-thirds in England and the Netherlands, and has tripled in Canada and the US.

Greater numbers of women professionals per se are unlikely to change the coverage and orientation of medical care. But in combination with the new policy emphasis on primary health care, on prevention of ill health rather than on hospital-based, cure-oriented medicine, they may in time radically improve the attention given to women's health needs.


## DATES OF WOMEN'S RIGHT TO VOTE*

1893 New Zealand
1902 Australia
1906 Finland
1913 Norway
1915 Denmark, Iceland
1917 USSR
1918 Austria
1919 Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg,
Netherlands, Poland, Sweden
1920 Canada, United States
1922 Ireland
1924 Mongolia
1928 Germany, United Kingdom
1929 Ecuador
1930 South Africa (white)
1931 Spain, Sri Lanka
1932 Brazil, Thailand
1934 Cuba, Turkey, Uruguay
1935 Burma
1938 Bulgaria, Philippines
1942 Dominican Republic
1945 France, Guatemala, Hungary,
Indonesia, Japan, Panama, Trinidad and Tobago

1946 Benin, Italy, Liberia, Romania, Yugoslavia
1947 Argentina, Malta, Togo, Venezuela, Vietnam
1948 Belgium, Israel, North and South Korea
1949 Chile, Costa Rica, India, Syria
1950 Barbados, El Salvador
1951 Nepal
1952 Bolivia, Greece
1953 China, Jamaica, Mexico
1954 Colombia
1955 Ethiopia, Ghana, Nicaragua, Peru
1956 Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Egypt, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Laos, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Pakistan, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia, Upper Volta
1957 Haiti, Honduras, Lebanon, Malaysia
1958 Albania, Algeria, Iraq, Somalia
1959 Cyprus, Mauritius, Morocco
1960 Nigeria, Zaire

1961 Burundi, Gambia, Paraguay, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Tanzania
1962 Uganda
1963 Iran, Kenya, Libya
1964 Afghanistan, Malawi, Zambia
1965 Botswana, Singapore
1966 Guyana, Lesotho
1967 Yemen People's Democratic Republic
1968 Swaziland
1970 Fiji
1971 Switzerland
1972 Bangladesh
1974 Jordan
1976 Portugal
1984 Lichtenstein

Women's suffrage is now almost universal. Up to World War II, women had the right to vote in national elections in relatively few countries. In the post-war period, a broad extension of the franchise occurred. Women do not yet have the vote in Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, or (the Black majority) in South Africa, but neither do men. Kuwait appears at present to be the only hold-out against suffrage for women in particular.

Countries which became independent after World War II generally provided in statutes or constitutions for equal voting rights for women and men. But many long-
established states, particularly those which gave suffrage to men before 1920, had waited years before allowing women to vote. Among half the countries reporting in the survey of embassies by World Priorities, the time elapsed between men's and women's suffrage ranged from one to 134 years, with an average delay of 47 years (chart 23).

The US extended suffrage to women in 1920, 50 years after constitutional amendment 15 opened the vote to all male citizens without regard to "race, color, or previous condition of servitude."
"Those persons without rights at law are
minors, married women, criminals, and the
mentally deficient."
Napoleonic Civil Code
Napoleonic Civil Code France, 1804

## Government and the Laws

The idea of including women in "government of the people" took root about 2,500 years after the first recorded advocacy of political democracy. To the Athenians who brought democracy to that ancient city-state, "citizens" were male Athenians only; slaves and women had no part in the democracy. The religions that came later, Europe's great cultural renaissance of the Middle Ages, the revolutions and bills of rights beginning in the seventeenth century were male-oriented. When philosophers and constitutions made references to the democratic ideals of the brotherhood of men, or to the rights and freedoms of "individuals," to liberty, justice, and equality for the "people," even to "human" rights, women were not in the picture.

## Women's Suffrage

On history's canvas, women even in the most economically advanced societies remained a class apart until well into the nineteenth century, when they began organized movements for reform. In the Scandinavian countries, some of the legal barriers to the participation of women in society began to come down by mid-century. In the US, the first Women's Rights Convention was held in 1848. The Convention, in a Declaration of Sentiments, produced eleven resolutions. The ninth, a call for "the sacred right to the elective franchise," later became the central rallying point for the movement for women's rights.

The reaction to the demand for women's suffrage was often intensely hostile, sometimes violent, and as the chronology opposite shows, the struggle was a long one. It was not until the end of the century that the first country, New Zealand, granted women the right to participate in national elections. In the years up to 1945, 31 countries (plus South Africa, for white women only) had followed suit (map 3).

Greater progress in women's voting rights occurred after World War II. By 1985 women had legal right to suffrage in all but a few states in the Middle East and in South Africa (the Black majority). The last major population group to be enfranchised, women were now legally "of the people" in most of the world, at least in terms of the right to vote.

The legal right to suffrage, of course, does not necessarily mean that it is operative under existing political conditions in all of the countries listed. Men as well as women have restrictions on their voting rights under militarycontrolled governments, of which there are 45 at present, and in one-party anc' autocratic states. At present, approximately half of all countries in the world have suspended elections or have other limitations on the electoral process.


## National Ratification

of Selected International Conventions on the Rights of Women

## R-Ratified or Acceded. S—Signed but did not ratify.



| Africa | 灾 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Algeria |  |  |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Angola |  |  |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Benin | S |  | R | R | R |  | R |  |
| Botswana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Burundi | S |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cameroon | S |  |  |  | R |  |  |  |
| Central African Rep. |  | R |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Chad |  |  |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Congo | R | R |  | R |  |  |  |  |
| Egypt | R | R |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Equatorial Guinea |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ethiopia | R | R |  |  |  |  | R |  |
| Gabon | R | R |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Gambia | S |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ghana | S | R |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Guinea | R | R | R | R | R |  | R |  |
| Ivory Coast | S |  |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Kenya |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Lesotho | S | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Liberia |  | S |  | R |  |  | R |  |
| Libya |  |  |  | R | R | R | R |  |
| Madagascar | S | R |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Malawi |  | R |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Mali |  | R | R |  | R |  | R |  |
| Mauritania |  | R |  |  |  |  | R |  |
| Mauritius |  | R |  | R |  |  |  |  |
| Morocco |  | R |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Mozambique |  |  |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Niger |  | R | R | R | R |  | R |  |
| Nigeria |  | R |  | R | R |  |  |  |
| Rwanda | R |  |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Senegal | S | R |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Sierra Leone |  | R |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Somalia |  |  |  |  |  |  | R |  |
| South Africa |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sudan |  |  |  |  | R |  | R |  |
| Swaziland |  | R |  | R | R |  | R |  |
| Tanzania | S | R |  | R |  |  |  |  |
| Togo | R |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Tunisia | S | R | R | R | R |  | R |  |
| Uganda | S |  |  | R |  |  |  |  |
| Upper Volta |  |  | R |  | R |  | R |  |
| Zaire | S | R |  |  | R |  |  |  |
| Zambia | S | R |  |  | R | R | R |  |
| Zimbabwe |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Sixteen of the countries have not yet ratified any of the seven conventions listed here; thirteen, including the US, have ratified only one. Eastern Europe has been the most active region in support of the conventions, with a country average of 5.7 ratifications out of 7 .


## Women's Legal Rights

Women's struggle for equality under law has from the beginning gone much deeper than the right to participate in voting. The seven international agreements relating to sex equality which are listed opposite date from the 1950's to the 1980's, and give a clue to the range of issues that even today require legislative action. These conventions are among a much larger number sponsored by the UN or by its affiliated agencies, UNESCO (for education) and ILO (for labor).

The conventions are important in providing basic concepts and a framework for necessary legislative action. The seven shown here, with summary notes on the comprehensive convention, serve to illustrate the scope of the questions addressed and also the extent of adherence by governments. Those governments which have ratified conventions have in principle agreed to be legally bound by the terms of each covenant and to take specific actions to comply with its provisions (table 8).

Over the postwar period and particularly in the last decade, there has been a significant change in laws affecting women's rights and status. At present there is no systematic worldwide reporting of the overall progress achieved, but scattered records available on individual national actions permit some rough assessment of the situation today.
Changing concepts-Most countries have already moved to establish constitutional or legislative provisions asserting the equality of the sexes and guaranteeing equal rights to both women and men. Constitutions and laws have been changed to define the scope and content of sexual equality. Now the emphasis is on translating these principles into programs that can redress centuries of discrimination. The objectives are both to correct laws and practices that are discriminatory, and to promote equality in an affirmative way, especially to ameliorate the conditions of the most disadvantaged.

The extension of the principle of gender equality from broad guarantees to specific programs puts new emphasis on consciousness-raising and the positive allocation of resources to correct past discrimination. In education, for example, it means special support to girls to choose nontraditional subjects and to receive training in technical skills and leadership to broaden their work options and make use of inherent talents. Economic equality means the extension of child-care provisions to both parents, equal access to credit facilities, equal participation in government councils where priorities are set.

Very few national legislative programs have begun to provide support to women's rights in these comprehensive terms. What the record does show, however, is increasing legislative and judicial attention to economic/ social issues of direct concern to women. In a sense, the Mexican and Soviet constitutions of 1917, in their emphasis on social rights, provided a pattern for this trend. Previously, constitutional law had concerned itself primarily with political rights.

In many industrialized and some developing countries eg. Ghana, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, women's movements brought family issues into the public arena. Matters such as divorce and family planning, once re-

## Chronology in France-One Country's Gradual Advance in Women's Legal Rights*

1880-equal access to secondary education.
1884-equal access to university education.
1907-married women's right to keep their own salaries
1938-women no longer to be considered minors under law.
1945-women's suffrage and right to run for public office.
1946-women given "equal rights with men in all domains."
1963-right to bank accounts without husband's authorization.
1965-equality between spouses in rights and duties in marriage.
1968-contraception legalized.
1970-equal division of parental responsibilities.
1972-equal pay for work of equal value.
1975-voluntary termination of pregnancy before tenth week.
1977-parental leave following birth or adoption of a child.
1980-guarantees for flexible and part-time work schedules.
*Under the Code Napoléon, the civil code enacted in France in 1804 (and subsequently adopted in a number of countries throughout the world), wives were under the guardianship of their husbands, and had no legal capacity to sell, give, buy, or receive property without their consent.
garded by legislators as essentially private affairs, increasingly became the subject of public regulation. Changes took time, as well as organized pressure by women. Until the 1920's, English laws on divorce gave husbands the right to divorce their wives on grounds of adultery, but wives, in order to exercise their right to divorce, needed additional grounds, such as assault. In France and Spain, female but not male adultery was grounds for imprisonment. By the 1970's, however, most European countries gave equal freedom to both spouses to terminate marriage, and divorce was by mutual consent, with a minimum of legal restriction.

Predominantly Catholic countries too moved toward state regulation of family and social matters. Italy's divorce law, passed in 1970, allowed divorce after a fiveyear separation. France in 1975 passed the first abortion law in a Catholic country, permitting termination of pregnancy up to the tenth week. Nicaraguan law in 1981 gave both parents equal obligations to children and the sharing of housework.

The 100-year chronology of women's status under French law in table 9 is illustrative of the gradual evolution which has occurred in most industrialized societies -in this case modifying the Code Napoléon, which in 1804 had codified civil law and, with it, women's subordinate status in society.

Women's increased economic participation has brought legal action on job protection and compensation during pregnancy and maternity. In developing as well as developed countries, legislation applicable to maternity leave is now very general, at least as far as salaried workers are concerned. According to information available to ILO in 1982, at least 117 countries at that time had legislation on maternity leave. But increasing recognition of the duties and rights of both parents is also leading to some changes in laws in this area. Paternity leave after delivery is now a legal option for families in some European countries.

The universal evidence of discriminatory pay scales
has made equality in pay another key issue for working women. Laws have usually addressed the problem in terms of "equal pay for equal work" but, as noted above, most women tend to be isolated in a limited number of occupations in which men are not employed; the work of the two sexes is rarely comparable in a direct way. In recognition of this problem, legislation in Europe and North America is moving away from narrow categories to comparisons with work that is broadly similar or "work of equal value."
Religious and customary law-Liberalization of the law to provide equal rights for women is slowest in countries in which traditional social and religious practices have strictly enforced women's subordinate status. Often these countries have sex-equality provisions in their constitutions but nevertheless accept customary practices which severely limit women's rights.

In countries with large Islamic populations, traditional holy law governs family behavior and often takes precedence over secular law. Islamic law permits polygamy, and divorce by the husband without court formalities; it decrees that a woman must be under a male "guardian" and cannot leave the house unless accompanied by a male relative; in court a woman's testimony is worth half that of a man's; a daughter inherits half as much as a son.

The degree of adherence to all aspects of Islamic law varies in the Moslem world. In Saudi Arabia, sex segregation is the law; even banks must maintain separate offices for women only. On the other hand, the civil law in Tunisia and Turkey, for example, more closely follows the principles of equality as enunciated in the comprehensive UN Convention on women's rights. Among the more than 30 countries in which Moslems represent a majority of the population, six (Afghanistan, Gambia, Indonesia, Jordan, Senegal, and Tunisa) have signed the UN Convention and Egypt has ratified it.

Customary law still takes precedence in many SubSaharan African countries. Zimbabwe's constitution of 1979, for example, bans laws that are discriminatory on the basis of "race, tribe, place of origin, political opinions, colour or creed," but omits sex discrimination. In debate on this omission during the drafting of the constitution, it was argued that a ban on sex discrimination would be contrary to the culture (by tribal chiefs), to religious principles (clergymen), and to the efficient conduct of business (businessmen).

Other countries may outlaw sex discrimination in their constitutions but find exceptions for matters regarded as customary social practice. Kenya, for example, exempted inheritance of property from its constitutional provision on equality. Somalia conferred legal equality in its constitution but continued to permit customs detrimental to
> "Although Zambian law does not discriminate against women . . . a married woman cannot get a mortgage or a loan without the consent of her husband because she is regarded as a minor:"

> Alice Siane

Zambia, 1983
women's health, such as female circumcision. Burundi's family code invalidated the dowry but allowed the wife to work only with the consent of the husband.

Among rural women in developing countries, perhaps the most burdensome economic discrimination of all derives from laws limiting their access to the land and other income-producing property. In India a wife is not recognized as joint owner of property acquired during marriage. In Peru a woman must have the authorization of her husband to act in commercial matters. In Paraguay, Bolivia, and Peru, daughters are by custom willed a smaller portion of the father's land than sons are. In those African countries where property rights are governed by customary laws which discriminate against women, land reform has usually awarded titles to men.
"Indian women are still seen as commodities . . . and until that problem is resolved, bride burning will go on." Abha Bhaiya
India, 1984

Law and social reality-Whether or not religious or customary law is the law of the land, social tradition is an important factor in limiting the effectiveness of equality legislation. A few examples may help to illustrate the problems:
China has ratified the UN Convention for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women but has not been able to modify the traditional preference for sons. A sharp rise in female infanticide followed enactment of a law restricting families to one child.

- India's constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex and Indian laws specifically prohibit bride prices (payment by the bride's father to the husband). Yet the custom of the bride dowry persists in many sections, and recently there has been evidence of an increase in bride-burning, unreported murders of the woman by her husband or husband's family, apparently related to dissatisfaction with the financial payments.
- Italy's law of 1978 permitting termination of pregnancy had a clause allowing hospital medical staff to deny services on grounds of conscience. As a result, in public hospitals, where the poor must go, few abortions are performed, and the rate of dangerous abortions remains very high.
- Sweden, one of the few countries which has tried by law to modify the traditional division of labor within the family, introduced an insurance plan in 1974, under which parents can divide between them a paid leave of absence of seven months for parenthood. Early returns showed only 10 percent of fathers applying.

Role changes within the family may well be the most difficult of the equity problems for law to address. Yet many women's rights leaders, concerned about the toll on women's health, see changes in this area, as well as in the organization of economic activity (reduction of working hours, for example), as essential if women's basic human rights and integration into society are to be assured. There is also a strong opinion that much more can be done through positive political leadership to modify public attitudes and assist law enforcement through public education. This brings us to the question of the role that women have in the exercise of political power.


## Women in Government

The first legal instrument designed to further women's rights worldwide was addressed to their political rights. The UN convention on equal political rights covered not only suffrage but also women's equal eligibility for election to all public offices. This convention entered into force in 1954 and as of March 1983 had been ratified by 90 countries. Like suffrage, the right of women to hold political office has now been achieved in virtually all countries.

In this respect, as in others previously reviewed in this report, there is a large gap between rights and reality. While there is evidence that women are voting in increasing numbers, in most countries they have made relatively slow progress so far in political representation. Chronologies available for seven western European countries, Japan, and the US indicate a slightly upward but erratic trend in the proportion of women in elected national assemblies (chart 24). Of the nine countries shown on the trend chart, Denmark alone has had a consistent increase in women's parliamentary representation over the forty years of the postwar period.

On the positive side, however, it should be noted that the trend, despite setbacks, is favorable. All five of the countries in chart 24 for which data are available prior to World War II have a larger representation of women currently, and in eight of the countries (Italy being the ex-

## Representation of Women

 in National Legislatures and Executive Cabinets, 1984*

* countries responding to a questionnaire by World Priorities
ception) there is an increase between the 1970's and 1980's. This trend is also apparent in responses by 58 embassies to our inquiry for comparative data on women in their national governments between 1975 and 1984: i.e. 79 percent of the countries showed an increase in women's representation in legislatures ( 13 percent a decrease) and 47 percent an increase in women in cabinets (36 percent a decrease); the remainder were unchanged.

These glimmers of progress notwithstanding, it is difficult to find in the larger picture evidence that women in general have achieved significant representation in the political direction of their countries. As illustrated in chart 25, the role of women in the national governments of countries responding to our inquiry was very limited even in 1984. A somewhat larger sample of countries, drawing also on information from the UN and the US Department of State, puts women's representation in the highest councils of government at under 10 percent: they held 10 percent of the seats in national legislatures and 7 percent in executive cabinets (see Table I). In international affairs, the record was lower still. Of 37 countries reporting to UN on appointees in the diplomatic service, the number of women was under 5 percent. Considering that women are 50 percent of the electorate, these results are not impressive. In general, it would appear that women retain the distinction of being the most under-represented major population group in the top echelons of government.

The exception to women's low political showing in general is the Nordic area. Four countries, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, have 25-30 percent women in their national legislatures and 18-25 percent in their cabinets. Major communist countries have good records on the number of women in their assemblies, but give them relatively little or no representation in the executive branch, where it counts the most.

To identify all of the factors that may explain women's low representation in the political arena would be to repeat the subjects covered at length in this survey, and a few more besides. Women's multiple roles in the household and in production and reproduction limit their free time for other responsibilities, as cultural stereotypes limit their incentive to compete politically. But there is also the practical fact that the reins of power and finance are in men's hands. The women who do try to enter national politics-especially at a time when they are a small minority-must be acceptable to the male-controlled power structure.

A question of general interest is what effects, if any, the increased entry of women into the political arena would have on public policies and priorities. Would they assure greater equality of opportunity for all people, including their own sex, a greater emphasis in international affairs on cooperation and accommodation?

Answers at this time are necessarily speculative. The few women who have attained the highest positions in male-dominated governments have not avoided confrontational politics. Yet in broad opinion surveys women have revealed attitudes significantly different from men's. When women have had a chance to use power in settings where there is a deep feminist consciousness and social commitment to justice-as in the Nordic countries-government policies are noteworthy for their emphasis on equality, development, and peace. These are also the primary goals which have drawn women together in their first International Decade.
> "If ever the world sees a time when women shall come together purely and simply for the benefit of mankind, it will be a power such as the world has never known."

Matthew Arnold
United Kingdom, 1822-1888

|  | FEMALE POPULATION |  |  |  |  | LABOR FORCE |  | EDUCATION |  |  | HEALTH |  | GOVERNMENT |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Distribution by Age Groups |  |  | In Rural Areas ${ }^{\text {b }}$ | Women's Participation Rate ${ }^{\text {c }}$ | Women in Total Labor Force ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | Women's Literacy Rate ${ }^{e}$ | $\frac{\text { Girls in }}{\substack{\text { stt \& 2nd } \\ \text { Levels }^{\text {fg }}}}$ | School <br> 3rd Level ${ }^{\text {th }}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Female } \\ \text { Life } \\ \text { Expectancy } \end{gathered}$ | Total Fertility Rate ${ }^{\text {l }}$ | Women in Enfranchised Population ${ }^{k}$ | Women in National Legislature ${ }^{\text {m }}$ | Women in Executive Cabinet ${ }^{m}$ |
|  | 1,000 | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% of W\&M | \% | \% of 5-19 | \% of 20-24 | Years | per Woman | \% of W\&M | \% of W\&M | \% of W\&M |
| WORLD | 2,391,133 | 33 | 60 | 7 | 53 | 46 | 33 | 68 | 48 | 11 | 66 | 3.3 | 50 | 10 | 7 |
| - Developed (28) | 560,363 | 21 | 65 | 13 | 27 | 57 | 40 | 99 | 76 | 32 | 77 | 2.0 | 52 | 16 | 9 |
| Developing (112) . | 1,830,770 | 37 | 59 | 5 | 66 | 42 | 30 | 50 | 43 | 5 | 62 | 3.8 | 50 | 7 | 6 |
| America (24) ... | 200,649 | 38 | 57 | 5 | 33 | 25 | 22 | 81 | 65 | 17 | 68 | 3.9 | 50 | 9 | 9 |
| Europe (6) . . . . | 43,540 | 23 | 65 | 12 | 42 | 32 | 27 | 87 | 74 | 18 | 76 | 2.2 | 52 | 8 | 2 |
| Asia (35) ...... | 1,311,655 | 35 | 60 | 5 | 75 | 45 | 31 | 44 | 39 | 4 | 62 | 3.4 | 49 | 7 | 3 |
| Oceania (2) ... | 2,078 | 42 | 55 | 3 | 57 | 59 | 34 | 44 | 38 | 2 | 59 | 5.0 | 48 | 1 | 6 |
| Africa (45) ..... | 272,848 | 45 | 52 | 3 | 70 | 42 | 30 | 36 | 43 | 2 | 55 | 6.1 | 51 | 5 | 6 |
| AMERICA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| North America .... | 133,298 | 22 | 66 | 12 | 23 | 50 | 37 | 99 | 85 | 59 | 78 | 2.0 | 52 | 6 | 12 |
| - Canada ......... | 13,245 | 22 | 68 | 10 | 23 | 43 | 34 | 99 | 74 | 41 | 78 | 1.8 | 51 | 6 | 8 |
| - United States .... | 120,053 | 22 | 65 | 13 | 22 | 51 | 39 | 99 | 84 | 61 | 78 | 2.1 | 52 | 5 | 15 |
| Latin America . . . . | 200,649 | 38 | 57 | 5 | 33 | 25 | 22 | 81 | 65 | 17 | 68 | 3.9 | 50 | 9 | 9 |
| Argentina........ | 14,394 | 27 | 63 | 10 | 16 | 31 | 27 | 95 | 77 | 25 | 74 | 2.7 | 51 | 3 |  |
| Barbados........ | 144 | 26 | 65 | 10 | 59 | 53 | 41 | 98 | 84 | 13 | 74 | 2.0 | 53 | 10 | 8 |
| Bolivia ........... | 3,232 | 43 | 54 | 3 | 66 | 24 | 22 | 65 | 55 | 9 | 55 | 6.1 | 52 | 2 | 0 |
| Brazil . . . . . . . . . | 68,188 | 37 | 58 | 4 | 32 | 24 | 23 | 76 | 64 | 18 | 67 | 3.7 | 50 |  | ... |
| Chile............. | 6,096 | 30 | 63 | 7 | 17 | 26 | 26 | 92 | 82 | 13 | 72 | 2.7 | 51 | 4 | $\ldots$ |
| Colombia........ | 14,307 | 37 | 59 | 4 | 27 | 27 | 25 | 87 | 72 | 13 | 67 | 3.6 | 50 |  | 15 |
| Costa Rica. ...... | 1,233 | 35 | 61 | 4 | 54 | 24 | 20 | 93 | 63 | 25 | 74 | 3.0 | 50 | 7 | 0 |
| Cuba ........... | 4,925 | 26 | 66 | 8 | 33 | 22 | 21 | 93 | 77 | 28 | 76 | 2.0 | 49 | 23 | 8 |
| Dominican Rep. . | 3,321 | 41 | 56 | 3 | 47 | 13 | 12 | 77 | 59 | 15 | 67 | 3.7 | 50 | 5 | ... |
| Ecuador........ | 4,682 | 44 | 53 | 4 | 54 | 24 | 21 | 80 | 66 | 37 | 67 | 5.6 | 50 | 4 | $\ldots$ |
| El Salvador ...... | 2,764 | 44 | 52 | 4 | 57 | 23 | 20 | 68 | 59 | 9 | 69 | 5.1 | 50 | 10 | $\ldots$ |
| Guatemala. ...... | 4,143 | 43 | 54 | 3 | 60 | 15 | 14 | 47 | 36 | 6 | 64 | 4.8 | 50 |  |  |
| Guyana ......... | 489 | 36 | 60 | 4 | 77 | 29 | 25 | 95 | 67 | 6 | 74 | 2.7 | 50 | 22 | 0 |
| Haiti . . . . . . . . . . | 3,337 | 43 | 54 | 4 | 73 | 70 | 46 | 29 | 34 | 1 | 56 | 5.6 | 52 |  | $\cdots$ |
| Honduras........ | 2,181 | 47 | 50 | 3 | 63 | 15 | 14 | 66 | 50 | 13 | 64 | 5.6 | 50 | 7 | $\ldots$ |
| Jamaica........ | 1,199 | 35 | 58 | 7 | 57 | 51 | 40 | 95 | 67 | 5 | 74 | 2.7 | 52 |  | $\ldots$ |
| Mexico ........... | 40,057 | 42 | 54 | 4 | 32 | 21 | 20 | 84 | 71 | 13 | 70 | 4.3 | 50 | 33 | $\ldots$ |
| Nicaragua . . . . . . | 1,616 | 47 | 50 | 3 | 44 | 25 | 22 | 88 | 56 | 11 | 62 | 5.9 | 52 | $\cdots$ |  |
| Panama......... | 1,039 | 37 | 58 | 5 | 43 | 32 | 25 | 89 | 79 | 28 | 74 | 3.2 | 49 | 1 | 22 |
| Paraguay........ | 1,843 | 41 | 55 | 4 | 59 | 27 | 24 | 85 | 54 | 9 | 69 | 4.5 | 51 | 3 | $\ldots$ |
| Peru............ | 10,103 | 41 | 55 | 3 | 32 | 24 | 23 | 78 | 68 | 15 | 63 | 5.1 | 50 | 6 |  |
| Trinidad \& Tobago . | 615 | 29 | 65 | 6 | 77 | 38 | 31 | 95 | 63 | 6 | 74 | 2.1 | 49 | 15 | 23 |
| Uruguay......... | 1,547 | 26 | 62 | 12 | 14 | 35 | 30 | 95 | 65 | 20 | 74 | 2.7 | 52 | 3 | 0 |
| Venezuela....... | 9,194 | 41 | 56 | 3 | 16 | 26 | 24 | 81 | 65 | 23 | 72 | 3.9 | 51 | 5 | 10 |
| EUROPE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Western Europe | 179,752 | 19 | 66 | 16 | 22 | 43 | 32 | 97 | 73 | 22 | 77 | 1.8 | 52 | 13 | 11 |
| - Austria . . . . . . . . | 3,892 | 17 | 66 | 17 | 45 | 54 | 40 | 99 | 62 | 23 | 77 | 1.6 | 53 | 12 | 13 |
| - Belgium . . . . . . . . | 5,013 | 18 | 66 | 15 |  | 37 | 31 | 99 | 74 | 25 | 77 | 1.6 | 51 | 9 | 12 |
| - Denmark ........ | 2,614 | 19 | 65 | 17 | 15 | 56 | 38 | 99 | 81 | 29 | 78 | 1.6 | 51 | 27 | 19 |
| - Finland.......... | 2,562 | 18 | 67 | 15 | 37 | 60 | 43 | 99 | 79 | 32 | 78 | 1.6 | 53 | 31 | 18 |
| - France . . . . . . . . | 27,617 | 20 | 65 | 15 | 22 | 48 | 36 | 99 | 74 | 24 | 78 | 1.8 | 52 | 5 | 15 |
| - Germany, West . . | 31,165 | 15 | 68 | 17 | 14 | 51 | 37 | 99 | 66 | 27 | 77 | 1.5 | 53 | 11 | 6 |
| Greece.......... | 4,888 | 21 | 64 | 15 | 38 | 40 | 33 | 86 | 74 | 13 | 76 | 2.3 | 52 | 4 | 4 |
| - Iceland. . . . . . . . . | 120 | 25 | 63 | 11 | 11 | 38 | 30 | 99 | 80 | 14 | 80 | 1.9 | 49 | 15 | 10 |
| - Ireland .......... | 1,746 | 30 | 58 | 12 | 40 | 34 | 28 | 98 | 75 | 19 | 76 | 2.9 | 51 | 8 |  |
| - Italy............ | 29,435 | 19 | 66 | 15 | $\ldots$ | 32 | 29 | 95 | 72 | 23 | 77 | 1.7 | 52 | 7 | 3 |
| - Luxembourg ..... | 180 | 16 | 69 | 16 | 21 | 32 | 28 | 98 | 66 | 2 | 77 | 1.5 | 51 | 12 | 8 |
| Malta ........... | 186 | 22 | 67 | 11 | 16 | 22 | 21 | 82 | 72 | 1 | 75 | 2.0 | 53 |  |  |
| - Netherlands. . . . . | 7,247 | 19 | 67 | 14 | 23 | 30 | 26 | 99 | 75 | 27 | 78 | 1.6 | 51 | 19 | 13 |
| - Norway.......... | 2,088 | 20 | 63 | 17 | 46 | 34 | 29 | 99 | 80 | 27 | 79 | 1.8 | 51 | 26 | 22 |
| Portugal......... | 5,351 | 23 | 65 | 12 | 68 | 28 | 26 | 80 | 71 | 11 | 76 | 2.1 | 54 | 6 | 0 |
| Spain ........... | 19,872 | 23 | 64 | 13 | 25 | 23 | 22 | 92 | 78 | 22 | 77 | 2.3 | 52 | 4 |  |
| - Sweden ......... | 4,168 | 17 | 64 | 19 | 12 | 52 | 38 | 99 | 76 | 36 | 79 | 1.5 | 51 | 29 | 25 |
| - Switzeriand...... | 3,315 | 17 | 67 | 16 | 41 | 51 | 36 | 99 | 62 | 12 | 78 | 1.5 | 52 | 10 | 0 |
| - United Kingdom .. | 28,293 | 18 | 65 | 17 | 9 | 54 | 38 | 99 | 78 | 16 | 77 | 1.7 | 52 | 5 | 5 |


|  | FEMALE POPULATION |  |  |  |  | LABOR FORCE |  | EDUCATION |  |  | HEALTH |  | GOVERNMENT |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Distribution by Age Groups |  |  | In <br> Rural Areas ${ }^{\text {b }}$ | Women's Participation Rate ${ }^{\text {c }}$ | Women in Total Labor Force ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | Women's Literacy Rate ${ }^{e}$ | Girls in School |  |  | Total Fertility Rate ${ }^{j}$ | Women in Enfranchised Populationk | Women in National Legislature ${ }^{m}$ | Women in Executiv Cabinet ${ }^{m}$ |
|  |  |  |  |  | 1st \& 2nd |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Total | 0-14 | 15-64 | $65+$ |  |  |  |  | Levels ${ }^{\text {fg }}$ | Level ${ }^{\text {th }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 1,000 | \% | \% | \% |  | \% | \% | \% of W\&M | \% | \% of 5-19 | \% of 20-24 | Years | per Woman | \% of W\&M | \% of W\&M | \% of W\&M |
| EASTERN EUROPE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \& USSR | 218,399 | 23 | 65 | 13 | 39 | 69 | 46 | 97 | 70 | 20 | 75 | 2.3 | 54 | 27 | 2 |
| Albania. | 1,502 | 35 | 60 | 5 | 65 | 59 | 40 |  | 70 | 6 | 72 | 3.1 | 50 |  |  |
| - Bulgaria | 4,646 | 21 | 66 | 13 | 36 | 67 | 43 | 93 | 71 | 16 | 76 | 2.2 | 51 | 22 | 4 |
| - Czechoslovakia. . | 8,028 | 24 | 63 | 13 | 36 | 69 | 46 | 99 | 72 | 15 | 76 | 2.2 | 52 | 28 | $\cdots$ |
| - Germany, East . . . | 8,884 | 17 | 65 | 18 | 23 | 72 | 46 | 99 | 70 | 37 | 76 | 1.7 | 54 | 32 | 2 |
| - Hungary......... | 5,579 | 21 | 65 | 14 | 45 | 61 | 43 | 98 | 77 | 13 | 75 | 2.0 | 52 | 31 | 0 |
| - Poland | 19,174 | 24 | 65 | 11 | 43 | 70 | 46 | 98 | 73 | 16 | 76 | 2.2 | 52 | 25 | $\ldots$ |
| - Romania . . . . . . . | 11,704 | 24 | 65 | 11 | 52 | 71 | 45 | 95 | 83 | 9 | 75 | 2.4 | 51 | $\cdots$ | . |
| Yugoslavia....... | 11,741 | 22 | 68 | 10 | 57 | 43 | 36 | 83 | 69 | 19 | 74 | 2.0 | 52 | 15 | 3 |
| - USSR... | 147,141 | 23 | 64 | 13 | 37 | 71 | 49 | 98 | 69 | 22 | 75 | 2.4 | 55 | 33 | 0 |
| ASIA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Middle East | 77.377 | 42 | 54 | 4 | 48 | 25 | 20 | 46 | 53 | 7 | 63 | 5.1 | 50 | 3 | 2 |
| Bahrain .. | 167 | 41 | 56 | 3 | 24 | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 54 | 64 | 6 | 71 | 4.1 | 0 | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ |
| Cyprus . . . . . . . . | 319 | 24 | 65 | 11 | 54 | 46 | 35 | 88 | 66 | 3 | 76 | 2.3 | 51 | 3 | 0 |
| Iran | 21,828 | 45 | 52 | 3 | 51 | 14 | 14 | 39 | 56 | 6 | 59 | 5.3 | 50 | . | . . . |
| Iraq | 7,623 | 46 | 51 | 3 | 29 | 4 | 4 | 41 | 76 | 11 | 61 | 6.1 | 50 | 6 | $\ldots$ |
| - Israel. . | 2,197 | 32 | 59 | 9 | 11 | 35 | 30 | 93 | 67 | 26 | 75 | 3.0 | 51 | 8 | 5 |
| Jordan . . . . . . . . . | 1,908 | 48 | 50 | 3 | 45 | 6 | 6 | 63 | 48 | 13 | 66 | 6.8 | 49 | 0 | 4 |
| Kuwait . . . . . . . . . | 813 | 48 | 50 | 2 | . . | 11 | 8 | 58 | 73 | 25 | 74 | 5.7 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Lebanon. . . . . . . . | 1,503 | 35 | 60 | 6 | 24 | 18 | 20 | 69 | 62 | 17 | 71 | 3.4 | 52 | . . | $\cdots$ |
| Oman........... . | 515 | 45 | 51 | 3 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . | 34 | - | 53 | 6.9 | 0 | . . . | 0 |
| Qatar . . . . . . . . . . | 96 | 47 | 50 | 3 | $\cdots$ |  | $\ldots$ |  | 81 | 29 | 63 | 6.6 | 0 | $\ldots$ | . . |
| Saudi Arabia..... | 5,002 | 46 | 50 | 3 | $\cdots$ | 5 | 4 | 19 | 43 | 7 | 59 | 6.9 | 0 | ... | $\ldots$ |
| Syria. . . . . . . . . . . | 5,341 | 48 | 49 | 3 | 50 | 10 | 12 | 43 | 59 | 12 | 69 | 6.8 | 49 | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ |
| Turkey . . . . . . . . | 25,266 | 38 | 57 | 5 | 55 | 51 | 36 | 56 | 48 | 5 | 67 | 4.0 | 49 | 3 | 0 |
| United Arab |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 19 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Emirates | 283 | 48 | 49 | 3 | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ |  | 81 | 13 | 68 | 6.6 | 0 | 0 | $\cdots$ |
| Yemen, Arab |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rep. . . . . . . . . | 3,442 | 42 | 54 | 3 | . . | 4 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 48 | 6.6 | 57 | 1 | $\cdots$ |
| Yemen, P. Dem. |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rep. . . . . . . | 1,074 | 43 | 53 | 2 | 66 | 5 | 6 | 25 | 43 | 4 | 50 | 6.6 | 52 | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ |
| South Asia . | 485,082 | 39 | 57 | 3 | 79 | 36 | 26 | 31 | 30 | 4 | 53 | 4.3 | 48 | 5 | 7 |
| Afghanistan. | 8,834 | 45 | 52 | 3 | $\ldots$ | 21 | 18 | 8 | 10 | 1 | 44 | 6.7 | 49 | . . . | . . |
| Bangladesh. | 49,084 | 45 | 52 | 3 | 90 | 20 | 18 | 25 | 26 | 2 | 50 | 5.7 | 48 | $\cdots$ | . . |
| India . . . . . . . . . . . | 363,238 | 38 | 59 | 3 | 79 | 41 | 32 | 33 | 33 | 5 | 53 | 3.9 | 48 | 7 | . . . |
| Nepal . . . . . . . . . . | 7,794 | 42 | 55 | 3 | 95 | 60 | 39 | 9 | 23 | 3 | 47 | 5.8 | 49 | 5 | ... |
| Pakistan. . . . . . . | 48,098 | 44 | 53 | 3 | 73 | 11 | 10 | 22 | 18 | 1 | 54 | 5.3 | 48 | $\cdots$ | 7 |
| Sri Lanka. . . . . . . | 8,034 | 34 | 62 | 4 | 74 | 29 | 25 | 78 | 71 | 1 | 70 | 3.1 | 49 | 3 | 7 |
| Far East | 812,282 | 31 | 63 | 6 | 60 | 53 | 35 | 81 | 45 | 4 | 69 | 2.6 | 50 | 10 | 3 |
| Brunei . . . . . . . . | 226 | $\cdots$ |  | . | 7 | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\ldots$ | $\cdots$ | 5 | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | . $\cdot$ | $\cdots$ |
| Burma . . . . . . . . | 20,028 | 40 | 55 | 4 | 73 | 46 | 36 | 56 | 42 | 5 | 59 | 4.9 | 51 | $\cdots$ | . . |
| Cambodia ...... | 3,820 | 34 | 62 | 3 | 86 | . 5 | $\cdots$ | 39 | 17 | - | 50 | 4.9 | 50 | $\cdots$ | $\stackrel{\square}{5}$ |
| China . . . . . . . . . . | 519,019 | 30 | 64 | 6 | . $\cdot$ | 55 | 37 | $\cdots$ | 38 | 1 | 72 | 2.3 | 49 | 21 | 5 |
| Indonesia....... | 80,727 | 36 | 60 | 4 | 80 | 33 | 29 | 66 | 51 | 2 | 54 | 3.5 | 51 | 9 | ... |
| - Japan . . . . . . . . . | 60,889 | 21 | 68 | 11 | 22 | 59 | 40 | 99 | 81 | 20 | 80 | 1.8 | 51 | 3 | 0 |
| Korea, North . . . . | 10,125 | 37 | 59 | 4 | $\cdots$ | 69 | 46 | $\cdots$ | 36 | $\cdots$ | 68 | 3.6 | 52 | 20 | $\because$ |
| Korea, South..... | 20,711 | 31 | 64 | 5 | 45 | 40 | 32 | 90 | 77 | 9 | 68 | 2.5 | 50 | 3 | 4 |
| Laos ............ | 2,080 | 42 | 55 | 3 | . . | 71 | 45 | 43 | 46 | 1 | 50 | 5.4 | 50 | $\cdots$ | . |
| Malaysia . . . . . . | 7,855 | 38 | 58 | 4 | 71 | 38 | 32 | 66 | 64 | 3 | 69 | 4.0 | 50 | 5 | . . . |
| Mongolia . . . . . . | 954 | 41 | 55 | 4 | $\cdots$ | 43 | 33 | 90 | 64 | 11 | 68 | 4.4 | 50 | 23 | 7 |
| Philippines....... | 27,703 | 40 | 57 | 3 | 63 | 41 | 32 | 91 | 65 | 32 | 66 | 3.9 | 50 | 4 | 7 |
| Singapore . . . . . . | 1,255 | 25 | 69 | 6 | 25 | 32 | 26 | 74 | 66 | 7 | 75 | 1.8 | 49 | 0 | 0 |
| Thailand. . . . . . . . | 26,174 | 38 | 59 | 4 | 86 | 73 | 46 | 87 | 52 | 12 | 67 | 3.3 | 50 | 3 | 0 |
| Vietnam......... | 30,716 | 40 | 56 | 4 | . . . | 63 | 45 | . . | 66 | 3 | 59 | 4.1 | 52 | 22 | 2 |
| OCEANIA . . . . . . | 11,446 | 27 | 63 | 10 | 13 | 46 | 32 | 91 | 66 | 20 | 74 | 2.5 | 50 | 5 | 1 |
| - Australia. . . . . . . . | 7,644 | 24 | 65 | 11 | 11 | 44 | 33 | 99 | 74 | 25 | 78 | 1.9 | 50 | 10 | 4 |
| Fiji............... | 341 | 35 | 62 | 4 | 57 | 13 | 13 | 81 | 81 | 4 | 75 | 2.9 | 51 | 1 | 0 |
| - New Zealand | 1,724 | 25 | 64 | 11 | 14 | 40 | 31 | 99 | 77 | 23 | 77 | 2.1 | 50 | 9 | 0 |
| Papua New Guinea | 1,737 | 43 | 54 | 3 | . . . | 70 | 41 | 35 | 31 | 1 | 56 | 5.5 | 48 | 1 | . |



- Developed country
- Other Africa
- None or negligible

Not available
( ) Number of countries
a Data under Health are 1985-90 projections; others are 1985 projections except as noted below
b Data are for 1980.
c 1980 projected; women 15-64 in labor force as a percent of population of women 15-64
1980 projected; women 15-64 in labor force as a percent of total labor force 15-64.
Percent of women in the population 15 and over able to read and write.
1980-82 for developed countries and a few developing
School enroliment as a percent of girls 5-19.
h School enrollment as a percent of girls 20-24.
Expectation of life at birth.
Expectationts number of children who would be born per woman through her child-bearing years (15-49) if she were to have children at prevailing age-specific fertility rates.
$k$ For countries with suffrage for women, represents percent of total population 20 years and over.
m Usually early 1984; percent of women in total membership of national legislature and executive cabinet.
Note: For regional and other averages, data are weighted by total population of women or by age groups, with the exception of the last two columns under Government, where simple averages are shown.

|  | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1985 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1985 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 | 1980 | 1985 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total Female Population |  |  |  |  |  | POP | ULA | ION |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | Women of Child-bearing ages (15-49) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Wo | 1,257 | 1,512 | 1,838 | 2,198 | 2,391 | 613 | 704 | 854 |  | 1,185 | 551 | 624 | 596 | 508 | 86 |
| Cevelopen | ${ }_{853}^{48}$ | 1,054 | 1,332 | 1,655 | 1,831 | 406 | 485 | ${ }_{609}^{245}$ | ${ }_{798}$ | ${ }_{910}$ | ${ }_{638}$ | ${ }_{724}$ | ${ }_{7} 7$ | 578 | 541 |
| North America | ${ }_{80}^{83}$ | 100 | ${ }_{139}^{115}$ | ${ }_{178}^{127}$ | ${ }_{201}^{133}$ | ${ }_{38}^{42}$ | ${ }_{48}^{46}$ | 54 | ${ }_{85}^{64}$ | ${ }_{98}^{68}$ | ${ }_{681}^{426}$ | ${ }_{741}^{492}$ | ${ }_{714}^{352}$ | ${ }_{6}^{306}$ | ${ }_{583}^{321}$ |
| Western Europe | ${ }_{1}^{148}$ | 159 | 171 | 178 | 180 | ${ }_{74}$ | 74 | 79 | 84 | 87 | 343 | 353 | 352 | 264 | ${ }^{255}$ |
| Eastern Europe \& | 157 | 178 | 195 | 210 | 218 | 83 | 87 | 96 | 102 | 104 | 352 | 415 | 321 |  | 346 |
| Miodale East | 29 | 374 | 50 | ${ }^{67}$ | 785 | +14 | 128 | 161 | 211 | 240 | 722 | 755 | ${ }_{756}$ | ${ }_{646} 6$ | ${ }^{728}$ |
| Far East. | 419 | 512 | 632 | 756 | 812 | 207 | ${ }_{237}$ | 294 | 377 | 424 | 570 | 670 | 617 | 441 | 392 |
| Oceania Africa | ${ }_{1111}^{6}$ | 138 | 178 | 235 | 273 | $5{ }^{3}$ | ${ }_{64}^{3}$ | 84 | 106 | 122 | ${ }_{729} 7$ | ${ }_{763}^{516}$ | ${ }_{792}^{459}$ | ${ }_{806}^{394}$ | 379 814 |
| Sub-Saharan | ${ }_{88}^{83}$ | 103 35 | ${ }_{46}^{132}$ | $\begin{array}{r}175 \\ \hline 1\end{array}$ | ${ }_{6}^{204}$ | ${ }_{13}^{39}$ | 47 | ${ }_{21} 60$ | ${ }_{28}^{78}$ | 90 32 | 739, 699 | ${ }_{741}^{770}$ | $\stackrel{803}{85}$ | ${ }_{730}^{833}$ | ${ }_{713}^{850}$ |


|  | Total Women in Paid Labor Force millions |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| World | 343 | 446 | 526 | 622 | 674 |
| Developed | 137 | 158 | 181 | 207 | 216 |
| Developing | 206 | 288 | 345 | 415 | 458 |
| North America | 20 | 25 | 35 | 43 | 46 |
| Latin America | 10 | 13 | 19 | 27 | 32 |
| Western Europe | 38 | 40 | 44 | 49 | 52 |
| Eastern Europe \& USSR | 71 | 81 | 87 | 96 | 99 |
| Middle East | 6 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 11 |
| South Asia | 57 | 65 | 81 | 97 | 108 |
| Far East | 109 | 177 | 205 | 242 | 262 |
| Oceania | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Africa | 31 | 36 | 44 | 55 | 61 |
| Sub-Saharan | 29 | 34 | 40 | 49 | 54 |
| Other Africa. | 2 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 7 |

## Girls Enrolled in First Level

| thousands |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 77.6 | 110.5 | 153.3 | 250.2 | 269.5 |
| 50.5 | 57.3 | 62.7 | 50.6 | 52.7 |
| 27.1 | 53.2 | 90.6 | 19.6 | 216.8 |
| 11.5 | 16.2 | 16.1 | 14.4 | 16.5 |
| 7.1 | 12.9 | 22.5 | 31.0 | 34.2 |
| 14.3 | 15.5 | 16.5 | 14.7 | 14.0 |
| 21.5 | 22.4 | 28.0 | 18.3 | 18.8 |
| 1.1 | 2.3 | 4.7 | 8.3 | 10.2 |
| 6.4 | 13.6 | 25.0 | 34.2 | 39.2 |
| 12.4 | 19.6 | 26.2 | 100.8 | 100.7 |
| .7 | 1.0 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| 2.6 | 6.9 | 13.1 | 27.3 | 34.6 |
| 1.2 | 4.1 | 8.2 | 20.1 | 26.3 |
| 1.4 | 2.8 | 4.9 | 7.2 | 8.3 |
|  | percent of total enrollment |  |  |  |
| 44 | 44 | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| 48 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| 37 | 40 | 42 | 44 | 44 |
| 48 | 49 | 49 | 49 | 50 |
| 48 | 48 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| 49 | 49 | 49 | 48 | 48 |
| 48 | 48 | 49 | 49 | 49 |
| 33 | 35 | 38 | 43 | 44 |
| 28 | 32 | 36 | 37 | 39 |
| 43 | 46 | 47 | 46 | 46 |
| 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 | 48 |
| 34 | 36 | 40 | 44 | 45 |
| 28 | 34 | 39 | 44 | 45 |
| 40 | 40 | 41 | 43 | 44 |

Female Life Expectancy at Birth


|  |
| :---: |
|  |
| ¢¢ |
|  |
| ¢GMN® |

See Table I for countries in developed, developing, and regions

LABOR
Women Ages 15-64 in Paid Labor Force

| 310 | 407 | 489 | 597 | $\cdots$ |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :--- |
| 130 | 150 | 176 | 202 | $\cdots$ |
| 180 | 257 | 313 | 395 | $\cdots$ |
| 19 | 24 | 34 | 42 | $\cdots$ |
| 9 | 12 | 17 | 25 | $\cdots$ |
| 36 | 38 | 43 | 48 | $\cdots$ |
| 66 | 76 | 85 | 93 | $\cdots$ |
| 5 | 6 | 7 | 9 | $\cdots$ |
| 48 | 56 | 70 | 89 | $\cdots$ |
| 97 | 159 | 189 | 235 | $\cdots$ |
| 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | $\cdots$ |
| 29 | 34 | 42 | 52 | $\cdots$ |
| 27 | 32 | 38 | 46 | $\cdots$ |
| 2 | 2 | 4 | 6 | $\cdots$ |

EDUCATION
Girls Enrolled in Second Level

| thousands |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | ---: | :---: | ---: | ---: |
| 15.4 | 27.5 | 51.8 | 82.0 | 94.8 |
| 13.4 | 20.9 | 32.1 | 40.3 | 39.6 |
| 2.0 | 6.6 | 19.7 | 41.7 | 55.2 |
| 3.6 | 5.2 | 10.8 | 8.4 | 8.0 |
| .7 | 1.3 | 3.4 | 8.6 | 11.3 |
| 4.0 | 7.3 | 10.7 | 15.6 | 15.2 |
| 2.6 | 4.3 | 7.8 | 14.7 | 14.4 |
| .1 | .4 | 1.3 | 3.2 | 4.7 |
| .4 | 2.7 | 6.8 | 11.2 | 13.9 |
| 3.7 | 5.6 | 8.7 | 14.3 | 17.8 |
| .2 | .3 | .6 | .7 | .8 |
| .2 | .4 | 1.7 | 5.3 | 8.6 |
| .1 | .2 | .8 | 2.7 | 5.1 |
| .1 | .2 | .9 | 2.6 | 3.5 |
|  | percent of total enrollment |  |  |  |
| 42 | 42 | 43 | 45 | 45 |
| 48 | 48 | 50 | 51 | 51 |
| 24 | 29 | 35 | 40 | 41 |
| 51 | 49 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| 43 | 47 | 48 | 50 | 50 |
| 43 | 46 | 47 | 50 | 50 |
| 51 | 51 | 52 | 54 | 54 |
| 25 | 27 | 32 | 37 | 40 |
| 12 | 22 | 28 | 31 | 33 |
| 41 | 44 | 44 | 47 | 47 |
| 43 | 42 | 47 | 49 | 49 |
| 21 | 26 | 32 | 38 | 41 |
| 15 | 25 | 31 | 37 | 40 |
| 22 | 27 | 33 | 40 | 41 |

HEALTH
Total Fertility Rate ${ }^{\text {b }}$

| per woman |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4.9 | 4.9 | 4.4 | 3.6 |
| 2.8 | 2.7 | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| 5.9 | 5.9 | 5.3 | 4.1 |
| 3.5 | 3.4 | 2.0 | 2.0 |
| 5.9 | 6.0 | 5.1 | 4.2 |
| 2.5 | 2.7 | 2.1 | 1.8 |
| 2.9 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.3 |
| 6.6 | 6.6 | 6.2 | 5.6 |
| 6.4 | 6.4 | 5.8 | 4.8 |
| 5.5 | 5.2 | 4.5 | 2.9 |
| 3.7 | 3.8 | 3.0 | 2.6 |
| 6.4 | 6.5 | 6.4 | 6.3 |
| 6.4 | 6.5 | 6.6 | 6.6 |
| 6.3 | 6.3 | 5.8 | 5.5 |

Women's Participation Rate

| \% of women |  |  |  |  |  | 15-64 in labor force |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 41 | 47 | 47 | 46 |  |  |  |
| 49 | 52 | 55 | 57 |  |  |  |
| 37 | 45 | 44 | 42 |  |  |  |
| 36 | 41 | 47 | 50 |  |  |  |
| 20 | 21 | 23 | 25 |  |  |  |
| 36 | 37 | 40 | 43 |  |  |  |
| 64 | 67 | 68 | 69 |  |  |  |
| 34 | 31 | 26 | 25 |  |  |  |
| 40 | 39 | 38 | 36 |  |  |  |
| 38 | 57 | 54 | 53 |  |  |  |
| 34 | 37 | 44 | 46 |  |  |  |
| 46 | 44 | 43 | 42 |  |  |  |
| 58 | 55 | 52 | 50 |  |  |  |
| 10 | 12 | 16 | 18 |  |  |  |

Girls Enrolled in Third Level

| thousands |  |  |  |  |
| ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 2.0 | 3.8 | 10.6 | 19.9 | 22.7 |
| 1.8 | 3.1 | 8.4 | 13.4 | 13.8 |
| .2 | .7 | 2.2 | 6.5 | 8.9 |
| .7 | 1.4 | 3.8 | 6.7 | 6.9 |
| .1 | .2 | .5 | 2.2 | 3.2 |
| .2 | .3 | 1.4 | 2.7 | 2.9 |
| .8 | 1.3 | 2.9 | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| - | - | .1 | .3 | .5 |
| - | .2 | .7 | 1.5 | 2.0 |
| .1 | .4 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 2.9 |
| - | - | .1 | .2 | .2 |
| - | - | .1 | .3 | .5 |
| - | - | -1 | .1 | .2 |
| - | - | .1 | .2 | .3 |
|  | percent of total enrollment |  |  |  |
| 32 | 33 | 38 | 42 | 43 |
| 34 | 36 | 41 | 48 | 48 |
| 19 | 24 | 29 | 34 | 36 |
| 32 | 37 | 41 | 51 | 52 |
| 22 | 29 | 35 | 43 | 45 |
| 27 | 29 | 36 | 42 | 43 |
| 47 | 40 | 48 | 50 | 50 |
| 19 | 21 | 24 | 31 | 33 |
| 10 | 17 | 21 | 25 | 27 |
| 16 | 28 | 34 | 35 | 37 |
| 14 | 29 | 32 | 44 | 44 |
| 22 | 20 | 24 | 27 | 28 |
| 21 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| 21 | 20 | 21 | 20 | 19 |

解
${ }^{\text {c }}$ Deaths under one year per 1000 live births. Data are reported by UN in 5 -year intervals, which are designated here by the first year of the interval.

|  | GNP |  | LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION ${ }^{\text {b }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ADULT LITERACY ${ }^{\text {c }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION ${ }^{\text {d }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} 1980 \\ \text { Per Capita } \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1960 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1980 \end{aligned}$ |  | Country <br> Rank <br> 1980 <br> Women <br> Rank | Ratio of Women's Rate to Men's |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1960^{e} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1985 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \begin{array}{c} \text { Country } \\ \text { Rank } \\ 1985 \end{array} \\ & \hline \text { Women } \\ & \hline \text { Rank } \end{aligned}$ | Ratio of Women's Rate to Men's |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1960 \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1985^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ |  | Country <br> Rank <br> 1985 <br> Women <br> Rank | Ratio of Women to Men |  |
|  |  |  | Women | Men | Women | Men |  | 1960 | 1980 | Women | Men | Women | Men |  | 1960 | 1985 | Women | Men | Women | Men |  | 1960 | 1985 |
|  | US\$ | Rank | \% | \% | \% | \% |  | Men $=100 \%$ |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  | Men $=100 \%$ |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |  | Men $=100 \%$ |  |
| WORLD | 2,621 |  | 47 | 90 | 46 | 85 |  | 52 | 54 | 59 | 68 | 68 | 78 |  | 87 | 87 | 4 | 8 | 11 | 14 |  | 49 | 74 |
| - Developed (28). | 8,477 |  | 52 | 89 | 57 | 84 |  | 58 | 68 | 96 | 97 | 99 | 99 |  | 99 | 100 | 9 | 16 | 32 | 33 |  | 56 | 92 |
| Developing (112) | 789 |  | 45 | 91 | 42 | 85 |  | 50 | 49 | 28 | 48 | 50 | 68 |  | 58 | 74 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 9 |  | 32 | 57 |
| America (24) | 2,172 |  | 21 | 90 | 25 | 84 |  | 23 | 30 | 63 | 70 | 81 | 85 |  | 90 | 95 | 2 | 4 | 17 | 20 |  | 41 | 82 |
| Europe (6) . | 4,089 |  | 29 | 92 | 32 | 83 |  | 32 | 39 | 72 | 88 | 87 | 95 |  | 82 | 81 | 3 | 8 | 18 | 22 |  | 36 | 82 |
| Asia (35). | 473 |  | 50 | 90 | 45 | 85 |  | 56 | 53 | 20 | 46 | 44 | 65 |  | 44 | 68 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 8 |  | 30 | 47 |
| 0 ceania (2). | 997 |  | 65 | 94 | 59 | 90 |  | 69 | 66 | 29 | 40 | 44 | 61 |  | 72 | 72 | - | - | 2 | 6 |  |  | 31 |
| Africa (45) . | 806 |  | 44 | 92 | 42 | 88 |  | 48 | 48 | 12 | 27 | 36 | 57 |  | 44 | 63 | - | 1 | 2 | 6 |  | 19 | 40 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| - Canada | 10,159 | 19 | 32 | 89 | 43 | 84 | 59 | 36 | 51 | s | 3 | 99 | 99 | 1 |  | 100 | 10 | 17 | 41 | 56 | 2 | 61 | 107 |
| - United States | 11,347 | 16 | 42 | 88 | 51 | 83 | 45 | 48 | 61 | 98 | 97 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 101 | 100 | 24 | 41 | 61 | 39 | 1 | 59 | 104 |
| Latin America | 2,172 |  | 21 | 90 | 25 | 84 |  | 23 | 30 | 63 | 70 | 81 | 85 |  | 90 | 95 | 2 | 4 | 17 | 20 |  | 41 | 82 |
| Argentina | 4,361 | 37 | 26 | 90 | 31 | 85 | 86 | 29 | 36 | 90 | 93 | 95 | 96 | 26 | 97 | 99 | 7 | 14 | 25 | 24 | 16 | 49 | 103 |
| Barbados | 3,301 | 47 | 51 | 90 | 53 | 84 | 42 | 57 | 63 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 99 | 20 | 100 | 99 | 1 | 1 | 13 | 13 | 41 | 100 | 90 |
| Bolivia. | 1,071 | 74 | 21 | 92 | 24 | 88 | 99 | 23 | 27 | 30 | 48 | 65 | 84 | 74 | 62 | 77 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 19 15 | 58 | 29 39 | 50 116 |
| Brazil | 2,002 | 56 | 19 | 90 | 24 | 84 | 99 | 21 | 29 | 59 | 65 | 76 | 79 | 62 | 91 | 96 | 1 | ${ }_{5}^{2}$ | 18 13 | 15 18 | 32 41 | 58 | 116 72 |
| Chile. | 2,506 | 51 | 24 | 88 | 26 | 73 | 95 | 27 | 36 | 83 | 85 | 92 | 95 | 37 | 98 | 97 | 3 | 5 | 13 | 18 | 41 | 58 | 72 |
| Colombia | 1,251 | 68 | 21 | 91 | 27 | 81 | 93 | 23 | 33 | 61 | 64 | 87 | 89 | 45 | 95 | 98 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 16 | 41 | 22 | 77 |
| Costa Rica | 1,923 | 57 | 19 | 94 | 24 | 87 | 99 | 20 | 28 | 84 | 85 | 93 | 94 | 33 | 99 | 99 | 4 | 5 | 25 | 29 | 16 | 81 | 82 |
| Cuba. | 1,864 | 59 | 16 | 89 | 22 | 80 | 106 | 18 | 28 | 80 | 76 | 93 | 93 | 33 | 105 | 100 | 3 | 4 | 28 | 31 | 10 | 76 | 85 |
| Dominican Rep. | 1,175 | 70 | 11 | 92 | 13 | 87 | 116 | 12 | 15 | 62 | 67 | 77 | 78 85 | 60 56 | 92 88 | 99 94 | 1 | 2 | 15 37 | 16 58 | 37 3 | 36 22 | 92 64 |
| Ecuador | 1,358 | 64 | 18 | 95 | 24 | 89 | 99 | 19 | 27 | 63 | 72 | 80 | 85 | 56 | 88 | 94 | 1 | 4 | 37 | 58 | 3 | 22 | 64 |
| El Salvador. | 725 | 90 | 19 | 93 | 23 | 88 | 104 | 20 | 26 | 44 | 54 | 68 | 74 | 67 | 82 | 92 | - |  | 9 | 15 | 58 | 26 | 59 |
| Guatemala | 1,096 | 73 | 14 | 94 | 15 | 89 | 112 | 15 | 17 | 27 | 36 | 47 | 63 | 85 | 75 | 75 | - | 3 | 6 | 17 | 65 | 11 | 37 |
| Guyana. | 680 | 93 | 26 | 91 | 29 | 84 | 89 | 29 | 34 | 83 | 91 | 95 | 97 | 26 | 91 | 98 | - | 1 | ${ }^{6}$ | 3 | 65 | 50 | 107 |
| Haiti | 266 | 122 | 79 | 93 | 70 | 89 | 16 | 85 | 79 | 12 | 17 | 29 | 38 | 106 | 71 | 76 | - | 1 | 13 | 3 | 97 | 17 | 43 |
| Honduras | 633 | 94 | 14 | 96 | 15 | 92 | 112 | 15 | 16 | 41 | 49 | 66 | 67 | 70 | 84 | 98 | - | 2 | 13 | 19 | 41 | 21 | 69 |
| Jamaica | 1,069 | 75 | 47 | 88 | 51 | 80 | 45 | 53 | 64 | 85 | 79 | 95 | 93 | 26 | 108 | 102 | 1 | 2 | 5 | , | 71 | 75 | 73 |
| Mexico | 2,590 | 50 | 16 | 92 | 21 | 85 | 108 | 17 | 25 | 61 | 70 | 84 | 89 | 50 | 87 | 94 | - |  | 13 | 23 | 41 | 21 | 53 |
| Nicaragua | 837 | 85 | 19 | 93 | 25 | 88 | 97 | 20 | 28 | 49 | 50 | 88 | 88 | 43 | 98 | 100 | - | 2 | 11 | 19 | 53 | 27 | 58 |
| Panama | 1,666 | 60 | 26 | 89 | 32 | 85 | 82 | 29 | 38 | 72 | 74 | 89 | 90 | 42 | 97 | 99 | , | 5 | 28 | 22 | 10 | 74 | 120 |
| Paraguay | 1,346 | 65 | 25 | 94 | 27 | 89 | 93 | 27 | 30 | 69 | 81 | 85 | 91 | 48 | 85 | 93 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 11 | 58 | 48 | 80 |
| Peru | 1,056 | 76 | 23 | 89 | 24 | 81 | 99 | 26 | 30 | 48 | 74 | 78 | 91 | 58 | 65 | 86 | 2 | 6 | 15 | 28 | 37 | 42 | 54 |
| Trinidad \& Tobago | 5,268 | 32 | 32 | 89 | 38 | 84 | 71 | 36 | 45 | 94 | 92 | 95 | 97 | 26 | 102 | 98 | 1 | 1 | ${ }^{\circ}$ | 17 | 65 | 67 | 67 |
| Uruguay | 3,398 | 46 | 30 | 90 | 35 | 84 | 77 | 33 | 42 | 91 | 90 | 95 | 96 | ${ }^{26}$ | 101 | 99 | 6 |  | 20 | 17 | 28 | 70 | 113 |
| Venezuela. | 3,726 | 43 | 21 | 89 | 26 | 81 | 95 | 24 | 32 | 58 | 68 | 81 | 86 | 54 | 85 | 94 | 3 | 6 | 23 | 25 | 22 | 45 |  |
| EUROPE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Western Europe | 9,840 |  | 37 | 91 | 43 | 85 |  | 41 | 51 | 93 | 96 | 97 | 98 |  | 100 | 100 |  | 12 | 23 | 28 |  |  |  |
| - Austria | 10,508 | 17 | 52 | 90 | 54 | 85 | 36 | 58 | 64 | 99 | 99 99 | 99 | 99 <br> 9 |  | 100 | 100 100 | 4 | 12 13 | 23 25 | 28 30 |  | 36 | 80 |
| - Belgium | 12,023 | 13 | 30 | 87 | 37 | 82 | 74 | 34 | 45 | 89 | 99 | 99 99 | 99 | 1 | 90 100 | 100 100 | 5 | 13 12 | 25 29 | 30 28 | 16 8 | 36 48 | 80 98 |
| - Denmark. | 12,504 | 10 | 42 | 92 | 56 | 87 | 33 | 46 | 64 | 98 | 98 | 99 99 | 99 99 | 1 | 100 100 | 100 100 | 6 | 12 8 | 29 32 | 28 32 | 8 5 | 48 86 | 98 97 |
| - Finland. | 10,333 | 18 | 54 | 88 | 60 48 | 82 83 | 27 51 | 61 49 | 73 58 | 99 96 | 99 97 | 99 99 | 99 99 | 1 | 100 99 | 100 100 | 7 6 | 8 13 | 32 24 | 32 27 | 21 | 86 47 | 85 |
| - France. | 12,156 | 12 | 43 | 88 | 48 | 83 | 51 | 49 | 58 | 96 | 97 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 99 | 100 | 6 | 13 | 24 | 27 | 21 |  |  |
| - Germany, West | 13,399 | 8 | 46 | 91 | 51 | 88 | 45 | 50 | 58 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 100 | 100 | 1 | 2 | 27 | 36 | 12 | 46 | 72 |
| Greece ...... | 4,384 | 36 | 38 | 90 | 40 | 84 | 67 | 42 | 48 | 70 | 92 | 86 | 95 | 47 | 76 | 90 | 2 | 6 | 13 | 20 | 41 | 36 | 65 |
| - Iceland | 12,009 | 14 | 35 | 90 | 38 | 86 | 71 | 39 | 44 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 100 | 100 | 5 | 10 | 14 | 26 | 40 | 33 | 57 |
| - Ireland | 5,074 | 33 | 32 | 90 | 34 | 85 | 79 | 36 | 40 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 20 | 100 | 100 | 5 | 11 | 19 | 27 | 30 | 44 | 88 |
| - Italy . | 7,012 | 27 | 28 | 88 | 32 | 81 | 82 | 32 | 40 | 90 | 93 | 95 | 97 | 26 | 97 | 98 | 3 | 7 | 23 | 27 | 22 | 38 | 81 |
| - Luxembourg . | 14,297 | 5 | 30 | 86 | 32 | 84 | 82 | 35 | 38 | 99 | 99 | 98 | 98 | 20 | 100 | 100 | - | , | 1 | 4 | 88 | 43 | 40 |
| Malta ...... | 3,406 | 45 | 20 | 88 | 22 | 85 | 106 | 23 | 26 | 64 | 69 | 82 | 86 | 53 | 93 | 95 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 97 | 67 | 25 |
| - Netherlands | 11,399 | 15 | 25 | 90 | 30 | 85 | 88 | 28 | 35 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 100 | 100 | 7 | 19 | 27 | 37 | 12 | 34 | 72 |
| - Norway | 13,357 | 9 | 27 | 89 | 34 | 82 | 79 | 30 | 42 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 100 | 100 | 2 | 2 | 27 | 27 | 12 53 | 26 | 95 |
| Portugal . | 2,393 | 52 | 18 | 94 | 28 | 89 | 91 | 19 | 32 | 55 | 69 | 80 | 88 | 56 | 80 | 91 | 2 | 5 | 11 | 12 | 53 | 42 | 90 |
| Spain | 5,550 | 30 | 19 | 93 | 23 | 86 | 104 | 20 | 27 | 82 | 92 | 92 | 97 | 37 | 89 | 95 | 2 | 6 | 22 | 26 | 26 | 31 | 83 |
| - Sweden. | 13,962 | 7 | 38 | 88 | 52 | 82 | 44 | 43 | 63 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 100 | 100 | 5 | 11 | 36 | 38 | 5 | 50 | 85 |
| - Switzerland. | 16,188 | 4 | 40 | 93 | 51 | 90 | 45 | 43 | 57 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 100 | 100 |  | 9 | 12 | 26 | 50 | 20 | 48 |
| - United Kingdom | 9,213 | 22 | 44 | 94 | 54 | 89 | 36 | 47 | 61 | 98 | 98 | 99 | 99 | 1 | 100 | 100 | 3 | 7 | 16 | 25 | 34 | 39 | 60 |



|  | GNP |  | LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION ${ }^{\text {b }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ADULT LITERACY ${ }^{\text {c }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ENROLLMENT IN HIGHER EDUCATION ${ }^{\text {d }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} 1980 \\ \text { Per Capita } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1960 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1980 \end{aligned}$ |  | Country <br> Rank <br> 1980 <br> $\frac{\text { Women }}{}$ <br> Rank | Ratio of Women's Rate to Men's |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1960^{e} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1935 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Country } \\ \text { Rank } \\ 1985 \\ \hline \text { Women } \end{gathered}$ | Ratio of Women's Rate to Men's |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & 1960 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rate } \\ & \text { 1985 } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Country } \\ \text { Rank } \\ 1985 \\ \hline \text { Women } \end{gathered}$ | Ratio of Women to Men |  |
|  |  |  | Women | Men | Women | Men |  | 1960 | 1980 | Women | Men | Women | Men |  | 1960 | 1985 | Women | Men | Women | Men |  | 1960 | 1985 |
|  | US\$ | Rank | \% | \% | \% | \% |  | Men | = 100\% | \% | \% | \% | \% | Rank |  | $=100 \%$ | \% | \% | \% | \% | Rank | Men | $=100 \%$ |
| AFRICA. | 806 |  | 44 | 92 | 42 | 88 |  | 48 | 48 | 12 | 27 | 36 | 57 |  | 44 | 63 | - | 1 | 2 | 6 |  | 19 | 40 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 537 |  | 55 | 93 | 50 | 89 |  | 59 | 56 | 8 | 24 | 34 | 53 |  | 33 | 64 | - | - | 1 | 3 |  | 10 | 28 |
| - Other Africa ..... | 1,585 |  | 10 | 89 | 18 | 83 |  | 11 | 22 | 26 | 37 | 44 | 66 |  | 70 | 67 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 14 |  | 21 | 49 |
| - Algeria | 2,091 | 55 | 4 | 83 |  | 75 | 124 | 5 | 9 | 6 | 15 | 33 | 69 | 98 | 40 | 48 | - | - | 3 | 7 | 81 | 27 | 40 |
| Angola | 902 | 80 | 8 | 92 | 9 | 88 | 123 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 7 | 30 | 48 | 104 | 57 | 62 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Benin ............ | 322 | 115 | 75 | 95 | 69 | 91 | 20 | 79 | 76 | 2 | 8 | 22 | 50 | 112 | 25 | 44 | - | - | 1 | 3 | 97 | - | 21 |
| Botswana | 886 | 82 | 80 | 88 | 73 | 84 | 7 | 91 | 87 | 35 | 30 | 70 | 73 | 64 | 117 | 96 | - | - | 3 | 3 | 81 | - | 86 |
| Burundi. | 210 | 129 | 76 | 94 | 70 | 91 | 16 | 81 | 77 | 7 | 21 | 17 | 39 | 120 | 33 | 44 | - | - | - | 1 | 122 | - | 43 |
| Cameroon. | 743 | 88 | 67 | 93 | 62 | 90 | 25 | 72 | 69 | 7 | 31 | 45 | 68 | 87 | 23 | 66 | - | - | 1 | 4 | 97 | - | 29 |
| Central African Rep. . . | 333 | 113 | 89 | 96 | 83 | 94 | 3 | 93 | 88 | 2 | 13 | 26 | 57 | 108 | 15 | 46 | - | - | 1 | 4 | 97 | - | 23 |
| Chad. | 113 | 137 | 28 | 94 | 28 | 92 | 91 | 30 | 30 | , | 14 | 11 | 40 | 123 | 7 | 28 | - | - |  | 1 | 122 | - | 14 |
| Congo. | 1,014 | 78 | 45 | 85 | 43 | 80 | 59 | 53 | 54 | 3 | 30 | 55 | 77 | 80 | 10 | 71 | - | - | 1 | 8 | 97 | $\bar{\square}$ | 18 |
| - Egypt . . . . . . . . . . . | 600 | 97 | 6 | 88 | 7 | 84 | 124 | 7 | 8 | 14 | 40 | 30 | 59 | 104 | 35 | 51 | 2 | 8 | 11 | 20 | 53 | 21 | 54 |
| Equatorial Guinea . . . | 608 | 96 | 4 | 95 |  | 92 | 131 | 4 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | - | 4 | 1 | 6 | 97 |  |  |
| Ethiopia . . . . . . . . . | 137 | 134 | 51 | 96 | 47 | 94 | 52 | 53 | 50 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 11 | 130 | 50 | 46 | - | - | 1 | 2 | 97 | 6 | 31 |
| Gabon. | 4,279 | 38 | 60 | 91 | 54 | 88 | 36 | 66 | 61 | 5 | 22 | 53 | 70 | 82 | 23 | 76 | - | - | 1 | 4 | 97 | - | 30 |
| Gambia ............ | 384 | 110 | 79 | 93 | 71 | 89 | 11 | 85 | 80 | 3 | 9 | 15 | 36 | 122 | 33 | 42 | - | - | - | , | 122 | - | 33 |
| Ghana............. | 359 | 112 | 63 | 87 | 56 | 82 | 33 | 72 | 68 | 17 | 37 | 43 | 64 | 90 | 46 | 67 | - | - | - | 2 | 122 | 15 | 17 |
| Guinea | 315 | 116 | 64 | 95 | 59 | 92 | 30 | 67 | 64 | 4 | 14 | 17 | 40 | 120 | 29 | 42 | - | - | 3 | 11 | 81 | - | 28 |
| Ivory Coast. | 1,235 | 69 | 81 | 95 | 75 | 93 | 5 | 85 | 81 | 2 | 8 | 31 | 53 | 101 | 25 | 58 | - | - | 2 | 5 | 88 | 11 | 29 |
| Kenya . . . . | 412 | 107 | 48 | 95 | 44 | 91 | 57 | 50 | 48 | 10 | 30 | 49 | 70 | 84 | 33 | 70 | - | - | 1 | 3 | 97 | 25 | 29 |
| Lesotho ........... | 505 | 100 | 78 | 96 | 72 | 94 | 9 | 81 | 77 | 68 | 44 | 84 | 62 | 50 | 154 | 136 | - | - | 5 | 3 | 71 | 20 | 153 |
| Liberia ............ | 515 | 99 | 44 | 90 | 39 | 86 | 70 | 49 | 45 | 4 | 14 | 23 | 47 | 111 | 29 | 49 | - | - | 2 | 6 | 88 | 28 | 34 |
| - Libya | 10,119 | 20 | 4 | 87 | 5 | 83 | 128 | 5 | 6 | 4 | 38 | 50 | 81 | 83 | 10 | 62 | - | 1 | 2 | 8 | 88 | 4 | 30 |
| Madagascar ........ | 366 | 111 | 80 | 96 | 74 | 94 | 6 | 83 | 79 | 27 | 41 | 62 | 74 | 76 | 66 | 84 | - | - | 2 | 4 | 88 | 30 | 54 |
| Malawi | 248 | 124 | 58 | 96 | 54 | 94 | 36 | 60 | 57 | 12 | 34 | 31 | 52 | 101 | 35 | 60 | - | - | - | 1 | 122 | - | 26 |
| Mali | 196 | 131 | 90 | 97 | 85 | 96 | 1 | 93 | 88 | 1 | 4 | 11 | 23 | 123 | 25 | 48 | - | - | 1 | 3 | 97 | - | 18 |
| Mauritania | 414 | 106 | 4 | 97 | 4 | 95 | 131 | 4 | 4 | . . . |  |  | . . | . . |  | . . | - | - | - | 2 | 122 | - | 23 |
| Mauritius | 1,011 | 79 | 22 | 91 | 25 | 86 | 97 | 24 | 29 | 51 | 72 | 77 | 89 | 60 | 71 | 86 | - | - | 2 | 5 | 88 | - | 41 |
| - Morocco. . . . . . . . . | 872 | 83 | 9 | 90 | 14 | 82 | 114 | 10 | 17 | 6 | 22 | 22 | 45 | 112 | 27 | 49 | - | - | 4 | 11 | 78 | 18 | 38 |
| Mozambique | 394 | 108 | 33 | 97 | 31 | 94 | 86 | 34 | 33 | 4 | 12 | 33 | 55 | 98 | 33 | 60 | - | 1 | - | , | 122 | - | 44 |
| Niger | 325 | 114 | 10 | 98 | 11 | 96 | 119 | 10 | 12 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 19 | 125 | 50 | 47 | - |  | - | 1 | 122 | - | 23 |
| Nigeria | 1,035 | 77 | 59 | 87 | 53 | 83 | 42 | 68 | 64 | 6 | 25 | 31 | 54 | 101 | 24 | 57 | - | - | 1 | 6 | 97 | 8 | 24 |
| Rwanda | 226 | 127 | 90 | 96 | 85 | 94 | 1 | 94 | 90 | 9 | 24 | 46 | 68 | 86 | 38 | 68 | - | - | - | 1 | 122 | $\overline{17}$ | 20 |
| Senegal ........... | 471 | 101 | 60 | 92 | 54 | 88 | 36 | 65 | 61 | 1 | 10 | 19 | 37 | 117 | 10 | 51 | - | 1 | 2 | 5 | 88 | 17 | 34 |
| Sierra Leone . . . . . . . | 306 | 117 | 48 | 90 | 43 | 85 | 59 | 53 | 51 | 4 | 10 | 21 | 38 | 115 | 40 | 55 | - | - | - |  | 122 | 11 | 19 |
| Somalia .......... | 283 | 120 | 41 | 96 | 37 | 93 | 74 | 43 | 40 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 18 | 128 | 0 | 33 | - | - | 1 | 5 | 97 | 11 | 20 |
| - South Africa | 2,387 | 53 | 28 | 91 | 46 | 86 | 53 | 31 | 54 | 57 | 57 | 85 | 85 | 48 | 100 | 100 | $\ldots$ | . | . . |  |  | . | . |
| Sudan............. | 418 | 105 | 10 | 96 | 12 | 94 | 118 | 10 | 13 | 3 | 23 | 20 | 44 | 116 | 13 | 46 | - | 1 | 1 | 3 | 97 | 5 | 43 |
| Swaziland......... . | 786 | 87 | 78 | 90 | 71 | 86 | 11 | 87 | 83 | 27 | 31 | 66 | 70 | 70 | 87 | 94 | - | - | 5 | 5 | 71 | - | 107 |
| Tanzania . . . . . . . . . . | 264 | 123 | 54 | 96 | 50 | 93 | 50 | 56 | 54 | 5 | 14 | 70 | 78 | 64 | 36 | 90 | - | - | - | 1 | 122 | - | 23 |
| Togo . . . . . . . . . . . | 388 | 109 | 53 | 93 | 54 | 88 | 36 | 57 | 61 | 4 | 17 | 28 | 53 | 107 | 24 | 53 | - | - | 1 | 6 | 97 | $\bar{\square}$ | 23 |
| - Tunisia | 1,301 | 67 | 5 | 88 | 7 | 81 | 124 | 6 | 9 | 4 | 26 | 41 | 68 | 93 | 15 | 60 | - | 1 | 5 | 9 | 71 | 25 | 51 |
| Uganda . . . . . . . . . . | 468 | 102 | 50 | 96 | 46 | 94 | 53 | 52 | 49 | 14 | 37 | 45 | 70 | 87 | 38 | 64 | - | - | 1 | 1 | 97 | 18 | 39 |
| Upper Volta | 221 | 128 | 87 | 96 | 81 | 94 | 4 | 91 | 86 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 21 | 128 | 50 | 29 | - | - | - | 1 | 122 | - | 32 |
| Zaire . . . . . . . . . . . | 201 | 130 | 68 | 90 | 60 | 86 | 27 | 76 | 70 | 14 | 49 | 45 | 79 | 87 | 29 | 57 | - | - | 1 | 3 | 97 | 1 | 23 |
| Zambia............ | 609 | 95 | 46 | 95 | 41 | 91 | 64 | 48 | 45 | 30 | 53 | 67 | 84 | 68 | 57 | 80 | - | - | 1 | 6 | 97 | - | 18 |
| Zimbabwe.......... | 718 | 91 | 39 | 92 | 36 | 87 | 76 | 42 | 41 | 31 | 48 | 67 | 82 | 68 | 65 | 82 | - | - | - | - | 122 | 50 | 57 |

- Developed countries
- Other Africa
- None or negligible

Not available
( ) Number of countries
a Data are for 1960 and projections to 1980 or 1985 except as noted below.
Women and men 15-64 in the labor force as a percent of respective populations 15-64.
Women and men 15 and over able to read and write as a percent of respective populations 15 and over.
Women and men enrolled in third-level of education as a percent of respective populations 20-24.
e For developing countries, may represent a year in late 1950's or early 1960's.
1980-82 for developed countries and a few developing.
RANK shows the standing of the country among those in the table. The rank order number is repeated if more than one country has the same figure.

## NOTES ON DATA

The data currently available for international comparisons of women's role in society have deficiencies in coverage and in quality. Essential types of information have failed in the past to report separately on men and women in the population. At the household level, results of surveys were often guided by men's replies and experiences. Men were usually the respondents to census questionnaires. Lost in the process were the distinguishing features of women's activities, which are in many respects very different from men's.
Social accounting is beginning now to respond to pressures generated by the first Women's Decade. Data collection processes, record-keeping, and published indicators have all come under closer scrutiny. The monitoring of women's activities is not the only subject affected. Analysts have pointed to distortions in social statistics in general that arise from the inaccurate or undercounting of the female half of the population.
For those interested in exploring the statistical problems in detail, two studies published by the UN in 1984 are recommended: Compiling Social Indicators on the Situation of Women and Improving Concepts and Methods for Statistics and Indicators on the Situation of Women. The UN reports provide guidance on the effective use of existing data, as well as a critical review of data collection programs and of recommendations for changes.
Reports like this one are therefore premature in the sense that they cannot yet fully reflect the effort underway to increase and improve the fund of data on women. Preparing this general overview revealed a number of specific subjects for which more factual information appears to be needed, among them:

- women's productive role in national economies.
- gender differences in income earned and disposition within the household.
- men's and women's access to adequate nutrition and to health services.
- women's participation in the planning of development programs and in the training and resources they provide.
- international comparisons of progress in laws relating to women's rights.

The notes that follow provide the sources of the data appearing in tables and charts in this publication. Since few of the usual statistical qualifications can be presented here, readers using statistics in detail are urged to consult the original sources.

## Broad Indicators

The background information on population, birth and death rates, and urban and rural population (charts 2, 4, 5) is from Demographic Indicators of Countries by the Population Division of the UN. Published in 1982, the data are medium variant estimates and projections as assessed in 1980.
The UN sources are for the most part based on official national data, usually drawn from census results. Since some censuses may be out of date (in China, for example, the 1953 census had to be used for age/sex structure) or show serious under-enumeration or misreporting (as in Africa), the UN demographers must often depend on indirect information or population models.
Historical statistics on population (chart 2) are from Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1954, and on infant mortality (chart 3) from European Historical Statistics 1750-1970.

GNP is drawn from the data fund of the World Bank. Per capita GNP figures are from World Military and Social Expenditures, 1983, which converts the Bank's calculations in national currencies to dollars using single-year exchange rates, most of which are from the IMF. It should be emphasized that the use of exchange rates for the conversion to US dollars (in lieu of purchasing power equivalents, which are not yet available for many countries) probably has the effect of widening the disparity between developed and developing and between richest and poorest countries as shown on charts 6,7 , and 15 .

Methodological problems associated with the calculation and conversion of GNP are summarized in the source noted above. For more detail see the World Bank's World Development Report 1984.

## Work

The International Labor Office is the primary source of international statistics on labor force, employment, earnings and conditions of work.

Total labor force and sectoral breakdowns (charts $8 \& 12$ ) are from ILO estimates and projections as published in 1977 in Labour Force, 1950-2000. These data were based on national censuses of population, labor force sample surveys, and other related surveys conducted during the period 1945-1974. ILO adjusts the data from national sources to its standard concept of labor force (see glossary). At the time they were published, ILO estimates and projections were in conformity with the UN population data then available. UN population data have since been updated and the labor force data are also in
process of revision but the new series were not available at the time this report was in preparation.

Labor force participation rates (chart 9) are from World Bank data on population and labor force, which were made available in print-out form by the Bank for the working ages 15-64. The Bank bases its population data primarily on the UN as source and the labor foce primarily on ILO, and warns that rates must be used with caution. In view of the time differences between the series, changes in employment/unemployment and/or migration may affect comparisons in some countries.

Unemployment rates (chart 10) are from BLS and represent the percentage of the civilian labor force that is unemployed, i.e. armed forces, which are in the ILO statistics, are not included in this series. BLS adjusts data for the nine other countries for comparability with US definitions of employment and unemployment.

Women's employment presents special measurement problems, labor specialists emphasize. In the World Labour Report 1984, ILO cautions that "there is no doubt that in many developing areas the number of women in the labor force-even according to the strictest definition of economic activ-ity-is much larger than that given in the official statistics." The major understatement in women's employment may relate to inadequate coverage in three respects: women's work on family farms, household work which is intended for sale as well as for family consumption, and, in a broad sense, women's work in the Middle East, where the social custom is that women do not work and consequently their work may not be counted even when they do.

Women's unemployment is also more likely than men's to be subject to undercounting. Women may not be "seeking work" simply because they are discouraged workers, or they may be involuntarily working part-time, or in jobs that are substantially below their skill levels.

Hourly earnings in manufacturing (chart 11) are from various editions of ILO's Yearbook of Labour Statistics. The chart shows only those countries for which data were available for a 10 to 12 -year comparison. Hourly earnings cover cash payments received from employers, including overtime payments, and bonuses; they may also include the value of payments in kind.

Employed women who are married (table 1): OECD, Labour Force Statistics, various annual and quarterly editions through March 1984.

Open unemployment rates in developing countries (table 2): ILO, World Labour Report, 1984.

Part-time employment (table 3): OECD, Women and Their Integration in the Economy, forthcoming.

Women in foreign-assisted training programs (table 4): OECD communication, February 1984.

## Education

UNESCO, the basic source of world statistics on education, is used throughout this report for education data. In its Statistical Yearbook UNESCO has consistently shown a breakdown between males and females. Editions of the Yearbook have been used as the reference source here unless other material is specified below.

Enrollment (charts 13 and 14) is primarily from Trends and Projections of Enrollment by Level of Education and by Age, 1960-2000 (as assessed in 1982). A UNESCO print-out of April 1984 and various editions of the Yearbook were used to supplement the 1982 assessments. For developed countries, data shown for 1985 are generally actuals for the year 1982 rather than projections for 1985. UNESCO emphasizes the conditional nature of the enrollment projections, which are based on annual data from 1960 through 1980 or the latest year available as of March 1982.

The enrollment figures in this publication are compared with a standard school-age population of 5-19 for first and second level students and 20-24 for third level. Population for these ages is from UN Demographic Indicators of Countries, 1982.

Literates and illiterates and population ages 15 and over for 1970, 1980, and 1985 are from a UNESCO print-out of March 1984. Like other projections, these are conditional. The base year, 1970, was established from observed data from censuses taken around that year. Extrapolations extend past trends in illiteracy rates and current and projected enrollment ratios. UNESCO cautions that no allowance has been made for the effects of mass literacy campaigns which are presently underway or planned by individual countries.

Academic ranks and salaries (table 5): from Digest of Education Statistics, updated by a communication, US National Center of Education Statistics.

Women teachers (chart 16) and fields of specialization (chart 17): from UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks. Chart 17 covers only those countries for which data were available for both 1960 and 1980.

## Health

Health and health-related data are primarily from UN and WHO. Often the data represent the combined efforts of both of those organizations and others as well, as in the world estimates of infant mortality which were produced for the first time in 1983. Other sources used are PAHO, FAO, and World Bank, as cited below. Generally speaking, international comparisons of health are recognized by the reporting agencies to rest on fragile evidence, and this is particularly true for sex-differentiated indicators.

Life expectancy (chart 19) is the indicator most commonly used for international comparisons of health. Its calculation depends on information on the age structure of the population and age-specific death rates. In developing countries, especially in Africa and some parts of Asia, vital registration records are often non-existent or incomplete. When actual data are not available, model life tables are used to obtain a rough estimate. Choosing the best fit for a life table may depend on fragmentary evidence.
Infant mortality rates are sensitive indicators of general health care and of pre-natal care particularly. Although they are one of the most important health indicators, they too suffer from inadequate registration records and poor data. The source of the infant mortality rates used here is the UN Population Bulletin, number 13, 1983, "Infant Mortality: World Estimates and Projections, 1950-2025." Infant mortality rates, like life expectancy, are published by UN in five-year averages; they are shown here under the first year of the five-year span.
Nutritional anemia (chart 20): "The Prevalence of Nutritional Anemia in Women in Developing Countries," by E. Royston, in WHO Statistical Quarterly, number 2, 1982.
Maternal mortality (chart 21): except for Latin America, UN Demographic Yearbooks; for Latin America, a print-out dated March 1984 by PAHO.

Calories (table 6): FAO Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.
Contraception (table 7): World Bank World Development Report 1984.
Women in health professions (chart 22): this title, by Bui Dang Ha Doan, in WHO Statistical Quarterly, number 2, 1979.

## Government

An inquiry to 140 embassies and UN observer missions, where there was no embassy, produced 58 replies. The questions were: dates of full voting rights for men and women; number of women members and total members in 1975 and 1984 in the central legislative body (e.g. parliament, assembly) and in the central executive body (e.g. cabinet, ministerial council). The replies received were the primary source of the information on suffrage and women's representation in government. They were supplemented by inquiries through the International Federation of Women Lawyers and by published information from sources as noted below.

Right to vote (map 3): among a large number of sources consulted, the principal ones represented by the dates shown are: UNESCO, Yearbook on Peace and Conflict Series, 1981; People's Wallchart, International Planned Parenthood (London), 1980; Elise Boulding, Handbook of International Data on Women, Sage Publications, 1976; Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI), National Women's Political Caucus of the US Congress. References on page 29 to restrictions of the electoral process are from World Military and Social Expenditures (forthcoming).

Ratifications of international conventions on women's rights are drawn from a comprehensive workbook on the subject published in July 1983 by the International Women's Tribune Centre in New York. The Centre has also published very useful documentation on UN resolutions dealing with women, and the full text of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, with the texts of reservations or objections to reservations filed by signatory countries.

Laws affecting women are primarily from the Annual Review of Population Law by the UN Fund for Population Activities and County Reports on Human Rights Practices (annual) by the U.S. Department of State.

Women in elected national legislatures (chart 24): for European countries, from European Parliament Working Documents, "Report Tabled by the Committee of Inquiry into the Situation of Women in Europe," 5 January 1984; for Japan, from Joni Lovenduski and Jill Hills, eds., The Politics of the Second Electorate; for US, from WREI (see above).

Women in national legislatures and cabinets: data for chart 25 from embassies and observer missions, except US which was from WREI; for Table I, from preceding sources, supplemented by replies to UN questionnaire to governments and US Department of State report cited above.

## Glossary

## Organizations

AID: US Agency for International Development, Washington, DC, US.
BLS: US Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, DC, US.
CEPAL: Economic Commission for Latin America, Santiago, Chile.
European Parliament: institution of European Communities with ten member countries, Luxembourg.
FAO: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, Rome, Italy. ILO: International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland.
IMF: International Monetary Fund, Washington, DC, US.
OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, France.
PAHO: Pan American Health Organization, Washington, DC., US.
UN: United Nations, New York, US.
WHO: World Health Organization, Geneva, Switzerland.
World Bank: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, DC, US.

## Terms

## Work

Employed: those working for pay or profit, i.e. performing work that generates economic income. (Housework, preparing food for family use, getting fuel and water, are not included.*)
Gross national product: the economy's total output of goods and services valued at current market prices paid.
Labor force: sum of employed and unemployed persons, including those seeking work for the first time, those working part-time, and members of the armed forces.
Labor force participation rates: the labor force ages 15-64 as a percent of the population ages 15-64.
Unemployed: those above a specified age who are without work, currently available for work, and actively seeking work.

## Education

Enrollment: students registered at the beginning of the academic year; the academic year generally overlaps two calendar years.
Enrollment, first level: elementary or primary school; age range varies between 5 and 13.
Enrollment, second level: middle, secondary, or high school; age range varies between 11 and 20.
Enrollment, third level: higher education; generally ages 20-24.

## Health

Infant mortality rate: deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births.
Life expectancy: the average number of years which individuals at birth are expected to live under the mortality pattern prevailing in the country.
Maternal mortality rate: deaths of women (per 100,000 live births) resulting from deliveries, childbirth, or causes related to or aggravated by pregnancy.
Total fertility rate: the number of children who would be born per woman through her childbearing years if she were to have children at prevailing age-specific fertility rates.
*The Women's Decade adopted as one of its goals the assignment of economic value to "housework and other domestic chores, handicrafts, and other home-based activities."

## Statistical Caution

## Projections to 1985

The data presented in the tables for 1985 and, in special cases, for other years as well, are projections. Their conditional nature must be emphasized. Projections are subject to the reliability of the basic data, the projection model used, and the validity of the hypothesis that past trends will continue.


## Women at the Top


#### Abstract

Neither honors nor titles have gone to women in anything like their representation as half the human race. Are they less intelligent, less capable, less talented than the other half? Who are the gate-keepers?


Since the first Nobel prizes were awarded in 1901, women have received 8 percent of the prizes in peace, 7 percent in literature, 3 percent in chemistry, 2 percent in physics and in physiology, none in economics.
In the 1984 selection of candidates for the coveted Pulitzer prizes in journalism in the US, there were 16 percent women among members of the jury and 11 percent on the board which makes the final determinations.
In the Soviet Union, the legislature which approves the laws has the world's highest recorded representation of women
(33 percent); the executive body which rules the country, however, has no women.
In Third World countries, women hold 7 percent of the seats in national legislatures, and comprise 50 percent of the electorate.
In the United States, women are 7 percent of the presidents of colleges and universities, and 51 percent of the students.
In the United Nations Secretariat, women have 7 percent of the senior positions and represent over 50 percent of the staff.

Although progress to the top is slow and the proportion of women remains small, individual women are scoring new breakthroughs in every field. Recent "firsts", reflect a kaleidoscope of change throughout the world.

In Nigeria, Flora Nwapa is Black Africa's first woman publisher.
In Egypt, Amina Shafia is the first woman board member of the press syndicate.
In Jamaica, Elizabeth Murray and Moya Ramsay are the first female cadets in the merchant marine.
In the US, Christine Holdereid graduated at the top of the 1984 class of midshipmen at the Naval Academy.
In Senegal, women are for the first time police officers and inspectors.
In Switzerland, Elisabeth Kopp is the first woman elected to the seven-member cabinet.
In China, Zhang Zhen is the first woman to serve as minister for the nuclear industry.
In Malta, Agatha Barbara is the first woman to become president of the Republic.
In Hungary, Judit Csehak is deputy prime minister, the first woman to hold high government office.

In Canada, Jeanne Sauvé is the first woman governor-general in Canada's 116 years of independence.
In South Africa, Soromini Kallichurran is the first non-white and first woman dean of the medical faculty in the University of Natal.
In Saudi Arabia, Salva Shaker is the country's first woman television announcer.
In Lebanon, Sameera Al-Daker is the first woman to represent the country as ambassador.
In Ghana, Annie Jiagge is the country's first woman justice of the Supreme Court.
In Dominica, Eugenia Childs is the country's first woman prime minister.
In Mexico, Aida Gonzales Martinez became the first woman to chair the governing body of the International Labor Office.
In England, Dorothy May Donaldson is the 656th Lord Mayor of London, the first woman to hold the office since it was created in 1283.
"So-against odds, the women inch forward"

## Eleanor Roosevelt

United States, 1946


[^0]:    *The labor force, which is identified in this publication as the paid labor force, includes those seeking work as well as the employed. They are the "economically active," in the sense that the work they do (or will do when employed) is paid work or involves producing marketable goods.

