

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL

ISS

ISS DEN HAAG

251



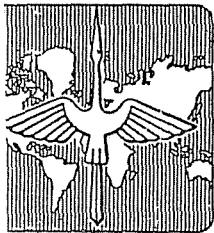
8 3501 00024 4613

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

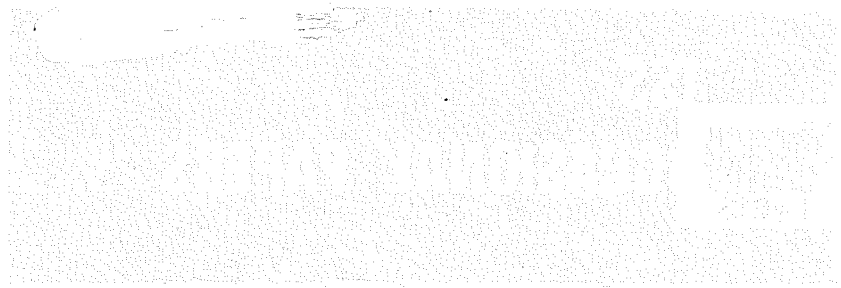
Income Distribution, Poverty and Employment

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES
LIBRARY
251 BADHUISWEG, THE HAGUE

Rachel Kurian



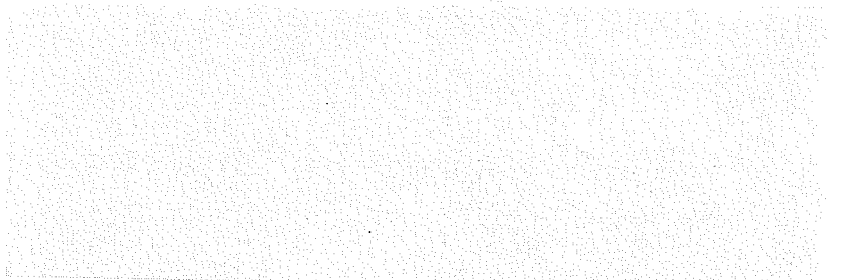
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL STUDIES
The Hague — The Netherlands



Handwritten text, possibly a title or header, which is extremely faint and difficult to decipher.

Handwritten text, possibly a date or a specific reference, located in the lower middle section of the page.

6



29016

Income Distribution, Poverty and Employment

Rachel Kurian

Nó. 73, September 1979

INCOME DISTRIBUTION, POVERTY AND EMPLOYMENT

Responses to a Policy Workshop at the Institute of Social Studies April-June 1978

Rachel Kurian

INTRODUCTION

I thought I saw two people, but it was only a man and his wife.

Russian Proverb

The education of women should always be relative to that of men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown up; to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable. These are the duties of women at all times, and what they should be taught in their infancy.

J.J. Rousseau: *Emile*

The marginalization of woman, both in theory and in reality, has been the essence of her situation in society. It is reflected in society in terms of differential economic benefits, dependence relations and social inferiority, and often these features are perpetuated with increasing contradictions. Strategies of development serve as key tools of this perpetuation of oppression if they do not take these specific features of historical development into account. The formulation of a framework of analysis of society which considers how human beings reproduce their lives in a total way, have to recognize the specificity of both relations of production and reproduction and their interconnections in order that programmes for transformation can be of progressive value for the whole of society. I have attempted to develop a framework and methodology which considers these aspects. The connections between social forms like class exploitation of the worker and the oppression of women, have to be studied in the specific historical context, and its significance cannot be underestimated when one considers the process of development to society.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the participants of the Policy Workshop, Mia Berden and Karel Jansen for their willing help.

The study of the women in rural Sri Lanka has clearly shown that there seems to be a correlation in this area between economic development and male-female wage differentiation. This, we have seen, cannot be explained as a mere side feature of the superstructure of the economy. Historical and conceptual analysis shows that it is a reflection of the interaction of social forms (or relationships) stemming from the two processes: production of life, production of necessities of life. These social forms, which in turn reflect the development of the working activity of society, have served to perpetuate the accepted social and economic inferiority of the female. The predicament of the poorer peasant (working class) woman spans production and reproduction, class exploitation and sex oppression and as such is a critical feature to be noted in development studies.

In my study I have tried to consider an analysis of the totality of relations between people in society, distinguishing between the form and content of these social relationships as functions of the development of labour. Taking the materialistic conception that the determining factor is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life, I have considered the social relationships emanating from the two production processes ('On the one hand, the production of means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools requisite thereof; on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species.') (Engels).

Since social institutions in society are conditioned by these two production processes, I have attempted to analyse the social forms (relationships, etc.) relating to these production products, to uncover the *substance* or content of these specific relationships and through this distinction between form and content of social relations, to arrive at a complex and inter-relating model of social change. As such, features like patriarchy are removed from a mere ideological or super-structural level.

Patriarchy is seen as a form which expresses the fact of the biological difference in a specific social relationship, the fact that takes other forms in other social relationships. Patriarchy is seen as the material expression of the specific reproduction relations among the people in a given historical context. This form of analysis breaks away from the widespread identification of biological difference and biological inequality, identifies the relationship between patriarchy and other institutions of inequality based on sex, and sees oppression not as an abstract moral condition, but a social and historical experience, thus helping to make strategies of development based on it, to be more valid to the whole of human society.

In the brief case study of the women in rural Sri

Lanka I have attempted to trace the changes in the relations of production and reproduction from the feudal period and tried to show how social institutions are influenced by both these features. My contention is that the socio-economic transition of Sri Lanka started with the influence of Western powers which has considerable impact in changing the characteristics of the rural economy. The changes occurred both at the level of the organization of production and of the prevailing social relations and institutions.

These changes did not occur as a result of evolution but of changes introduced from outside. This produced a system where the penetration of monetary relations into villages, the conversion of labour and land into commodities exchanged in the market weakened the base of organization of production and created new class relations in society. But it preserved some of the characteristics inherited from the old feudal socio-economy as far as the relations of reproduction were concerned. This double dimension of the present rural society has most of all affected the position of women in their participation in society. The emergence of 'wage labour' produced a proletarianization of women in the rural sector and a dichotomy between the family and economy.

At the same time, women became more and more subjected to discrimination in work, to the ideologies prevailing in the relations of reproduction in the feudal socio-economic order which essentially considered women to be weaker and inferior by their biological origin.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY OF ANALYSIS

According to the materialist conception, the determining factor is, in the last resort, the production and reproduction of immediate life. But this itself is of a two-fold character. On the one hand, the production of means of subsistence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools requisite thereof; on the other, the production of human beings themselves, the propagation of the species. The social institutions under which men of a definite country live are conditioned by both kinds of production (Ibidem: 25-26).

Labour is seen as the basic element of human society, the development of which determines the entire development of society. The specific forms that labour assumes in specific historical contexts stamps the social characteristics of the relationships between the people in that specific society.

Development strategies have to be based on such an analysis where the *development of labour or human working activity* has to be analysed not only from the standpoint of its technical methods and instruments of labour but essentially from the standpoint of its *social form*, i.e. based on the relationships among the various members of society. This working activity is constantly changing, having different characteristics in different historical periods relating to the two production processes (of life, of necessities of life). These processes of change and development of the working activity of people involve changes of three types: (1) the changes in the means of production and technical methods by which man affects nature, i.e. the changes in society's productive forces; (2) corresponding to these changes there are changes in the pattern of *production relations* among the participants in the above social process of production; (3) the other change involves the historical process of reproduction of life. Historically there has been no change in the means of production. The female always gives birth to the new life after she has been fertilized by the male. But even though this is a biological fact, the relationships between the male and the female have taken different forms at different historical periods at different development periods of working activity. This relationship is referred to as the *relations of reproduction* or *reproduction relations*, since reproduction of life has been the key element in the relationship between the male and the female.

In order to analyse the totality of the relations between people in society, i.e. the *social form* of society as a stage of historical development, we must distinguish between the *form* and the *content* of these social relationships as *functions of the development of labour*.

We have seen that social institutions in society are conditioned by both these production processes. We should therefore analyse the social forms in society, uncover the substance of these specific relationships and thus, through this distinction, arrive at a complex and inter-related model of social change which will help in the transformation of people's comprehension about themselves and the world as well as being concerned with material change.

The distinction between form and content of social relationships in society was used by Marx in his analysis of the commodity producing economy. Here he analyses value in terms of its form, substance and magnitude (*Wertform, Wertsubstanz, Wertgrösse*). On the one hand, Marx takes as his starting point the analysis of value as the finished form of the product and by the method of abstraction he uncovers the content (substance) which is contained in the given form, i.e. labour is treated as an abstract content which can take various social forms. Through a series of concretizations or development of forms from the substance (socially equalized labour, abstract labour, socially necessary labour, etc.), he also connects labour to the value social form. This method of analysis gives him an adequate tool to express the specificity of the form of labour in its qualitative and quantitative aspects as related to the development of technical methods of production.

But what is the content and form of relations of reproduction? Although labour is the most abstract universal substance of the relationship, what is the process by which it is related to the specific social institutions relating to relationships between the male and the female in society? That this relationship is based on *working activity* cannot be denied - but the distinction between this working activity and the working activity relating to production relations in society is that one is based on the *biological differences* and the *necessity of procreation of the species* and the other on the development of the *technical methods of production*. Therefore, if we take as the substance of the reproduction relations, *labour based on the biological difference*, then we must try to relate this substance to the specific forms and institutions in society. Discrimination between the sexes is one such form of the development of the substance. Patriarchy is another such further form which is seen as a specific level of concretization or development of this working activity based on biological differences. A further concretization of this patriarchy is

found in the forms of family systems where there is inferiority of the female. Table I gives a list of some of the abstractions and concretizations of analysis.

Therefore, when we study the specific institutions relating to the form of reproduction relations in society, we should try to distinguish between the historical specificity of the forms and the substance. Only then can we relate the form of this labour to the particular historical context of its concretization. *Patriarchy is seen as a form which expresses the fact of the biological difference in a specific social relationship, the fact which takes other forms in other social relationships. Patriarchy has to be seen as the material expression of the specific reproduction relations among the people in a given historical context.* By this form of analysis, by the distinction between the form and the context of the social reproduction relations, we break away from the widespread identification of biological difference and biological inequality and see the relationship between the two more accurately. This gives us a tool for identifying the relationship between patriarchy and other institutions of inequality based on sex. If patriarchy is treated the same as biological difference then its specific social characteristics are not brought out, and it is treated as a mere reflection of biological difference and separated from other discriminative forms in society. When we consider patriarchy in terms of its content and form, we relate it with the concept that precedes it, the biological difference (content). On the other hand, through the forms of patriarchy, we connect it with the other institutions of inequality between the sexes in society.

All development strategies must take into consideration the social relationships in society, i.e. the social relations of production and the social relationships of reproduction, and their significance and particular social forms in society have to be analysed. Just as it is important to analyse men and women in society in terms of their social relations of production, it is as important to consciously rediscover the individual in terms of biological differences and to understand society in terms of both these historical processes.

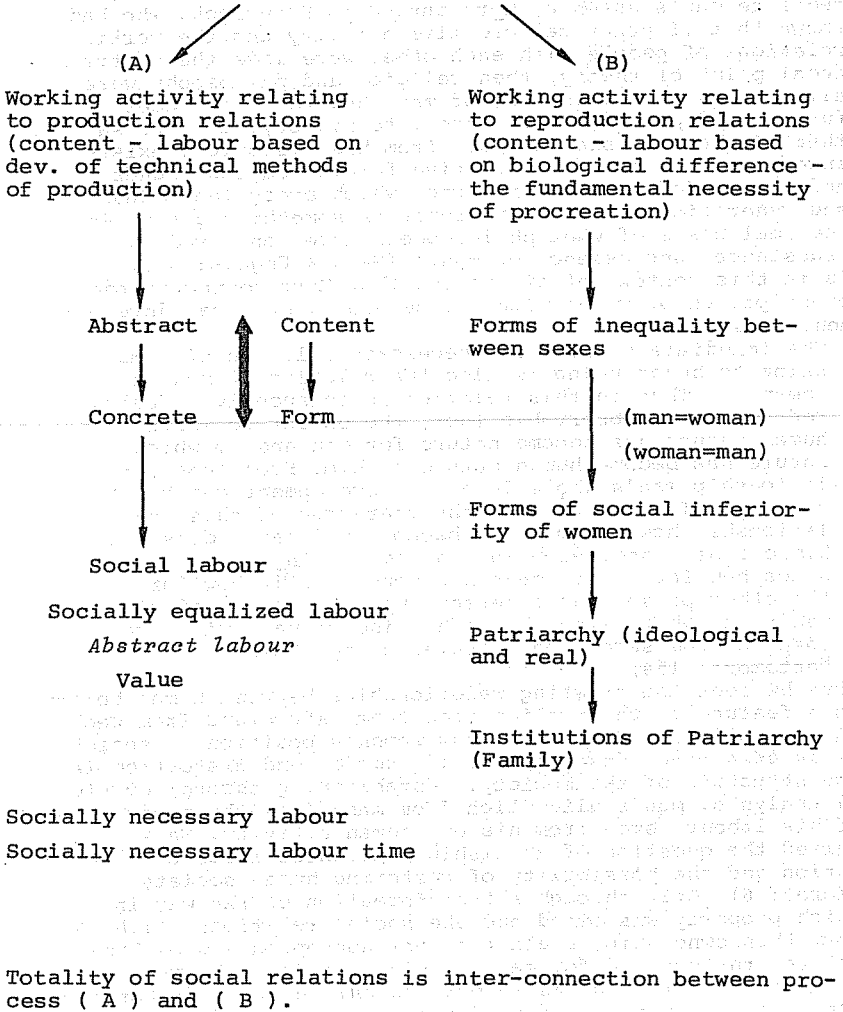
First of all, I shall summarize some of the important issues relating to perspectives on women done in recent years and, in the light of the method earlier described, see their significance to the understanding of society.

The Marxist perspective on women initially was related to the whole concept of *alienation*. Although Marx adopted the concept from Hegel he was critical of the content which Hegel gave to it. 'For Hegel the essence of man-man equals self-consciousness, it is man's estrangement of the human essence. It therefore nothing but estrangement of self-consciousness.' (Marx: 178). For Marx, however, man's essence

Table 1

Connection Between the Form and Content of Social Relations

Labour based on working activity (content)



is larger than thought, larger than self-consciousness, it is man's creative activity, his labour in all its aspects. Although he concedes that Hegel 'grasps labour as the essence of man ... the only labour that Hegel knows and recognises is mentally abstract labour' (Ibidem: 177).

In order to reshape the concept of alienation and redefine man's essence, Marx turned to Feuerbach, who had shown that if practical creative activity and the working relations of people with each other were made the central focal point of theory, then religion and philosophy were alienations to the essence of man. However, Marx goes further and puts man's essence into history, i.e. to say that man has no essence apart from his historical existence: '.... the sum of productive forces, capital funds and social forms of intercourse, which every individual and generation finds in existence as something given, is the real basis of what philosophers have conceived as 'substance' and essence of man.' (Marx & Engels: 50). It is in this context of alienation that Marx connected the emancipation of women with the general historical development of society.

The immediate natural and necessary relation of human being to human being is also the relation of man to woman ... Thus in this relation is sensuously revealed, reduced to an observable fact, the extent to which human nature has become nature for man and to which nature has become human nature to him. From this relationship man's whole level of development can be assessed. It follows from the character of this relationship how far man has become, and has understood himself as a species-being, a human being ... It also shows how far man's needs and consequently how far the other person, as a person, has become one of his needs, to what extent he is his individual existence [and] at the same time a social being (Marx in Bottomore: 154).

Thus he sees the existing relationships between human beings as a feature of their alienation from nature and from each other. Following Fourier he saw women's position in society as an historical index of the alienation and distortion in the structure of the society. 'Establishing through critical analysis, man's alienation from man, from the product of his labour, even from his own human activity, Marx raised the question of abolishing all these forms of dehumanization and the possibility of restoring human society' (Korač: 6). Only through a transformation of the way in which property was owned and the social relations which can form this ownership, could the real appropriation of human nature, through and for man, be historically achieved. *Woman's general relation to man was only a specific expression of the universal alienation of man to man and man to*

nature.

This ignores the greater burden the women have historically borne for the perpetuation of the species. As Simone de Beauvoir has pointed out, 'The enslavement of the female of the species and the limitations of her various powers are extremely important facts, the body of a woman is one of the essential elements in her situation in the world' (de Beauvoir: 33).

Engles, however, created a basis for a more concrete study of women's condition in society, when he attempted to work out social stages relating to various modes of production and reproduction.

The first class opposition that occurs in history coincides with the development of antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male. Monogamous marriage was a great historical step forward, nevertheless together with slavery and private wealth it opens the period that has lasted until today in which every step forward is also relatively a step backward, in which prosperity and development for some is won through the misery and frustration of others. It is the cellular form of civilized society in which the nature of the opposition and contradictions fully acting in that society can be already studied.

(Engels).

Engels attempted to connect the changes in the family to the changes in ownership of means of production. But this perspective still did not explain 'woman as the other' (de Beauvoir: 33). The importance of his contribution, however, should not be under-estimated. Firstly, he demonstrated that women faced a contradiction between their domestic labour and social production under capitalism. Secondly, he tried to connect up sex conflict with particular historical phases in the development of the family, i.e. he asserted women's oppression as a problem of history.

Other Marxists have further developed such an analysis for the position of women in society. Questions have been raised as to the relationships between domestic labour and wage labour, (Secombe: 85-96) where it has been argued that the housewife produces value by contributing to the production of the commodity, labour power. But since value-social relationships do not prevail within the family structure, such a concept serves to hide the particular form of exploitation within the family.

Eli Zaretsky gave a dynamic notion of the family, personal life and of the role of women in his book *Capitalism, the Family and Personal Life* (1976). Taking his notion of family as an anthropological entity from Levi-Strauss, he tries to show that the major theoretical weakness of Engels' book lies in tracing the oppression of women to private

property in general, without 'any attempt to indicate that both private property and women's oppression have different meanings in different modes of production' (Zaretsky: 93). Zaretsky tries to understand the recent history of the family as part of the history of capitalism. He describes two related historical transformations: the elimination of private productive property as the basis of the family among the masses of the people, and the emergence of a sphere of personal life seemingly independent of the 'economy' and of 'production'. In other words, he tries to understand the family as an integral part of a society that changes continuously and as a whole, focusing on the continually changing social bases of the family as part of the organization of production. These are some of the serious developments that have taken place in Marxist analysis to bring into focus some of the features of oppression that women have faced.

Yet again institutionalization of inequality stemming from biological roots has not been brought out in full perspective with such an analysis. While the biological difference between the sexes is an ahistorical truth the so-called 'patriarchal ideology' has proved susceptible to historical analysis and this historical process is not a mere reflection of the mode of production. Shulamith Firestone traces the origin of this oppression to the greater burden that women have borne for the perpetuation of the human species. Firestone traces the origins of male supremacy to its origins in the 'bio-logical family', the basic reproductive unit of male/female/infant. She agrees that this supremacy was socially enforced but it was the childrearing function (and infancy lasts much longer in human beings than in other animal species) that women have always been at the mercy of their biology. As society developed, women have always become restricted to the family, while men organized production etc., and society was divided into two distinct biological classes, unequal in their social roles. Thus she urges us to see 'the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all historic events in the dialectic of sex'. She points out the specific institution of the family that gave the 'materialist basis' to a phenomenon whose very omnipresence made it appear psychologically determined. The family is the primary institution through which women participate in society (whether they are housewives or workers or both).

Juliet Mitchell has advanced this perspective by demonstrating that society simultaneously formed the family. She tries to put Firestone's perspective within the historical context, and stresses the need to develop the concept of the family in its social context.

To say that sex dualism was the first oppression and that it underlies all oppression may be true,

but it is a general, non-specific truth, it is simplistic materialism, no more. After all we can say there has always been a master class and a servant class, but it does matter *how* these function (whether they are feudal landlords and peasants, capitalists and the working class or so on); there have always been classes, as there sexes, how do these operate within any given, specific society? (Mitchell: 83)

She resolves the family into its separate structures: sexual reproduction and the socialisation of the young. The unity of the family is seen in three ways: (1) it serves as an economic unit - this economic dimension varies throughout history and is dependent on the mode of production; (2) the family unit is formed ideologically; (3) there is a relative autonomy of the family from history by its 'bio-social form' which Firestone makes central. Mitchell goes on to study their interactions.

The bio-social universal, the ideological atemporal, the economic specificity all interlock in a complex manner ... Psychoanalysis, the scientific method for investigating the first (the bio-social), can be neglected no more than scientific socialism for understanding the last, the economic, and both are needed for developing a comprehension of the ideological. (Ibidem: 167, 172)

Further, she emphasized that the mode of production and the ideological mode of patriarchy must be analysed separately for 'if we analyse the economic and ideological situation only at the point of their interpenetration, we shall never see the means to their transformation.'

There have been attempts to synthesize Marxism and this feminist perspective. Rowbotham sees the family was supplemented rather than dissolved and that women also played the role of a reserve army with increasing industrialization. Taking her stand from Rosa Luxemburg, that capitalism 'is also the first mode of economy which is unable to exist by itself, which needs other economic systems as a medium and a soil, she saw the family as the rationale for such an economic system and further saw this as directly linked to the unequal exploitation of female labour in industry.

'The tendency that Marx observed for capitalism to throw up a whole range of new labour intensive operations with every important technological advance makes this reserve army still essential despite automation.' (Rowbotham: 104).

Profits depend more and more on the efficient organization of work and on the 'self-discipline' of the workers rather than simply on speed-ups and other direct forms of increasing the exploitation of the

workers. The family is therefore important both to shoulder the burden of the costs of education, and to carry out the repressive socialization of children. The family must raise children who have internalized hierarchical social relations, who will discipline themselves at work, efficiently without constant supervision ... Women are responsible for implementing most of this socialization. (Morton).

Thus, capitalism has at the same time produced a need for women to socialize children at home and to use the labour of women in industry. It also needs the family as a market for consumer durables, and yet needs to preserve the image of the indispensable Mum in the traditional role of the housewife.

This is a sort of imperialism that has been mounted on to the subordinate family mode of production.

What is the significance of these perspectives on the position of women?

First of all it is to demonstrate that, historically, women have been oppressed in a dimension that has been ignored generally by society. This 'women' has generally, in fact, been abstracted from society and the different possibilities for men and women are held to be biological (biological difference = social inequality) and psychological in origin and thus the need to transform the social relations between all human beings is ignored. Secondly, we have to see oppression not as an abstract moral condition but as a social and historical experience and understand its significance in both its conception and historical sense. Thirdly, the method of abstraction, by distinguishing between the form and content, gives us the tool of analysis to bring into light the specificity and development of social forms of oppression and consider transformations within that context.

II

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE POLICY WORKSHOP ON INCOME DISTRIBUTION, EMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY

During the Policy Workshop on Income Distribution, Employment and Poverty, I participated in discussions on development strategies relating to developing countries. There were several relevant analyses on theoretical and concrete situations. These discussions and papers served to bring into focus some of the general and central contradictions that faced the development processes of the four countries: Sri Lanka, Zambia, Yugoslavia and Colombia, all of which have large rural populations and face certain structural changes in the process of development. As a workshop in an institute based on analysing issues of development in the Third World countries, it was very interesting for me to try and understand the relevance of these discussions for the position of the women in these countries.

Life is not determined by consciousness but consciousness by life.

Karl Marx: *The German Ideology*

The vast majority of human beings have always been mainly invisible to themselves while a tiny majority have exhausted themselves in the isolation of observing their own reflections... In order to create an alternative an oppressed group must at once shatter the self-reflecting world which encircles it and at the same time, project its own image onto history.

S. Rowbotham: *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*

The workshop served as a forum for the exchange of ideas on historical oppression, change and development. All the participants from the four countries showed a strong consciousness of the oppression suffered by the working class and the poorest peasants and their position in society as the worst hit by aspects of income distribution, employment and poverty. But what was their consciousness of the position of women in their concept of oppression?

Consciousness within the development context can only become coherent and self-critical when its version of the world perceives beyond immediate experience, beyond any projected abstract ideals, and sees all oppression not as an abstract moral condition but as a social and historical experience, integrating a reality which understands the needs for transformation of all social relations between

human beings. To most of the participants, the position of women in society was considered as the 'woman's question'. There was a hesitancy and a hopelessness about the issue, a tendency to 'if' and 'but' and 'of course' - also expressed as 'diversionary' to the issues in question, i.e. to the issue of development. (But is it so diversionary to consider the situation of oppression of one-half of humanity in the context of development?) Woman's oppression was located at the level of participation in production and considered mainly in the light of the economic functions of the class she belonged to in society.

As such the problems of discrimination due to her sex that women face even in their function as worker were never seriously posed or even acknowledged. The social inferiority that women in these countries faced was left unexplored and the economic dependence and discrimination of the women were subordinated to the class question. Although male chauvinism is an attitude to be morally condemned, it is not a substitute for an analysis, and *only the realization of the inter-locking nature of oppression and the significance of hegemonic control can set the pace for true transformations of social relations in society.*

To show that the subordination of women has a dimension which cannot be reduced merely to her exploitation as a class, I have tried to look at the situation of women in Sri Lanka, concentrating on the social relations emerging from the paddy cultivation production system. I have tried to show the dimensions of oppression faced by poorer peasant women, both as women and as workers. The stress is that the totality of social relations cannot be analyzed by considering the social forms that correspond to only the production of necessities of life, but that the social forms corresponding to the relations of reproductions interact at every level of society to bring forth a more complex dimension of oppression which is reflected in the social, economic and political spheres.

Such an analysis was essentially a response to some of the papers presented at the Policy Workshop and to the discussions that took place. I shall try briefly to put forward some of these points and to examine them in the context of the problematic.

(a) P.A.S. Dahanayake: *The Need for Policy Orientation for Employment Oriented Growth in Sri Lanka*

His main argument was that 'inward looking economic policies inhibited adequate supply of foreign capital resources. In-

The papers discussed here are for internal circulation only.

adequate supply of foreign resources led to slow economic growth and slow employment generation, the cumulative effect of which resulted in a critically high level of unemployment.' He then examined 'the changes in the state economic policies required to overcome the foreign exchange constraint and thus to promote faster economic growth and employment in Sri Lanka.'

Although I shall not go into the details of his argument I would like to make a few notes. Dahanayake says that the achievements in income redistribution have been very high, and he quotes the consumer finance surveys in saying that the income received by the lowest 10% rose from 1.51% of total income in 1963 to 1.80% in 1973, while that of the highest 10% fell from 42.29% to 29.95% during the same period. Further he sees a 'dramatic fall' in the Gini coefficient from .49 in 1963 to .41 in 1973, indicating a shift towards a more equal distribution of income.

Table 2

% Total Income Received by each 10% of Ranked Male and Female Income Receivers

Deciles	Male		Female	
	1963	1973	1963	1973
Lowest	1.58	2.31	1.28	1.97
2	2.93	4.01	2.51	3.53
3	3.87	5.14	4.07	4.53
4	4.83	6.31	5.34	5.43
5	5.84	7.51	6.30	6.16
6	7.22	8.71	7.44	7.13
7	8.93	10.36	8.82	8.87
8	11.28	12.03	10.36	11.95
9	13.51	15.07	15.17	17.97
Highest	40.01	28.55	38.71	32.46

Source: Survey of Sri Lanka's Consumer Finances 1973, 75.

Table 2 indicates that there is a higher concentration of women receivers among the lower income groups of females than in the case of males. In 1963 the top 10% of males and females received nearly an equal proportion of total income (with 35% of total income going to this group). The bottom 10% received less than 2% of income for both groups. In 1969-70, the top 10% of males received 31% of total income while in the case of female it was 37%. In 1973, this trend is further again as the top 10% of males receive 28.55% of total income while the top 10% of the women receive 32.46%

+ of total income accruing to each sex group.

We see that although greater equalization has been achieved in the case of both men and women, the case of women lays significantly behind that of the men. This is indicated by the changes in the Gini coefficient which showed a decrease from 1963-1973 of .47-.36 males and from .47-.42 for females.

When this is considered in connection with the level of the wages you see an extension of this disparity. The income distribution of both males and females are charted for 1963 and 1973. Distribution in 1963 was more skewed for females than for males and centred on a lower average. Median income was Rs 95 as compared to Rs 195 for men. From 1963-1973 the medianal income for males went up by 112% while that for females increased by 73%. Looking at the level of absolute wages is more revealing.

adequate supply of foreign resources led to slow economic growth and slow employment generation, the cumulative effect of which resulted in a critically high level of unemployment.' He then examined 'the changes in the state economic policies required to overcome the foreign exchange constraint and thus to promote faster economic growth and employment in Sri Lanka.'

Although I shall not go into the details of his argument I would like to make a few notes. Dahanayake says that the achievements in income redistribution have been very high, and he quotes the consumer finance surveys in saying that the income received by the lowest 10% rose from 1.51% of total income in 1963 to 1.80% in 1973, while that of the highest 10% fell from 42.29% to 29.95% during the same period. Further he sees a 'dramatic fall' in the Gini coefficient from .49 in 1963 to .41 in 1973, indicating a shift towards a more equal distribution of income.

Table 2

% Total Income Received by each 10% of Ranked Male and Female Income Receivers

Deciles	Male		Female	
	1963	1973	1963	1973
Lowest	1.58	2.31	1.28	1.97
2	2.93	4.01	2.51	3.53
3	3.87	5.14	4.07	4.53
4	4.83	6.31	5.34	5.43
5	5.84	7.51	6.30	6.16
6	7.22	8.71	7.44	7.13
7	8.93	10.36	8.82	8.87
8	11.28	12.03	10.36	11.95
9	13.51	15.07	15.17	17.97
Highest	40.01	28.55	38.71	32.46

Source: Survey of Sri Lanka's Consumer Finances 1973, 75.

Table 2 indicates that there is a higher concentration of women receivers among the lower income groups of females than in the case of males. In 1963 the top 10% of males and females received nearly an equal proportion of total income (with 35% of total income going to this group). The bottom 10% received less than 2% of income for both groups. In 1969-70, the top 10% of males received 31% of total income while in the case of female it was 37%. In 1973, this trend is further again as the top 10% of males receive 28.55% of total income while the top 10% of the women receive 32.46%

+ of total income accruing to each sex group.

We see that although greater equalization has been achieved in the case of both men and women, the case of women lays significantly behind that of the men. This is indicated by the changes in the Gini coefficient which showed a decrease from 1963-1973 of .47-.36 males and from .47-.42 for females.

When this is considered in connection with the level of the wages you see an extension of this disparity. The income distribution of both males and females are charted for 1963 and 1973. Distribution in 1963 was more skewed for females than for males and centred on a lower average. Median income was Rs 95 as compared to Rs 195 for men. From 1963-1973 the medianal income for males went up by 112% while that for females increased by 73%. Looking at the level of absolute wages is more revealing.

INCOME DISTRIBUTIONS OF MALES AND FEMALES – 1963 AND 1973

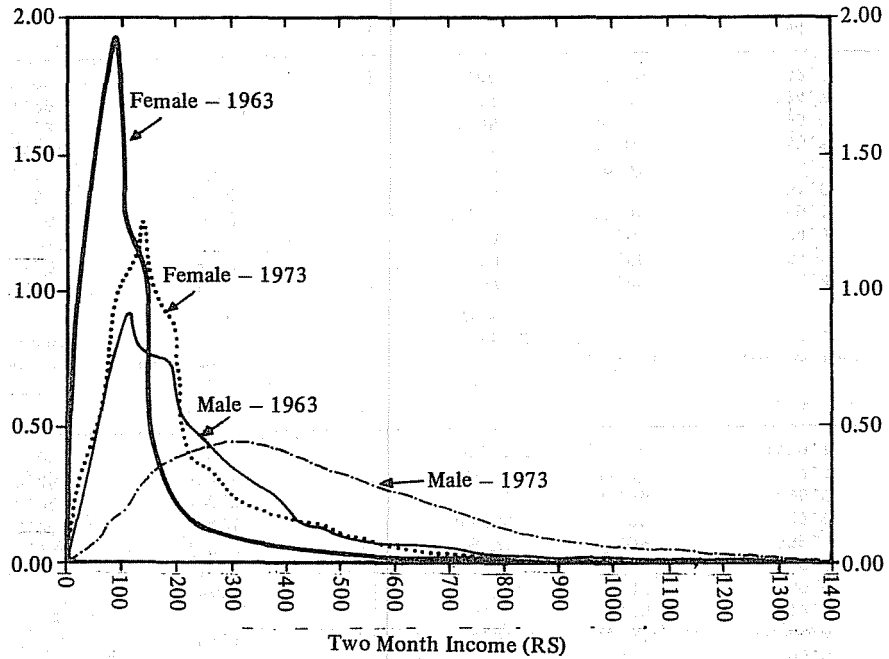


Table 3

Deciles	Male			Male			Index of change
	% total income	cumulative frequency	average income Rs.	% total income	cumulative frequency	average income Rs.	
1	1.58	1.58	30.8	2.31	2.31	95.0	308
2	2.93	4.51	57.1	4.01	6.32	165.6	290
3	3.87	8.38	75.5	5.14	11.46	212.3	281
4	4.83	13.21	94.2	6.31	17.47	260.6	277
5	5.84	19.05	113.9	7.51	25.28	310.2	272
6	7.22	26.77	140.8	8.71	33.99	359.7	255
7	8.93	35.70	174.1	10.36	44.35	427.9	246
8	11.28	46.98	220.0	12.03	56.38	496.8	226
9	13.51	50.49	263.4	15.07	71.45	622.4	236
10	40.01	100.00	780.2	28.55	100.00	1179.1	151
	100.00		195.0			413	212
Deciles	Women			Women			Index of change
	% total income	cumulative frequency	average income Rs.	% total income	cumulative frequency	average income Rs.	
1	1.28	1.28	12.2	1.97	1.97	32.4	266
2	2.51	3.79	23.8	3.53	5.50	57.9	243
3	4.07	7.86	38.7	4.53	10.03	74.3	192
4	5.34	13.20	50.7	5.43	15.46	89.1	176
5	6.30	19.50	60.0	6.16	21.62	101.0	168
6	7.44	26.94	70.7	7.13	28.75	116.9	165
7	8.82	35.76	83.8	8.87	37.62	145.5	174
8	10.36	46.12	103.6	11.95	49.57	196.0	189
9	15.17	61.29	144.1	17.97	67.54	194.7	105
10	38.71	100.00	367.8	32.46	100.00	532.3	145
			95			164	173

From the earlier tables we can calculate:

Table 4. Income ratio female/male

Deciles	1963	1973
	%	%
1	39.6	34.1
2	41.7	35.0
3	51.5	35.0
4	53.8	34.2
5	52.7	32.6
6	50.2	32.5
7	48.1	34.0
8	47.1	39.5
9	54.7	47.3
10	47.1	45.1
Average	48.7	39.7

We see that within each decile a significantly lesser proportion of the income generated went to the female between the years 1963 and 1973. In other words, the wage structure has shifted in such a way that there seems to be a wider disparity between the incomes earned between the sexes within each group and overall as well.

This clearly shows *that development has been accompanied by greater differentiation between men and women in their economic benefits*. This is even stronger when we consider that this period was one when the government had social equality as one of its main goals.

All these factors go to show that a deeper structural look at the income distribution pattern reveals that women in general have benefitted economically far less than is seen by the general statistics. If we consider the ranking of men and women according to their income levels, we see that the shift in income distribution from 1963-73 resulted in a structural shift of more men to the higher ranks of the income scale and more women to the lower ranks.

The second point concerns Dahanayake's section on employment statistics: he shows that the labour force increased by 37.4% during the years 1963-75 and further says 'that the high growth rate of the work force was mainly due to the entry of females (86.2%) during the same period. Yet a breakdown of figures into male and female categories shows that women have been most economically hit by changes in the employment market' (Table 5).

Table 5. *Unemployment: 1963, 1971 and 1975*

	Estimated Labour Force ('000)		Estimated Employment ('000)		Estimated Unemployment ('000)		Rate of unemployment (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		
1. Census of Population, 1963	2519	788	2537	652	282	263	11.59	
2. Census of Population, 1971	332	1176	2838	811	286	465	18.69	
3. Land & Labour Utilization Survey, 1975	3490	1467	2990	983	500	484	19.89	

Calculated

	Estimated Labour Force (%)		Employed as % of Specific Labour Force (%)		Unemployed/ Employed (%)		Rate of unemployment (%)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. Census of Population, 1963	79	21	90	67	11	40	10	33
2. Census of Population, 1971	69		90		10	57	10	
3. Land & Labour Utilization Survey, 1975	70	30	85	67	16	49	15	33

- (b) Mr Karunatilake's critique of his interpretation of Rural Poverty in Sri Lanka presented two points of interest on the position of women. He disputes the analysis that the consumption of the top quarters increased more than any other by saying that at 1963 prices of consumption expenditure has fallen only in respect of the lowest quintile.

Table 6

% of Spending Units	(2)		
	(1)	1973 at 1963 prices	(2) (1)
0 - 20	191.3	163.8	856
20 - 40	248.7	276.4	1.075
40 - 60	334.7	337.8	1.009
60 - 80	430.4	440.2	1.023
80 -100	717.3	829.2	1.156
Total	382.6	409.5	1.070

Source: Central Bank of Ceylon, *Survey of Consumer Finances* 1963 and 1973.

A look at those who constitute this lowest quintile shows that the vast majority are women.

- (c) Batty Weerakon's paper on 'Bourgeoisie versus Dominant Public Sectors' has traced the emergence of the public sector and its dominance over several factors of economic activity - plantations, industry, trade, mining, banking, etc. He attempts to show that it was the circumstantial weakness of the colonial and post-colonial bourgeoisie that could not develop sufficiently the economy and which thus caused the emergence of the public sector (1970-76). It was only through intensive struggle and political activity that the working class was able to attain these achievements with the commitment to socialism. This does not shed any light on the following issue, however.

The legally authorized payment of lower wages to women workers for 'work of equal value'.

By virtue of 8.8[?] of the Minimum Wages (Indian Labour) Ordinance and 8.27 of the wages Board Ordinance there is room for the stipulation of different scales of pay for men and women; women, in each instance, being entitled to a lower wage than men labourers for work for equal value in quality and quantity, and, in some instances, lower than the category termed Young Persons. *The majority of women*

workers belong to this category, and belong to the lowest paid rank of workers anywhere. The non-grant of promotion, an artificial categorization of workers, which turns out to be a device for the separation of women workers into a water-tight compartment from which there is no prospect of promotion, are other discriminatory factors operating against women workers. The law, by not holding against these discriminatory practices, could tacitly authorise them. (Muttetuwegama: 9).

How could these practices have emerged and continued under a system committed to equality and freedom?

Mr Weerakon recognizes this differentiation only marginally when he considers the implications of the White Paper on Employment Relations issued by the present government 'Equal pay for equal output is recognized but is erroneously presented in the preamble as the recognition for the first time in this country of the principle of equal pay for equal work.'

More explicitly, this differentiation is seen in his paper on 'The Ceylon Federation of Labour and the Trade Union Movement in Sri Lanka (1932-1975)', in which he gives a table of wage increases.

Table 7. *Tea Growing and Manufacturing Trade*

					May 1970-
	May 1970	Nov. 1973	April 1974	March 1975	March 1975
Men	3.07	4.17	4.70	5.43	76%
Women	2.45	3.15	3.53	4.07	67%
Children	2.13	3.81	3.17	3.65	71%

Table 8. *Rubber Growing and Manufacturing Trade*

Men	3.12	4.22	4.75	5.50	76%
Women	2.60	3.32	3.72	4.26	64%
Children	2.28	2.97	3.34	3.85	69%

Although Mr Weerakon says that there were measures under consideration to remove the difference in payment between male and female workers we see:

- (i) in both sectors, women's wage increases have been the least, even below that of children;
- (ii) no specific legal action has been taken to get rid of this differentiation.

In absolute terms, wage increases have resulted in greater differentiation in wages between men and women workers. This is shown in Table 9 which is calculated on the basis of Table 7

and 8.

Table 9. *Absolute Differences between Wage Increases for Male and Female Workers (Calculated)*

	Difference in Wage Increases Men - Women			
	May '70	Nov. '73	April '74	March '75
Tea and Manufac- turing trade	62	1.02	1.17	1.36
Rubber growing and manufacturing	46	90	1.03	1.24

We see that with more reforms and bills for bettering the situation of the workers, there has also come about a *greater economic differentiation* between men and women. *These are trends whose significance cannot be ignored when considering policies of change and development.*

- (d) Kuzmin Franc's paper 'Aspects of Wage Differentiation' considers the inequality that has been changing over time. Although he presents only the case of Slovenia as empirical research case, he also considers these aspects of changes for other provinces in Yugoslavia.

There is one very important point for the position of the women which is observed from his calculation, i.e. that *the more developed the region a relatively greater differentiation in income emerges between the sexes*. This is illustrated in tables below.

- (e) On Gilbert Mudenda's paper 'Zambia's Development Strategy: A Socio-Economic Appraisal', I have but one comment to make since my knowledge of the land is very limited. Mudenda locates three groups of people who have not benefitted from the development strategy: 'The poor peasant farmers (subsistence farmers), the workers and the semi-proletarians'. He sees that a large part of the rural population has not benefitted from the development strategy which in reality helped the emergence of a social group of capitalist entrepreneurs. Though this may be so, it might be worthwhile to study in more detail the characteristics of labour in these rural areas and see the pattern of change that developed through the development strategy. In her paper 'Unfulfilled Reputations: Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, the Case of Kabuwe Rural District 1964-1970', Maud Mutemba indicates that agricultural training was one of the strategies that the government had considered for rural development. She shows, however, that none of the pro-

Interoccupational approach to wage distribution

The basis for this part of analysis are the results, which could be found in: "Faktorji Ogebnih dohodkov v gospodarskih in negospodarskih dejavnostih v sr sloveniji v letih 1969 in 1971, Kuzmin Franc, IER, Ljubljana, 1974.

"Faktorji ogebnih dohodkov v industrijski dejavnosti po republikah SFR, Jugoslavije, Kuzmin Franc, IER, Ljubljana, 1977.

For examining closely the determining factors various models were elaborated. The best results were derived by these two models:

For 1969 and 1971:

$$1) \frac{W}{M} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 C + \alpha_2 WE + \alpha_3 H_1 + \alpha_4 H_2 + \alpha_5 H_3 + \alpha_6 H_4 + \alpha_7 H_5 + \alpha_8 H_6 + \alpha_9 H_7 + \alpha_{10} P_1 + \alpha_{11} P_2 + \alpha_{12} WE^2$$

For 1973

$$2) \frac{W}{M} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 C + \alpha_2 WE + \alpha_3 H_1 + \alpha_4 H_2 + \alpha_5 H_3 + \alpha_6 H_4 + \alpha_7 H_5 + \alpha_8 H_6 + \alpha_9 H_7 + \alpha_{10} WE^2 + \alpha_{11} \%F + \alpha_{12} I/E + \alpha_{13} W/P + \alpha_{14} MPS + \alpha_{15} WE \times H_1 + \alpha_{16} WE \times H_2 + \alpha_{17} WE \times H_3 + \alpha_{18} WE \times H_4 + \alpha_{19} WE \times H_5 + \alpha_{20} WE \times H_6 + \alpha_{21} WE \times H_7 + \alpha_{22} C \times H_1 + \alpha_{23} C \times H_2 + \alpha_{24} C \times H_3 + \alpha_{25} C \times H_4 + \alpha_{26} C \times H_5 + \alpha_{27} C \times H_6 + \alpha_{28} C \times H_7$$

$\frac{W}{M}$ = average yearly wage for individual

C = dummy variable for sex; 1 for male, 0 for female

WE = working age

H₁ = university education)

H₂ = higher education) white collared workers

H₃ = high school)

H₄ = 8-years education

H_5 = high skilled worker)
 H_6 = skilled worker) blue collared workers)
 H_7 = semi-skilled worker)
 H_8 = unskilled worker)

P_1 = high capital intensive manufacturing sectors)
 P_2 = low capital intensive manufacturing sectors)
 P_3 = medium capital intensive manufacturing sectors)

$\%F$ = female employment as a percentage of total employment)
 I/E = Yearly value added per employee)
 W/P = unit labour cost as a percentage of GNP) *)
 MPS = percentage of income of five biggest enterprises in)
 total gross value of output)

*) These variables were added to an individual according to his employment sector.

Results are presented in tables 5, 6 and 7. (pages 17, 18, 19)

Further examination is based on point estimates of regression coefficients. Regression coefficients $q_3 - q_9$ show net contribution to wages of each occupational status relative to unskilled worker contribution. To discover the changes in interoccupational wage distribution, net contribution of each occupational status to average wage should be compared.

MANUFACTURING SECTORS - SLOVENIA 1973

EMPIRICAL RESULTS OF REGRESSION MODEL:

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WE^2 + a_{11}WF + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE_{H_1} + a_{16}WE_{H_2} + a_{17}WE_{H_3} + a_{18}WE_{H_4} + a_{19}WE_{H_5} + \\
 & + a_{20}WE_{H_6} + a_{21}WE_{H_7} + a_{22}C_{H_1} + a_{23}C_{H_2} + a_{24}C_{H_3} + a_{25}C_{H_4} + a_{26}C_{H_5} + a_{27}C_{H_6} + \\
 & + a_{28}C_{H_7}
 \end{aligned}$$

Variables		Regression coefficient	Standard error of regression coefficient	Values	Partial correlation coefficient
Constant	- a_0	514,886	-	-	-
Sex	- C	218,740	37,746	7,46	0,083
Working age	- WE	22,626	2,952	7,66	0,086
University education	- H_1	1.512,646	89,186	16,96	0,187
Higher education	- H_2	952,101	92,031	10,35	0,115
High school	- H_3	467,315	50,456	9,26	0,103
8-years education	- H_4	135,893	78,038	1,74	0,020
High skilled	- H_5	562,870	103,209	5,45	0,061
Skilled	- H_6	181,674	42,595	4,27	0,048
Semi skilled	- H_7	- 65,861	41,971	- 1,57	- 0,018
	- WE^2	- 0,717	0,069	-10,43	- 0,116
Percentage of female	- WF	2,507	0,391	6,40	0,072
Average productivity	- I/E	6,437	0,550	11,70	0,170
Unit labour cost	- W/P	10,494	1,449	7,24	0,081
Concentration of supply	- MPS	3,749	0,232	16,19	0,179
	WE_{H_1}	46,457	4,103	11,32	0,126
	WE_{H_2}	32,489	4,274	7,60	0,085
	WE_{H_3}	22,028	3,011	7,23	0,082
	WE_{H_4}	11,323	4,916	2,30	0,026
	WE_{H_5}	23,090	3,225	7,16	0,080
	WE_{H_6}	10,493	2,585	4,06	0,045
	WE_{H_7}	9,359	2,715	3,45	0,039
	C_{H_1}	208,916	92,040	2,27	0,025
	C_{H_2}	143,031	83,101	1,72	0,019
	C_{H_3}	323,364	50,903	6,35	0,071
	C_{H_4}	- 163,688	102,562	- 1,59	- 0,018
	C_{H_5}	51,902	95,783	0,54	0,006
	C_{H_6}	148,866	43,320	3,44	0,039
	C_{H_7}	64,293	43,617	1,47	0,017

Average wage - $\overline{W/M}$ = 2.330,704

Coefficient of determination -

- R^2 = 0,6209

F - Value = 465,088

Sample size = 7.980

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST EPR JUGOSLAVIJE V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WE^2 + a_{11}WF + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE^*H_1 + a_{16}WE^*H_2 + a_{17}WE^*H_3 + a_{18}WE^*H_4 + a_{19}WE^*H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20}WE^*H_6 + a_{21}WE^*H_7 + a_{22}C^*H_1 + a_{23}C^*H_2 + a_{24}C^*H_3 + a_{25}C^*H_4 + a_{26}C^*H_5 + a_{27}C^*H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28}C^*H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

Spremenljivka	Regressijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka regresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficienti	
Konstanta	- a ₀	419,475	-	-	
Spol	- C	118,555	13,292	8,92	0,035
Delovni staž	- WE	16,367	1,093	14,97	0,058
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₁	1.344,447	29,279	45,92	0,175
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₂	680,793	36,389	18,709	0,072
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₃	288,512	17,707	16,29	0,063
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₄	10,692	28,457	0,38	0,001
VKV delavec	- H ₅	265,139	34,674	7,65	0,030
KV delavec	- H ₆	115,622	15,595	7,41	0,029
PK delavec	- H ₇	35,467	15,941	2,22	0,009
	- WE ²	- 0,537	0,028	-18,97	-0,073
Odstotek žensk	- WF	0,438	0,144	- 3,04	-0,012
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E	10,299	0,201	51,28	0,195
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	6,332	0,486	13,03	0,050
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	1,078	0,089	12,00	0,046
	WE * H ₁	39,875	1,378	28,93	0,111
	WE * H ₂	32,359	1,652	19,59	0,076
	WE * H ₃	26,217	1,111	23,60	0,091
	WE * H ₄	16,317	1,849	8,83	0,034
	WE * H ₅	27,303	1,171	23,32	0,090
	WE * H ₆	15,558	0,946	16,44	0,064
	WE * H ₇	8,144	1,026	7,93	0,031
	C * H ₁	295,124	29,741	9,92	0,038
	C * H ₂	255,685	33,793	7,571	0,029
	C * H ₃	197,639	18,126	10,90	0,042
	C * H ₄	-130,838	30,361	- 4,31	-0,017
	C * H ₅	302,523	33,791	8,95	0,035
	C * H ₆	170,972	15,607	10,95	0,042
	C * H ₇	44,059	16,069	2,74	0,011

Povprečni osebni dohodki - \bar{W}/M = 1.954,057

Determinacijski koeficient - R² = 0,5592

F-vrednost = 3.018,882

Število opazovanih enot = 66.658

* For English translation of the text of this and the following pages see Page 26.

of Kosovo

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKFGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST KOSOVA V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WE^2 + a_{11}WF + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE*H_1 + a_{16}WE*H_2 + a_{17}WE*H_3 + a_{18}WE*H_4 + a_{19}WE*H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20}WE*H_6 + a_{21}WE*H_7 + a_{22}C*H_1 + a_{23}C*H_2 + a_{24}C*H_3 + a_{25}C*H_4 + a_{26}C*H_5 + a_{27}C*H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28}C*H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

S p r e m e n l j i v k a		Regresijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka regresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficienti
Konstanta	- a ₀	-1.239,868	-	-	-
Spol	- C	124,379	52,815	2,35	0,033
Delovni staž	- WE	7,114	3,847	1,85	0,026
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₁	1.265,974	138,686	9,12	0,128
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₂	624,367	132,657	4,71	0,066
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₃	-291,104	66,272	4,39	0,062
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₄	- 55,825	81,797	-0,68	-0,009
VKV delavec	- H ₅	- 19,139	112,177	-0,17	-0,002
KV delavec	- H ₆	38,883	57,833	0,67	0,009
PK delavec	- H ₇	-156,209	61,123	-2,56	-0,036
	- WE ²	- 0,345	0,099	-3,46	-0,049
Odstotek žensk	- WF	4,132	0,464	8,90	0,125
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E	19,509	0,914	21,35	0,288
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	27,107	1,724	15,72	0,216
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	5,626	0,305	18,431	0,251
	WE * H ₁	23,162	4,937	4,69	0,066
	WE * H ₂	34,044	5,575	6,11	0,086
	WE * H ₃	26,956	4,033	6,68	0,094
	WE * H ₄	21,045	5,392	3,90	0,055
	WE * H ₅	19,199	4,206	4,56	0,064
	WE * H ₆	13,523	3,531	3,83	0,054
	WE * H ₇	9,266	3,955	2,34	0,033
	C * H ₁	601,240	141,393	4,25	0,060
	C * H ₂	358,351	135,239	2,65	0,037
	C * H ₃	- 15,639	68,377	-0,23	-0,003
	C * H ₄	- 45,477	88,257	-0,52	-0,007
	C * H ₅	499,462	111,967	4,46	0,063
	C * H ₆	105,021	58,681	1,79	0,025
	C * H ₇	60,187	63,388	0,95	0,013

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $\overline{W/M} = 1.630,815$

Determinacijski koeficient - $R^2 = 0,5987$

F-vrednost = 268,488

Število opazovanih enot = 5.067

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST VOJVODINE V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1 C + a_2 WE + a_3 H_1 + a_4 H_2 + a_5 H_3 + a_6 H_4 + a_7 H_5 + a_8 H_6 + a_9 H_7 + a_{10} WE^2 + a_{11} WF + \\
 & + a_{12} I/E + a_{13} W/P + a_{14} MPS + a_{15} WE^* H_1 + a_{16} WE^* H_2 + a_{17} WE^* H_3 + a_{18} WE^* H_4 + a_{19} WE^* H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20} WE^* H_6 + a_{21} WE^* H_7 + a_{22} C^* H_1 + a_{23} C^* H_2 + a_{24} C^* H_3 + a_{25} C^* H_4 + a_{26} C^* H_5 + a_{27} C^* H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28} C^* H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

S p r e m e n l j i v k a		Regresijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka re- gresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficienti
Konstanta	- a ₀	1.121,862	-	-	-
Spol	- C	254,020	37,914	6,699	0,090
Delovni staž	- WE	18,498	3,458	5,35	0,072
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₁	1.681,944	111,876	15,03	0,198
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₂	866,409	123,492	7,016	0,094
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₃	308,341	53,894	5,72	0,077
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₄	62,485	96,063	0,65	0,069
KV delavec	- H ₅	58,235	71,448	- 0,82	-0,011
KV delavec	- H ₆	99,445	46,765	2,13	0,029
PK delavec	- H ₇	188,398	51,404	3,67	0,049
	- WE ²	- 0,637	0,095	- 6,72	-0,090
Odstotek žensk	- WF	0,333	0,456	0,73	0,009
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E	8,284	0,562	14,73	0,194
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	- 6,610	- 1,486	- 4,45	-0,059
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	- 4,173	0,329	-12,667	-0,168
	WE * H ₁	39,197	5,051	7,76	0,104
	WE * H ₂	25,955	5,858	4,43	0,059
	WE * H ₃	24,121	3,450	6,99	0,094
	WE * H ₄	13,789	5,962	2,31	0,031
	WE * H ₅	28,777	3,616	7,96	0,107
	WE * H ₆	18,193	2,838	6,41	0,086
	WE * H ₇	4,821	3,344	1,44	0,019
	C * H ₁	- 26,839	111,075	- 0,24	-0,003
	C * H ₂	110,433	111,548	0,99	0,013
	C * H ₃	258,399	54,627	4,73	0,064
	C * H ₄	- 91,304	100,411	- 0,91	-0,012
	C * H ₅	465,936	78,896	5,91	0,079
	C * H ₆	107,665	46,150	2,33	0,031
	C * H ₇	- 76,278	50,463	- 1,51	-0,020

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $\overline{W/M}$ = 1.946,938Determinacijski koeficient - R^2 = 0,5727

F-vrednost = 264,265

Število opazovanih enot = 5.549

of Central Serbia

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST OŽJE SPSIJE V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WE^2 + a_{11}WF + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE^*H_1 + a_{16}WE^*H_2 + a_{17}WE^*H_3 + a_{18}WE^*H_4 + a_{19}WE^*H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20}WE^*H_6 + a_{21}WE^*H_7 + a_{22}C^*H_1 + a_{23}C^*H_2 + a_{24}C^*H_3 + a_{25}C^*H_4 + a_{26}C^*H_5 + a_{27}C^*H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28}C^*H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

Spremenljivka		Regresijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka regresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficienti
Konstanta	- a_0	233,416	-	-	-
Spoi	- C	96,177	30,325	3,17	0,032
Delovni staž	- WE	15,627	2,443	6,40	0,065
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H_1	1.171,548	66,629	17,58	0,177
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H_2	522,645	88,142	5,93	0,060
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H_3	227,177	40,159	5,66	0,058
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H_4	1,756	63,769	0,03	0,000
VKV delavec	- H_5	364,017	95,946	3,79	0,039
KV delavec	- H_6	126,609	37,446	3,38	0,035
PK delavec	- H_7	52,967	40,435	1,31	0,013
	- WE^2	- 0,506	0,065	-7,81	-0,079
Odstotek žensk	- WF	1,849	0,360	5,14	0,052
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E	17,299	0,583	29,66	0,290
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	0,502	1,103	0,46	0,005
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	- 1,329	0,189	-7,06	-0,072
	WE^*H_1	35,408	3,069	11,54	0,117
	WE^*H_2	29,579	3,712	7,97	0,081
	WE^*H_3	18,551	2,459	7,544	0,077
	WE^*H_4	12,021	4,296	2,79	0,029
	WE^*H_5	23,322	2,574	9,06	0,092
	WE^*H_6	8,483	2,096	4,05	0,041
	WE^*H_7	1,809	2,436	0,743	0,008
	C^*H_1	242,260	67,945	3,57	0,036
	C^*H_2	268,258	83,266	3,22	0,033
	C^*H_3	137,997	41,299	3,34	0,034
	C^*H_4	-128,179	70,366	-1,82	-0,019
	C^*H_5	153,159	92,975	1,65	0,017
	C^*H_6	93,015	35,969	2,59	0,026
	C^*H_7	-22,147	38,578	-0,57	-0,006

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $\overline{W/M}$ = 1.773,626

Determinacijski koeficient - R^2 = 0,5830

F-vrednost = 478,162

Število opazovanih enot = 9.605

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST SR SRBIJE V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WE^2 + a_{11}F + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE*H_1 + a_{16}WE*H_2 + a_{17}WE*H_3 + a_{18}WE*H_4 + a_{19}WE*H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20}WE*H_6 + a_{21}WE*H_7 + a_{22}C*H_1 + a_{23}C*H_2 + a_{24}C*H_3 + a_{25}C*H_4 + a_{26}C*H_5 + a_{27}C*H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28}C*H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

Spremenljivka		Regresijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka regresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficienti
Konstanta	- a ₀	335,646	-	-	-
Spol	- C	146,858	22,198	6,62	0,047
Delovni staž	- WE	13,748	1,829	7,52	0,053
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₁	1.349,311	54,690	24,672	0,171
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₂	668,516	64,850	10,31	0,072
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₃	250,929	29,869	8,40	0,059
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₄	- 8,327	45,778	-0,18	-0,001
VKV delavec	- H ₅	45,383	50,678	0,89	0,006
KV delavec	- H ₆	66,833	26,791	2,49	0,018
PK delavec	- H ₇	27,047	28,814	0,94	0,007
	- WE ²	- 0,492	0,048	-10,11	-0,071
Odstotek žensk	- I/E	2,222	0,248	8,954	0,063
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E	13,658	0,349	39,16	0,266
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	2,299	0,785	2,93	0,021
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	- 1,004	0,149	- 6,76	-0,046
	WE * H ₁	33,851	2,397	14,12	0,099
	WE * H ₂	29,281	2,796	10,47	0,074
	WE * H ₃	22,349	1,853	12,061	0,085
	WE * H ₄	10,110	2,999	5,037	0,035
	WE * H ₅	26,359	1,925	13,69	0,096
	WE * H ₆	14,195	1,572	9,03	0,063
	WE * H ₇	8,063	1,795	4,492	0,032
	C * H ₁	229,815	55,364	4,15	0,029
	C * H ₂	220,728	61,827	3,57	0,025
	C * H ₃	115,194	30,436	3,72	0,026
	C * H ₄	-113,239	49,037	-2,31	-0,016
	C * H ₅	390,603	51,577	7,57	0,053
	C * H ₆	93,534	26,205	3,57	0,025
	C * H ₇	- 63,791	28,154	-2,27	-0,016

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $\bar{W}/M = 1.765,406$ Determinacijski koeficient - $R^2 = 0,5505$

F-vrednost = 883,051

Število opazovanih enot = 20.221

of Macedonia

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST ER MAKEDONIJE V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WF^2 + a_{11}WF + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE*H_1 + a_{16}WE*H_2 + a_{17}WE*H_3 + a_{18}WE*H_4 + a_{19}WE*H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20}WE*H_6 + a_{21}WE*H_7 + a_{22}C*H_1 + a_{23}C*H_2 + a_{24}C*H_3 + a_{25}C*H_4 + a_{26}C*H_5 + a_{27}C*H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28}C*H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

S p r a m e n l j i v k a		Regresijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka re- gresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficienti
Konstanta	- a ₀	2.701,596	-	-	-
Spol	- C	108,454	41,979	2,58	0,034
Delovni staž	- WE	29,214	3,242	9,01	0,119
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₁	1.108,724	82,594	14,392	0,189
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₂	511,189	124,689	4,09	0,055
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₃	237,911	55,106	4,32	0,058
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₄	-41,689	75,425	-0,56	-0,007
VKV delavec	- H ₅	268,295	92,611	3,11	0,042
KV delavec	- H ₆	159,448	48,703	2,86	0,036
PK delavec	- H ₇	53,000	50,769	1,06	0,014
	- WE ²	- 3,797	0,079	-10,08	-0,133
Odstotek žensk	- I/E	- 6,326	0,408	-16,01	-0,209
Povprečna produktivnost	- W/P	- 6,049	0,654	- 9,25	-0,123
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	-26,618	1,445	-18,42	-0,239
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	- 2,329	0,271	- 8,59	-0,114
	WE * H ₁	24,137	3,884	6,22	0,083
	WE * H ₂	26,858	4,490	5,98	0,079
	WE * H ₃	20,003	3,253	6,15	0,082
	WE * H ₄	13,622	4,901	2,73	0,036
	WE * H ₅	15,433	3,247	5,98	0,080
	WE * H ₆	8,271	2,824	2,93	0,039
	WE * H ₇	1,523	3,134	0,49	0,006
	C * H ₁	485,505	87,139	5,57	0,074
	C * H ₂	198,548	120,126	1,66	0,022
	C * H ₃	241,905	54,727	4,42	0,059
	C * H ₄	23,852	79,600	0,29	0,004
	C * H ₅	265,186	68,266	2,32	0,031
	C * H ₆	155,215	47,082	3,30	0,044
	C * H ₇	84,467	50,334	1,68	0,022

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $\overline{W/M} = 1.808,099$

Determinacijski koeficient - $R^2 = 0,6200$

F-vrednost = 327,144

Število opazovanih enot = 5.644

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST SR. HRVATSKE V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1 C + a_2 WE + a_3 H_1 + a_4 H_2 + a_5 H_3 + a_6 H_4 + a_7 H_5 + a_8 H_6 + a_9 H_7 + a_{10} WF^2 + a_{11} I/E + \\
 & + a_{12} I/E + a_{13} W/P + a_{14} MPS + a_{15} WF \cdot H_1 + a_{16} WE \cdot H_2 + a_{17} WF \cdot H_3 + a_{18} WE \cdot H_4 + a_{19} WE \cdot H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20} WE \cdot H_6 + a_{21} WE \cdot H_7 + a_{22} C \cdot H_1 + a_{23} C \cdot H_2 + a_{24} C \cdot H_3 + a_{25} C \cdot H_4 + a_{26} C \cdot H_5 + a_{27} C \cdot H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28} C \cdot H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

S p r e m e n l j i v k a	Regresijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka regresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcijalni korelacijski koeficienti
Konstanta	- a_0 596,290	-	-	-
Spol	- C 165,244	42,116	3,92	0,645
Delovni staž	- WF 22,780	3,482	6,54	0,676
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H_1 1.423,180	70,398	20,22	0,228
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H_2 775,797	101,245	7,66	0,089
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H_3 345,137	50,973	6,77	0,078
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H_4 -102,664	98,996	-1,04	-0,012
KV delavec	- H_5 562,701	112,473	5,003	0,058
KV delavec	- H_6 225,308	45,971	4,90	0,057
PK delavec	- H_7 79,182	45,389	1,74	0,020
	- WF^2 - 0,689	0,085	-8,13	-0,094
Odstotek žensk	- WF 0,851	0,465	1,83	0,021
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E 9,605	0,521	18,82	0,213
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P 7,542	1,392	1,83	0,021
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS 1,638	0,261	6,27	0,073
	WE * H_1 38,862	3,862	10,06	0,116
	WE * H_2 21,784	4,882	4,46	0,052
	WE * H_3 20,811	3,419	6,09	0,070
	WE * H_4 14,755	5,846	2,52	0,029
	WE * H_5 21,806	3,817	5,71	0,066
	WE * H_6 7,328	3,059	2,39	0,028
	WE * H_7 1,903	3,177	0,599	0,007
	C * H_1 267,604	71,296	4,03	0,047
	C * H_2 326,021	91,015	3,55	0,041
	C * H_3 242,403	54,637	4,44	0,051
	C * H_4 - 31,798	98,783	-0,32	-0,004
	C * H_5 207,440	105,831	1,96	0,023
	C * H_6 247,377	49,280	5,02	0,058
	C * H_7 109,657	48,896	2,24	0,026

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $W/M = 2.216,617$

Determinacijski koeficient - $R^2 = 0,6299$

F - vrednost = 451,525

Število opazovanih enot = 7.456

of Montenegro

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST SR ČRNE GORE V I.FTU. 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WE^2 + a_{11}WF + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE^*H_1 + a_{16}WE^*H_2 + a_{17}WE^*H_3 + a_{18}WE^*H_4 + a_{19}WE^*H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20}WE^*H_6 + a_{21}WE^*H_7 + a_{22}C^*H_1 + a_{23}C^*H_2 + a_{24}C^*H_3 + a_{25}C^*H_4 + a_{26}C^*H_5 + a_{27}C^*H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28}C^*H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

S p r e m e n l j i v k a	Regresijski koeficient	Standardna napaka regresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficient
Konstanta	- a ₀	464,962	-	-
Spol	- C	125,607	41,349	3,04
Delovni staž	- WE	- 0,893	3,719	-0,240
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₁	754,930	96,121	7,85
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₂	341,232	160,532	2,13
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₃	126,411	59,355	2,13
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₄	- 7,445	96,377	-0,08
VKV delavec	- H ₅	118,902	131,306	0,91
KV delavec	- H ₆	-50,665	51,106	-0,99
PK delavec	- H ₇	-87,413	57,693	-1,52
	- WE ²	- 0,333	0,105	-3,17
Odstotek žensk	- WF	- 2,284	0,517	-4,42
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E	8,953	0,774	11,57
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	7,115	1,574	4,52
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	3,416	0,304	11,23
	WE * H ₁	49,327	4,492	10,98
	WE * H ₂	52,244	7,290	7,17
	WE * H ₃	33,616	3,838	8,758
	WE * H ₄	19,708	6,457	3,052
	WE * H ₅	34,666	4,212	8,230
	WE * H ₆	27,499	3,214	8,56
	WE * H ₇	17,284	3,766	4,59
	C * H ₁	570,261	98,751	5,77
	C * H ₂	265,790	168,266	1,58
	C * H ₃	351,128	57,497	6,11
	C * H ₄	-69,331	93,881	-0,74
	C * H ₅	390,076	121,341	3,21
	C * H ₆	220,976	48,781	4,53
	C * H ₇	82,893	53,382	1,55

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $\overline{W/M} = 1,660,767$

Determinacijski koeficient - $R^2 = 0,6164$

F-vrednost = 276,449

Število opazovanih enot = 4,846

EMPIRIČNI REZULTATI REGRESIJSKEGA MODELA ZA INDUSTRIJSKO DEJAVNOST SR BIH V LETU 1973

$$\begin{aligned}
 W/M = & a_0 + a_1C + a_2WE + a_3H_1 + a_4H_2 + a_5H_3 + a_6H_4 + a_7H_5 + a_8H_6 + a_9H_7 + a_{10}WE^2 + a_{11}WF + \\
 & + a_{12}I/E + a_{13}W/P + a_{14}MPS + a_{15}WE*H_1 + a_{16}WE*H_2 + a_{17}WE*H_3 + a_{18}WE*H_4 + a_{19}WE*H_5 + \\
 & + a_{20}WE*H_6 + a_{21}WE*H_7 + a_{22}C*H_1 + a_{23}C*H_2 + a_{24}C*H_3 + a_{25}C*H_4 + a_{26}C*H_5 + a_{27}C*H_6 + \\
 & + a_{28}C*H_7
 \end{aligned}$$

S p r e m e n l j i v k a		Regresijski koeficienti	Standardna napaka re- gresijskih koeficientov	t-vrednosti	Parcialni korelacijski koeficient
Konstanta	- a ₀	366,475	-	-	-
Spol	- C	146,188	21,622	6,76	0,047
Delovni staž	- WE	15,038	1,764	8,52	0,059
Visoka strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₁	1.406,824	47,658	29,519	0,202
Višja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₂	606,644	55,668	10,90	0,076
Srednja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₃	390,128	28,226	13,822	0,096
Nižja strokovna usposoblj.	- H ₄	79,478	48,093	1,65	0,012
VKV delavec	- H ₅	569,688	66,699	8,54	0,060
KV delavec	- H ₆	175,254	24,757	7,08	0,049
PK delavec	- H ₇	86,735	24,591	3,527	0,025
	- WE ²	- 0,519	0,048	-10,74	-0,075
Odstotek žensk	- WF	- 1,066	0,233	- 4,576	-0,032
Povprečna produktivnost	- I/E	9,044	0,354	25,55	0,176
Stroški delovne sile	- W/P	8,729	0,876	9,96	0,069
Koncentracija ponudbe	- MPS	0,535	0,163	3,28	0,023
	WE * H ₁	43,790	2,223	19,69	0,136
	WE * H ₂	34,799	2,686	12,96	0,090
	WE * H ₃	23,496	1,816	12,94	0,090
	WE * H ₄	12,426	3,242	3,75	0,027
	WE * H ₅	23,641	1,909	12,50	0,047
	WE * H ₆	14,762	1,499	9,86	0,069
	WE * H ₇	6,659	1,602	4,18	0,029
	C * H ₁	301,297	48,096	6,15	0,043
	C * H ₂	328,275	51,138	6,42	0,045
	C * H ₃	168,929	29,995	5,63	0,039
	C * H ₄	-73,118	55,402	- 1,32	-0,009
	C * H ₅	205,104	64,419	3,18	0,022
	C * H ₆	197,316	25,672	7,69	0,054
	C * H ₇	30,855	25,863	1,19	0,008

Povprečni osebni dohodki - $\frac{W}{M} = 1.940,553$

Determinacijski koeficient - $R^2 = 0,6409$

F-vrednost = 1.305,541

Število opazovanih enot = 20.511

ducers sent for courses were women: 'Yet they constituted a higher percentage of the most productive group in agricultural activities of the 15-34 age group, 15,102 females against 13,088 males.'

All these sorts of insights have to make us examine the historical base of the so-called 'development' strategies. One has to look deeper into the notion that the economic development of one group of people will *per se*, bring about social upliftment. Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia represent two countries which, in spite of the development strategies being geared to the socialist ideal, have at the same time seen a greater differentiation between men and women in their economic benefits.

This must again make us consider what exactly is the basis of participation of women in the development of society. It again calls for an analysis of society which can give a scientific historical perspective on the relationship of women to the economic mode of production. *It has to be clearly seen that to consider her position as a mere reflection of the existing mode of production does not bring into perspective the generation of discrimination due to her sex.* To explain it again as part of the prevailing superstructure does not bring into the picture the historical differentiations that she has faced.

For all these reasons, I have attempted to study briefly the situation of women in rural Sri Lanka, wherever possible relating mainly to the paddy cultivation areas to see if further analysis could throw more light on their situation. I have tried to follow the method earlier described. From the analysis of the concrete situation I have attempted to trace back the processes of production and reproduction, both historically and conceptually, and to see how the present institutions and forms in society have originated and developed.

III

Brief Case Study of Women in Rural Sri Lanka

The emphasis on development strategies has traditionally been on economic upliftment. This has been interpreted often to relate only to the production relations that stem from the class structure of society. They do not take into account the historical institutions that relate to the relations of reproduction and their inter-connections in the totality of social relations in society. From this stem strategies of development that consider progress in terms of the parameters like income distribution, employment and poverty in terms of the whole of society without taking into account the specific nature of the separate suppressions that prevail in the situation. My contention is that strategies based on aspects of poverty, employment and income distribution can help to bring about a more progressive situation for the members of society, but if this analysis does not take into account the specific historical discriminations that sections of society have undergone, stemming from both the production of life and the production of the necessities of life, and make policies for the betterment of their position, then those strategies will necessarily be of a more limited nature. Here I refer specifically to the position of women which has often not only *not* been taken into account in strategies of development, but very often has negatively affected their position in society.

To do so, I shall try to consider the specific role that the woman in rural Sri Lanka plays in society. I shall try and bring into focus issues relating to poverty, income distribution, and employment relating to her position in society. Further, I shall attempt to show that even in areas where society has on the whole shown more progressive statistical parameters in response to government policies, those relating to the position of women have not undergone a similar change. My main emphasis is to go beyond the class analysis and to show that the historical role of women in rural Sri Lanka has a dimension of discrimination which is not often brought into consideration in normal planning strategies of development. Finally, I hope to assert that *women's oppression is a problem of history, rather than of biology, a problem which has to be analysed and solved by scientific socialism and planning.*

My hypothesis is:

The socio-economic transition of Sri Lanka started with the influence of Western powers which had considerable impact in changing the characteristics of the rural economy. The

changes occurred both at the level of the organization of production, and of prevailing social relations and institutions.

These changes did not occur as a result of evolution but due to changes introduced from outside. This produced a system where the penetration of monetary relations into villages, the conversion of labour and land into commodities exchanged in the market, weakened the base of organization of production and created new class relations in society. But it preserved some of the characteristics inherited from the old feudal socio-economic order as far as the relations of reproduction were concerned. This double dimension of present rural society has most of all affected the position of women in their participation in society. On the one hand, the emergence of 'wage labour' has produced a proletarianization of women in the rural sector and created a dichotomy between the family and the economy. At the same time, women became more and more subjected to discrimination in their work, to the ideologies prevailing in the relations of reproduction in the feudal socio-economic order which essentially considered women to be weaker and inferior by their biological origin.

Historical Background

When the Portuguese under Alveyda came to Sri Lanka in 1505, the country had all the characteristics of a self-sufficient feudal economy. The colonization of the country from the 16th century onwards, however, first by the Portuguese, then by the Dutch and then by the British, changed the nature of socio-economic relations between the people. It is these particular changes which have to be considered in order to assess how the position of women in society has changed over time. As we have stated earlier, there are two sets of production relations, whose development can be analyzed historically. The complex nature of socio-economic relationships in society have to be analyzed and seem to reflect the interaction of these two sets of relationships. An attempt will be made to understand these relationships within this perspective, and to see whether the position of women has in fact been bettered or adversely affected in the process of change.

Feudal Period

The 'original' village before colonization had all the characteristics of feudalism. There were many princes but one to whom they all owed fealty and who reigned as sovereign over the whole of the island. The land was cultivated by the serfs (Percival: 5) and revenue (in terms of kind)

was extracted from them. It was a more or less self-sufficient economy at a level marginally higher than that of subsistence and with few trade contacts with the outside world.

Within feudal society strong differences occurred in position and income in the various sectors of the economy. A caste system prevailed, based on a graded system of occupation. In the hierarchical system agriculture was the most important. Those engaged in it formed the highest caste from which the rulers were invariably drawn, (Wyetinga: 14), while non-agricultural occupations were graded in a descending order. Robert Knox gave some impressions of these differences and ways of life in *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*, first published in 1681, from which the following excerpts are taken.

"The highest, are their Noblemen, called Hondrews.....' 'Tis out of this sort alone, that the King chooseth his great Officers and whom he imployes in his Court, and appoints for Governors over his Country. Riches are not here valued, nor make any the more Honourable. For many of the lower sorts do far exceed these Hondrews in Estates. But it is the Birth and Parentage that inobleth.

"These are distinguished from others by their names and the wearing of their cloth, which the Men wear down half their Legs, and the Women to their heels: one end of which Cloth the Women fling over their shoulders and with the very end carelesly cover their Breasts; whereas the other sort of Women must go naked from the waist upwards, and their Cloaths not hang down much below their Knees: except it be for cold; for then either Women or Men may throw their Cloth over their Backs....

"Next after the degree of Hondrews may be placed Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters and Painters. Who are all of one degree and quality. But the Hondrews will not eat with them: however in Apparel there is no difference; and they are also privileged to sit on stools, which none of the Inferior ranks of People hereafter mentioned, may do....

"No Artificers ever change their Trade from Generation to Generation; but the Son is the same as was his Father, and the Daughter marries only to those of the same craft....

"Many of the Vehars [Temples] are endowed and have Farms belonging to them. And these Tirinanxes are the Landlords, unto whom the Tenants come at a certain time and pay in their Rents....

"Their Houses are small, low, thatched Cottages, built with sticks, daubed with clay, the walls made very smooth. For they are not permitted to build their houses above one story high, neither may they cover with tiles, nor whiten their walls with lime, but there is a Clay which is as white, and that they use sometimes. They employ no Carpenters, or house-builders, unless some few noble-men, but each one buildeth his own dwelling....

"The great people have handsom and commodious houses. They have commonly two buildings one opposit to the other, joined together on each side with a wall, which makes a square Court-yard in the middle....

"Their Slaves and Servants dwell round and about without in other houses. with their wives and children.

And now we are mentioning eating, let us take a view of this people at their meals. Their Dyet and ordinary fare is but very mean, as to our account....

"The great ones have always five or six sorts of food at one meal, and of them not above one or two at most of Flesh or Fish, and of them more pottage than meat....

"The Habit of the men when they appear abroad is after this sort. The Nobles wear Doublets of white or blew Callico, and about their middle a cloth, a white one next to their skin, and a blew one or of some other colour or painted, over the white: a blew or red shash girt about their loyns, and a Knife with a carved handle wrought or inlaid with Silver sticking in their bosom; and a complete short Hanger carved and inlaid with Brass and Silver by their sides, the Scabbard most part covered with Silver, bravely ingraven; a painted Cane and sometimes a Tuck in it in their hands, and a boy always bare-headed with long hair hanging down his back waiting upon him, ever holding a small bag in his hand, which is instead of a Pocket, wherein is Betel-leaves and nuts....

"Where their houses consist but of one room, the Children that are of any years always go and sleep in other houses among their neighbours. Which please them better than their own. For so they come to meet with bedfellows, nor doth it displease the Parents, if young men of as good quality as themselves become acquainted with their daughters, but rather like well of it; knowing that their daughters by this means can command the young men to help and assist them in any work or business that they may have occasion to use them in. And they look upon it so far distant from a disgrace, that they will among their consorts brag of it, that they have the young men thus at their command.

"But their Marriages are but of little force or validity. For if they disagree and mislike one the other; they part without disgrace.

"At their leisure when their affairs will permit, they commonly meet at places built for strangers and way-faring men to lodge in, in their Language called Amblomb, where they sit chewing Betel, and looking, one upon the other very gravely and solidly, discoursing concerning the Affairs at Court, between the King and the Great Men; and what Employment the People of the City are busied about."

In the agricultural sphere rice cultivation was the most important and prevalent occupation. But paddy cultivation was based on a closely interlocking system of rights and duties called *attam*. This was basically a form of share tenancy by which available labour was distributed in a manner of reciprocal exchange for the general rice cultivation. Ralph Perris has given a comprehensive account of the workings of this agro-socio-organization in his *Señhalese Social Organization*.

In essence, the social forms relating to this production system, or the relations of production, stem from the technical development of labour in the production process. In its most abstract form, the land belonged to a landlord and the labour

and means of production, usually very primitive, belonged to the serf. A social relationship of subordination and domination between the serf and the landlord precedes and enables the combination of all factors of production in a distinct form of permanent production relations between the landlord and the serf, and between the serfs themselves.

In this particular system of production, the structure of the family and marriage were closely related to the rationale of the method of production, being intrinsically connected with the immobility of labour and the custom-bound tenurial system of rice cultivation. *Polygamy* and the *joint family system* represented the rationale for the existing feudal system.

Polygamy was common practice on the island when the foreigners arrived in past centuries, being noted by both Robert Knox and Riberio. This custom has clearly been treated as a convenient method of passing down property from one generation to the next. It is believed that those who inherited little land from their parents often contracted polyandrous marriages in order to retain the ownership of land within the family. It was also related to the 'rajakaringa system' which required a man to be away from home on public service, leaving his family unattended for several months at a time. Often the polyandrous situation changed into one of group marriage. Divorce was flexible, however, and could be arranged with mutual consent.

The marriage system showed differences, depending on the class to which the women belonged:

Among the Sinhalese however, though the lower folk buy wives, and the man brings a dowry and furniture with him and the woman brings only her personal ornaments, among the nobles there is a different fashion, for the bridegroom-elect sends a present to the parents of the bride, an article for each as a token of the contract, and they are obliged to give the dowry agreed upon, along with the daughter (Father Queyroz [1685] quoted in *Economic Review* January 1976).

The joint family system is also closely connected with the system of production. The two main features of the landlord-serf relationship are (1) immobility of labour, and (2) revenue. These aspects are strongly linked; the notion of a joint family producing the necessities of life can best be rationalized with the existing system of production.

Marriage and the family also perform many basic personal and social functions such as procreation, a formalized upbringing for children, the satisfaction of personal needs, affection, companionship and status: regulating lines of descent, division of labour between the sexes, economic production and consumption.

If the analysis is taken no further than the relations

"Their Slaves and Servants dwell round and about without in other houses. with their wives and children.

And now we are mentioning eating, let us take a view of this people at their meals. Their Dyet and ordinary fare is but very mean, as to our account....

"The great ones have always five or six sorts of food at one meal, and of them not above one or two at most of Flesh or Fish, and of them more pottage than meat....

"The Habit of the men when they appear abroad is after this sort. The Nobles wear Doublets of white or blew Callico, and about their middle a cloth, a white one next to their skin, and a blew one or of some other colour or painted, over the white: a blew or red shash girt about their loyns, and a Knife with a carved handle wrought or inlaid with Silver sticking in their bosom; and a complete short Hanger carved and inlaid with Brass and Silver by their sides, the Scabbard most part covered with Silver, bravely ingraven; a painted Cane and sometimes a Tuck in it in their hands, and a boy always bare-headed with long hair hanging down his back waiting upon him, ever holding a small bag in his hand, which is instead of a Pocket, wherein is Betel-leaves and nuts....

"Where their houses consist but of one room, the Children that are of any years always go and sleep in other houses among their neighbours. Which please them better than their own. For so they come to meet with bedfellows, nor doth it displease the Parents, if young men of as good quality as themselves become acquainted with their daughters, but rather like well of it; knowing that their daughters by this means can command the young men to help and assist them in any work or business that they may have occasion to use them in. And they look upon it so far distant from a disgrace, that they will among their consorts brag of it, that they have the young men thus at their command.

"But their Marriages are but of little force or validity. For if they disagree and dislike one the other; they part without disgrace.

"At their leisure when their affairs will permit, they commonly meet at places built for strangers and way-faring men to lodge in, in their Language called Amblomb, where they sit chewing Betel, and looking, one upon the other very gravely and solidly, discoursing concerning the Affairs at Court, between the King and the Great Men; and what Employment the People of the City are busied about."

In the agricultural sphere rice cultivation was the most important and prevalent occupation. But paddy cultivation was based on a closely interlocking system of rights and duties called *attam*. This was basically a form of share tenancy by which available labour was distributed in a manner of reciprocal exchange for the general rice cultivation. Ralph Parris has given a comprehensive account of the workings of this agro-socio-organization in his *Sinhalese Social Organization*.

In essence, the social forms relating to this production system, or the relations of production, stem from the technical development of labour in the production process. In its most abstract form, the land belonged to a landlord and the labour

and means of production, usually very primitive, belonged to the serf. A social relationship of subordination and domination between the serf and the landlord precedes and enables the combination of all factors of production in a distinct form of permanent production relations between the landlord and the serf, and between the serfs themselves.

In this particular system of production, the structure of the family and marriage were closely related to the rationale of the method of production, being intrinsically connected with the immobility of labour and the custom-bound tenurial system of rice cultivation. *Polygamy* and the *joint family system* represented the rationale for the existing feudal system.

Polygamy was common practice on the island when the foreigners arrived in past centuries, being noted by both Robert Knox and Ribero. This custom has clearly been treated as a convenient method of passing down property from one generation to the next. It is believed that those who inherited little land from their parents often contracted polyandrous marriages in order to retain the ownership of land within the family. It was also related to the 'rajakaringa system' which required a man to be away from home on public service, leaving his family unattended for several months at a time. Often the polyandrous situation changed into one of group marriage. Divorce was flexible, however, and could be arranged with mutual consent.

The marriage system showed differences, depending on the class to which the women belonged:

Among the Sinhalese however, though the lower folk buy wives, and the man brings a dowry and furniture with him and the woman brings only her personal ornaments, among the nobles there is a different fashion, for the bridegroom-elect sends a present to the parents of the bride, an article for each as a token of the contract, and they are obliged to give the dowry agreed upon, along with the daughter (Father Queyroz [1685] quoted in *Economic Review* January 1976).

The joint family system is also closely connected with the system of production. The two main features of the landlord-serf relationship are (1) immobility of labour, and (2) revenue. These aspects are strongly linked; the notion of a joint family producing the necessities of life can best be rationalized with the existing system of production.

Marriage and the family also perform many basic personal and social functions such as procreation, a formalized upbringing for children, the satisfaction of personal needs, affection, companionship and status: regulating lines of descent, division of labour between the sexes, economic production and consumption.

If the analysis is taken no further than the relations

stemming from *productive forces* or relating to the technical content of labour, however, we shall not achieve a more comprehensive outlook on women's position in society. It is necessary to study the relations of reproduction, whose content is *labour based on biological difference*, and which take different forms in different social and historical contexts, in order that the significance of its development can be understood in the complex nature of social forms. An approximation of such a development is seen in the attitudes that men and women hold to each other, based on their differences in sex.

Although there are differences in the work done by women according to the class to which they belong, there is a common attitude towards female sexuality and women in general. This has been studied and discussed by L.R. Amarsingham, Nur Yalman and Gananath Obeyesekere, all of whom show the close relationship between the sexual restrictions put on women and the structure of the social system.

Nur Yalaman (1962: 25-58) points out that protection of the purity and exclusiveness of the group through regulations of the sexual life of the women is central to South Indian conceptions of caste. He shows that concern for her purity is associated with the structure of the social system and that the safeguarding of women from possible violation of their sexual integrity is an expression of the desire to safeguard the boundaries of the group.

Gananath Obeyesekere (1963: 326) discusses the attitudes of Sri Lankan women towards themselves, which in turn reflects that attitude of men towards them: 'Men folk in Laggala view their women as possessed of certain inherent weaknesses: *Seductiveness* - women are viewed as sexually easily excitable, inducing the male to adultery and thus a threat to the integrity of the family; *Untrustworthiness* - no women could be trusted, neither one's wife nor even one's own mother ... women are also *jārā* (unclean).'⁷

L.R. Amarsingham (1973: 76-83) explores the contradiction between the natural fertility and desirability of women and the bounded nature of the social structure, by analysing the images of women in Sinhalese myth. He shows that the contradiction represents a dichotomy between pure/impure and socially productive/socially non-productive. The theme of women as untrustworthy, however, unites all three women in the myths that he analyses. He goes on to say:

This suggestion that there is ambiguity and uncertainty inherent in the very nature of women implies that the images of women contained in the myths not only indicate structural aspects of femininity and fertility, but also express certain attitudes towards female sexuality in general. The purity of women is relative and there is no way to be completely certain of it. Thus women are

problematic not only in their potential vulnerability or aggressiveness, but also in their very nature as focus of men's desire.

Thus we see that labour based on biological difference, which forms the content of social relations of reproduction, assumes a form which signifies biological inequality. That is to say, at that specific historic period biological difference took the same form as biological inequality, with the male at the superior position. This social form of patriarchy is an historical expression of the development of social forms relating to the reproduction of life.

Two sets of production relations stemming from two vital production processes thus exist. But the nature of social forms in society can be more clearly seen only when they are seen as a result of the interaction of these sets of relationships. If we consider only one set of relationships we fall into the danger of simplification and very often a misunderstanding of the true state of affairs. When considering the nature of labour in paddy cultivation we see that '*one unit of male labour is not equivalent to one unit of female labour*'. Labour mobilization in paddy agriculture is dependent on sexual division of labour; ploughing, reaping and harvesting are men's work, while planting, weeding, etc. are women's work.' (Gunasinghe 1976).

Such a feature cannot be explained in any other way but as a reflection of the interaction of the relations of production and reproduction. Basic notions or categories express basic socio-economic forms which characterize specific production relationships among people, and the unequal value ascribed to women's work must be seen as the result of the historical development of social forms relating to the two production processes and should not be seen as due to biological origin. The work done by the women was very often more strenuous than that done by the men, and yet social values put a higher price on the latter. This mode of production was drastically changed under the colonization by the Portuguese, Dutch and the British.

Change in the Production System

Due to the introduction of a money economy the share tenancy system in paddy cultivation began to change. Services which for centuries had been rendered to one another on paddy lots on the basis of common tradition were now transformed into commodities to be bought and sold. 'The development of commercialization led to the growth of the towns and rise of the middle class ... Money became essential to keep the farms going' (Jayaweera 1973). People who owned land and the people who had access to money now exercised powerful control over others in the village. This led to changes in the socio-economic structure and relations in the villages which showed the following key features:

TABLE 10

Percentage Distribution of Operators and Extent Operated
According to Size of Lowland Holding (Acres)

District	Percentage distribution of operators							Percentage distribution of extent operated								
	Up to 0.5	0.5- 1.0	1.0- 2.0	Sub- total up to 2.0	2.0- 4.0	4.0- 6.0	More than 6.0	Total	Up to 0.5	0.5- 1.0	1.0- 2.0	Sub- total up to 2.0	2.0- 4.0	4.0- 6.0	More than 6.0	Total
Hambantota				18	33	32	17	100				6	21	35	38	100
Anuradhapura				8	33	27	30	100				2	16	22	59	100
Polonnaruwa				8	31	36	25	100				2	19	34	46	100
Kandy	15	23	32	70	16	8	6	100	3	9	24	36	22	18	24	100
Colombo	17	31	25	73	20	4	3	100	3	15	22	40	32	9	19	100

- (1) a very unequal distribution of land for the rice cultivation. This is brought out in the study of the Agrarian Research Institute in Ceylon and is illustrated in Table 10;
- (2) the creation of a class of absentee landlords who did not render services in the village but who, because of their control over money (perhaps in the form of urban employment) could pay for their fields to be cultivated;
- (3) a high degree of labour.

The percentage of wage labour used in paddy cultivation is also quite high, as shown in Table 11. (Agrarian Research and Training Institute 1975: 18).

TABLE 11

Polonnaruwu	75%
Hambautota	86%
Kandy	59%
Colombo	56%

- (4) Rural debt became very high.

The Survey of Rural Indebtedness conducted by the Central Bank in 1969 revealed that 54% of rural households are in debt and that 81.2% of the total rural debt is served to non-institutional sources while 18.8% is owed to established institutions (Central Bank 1969: Tables 17 & 34). Further, the level of rural debt has grown through the years: in 1950 only 30% of rural households were in debt.

Togarathnam and Schiekele's study shows even larger prevalence of debt: 'We conclude that all paddy farms under 2 acres are undersigned [sic] farms not capable of supporting a family. The only practical solution to lift these farmers out of poverty is to provide them with off-farm employment opportunities (p.16). We see from the Agrarian Institute research that a large percentage of cultivators fall in this category.

The majority of farmers in the dry zone districts operate holdings which do not yield a minimum acceptable level of income. In the wet zone areas over 70% of the operators hold less than two acres. When this is considered in the light of the Togaratnam and Schiekele report, *the general situation of the poorer peasants* is such that the support of a family becomes extremely difficult.

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL MONEY INCOME FOR ONE MONTH OF MALE AND FEMALE INCOME RECEIVERS BY SPECIFIC INCOME GROUPS

RURAL SECTOR

(In Rs. '000)

Income group of Individual Income Receivers	M A L E S					F E M A L E					T O T A L				
	Income receivers		Income		Av. Income	Income receivers		Income		Av. Income	Income receivers		Income		Av. Income
	No.	%	Total	%		No.	%	Total	%		No.	%	Total	%	
Below Rs. 100	695,713	36.4	40,570.9	13.8	58	348,341	76.5	15,291.3	40.1	43	1,045,054	44.1	55,862.2	16.7	53
100-199	704,438	36.8	96,628.4	32.7	137	53,431	11.7	7,035.6	18.4	131	757,929	32.0	103,665.0	31.1	136
200-399	426,607	22.3	111,134.6	37.6	260	45,893	10.1	12,222.8	32.0	266	472,500	20.0	123,357.4	37.0	261
400-599	63,650	3.3	29,320.7	9.9	460	6,032	1.3	2,547.5	6.7	422	69,682	2.9	31,878.2	9.6	457
600-799	13,045	0.7	8,672.8	2.9	664	1,564	0.4	1,062.9	2.8	679	14,609	0.6	9,735.7	2.9	666
800-999	6,368	0.3	5,424.1	1.9	651	-	-	-	-	-	6,368	0.3	5,424.1	1.6	647
1000 and over	2,402	0.2	3,592.3	1.2	1,495	-	-	-	-	-	2,402	0.1	3,592.3	1.1	1,496
Total	1,915,265	100.0	295,354.7	100.0	157	455,261	100.0	38,160.1	100.0	85	2,368,524	100.0	333,514.8	100.0	140

The position of women in the production system

Women from a significant proportion of wage labour in paddy cultivation.

The seclusion of the women in the house has been either confined to rich families when women were encouraged to lead idle lives and to socially backward groups where such false values prevailed that this 'status' and respectability were enhanced if women did not engage in outside work (Jayawardena 1976: 15).

Their rates of pay vary from district to district ranging from Rs3.50 to Rs5 a day (with lunch) depending on the demand for labour and the customary rate in the area. The constant factor, however, is that women doing such work receive Rs1.50 and Rs1 a day less than the men. This position of women in the rural sector with reference to income is shown in the breakdown of income receivers in the census data, as shown in Table 12. Here we see that most women in the agricultural sector fall into the lowest bracket of income, i.e. 76.5% as opposed to 36.4% of the men. 99.6% of the women obtain less than Rs.600, while the men get relatively much higher incomes and salaries. Thus, as far as poverty is concerned, the large majority of women form the lowest scale of income in the rural sector.

Employment

The majority of women in rural Sri Lanka were generally involved in the dual role of house-maker and productive worker outside the house. But this has changed with changes in the economic structure. Today they work in paddy production but within the context of the value system which stems from commodity production; they form cheap labour for the production system; and they do unacknowledged housework.

Employment status is classified under (1) self-employed (own-account worker); (2) employer; (3) employee; (4) unpaid family work. If one considers the nature of this employment for women in the rural sector (agriculture is taken as the nearest approximation), we see that most women are either agricultural labourers or unpaid family workers.

Status of women

	<i>Agriculture</i>
Employee	70.6
Employer	.2
Self-employed (own-account worker)	12.3
Unpaid family worker	16.9

Three points should be noted:

- (1) unpaid family workers are defined as those who work at least three hours a day, without pay, in any family-based income-generating activity. A large proportion of this category are female (Census data 1971);
- (2) housekeeping is specifically excluded from this category. Since housekeeping is almost solely done by women, the figure given is an underestimation of unpaid family work;
- (3) a large number of females work in family-based cultivation and do not receive payment. They are also not included in the statistics.

All these points indicate that a pattern of exploitation of women as the cheapest labour prevails in the rural economy.

Unemployment

In 1973 unemployment figures showed that in the rural sector 24.5% of the work force were unemployed. Unemployment rates for women, however, were higher (37.6%) than those for men (31.8%); this in spite of the fact that unemployment figures do not consider housewives who are put in the category 'those who do not actively seek work'. Thus, women form a 'reserve army' (unemployment figures show this) for capital in order to further exploit the labourers.

Income Distribution

The change in income distribution between men and women over time is difficult to ascertain in any accurate quantitative sense for the paddy cultivation sector, mainly due to lack of data. Certain trends and features, however, show that the income distribution change has placed more women in the lower ranks of income level.

- (1) Calculations have shown that in three sectors of the economy, absolute wage differentials (with the women earning the lower income) have increased over time.
- (2) Calculations in Section II have indicated that for the whole of the economy, the shift in income distribution has resulted in more women entering the relatively lower rankings and more men going into the relatively higher levels of income.
- (3) The fact that women are employed generally in much lower-paid jobs (family labour, labourers, etc.) indicates that their relative income must be less, because participation

rates among rural poor women did not substantially change in the years 1963-73. Most of these women have worked since much earlier times as cheap wage labourers.

These features show that income distribution in the paddy cultivation sectors has worsened as far as the poorest women are concerned.

The marriage and family systems were also affected by the change in system of production. Polygamy was outlawed and the legality of monogamous marriage enforced. The joint family system is breaking down and a complete dichotomy exists as far as the family and economy are concerned. In the new system, woman is again subjected to prevailing values which does not recognize as *productive* the work she does in the family, such as cooking, looking after the children, parents and husband. She is taught to believe that it is her duty to do this work, and this dual exploitation in the family and at work is the key feature of the peasant woman's existence.

Relations of Reproduction: (Male/Female Relationship)

In the present conventional system, the husband is head of the family and the woman hardly plays a decisive or a determining role (Goonatilake 1976: 16-17). Subservience is the key of her existence, as daughter, as wife and as widow.

Daughter and son learn to be subordinate to their parents; daughter, son and mother are subordinate to the father. A son's subordination tends to end on his reaching manhood, but the daughter's remains until she marries. Often the unmarried elder sisters are permanently subordinate to their younger brothers.

Superstitions and norms surround the position of the woman. For example,

- (1) a person is born a woman since she has sinned in her previous birth or births;
- (2) it is a sin to get men to do certain domestic chores like washing clothes, sweeping the floors, etc.;
- (3) myths are common that women are low in intelligence, psychologically weak, emotionally unbalanced, illogical and unreliable;
- (4) because of the myth of their uncleanness, women are not allowed to participate in some religious ceremonies. For example, they are not allowed into the devales to perform the pongal ceremony or to participate in funeral rites.

One could go on, but this is sufficient to show the pattern of the institutionalization of relationships between the male and female in this society. Although these notions might be changing in a few places, and there might be differences in specific norms, there are widespread forms in society that put woman on an inferior scale. Her only realization seems to be as wife and mother (with at least one son in order to keep the family name going). The unmarried woman, the divorcee, and the married woman without children have a stigma attached to their situation. The dowry system further acts to enforce her social inferiority (dowry or *seethanam* is given to the couple in the form of jewelry, house, land or cash for their use. Donation of *inam* is the cash demanded by the bridegroom's father which is generally used to give the groom's sister in marriage.)

Thus we see that earlier features of patriarchy still exist. The notion that by her biological origin she represents something weaker and more negative to society continues even in the present system. The social forms that result from the interaction of relations of production and reproduction therefore have features of earlier reproduction relations with the features of the new production relations. Examples include:

- (1) wage differences (we have seen that men and women had differential social values to equal work, but this is now institutionalized in the form of hired labour or wage labour);
- (2) discrimination through quotas: 'There is official discrimination against women in the Administrative Service which has a quota system of 25% for women and in the General Clerical Service which also imposes a 25% quota on women entrants.' This is significant since the rates of education of men and women in Sri Lanka are almost the same. (This is an explicit form of discrimination);
- (3) discrimination in respect to types of employment available to women. We have seen that the vast majority of women belong to the category of unpaid family workers, thus perpetuating the contradictions in her position in society;
- (4) the fact that although men and women have equal access to education and are almost equally represented (except in technical and vocational education), only 25% of women are in the labour force, reflects *the concept that women should be limited to household duties*. The highest rate of

participation was among the estate women who were not beneficiaries of educational progress. Otherwise, women are mainly in the so-called 'feminine yoke' (nurses, etc.). Thus, the pattern of education seems to reinforce traditional role patterns of society.

To sum up, people now enter direct production relations exclusively as commodity owners. But things also acquire a particular social form. *Value is seen as the property of a thing with which it enters a process of exchange, and which it preserves when it leaves. In reality, 'value' is an expression of a certain type of production relation.* This is one example of how basic notions or categories express the basic socio-economic forms which characterize specific production relationships among people.

Such a phenomenon has adversely affected the position of women working in rice cultivation. In the first place, they are exploited in both the family and the economy. In the fields they form a large section of cheap hired labour and play the role of a reserve army. At the same time, their work in the family is unacknowledged as productive labour (labour in the present system has 'value' only by the realization of its exchangeability). But due to the fact that this sort of change in productive forces came from outside and not through the evolution of contradictions in the feudal system, the ideology relating to relations of reproduction still prevails. That is, the social inferiority of woman due to her biological origin, which was explicit in earlier and present relations of reproduction, now interacts with the changed relations of production. Social forms in society reflect this interaction, resulting in institutions of inequality in political, economic, cultural and ideological spheres. Development policies (for higher wages, better income distribution, etc.) have resulted in wider differentiation between men and women. The historical bases of these policies must therefore develop a theoretical consistency and consciousness to changes in the position of women in order that total social oppression can be analysed and total human development can be asserted.

CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusion that can be reached from this brief study is the inadequate understanding of the position of women within any historically determined social formation. This is reflected at two levels, the conceptual and the empirical.

At the empirical level very little data is available on the condition and position of women. Most statistics on planning, income distribution changes, etc., do not have

sufficient sex breakdown; even where such data are available there is still insufficient linkage structure. While I do not argue for indiscriminate measurement of all data on the male/female basis, the stress on this is featured because (a) of its linkage to the resulting policies for social change; (b) of its linkage to the conceptual analysis of social forms in society.

It is clear that policies of change which are based on inadequate consideration of (a) and (b) lead to situations which contradict the aims and goals of social change. At the conceptual level this generally leads to reducing woman's position to that of her class and no consideration of discrimination due to her sex (which has been historically determined) is taken into account. All this can lead to apparently paradoxical situations as in Yugoslavia and Sri Lanka, where widening differentials can be observed in economic benefits accruing to the sexes, *precisely* during a period when the government in power is committed ideologically to a socialist system and where overall statistics indicate a shift towards a more egalitarian system. We have seen that this can be explained to some extent by understanding how basic notions and categories in society express the basic socio-economic forms which characterize specific production relationships among people, i.e. discrimination due to sex is not to be explained as a side feature of the superstructure but as a reflection of the interaction of social relationships stemming from two production processes: the production of life, and the production of necessities of life. It is by this consideration that we see how the social and economic inferiority of the female can be perpetuated even though the class structure might reflect a more egalitarian system.

The papers and discussions at the Institute's Policy Workshop helped to bring out some of the problems associated with incorporating notions of sex discrimination as a vital feature of policies for improving income distribution employment and poverty. Uneasiness was felt about how the position of women fitted into those aspects. There was a tendency to consider it as the 'women's issue', of little significance in macro-economic planning. As discussed earlier, all this almost led to its dismissal as an issue for study. Yet deeper examination of the relevant material reveals the way in which contradictions can be perpetuated if sex discrimination is not taken into account.

A framework of analysis which considers the interlocking nature of the oppressions earlier discussed is still largely undeveloped. It is essential that such a framework should be evolved so that planning and development policies can develop a theoretical consistency and consciousness of the position of men and women, so that total social oppression can be analysed, and total human development can be asserted.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amarsingham, L.R. Kuwenis Revenge: 'Images of women in Sinhalese Myth', in *Modern Ceylon Studies*, 4, 1-2 (July 1973).
- Beauvpor. Simone: *The Second Sex* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952).
- Engels, F.: *Origin of the Family*.
- Firestone, Shula Mith: *The Dialectic of Sex* (New York, Morrow, 1970).
- Gunasinghe, N.: 'Social Change and Disintegration of a Traditional System of Exchange Labour in Kandyan Sri Lanka', *Economic Review* (January 1976).
- Goonatilake, H.: 'Social and Political Participation, Tradition, Prejudice, Myth and Reality', *Economic Review* (September 1976).
- Industrijski Dejavnosti* PO Republikah Sfr. Yugoslavia (Ljubljana; February 1977).
- Jayawardena, K.: 'Women and Employment', *Economic Review* (September 1976).
- Jayaweera, Neville: 'Credit Support for high yielding varieties in Sri Lanka'.
- Kuzmin, Franc: 'Faktorji Osebnih Dohodkov', (Institut za Ekonomska Raziskovanja, Ljubljana).
- Levi-Strauss, Claude: 'The Family', in Arlene and Jerome Skolnick: *Family in Transition* (Boston, 1971).
- Luxemburg, Rosa: *The Accumulation of Capital* (1963).
- Marx, K.: *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (International Publishers, 1964).
- Marx and Engels: *The German Ideology*.
- Mitchell, Juliet: *Woman's Estate* (New York, 1971).
- Morton, Peggy: 'The Family and Capitalism', *Leviathan* (May 1970).
- Manouri Muttetuwegama: 'Woman and the Law', *Economic Review* (September 1976).
- Obeyesekere: 'Gananath', *American Anthropologist*, 1963, LXV (2).
- Percival, Robert: *An Account of the Island of Ceylon* (1508).
- Peiris, C.H., in *Sri Lanka in Transition*, ed. W.M.K. Wijetunga (Colombo, 1974).
- Peiris, Ralph: *Sinhalese Social Organization*, Part VII (Sri Lanka, University Press).
- Secombe, W.: 'Domestic Labour - reply to Critics', *New Left Review*, 94 (1975).
- Togaratanam & Rainier Schickele: *Practical guidelines to agricultural policies in Ceylon*.
- Vejko, Korač: 'In Search of Human Society', in E. From (ed): *Socialist Humanism* (Garden City, Anchor Books, 1960).

Weerakon, Bradman: 'Emergent Leadership at Village Level', *Economic Journal* (January 1976).
Yalman, Nur: *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* (1962), 25-58.

The following (abbreviated) titles are available in the Occasional Papers Series:

- Van Nieuwenhuijze: The Sociology of Development
- Dunham: Spatial Implications in the Competition between Natural and Synthetic Products
- Doornbos: What Determines Receptivity to Political Change?
- Huizer: The Ujamaa Village Organisations in Tanzania
- Huizer: The Role of Peasant Organisations in Japanese Land Reform
- van Benthem van den Bergh: The Structure of Development: an invitation to the sociology of Norbert Elias
- Vercruijse et al: Composition of Households in Some Fante Communities
- Huizer: Agrarian Unrest and Peasant Organisations in the Philippines
- Huizer: Peasant Mobilisation and Land Reform in Indonesia
- Vercruijse: The Dynamics of Fante Domestic Organisation
- de Gaay Fortman: Rural Development in an Age of Survival
- van Nieuwenhuijze: Recent Developments in Development Studies
- Wagenbuur: Labour and Development: Lime Farmers in Southern Ghana
- Rothwell: The Scope of Management and Administration Problems in Development
- van der Wel: The Development of the Ghana Sugar Industry 1966-1970
- Hoogvelt & Child: Rhodesia - Economic Blockade and Long-term Development Strategy
- Gillie: Comparative Comments on Small Towns in Ireland, Norway and France
- Terrefe: Tanzania: the Theoretical Framework of Development
- Kuitenbrouwer: Continuity and Discontinuity in Community Development Theory
- Kuitenbrouwer: Societal Processes and Policies
- Kuitenbrouwer: On the Practice and Theory of Affluence and Poverty
- Huizer: A Research on Social Practice
- Glastra van Loon: Facts are not Facts
- Kuitenbrouwer: The Function of Social Mobilisation in the Process Towards a New Society in Peru
- Kuitenbrouwer: On the Concept and Process of Marginalisation
- Kuitenbrouwer: Growth and Equality in India and China: a Historical Comparative Analysis
- Kuitenbrouwer: Growth and Equality in India and China: Processes, Policies and Theory Formation
- van Nieuwenhuijze: On Social Stratification and Societal Articulation
- Sideri: Analysis and Overall Evaluation of Latin American Trade Policies
- van Raay & de Leeuw: Fodder Resources and Grazing Management in a Savanna Environment
- Kuitenbrouwer: Some Reflections on the Necessity and Feasibility of a Unified Approach
- Dunham: Marketing in Southern Ghana: Towards a Planning Typology
- Waterman: Conservatism among Nigerian Workers
- Kuitenbrouwer: Science and Technology: For or Against the People
- Amoo: Internal Marketing Systems for Basic Foodstuffs and Government Involvement in the central Region of Ghana (1970-1973)
- Irvin: Employment Creation, Technological Efficiency and Distributional Judgements; a Case Study in Road Construction
- van Benthem van den Bergh: The Interconnection Between Processes of State and Class Formation: Problems of Conceptualisation
- Devendra Raj Upadhyia: Transit Trade of Land-Locked States
- Ojo: Economic Integration: The Nigerian Experience since Independence
- Kuitenbrouwer: Towards Self-Reliant Integrated Development
- van Raay: Fulani Pastoralists and Cattle
- van de Laar: The International Development Association

Jansen: Educational Planning: The Asian Experience
van de Laar: The World Bank and the World's Poor
Ollawa: Rural Development Policies and Performance in
Zambia
Fapohunda: Employment and Unemployment in Lagos
van Benthem van den Bergh: Is a Marxist Theory of the
State Possible?
Turner: Two Refineries
Sáinz: Peripheral Accumulation, Labour Power Absorption
and Relative Surplus-Population
Brown: The Theory of Unequal Exchange: The End of the De-
bate?
van Nieuwenhuijze: Changing Perspectives of Education for
Development
van Nieuwenhuijze: The Study of Development and the Alleged
Need for an Interdisciplinary Approach
Kuitenbrouwer: Rural Transformation in China
van Nieuwenhuijze: Social Development-Supplement or Corrective
to Economic Development?
van de Laar: The World Bank and The Poor
Songsore: Structural Crisis, Dependent Capitalist Development
and Regional Inequality in Ghana
Kuitenbrouwer: Some Reflections on the Uses of Science and Technology
in Indonesia

