

T
1147

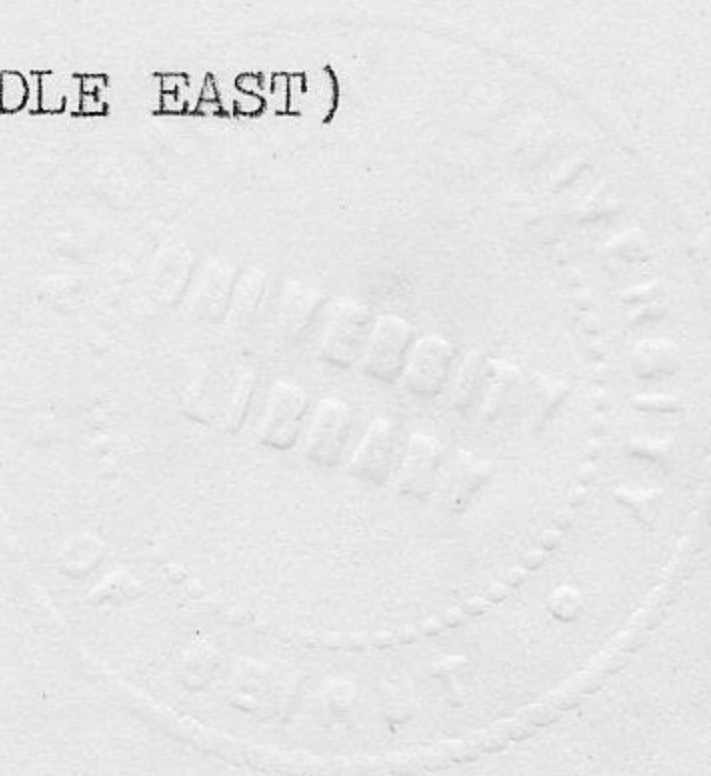
THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN
DEVELOPMENT

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST)

by

MIRGUN ERGUNDUZ

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Development Administration
at the American University of Beirut.
Beirut, Lebanon
October, 1969



AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

Thesis Title:

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
MIDDLE EAST)

BY

MIRGUN ERGUNDUZ

Approved:

Juleihan

Advisor

T. Murphy

Member

M. Badik

Member

Member

September, 1969

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN
DEVELOPMENT

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST)

ERGUNDUZ



"THESIS RELEASE FORM"

American University of Beirut

I. Mirgun Ergunduz:

✓
authorize the American University of Beirut to supply copies of my thesis to libraries or individuals upon request.

do not authorize the American University of Beirut to supply copies of my thesis to libraries or individuals.

M. Ergunduz
Signature

Sep. 5, 1969
Date

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER	
I. The Present Position of Women in the Middle East - a historical and descriptive picture.	5
II. The Social Role of Women in Development	11
A. The Role of Women as Agents of Change	
B. The Role of Women in Volunteer Organisations	
III. The Political Role of Women in Development	26
A. The Role of Women as Suffragists	
B. The Role of Women in National Politics	
C. The Role of Women in Local Government.	
IV. The Economic Role of Women	38
A. The Role of Women as Consumers	
B. The Role of Women as Producers	
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	55
BIBLIOGRAPHY	66

L I S T O F T A B L E S

TABLE NUMBER	TABLE TITLE	PAGE
I	Library Readership according to sex (in Turkey)	12
II	Literacy by Population and sex (in Turkey)	13
III	Attitudes towards women by sex	15

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The cradle of so many ancient civilisations, the Middle East is at the moment undergoing a most significant revolution. This revolution is basically a social one, penetrating into the depths of society and its value system. The rapid changes in technology and in the institutions of society have led to an inevitable revision of the general outlook of the Middle Easterner. This rapid and often drastic change of attitudes has in many instances caused considerable hardship to the individuals who are caught in this transformation process. The gaps between generations, as far as attitude to life is concerned, have been too big to bridge. The rapid transformation of society has also led to the emergence of the so called "marginal man" - the individual who can identify himself neither with the traditional social values and norms nor with the new ideas that he is exposed to in the tremulous world of a changing society. However, one need not view this situation with alarm, since the blessings of social change will result from its vexing experiences, no matter how paradoxical this statement may seem. The position of women is a significant part in its value system, and it is no coincidence that the rapidly changing norms and values of the Middle East are accompanied by a change in the position of women. It is precisely this change in the role of women, that has spurred the writer to write this thesis.

Development has become a key word for most countries of the world today. The effort for development in some instances is deliberate and planned, in others it is more of a laissez-faire style. Be it planned or laissez-faire, women have been assuming

a bigger role in the development of their countries. In planned economies, the role has been larger (seventy percent of those women in the working ages are actually employed in the Soviet Union)¹

On the other hand in the United States women make up one third of the labour force.² In the Middle Eastern countries, the ratio is difficult to determine, since statistics are lacking, especially for women who work in rural areas. This ratio is estimated to be not too different from the world ratio of one third.³

The important point, however, is the fact that women have started influencing the economy more and more. Furthermore, women have also been exercising their political rights. In many Middle Eastern countries, women not only have acquired the right to vote but are also increasingly exercising this right. Moreover, women have also been playing an increasingly social role in society and now that education is more available for the Middle Eastern women (Gordon states that increase in female education has been fivefold during 1931 to 1954)⁴, the impact of this social role will surely be stronger.

This increasing role that women have started playing in the Middle East, plus the realization that this role should be enhanced, have led to the choice of this topic for study.

1. Norton Dodge, Women in the Soviet Economy, (Baltimore:John Hopkins Press,1966), p.238.
2. National Manpower Council, Womanpower, (New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), p.11.
3. Ibid, p.11
4. David Gordon, The Women of Algeria, (Massachusetts: President and Fellow of Harvard College, 1968), p.24.

It is unfortunate that up to now the Middle Eastern women have not played a major role in development. The writer believes that development in the Middle East requires the utmost efforts of men and women alike. Women who have acted as pioneers in the building of human society will definitely play their role in the changing and revolutionizing of their countries.

This study therefore, attempts to deal with the ways in which the Middle Eastern woman may perform a more constructive function in her society. The thesis is divided into four main parts: the present status of women in the Middle East (an historical and descriptive picture), the social role of women as agents of change and as members of women's organisations, the political role of women as suffragists, and as members of national and local governments and the economic role of women as producers and/or as consumers. Interviews have been conducted with a limited number of women who are in a position to speak of the different roles that women play. (The women interviewed were from the following occupations: member of parliament, secretary, dressmaker, movie actress, teacher, engineer, chemist, doctor, servant, factory worker and social worker. They were all citizens of Middle Eastern countries.)

Under the heading "Conclusions and Recommendations" some recommendations will be considered that might enhance the social, political, and economic role of women in a developing society. At this point, it is appropriate to point out the main weakness of this study: the scantiness of empirical data. This study would have been a much more beneficial one if time had allowed the writer to carry out a survey. As it stands, the discussion in many parts of this thesis reflects the meagreness of the data available on the

subject. However, the major contribution of this study would be to point out the areas in which research is needed so that more conclusive papers about the subject can be written.

C H A P T E R I

THE PRESENT POSITION OF WOMEN

(A HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE PICTURE)

In the introduction, the rapid change that is taking place in the status of women was mentioned. At this point, I believe, it is essential to put this revolution in its historical perspective.

Going back to the ancient civilizations of the world, one notices that there are basically two different types of societies in history: the society which looks down upon women by underestimating them and which considers them only as propagators of the race, and the society which places emphasis on the social well-being of that group of people as a whole and women as the upholders of that well-being. The Athenian society is an example of the first kind, whereas the Spartan society exemplifies the second.

In Athens women were in general considered inferior to men. There were mainly three classes of women: the slaves, the class of women into which Athenian men should marry, and the companion women who were not allowed to get married but were highly educated and in many instances inspired the poets and philosophers of Athens. The first and second classes of women were not educated but were viewed as the propagators of the race. The natural consequences of this was that the women who were not educated could not act as agents of change and development, and society became decadent after a few centuries.

On the other hand, in Sparta and in Rome, women were considered the builders of the human society, hence they had to be educated

and were given almost equal status with men. In fact Musonius Rufus advocated "equal education and equal chances in marriage companionship, in reference to morals a single high and pure standard."¹

After the fall of the Roman Empire, women were regarded as containing the devil and the status of women was not one to be admired.

Since the Middle East is predominantly a Moslem society, a study of the influence and effect of Islam on the role of Women may be illuminating. The coming of Islam was a stepping stone in the historical survey of the status of women. The supreme aim of Islam was social justice, hence it could not ignore half of the society. Islam instituted marriage and was the first system in the world that gave women property and economic rights.² Sura IV, verse 32 reads, "Men as well as women shall have the benefit of what they earn". However, Islam contained some elements that eventually led to the seclusion as well as the inferior status of women in the Middle East. Nevertheless, viewed in their historical context, these elements were not at all meant to deteriorate the position of women. In fact, at the time they were regarded as being drastically revolutionary, because in pre-Islamic Arabia women were regarded almost as cattle. It was common practise for fathers to bury their daughters alive; because they were considered as a source of shame to their tribes. Hence, the sura allowing a man to marry more than one wife, but not more than four, was in fact restricting the number of wives that a man could marry.

1 Halide Edip Adivar, Conflict of East and West in Turkey (Delhi: Jamia Millia, 1935), p.242.

2 Ibid, p.243

In pre-Islamic Arabia, men could marry as many women as they wanted. Thus the sura led to the improvement of the status of women. However, polygamy in Islam definitely did have a harmful effect on the Moslem society: women never became real partners with their husbands, and the cohesion of the family was destroyed.

Another element that had a detrimental effect on Moslem women and Moslem society in general was sura XXIV, verse 31 which commands women to pay regard to their dress, to wear a veil covering the sides of their heads, their bosoms, and their ornaments. This sura was later interpreted to mean the complete seclusion of women from the outside world, hence denying them the rights of education, participation in social affairs, etc.

In spite of these restrictions, in some Islamic societies, women continued to play some significant roles. In the early years of the Ottoman Empire, women were well educated and participated in state affairs. Ibn Batuta, the famous traveller, writes of his visit to the Ottoman Sultan in the 14th. century and relates that he was received by the Sultan's wife and discussed the affairs of the country with her. He continues to say that women used to sit in the same room with the men and were treated well. "I was amazed by the respect shown to women; they are considered superior to men."¹ In fact, he says, in the Early Ottoman period, Moslem women still continued their old Turkish customs which did not deny them a high status.

Later on, however, as the seclusion of women increased, they became more and more ignorant. Women lived in their own small world, with no idea about the opinions of others. Even when they

¹ Quoted in Afet Inan, The Emancipation of the Turkish Woman (Paris:UNESCO.1962)p.25

participated in running the affairs of the state, their contributions were very limited because of their lack of contact with the world. This is typified in one of the most decadent periods of Ottoman history, the 17th. century that was called the era of women's Sultanate. It was out of these circumstances that the myth "Women have half a brain" developed.

Nevertheless, women in their limited capacities still made contributions to the development of their country. In the Ottoman Empire, mosques, inns, fountains and bridges were donated by women. They even took interest in treating the insane and helping prisoners. During the First World War, Middle Eastern women acted as nurses for the wounded soldiers. Later on, however, when the enemy invaded their countries, women carried armaments and ammunition to the fronts.

In Turkey, Halide Edip Adwar stirred the emotions of thousands as she gave public speeches and later served in the army. *Adwar speeches develop Turkey. One must not forget what was her speeches about! She made the Armenian mothers give their children to her. Her purpose of this was to charge the children into tanks. Is this development? An Armenian student*

Indeed, the public-spiritedness of Middle Eastern women was admired by many. In the Arab World, some outstanding figures like Fakherddine's mother, Sitt. Nassiba, made their appearance in the domain of politics. But in general, throughout the Middle East, women remained in seclusion and in many cases uneducated, therefore unable to contribute to society.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the status of women in the Middle East changed. Women's organisations emerged in more than one country, women students were admitted to schools and even to universities. Middle Eastern women started to go into professions and in some countries they were given the right to vote. However, it is important to differentiate between the way women acquired their

rights in the Middle East and the way they won them in the Western World. In the Middle East, the present status of women came into existence as part of the transformation process, as part of the reforms and as a result of the First World War that the Middle Eastern countries experienced. In the West, however, women literally fought for their rights, and this fight became a war of competing sexes.

Today, the Middle Eastern woman has attained equal status with man, at least under the law (with the exceptions of Saudi Arabia, Yemen, /Kuwait, and Jordan where women are still denied political rights.) But the actual situation is very different from their legal status. The United Nations Commission for the drafting of the Declaration of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women recognises this inequality on a global scale and says to this effect,

The United Nations General Assembly... concerned that despite the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and other instruments of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and despite the progress made in the matter of equality of rights, there continues to exist considerable discrimination against women. ¹

In fact, the participation of women in the activities of society at large is quite limited. Women are allowed to get a college education, but they are not allowed to hold the positions which they are qualified to hold. Women are allowed to vote, but in most instances their vote is governed by their husband's vote.

1. UN Commission for the drafting of the Declaration of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Declaration of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (Paris: UN, 1965), p.1.

In many cases marriage is on a contractual basis, but the double standard of morality which justifies the loose morals of men while condemning the women with the same morals to the harshest and severest punishments, still exists in the minds of most Middle Easterners.

The typical educated and modern Middle Eastern woman today feels her responsibility towards her society, but complains in desperation, "But I'm so limited."

The limitations, however, are on the decline. The fact that by 1967 out of 121 member states of UNESCO, sixty of them had attained more than forty six per cent female enrollment in secondary schools,¹ is very encouraging, since education is usually considered the key factor in the emancipation of women.

The following chapters will discuss the contributions that women can make to the development of their countries, now that their emancipation is gaining momentum.

1. Nicole Friedrich, "Access to Education", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 375, (Jan. 1968) page 135.

C H A P T E R I I

THE SOCIAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Women as Agents of Change

The social change through which Middle Eastern society is going was pointed out in the preceding sections. Such social change in attitudes is inherent in the process of development; some students of development even argue that certain modern attitudes are a precondition for development. Others like Inkeles have tried to provide empirical proof that modern man is basically different from the traditional man. Inkeles conducted a survey of attitudes in six different countries; among the attitudes of modern man he includes: "a disposition to accept new ideas and try new methods, a readiness to express opinions, a time sense that makes men more interested in the present and future than in the past, a greater concern for planning, organisation and efficiency, a faith in science and technology."¹

The purpose of this part of the thesis is to analyze to what extent women can serve development by changing social attitudes and by implanting in the members of society the attitudes of modern man.

1. Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of Man", in Modernization, ed. by Myron Wiener (New York/London: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 141-144.

The role that women play in influencing the values of society is quite apparent. The family has up to now remained the basic institution of all societies; the likelihood is that in the future it will continue to be so. Most of the values and attitudes of society are first implanted in the individual by the family and school. It is in recognition of this fact that President Jordan of Stanford University nearly a century ago said,

For in the final analysis, it is the character and influence of their mothers and wives which advances a nation. The influence of women means more for the future than all the conceivable legislative reforms. It means higher standards of living and the coming of better men and women.¹

With this general recognition of the role of women as agents of change, it is appropriate to turn to some empirical findings that throw light on the traditionalism or the modernity of women.

Lerner in his study of the developing Middle Eastern countries finds a direct correlation between participation in communication media and modernization. Measuring participation in media by library readership he gives the following figures for Turkey:

TABLE I

Library Readership according to sex.²

<u>Year</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1936	719089	53466
1950	772963	118392

-
1. Margaret Hickey, Woman's Role in a Changing World, (Beirut; The American University of Beirut, 1966), p. 12.
 2. Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, (USA: Free Press, 1955), P. 25.

The number of males who participate in mass communication media through library readership is clearly higher than the number of females in both years. However over a period of fourteen years the number of female readers doubled, whereas the increase in the male readership was very slow. Hence, if we accept Lerner's hypothesis of the relation between modern attitudes and communication media participation, the number of non-traditional females during this period rose very rapidly. This rapid increase in female readership is probably closely linked to the faster increase of literacy among females than among males. The following are the figures of literacy for both sexes in Turkey.

TABLE II

Literacy by Population and Sex¹ (1954)

<u>Population</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Cities over 30,000	72%	48%
30,000 - 10,000	63%	32%
10,000 and under	36%	11%

In towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants, male literacy (sixty-three percent) is not quite double the rural rate (thirty-six percent) while female literacy has trebled the rural rate (thirty-three percent in towns of 10,000 as compared with eleven percent in rural areas).²

These findings lead Lerner to qualify the generalization he made earlier in his book that "modernizing Middle-Easterners tend to be young unmarried males".³

1. Ibid, p. 124.

2. Ibid, p. 124.

3. Ibid, p. 91

In the way of qualification he admits that when women are given the chance as they were in Turkey, their literacy and communication media participation increase very fast, hence their modernization process gains impetus.

Another study that attempted to measure characteristics of modernity in women was conducted by Najjar in a Moslem Lebanese village.¹ Najjar studied attitudes of women towards fatalism and towards mobility - attitudes that might shed light on the traditionalism of the women studied.

In a contrast of two generations (young and old women) she found that there was no basic difference between their beliefs: Fifty-six percent of the older group believed in the evil eye, whereas fifty-two percent of the younger group did so. Fifty-two percent of each group was ready to move to Brazil. This surprising similarity of traditional attitudes between the generations, Najjar concludes, is a result of the absence of education. Had the younger group been more educated, their attitudes would probably have been different.²

The contrast can be made with another study by Hammam in which the attitudes of women and men students of the American University of Beirut (AUB) towards women were measured. The educated female has a more liberal attitude than the educated male in this respect, as seen in Table III below.

-
1. Salma Najjar, "The Status of Women in a Moslem Lebanese village" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, American University of Beirut, 1967).
 2. Ibid, p.96

T A B L E III

Attitudes Towards Women by Sex ¹

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Liberal	63%	71%
Medium	23%	29%
Not Liberal	14%	0%

Another study in Egypt confirms the results of the above mentioned studies. Allport reports that educated Egyptian women want change more than their menfolk. Sixty-eight percent of the men interviewed were religious in a traditional sense, whereas fifty-one percent of the women were so. The average of the number of children women wanted was 2.7; for the men the average was 3.5.² Prothro and Melikian in their study of the AUB female student found in 1956 that fifty-eight percent wanted personal achievement.³

What are the conclusions to be drawn from these studies? The generalization of Lerner that the modernizing force in the Middle East is the male remains true. However, the generalization stems from the fact that most females are illiterate and are not exposed to mass media. It does not stem from any inherent traditionalism in women. Given the same education and external stimuli there is not reason why women cannot become as good agents of change as men.

1. Habib Hammam, "The 1969 Graduate", Al-Kulliyah, Spring, 1969, p.6.

2. David C. Gordon, Women of Algeria An Essay on Change, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The President and Fellows of Harvard, 1968), p.25.

Quoted in
3. Ibid, p. 26.

The conclusion of these studies, then, point in the following direction: the key factor that determines how well women can contribute to society as agents of change is education. The type of education needed is not necessarily formal education but education that will be relevant to the special problems faced in everyday life (hygiene, nutrition, citizenship, homemaking etc.) More about education will be mentioned under "Recommendations".

What is the present condition of female education in the Middle East? Berger estimates that in 1954 in primary education the proportion of women was forty percent in Egypt, thirty-nine in Lebanon, twenty-nine in Syria and twenty-five in Iraq. In secondary education the proportion was thirty-eight in Egypt, forty-one in Lebanon, twenty-six in Iraq and thirty-one in Syria.¹ He illustrates the progress in female education by observing that in public primary schools the number of girls increased fivefold (while the total population increased by one half). However, these figures are not applicable to all Arab countries; in Saudi Arabia estimates vary from a few hundred to a few thousand girls in secondary schools. On the whole, the percentage of girls in schools in the Arab world is not high (thirty-three percent in primary schools, twenty-three percent in secondary - in 1963) UNESCO figures show that while half of the member states of UNESCO had attained more than forty-six percent female enrollment in secondary education, no Arab country had higher than forty percent.²

1. Ibid, p. 23.

2. Nicloe Friedrich, "Access to Education", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 375 (Jan. 1968), p. 137.

In summary then, these statistics show that female education in the Middle East is increasing very rapidly, but the standard of education attained up to now is not satisfactory (both in quantity and quality). If women are going to act as agents of change, more attention should be devoted to their education.

The main problems faced in the field of female education are economic. In countries where elementary education is compulsory, in many cases facilities are not sufficient, hence priority is given to boys. There are also social and cultural prejudices (such as the belief that girls should not be exposed etc.) that stand in the way of girls attending school, but these factors are reported to be on the decline.¹ (Child marriages are less frequent than before, so girls can go to school during the elementary years).

Illiteracy is a female malady all over the world (the proportion of illiterate women to men is two to one).¹ Illiteracy can be first attacked at the elementary school level. However, this would not yield immediate results and adult literacy classes are necessary. It has been said that "to teach a man is to teach an individual, to teach a woman is to teach a family and a nation". Some extremists in the field of education go further and say that since in educating one woman we would be educating more than one individual,

Absolute priority ought to be given to the education of women since the financial benefit derived from this is greater than that derived from the education of males.²

1. Ibid, p. 142.

2. Ibid, p. 143.

Education of women will also speed up development in other ways. Apart from imparting to the members of society the values and mentality of modernity, educated women can also further development by learning and applying better sanitation and nutrition methods, by putting a check on the population explosion etc. Women are intimately concerned with these areas. Therefore their participation in the solution of these problems is necessary. The facts given by the United Nations about population growth in 1966 (180,000 net increase per day in world population).¹ are alarming. In order to solve this problem the participation of women must be sought.

In case of high rates of population increase, any increase in income may be matched or even surpassed by an increase in population, leaving per capita income the same as before or even worse. Moreover, the composition of the population of developing countries is "distorted" with a high percentage of children. This means that there are less hands to work and more mouths to feed.²

Women's organisations can play active roles in population control. In some Middle Eastern countries these organisations have maternity clinics (like the Red Crescent of Iraq, the Cairo Women's Club of Egypt) teaching women who call at these clinics, sponsoring lectures by women doctors or social workers, and in some cases providing free contraceptives.

-
1. Alison Lanier, "Women in the Rural Areas". Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol.375, p. 118.
 2. Chester Hunt, Social Aspects of Economic Development (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 211.

Malnutrition is another problem that is plaguing the developing countries of the world. In many cases it comes from low productivity and meager incomes but to a large degree it also comes from ignorance. Information about nutrition should be made available to women, if they are to raise healthy generations of the future.

The drastic social changes taking place in Middle Eastern society were pointed out in the introduction of this study. In most cases such changes require the disruption of social institutions of society like the family. In traditional society the family is the institution; in an industrializing society it no longer remains the all inclusive institution of society. Other social institutions like the political party, the school, the factory, compete with it.

The family in the developing countries is also authoritarian in nature. "The line of authority moves from male to female and from age to age".¹ However, with the social changes that development brings about, the authoritarian family gives way to the more democratic one. In some cases, as the strictness of discipline fades away, the younger members of the family feel "lost" and may turn to juvenile delinquency etc.²

The traditional developing society stresses conformity. This accounts for the lack of creativity and innovation in developing countries. E. Hagen believes that this is due to the child-rearing practices of the traditional and transitional

1. Ibid, p. 15

2. Ibid, p. 18.

societies which do not provide any opportunity for problem solving.¹

The role of women in the context of changing family patterns is an extremely important one. Whether the family will adjust to an urban and industrial society depends to a great extent on the mother and whether she is able to provide guidance for its members. If not, the result will only be an increase in adolescent gangs, juvenile delinquency, etc. The changing of child-rearing practices is necessary so that the Middle Eastern societies can breed more creative and innovative individuals. The initiative in this case could again come from women.

These are some of the ways in which women can play a social role in the development of their countries. This role is to some degree an indirect one; however its importance should not be underestimated. As one statesman of this century said,

The role of women in a community is a most important one and no nation can afford to ignore it. Women are as vital to a nation's progress as its minerals, its agriculture.²

1. Everett Hagen On the Theory of Social Change, (Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1962)

2. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 375 (Jan. 1968), p. 1.

Women in Volunteer Organisations

Apart from the most obvious role women play as agents of change is the constantly increasing role they play in volunteer organisations. These organisations make it possible for women to express their ideas and their concern beyond the limits of their immediate surroundings. Volunteer organisations have achieved a great many objectives in the world. In some instances they have exerted nation-wide pressure (like the National Council of Hungarian Women which discusses drafts of law in the preparatory stages and makes proposals to the Ministry of Justice).¹ In other instances they have set examples for governments and private agencies (the Beirut YWCA with a city improvement campaign proved to be an example.)

At this point it is appropriate to touch upon the case for women's organisations as opposed to the case against them. Some feminists have asserted that the existence of women's organisations is itself a sign of discrimination against women. They believe, in a country where the emancipation of women has taken place there is no need for women's organisations as such but for mixed voluntary organisations.

An example of this line of thinking is provided in the history of women's organisations in Turkey. In 1930 the Turkish Women's Union was established by Ataturk. In 1935 after women were granted their political and social rights, the Union dissolved itself.

1. UN, Civic Education of Women, (New York: UN, 1964), p. 44.

During the following years voluntary work was done along individual lines and was rather haphazard. The need for organised action was felt by many and women's organisations were founded again in 1941. Today it is felt by women who have served in women's organisations that there is a need for both types of voluntary organisations: mixed as well as women's.¹

The activities of women's organisations can be grouped into two broad categories: direct service in meeting social needs, and guiding public opinion and **influencing** the policy making authorities.²

The second of these categories will be discussed first. In the Middle East influencing public opinion and the legislature is not the main goal of women's organisations. Only a few organisations have been active along these lines. Among them are: The Lebanese Federation which is concerned with laws relating to married women in the civil service and equality in inheritance laws; the New Woman, the Bint-al-Nil, and the Feminist Union of Egypt which have fought for political rights, and the Turkish Women's Union mentioned previously.

In Iraq, Jordan, Syria and Iran the activities of women's organisations have not stressed reform.³ This is probably due to the opposition which women's organisations have met in these countries. In East Jordan the first voluntary organisation was recognised by the government only in 1950. In Iraq the public was hostile to organisations of this type for many years.

1. Ruth Woodsmall Women and the New East (Washington: Middle East Institute, 1960) ch.1.

2. Ibid, p. 76

3. Ibid, p. 76.

A law passed in 1954 acted as a set-back for women's organisations (the law forbids the federation of organisations hence leading to lack of co-ordination of activities). The need for activities centering around reform should not be overlooked. In many Western countries, women's associations act as very powerful pressure groups. In the Middle East, too, the awareness for this should be awakened.

The other group of activities which women's organisations undertake is that of service for social needs. Here can be listed the activities of most Middle Eastern women's associations. One such organisation is the Child Welfare programme of Lebanon's Child Welfare Association, (with forty two clinics in villages and one mobile clinic), Another one is Turkey's Child Welfare Association, which is one of the two associations that penetrate into all villages. Iraq has maternity and children's clinics that are operated by the women's section of the Red Crescent and the WHO. These different organisations are examples of the kind of service activity rendered by women's organisations.

Other service activities include: rural welfare (Women's Renaissance in Lebanon, Cairo Women's Club in Egypt, as well as the Women's League for Rural Development); adult education including vocational and civic education (YWCA in Lebanon), creation of recreation facilities for urban dwellers especially for the youth, (YWCA in Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt), encouragement of handicrafts (Artisanat Libanais in Lebanon, Turkish-American Women's Association in Turkey, etc.)²

1. Ruth Frances Woodsmall, Role of Women (New York: International Federation of Professional Women, 1956), p.50.

2. Ibid

The activities mentioned above have all received public recognition as being worthwhile (in Jordan the services of the Arab Women's Union to fight Zionism were recognised by parliament). However, these and similar activities can gain momentum if the women's organisations can improve their organisational structure in the ways suggested below, if they have international contacts with other women's organisations, etc.

In the Middle East, women's organisations have developed on an individualistic basis. Some women becoming aware of some urgent need have gathered their friends in a home and founded an association. They have assumed the responsibility for the planning, the financing, and the staffing of these organisations.¹ As a result there is much duplication in activities, and the work of several organisations is not co-ordinated to obtain maximum benefits. A solution to this problem would be the formation of some kind of liason among organisations doing the same kind of work. The publication of bulletins, the forming of joint committees etc. would reduce duplication of activities. Wherever a federation of women's organisations exists, the work appears to be better co-ordinated. In Lebanon, for example, the Federation of Lebanese Women's Organisations links together 103 member organisations and has six joint committees - youth, political, economic, public affairs, educational, and emigrants.

Many leaders in women's organisations in the Middle East also believe that it would be more effective if co-operation could be made with countries in which organisation experience is longer.

1. Ibid, p. 76.

This assistance, they feel, is particularly needed for rural affairs, vocational guidance, adult and citizenship education.¹ Government assistance is also needed. In Ceylon, India, and Jamaica the government trains hundreds of women each year for work in volunteer organisations.²

Women's organisations in the Middle East are handicapped in most instances by lack of staff, lack of headquarters, lack of finances etc. If they are to perform beneficial services to the country in which they are operating, these difficulties should be overcome. Their contribution to the welfare of society can be a most significant one as many examples in the West have shown.

1. Ibid, p. 76.

2. UN, Civic Education of Women, p. 42.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN

The women suffragists of the early twentieth century have now become history. Women have been given the right to vote in almost all countries of the world except a few (along with the curious case of Switzerland there are also Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Iraq in the Middle East). But to what extent do women really play a role in politics? Even in the Western countries this role is very limited. A survey conducted by UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences in four Western countries (Germany, France, Yugoslavia, and Norway) concluded that

Public opinion as a whole, therefore, seems rather unfavorable to political activity by women. The club, the forum, debates, Parliament and political life in general are still considered to be typically masculine activities. Women's participation in them usually takes the form of an "example" to be followed.¹

In the United States (where women's suffragist movements were so strongly felt) the percentage of women in Congress and the Senate is very low (three percent). Even in the Communist countries where economic participation of women is much higher than any country in the Western world, the political participation is lagging behind. Twelve percent of the Polish Parliament are women and seventeen percent of the Supreme Council of the USSR are women.²

-
1. Maurice Duverger, The Political Role of Women, (Paris:UNESCO, 1955) p.10.
 2. Kamila Chylinska, "Political Activity of Women in Eastern Europe," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 375 (Jan. 1968), p. 70.

In the Middle East the political role of Women is even smaller than in the West. The social and religious system, as well as the economic dependence of women are all causes of this low participation in politics. Sura XXXIII is usually quoted by the reactionaries as a citation of Islam's attitude toward women in politics. "Remain in your home. Do not exhibit yourselves as did the women in the times of ignorance."

Added to these factors is the fact that women in the Middle East never experienced a suffragist movement as in the West. In connection with the political role of women in the Middle East, we can distinguish three spheres: the indirect political role women play as suffragists, their direct role in parliament and political parties and their direct role in local government.

The Role of Women as Suffragists

As far as women in elections are concerned, the UNESCO findings show that there are more non-voters among women than among men.¹ However, the gap is not as big as it is sometimes thought to be. Duverger estimates it to be between five and ten percent.² The easy way to explain the gap between men and women as far as voting is concerned is to assert that women are less interested in politics than men. But the statistical data suggests that the answer is more complex: the gap between the sexes is wider in the country than in urban areas; it is also wider for the above-fifty age group than it is for the younger groups.

1. Duverger, Political Role, p. 15

2. Ibid, passim Ch.1.

The conclusion to be drawn from these findings is that abstention from voting is dependent more on the degree of urbanization, age, and political experience and maturity rather than sex. Political maturity demands assuming responsibility. Women have for ages taken responsibility as far as the family is concerned but as one writer points out,

Our independent and complex world demands that we must take responsibility increasingly through the only institution of all the people - the government.¹

It is therefore expected that as women get more and more politically mature, their participation in elections will increase. Hence, as urbanization increases the participation of women is expected to increase. At this point, however, we are faced with a vicious circle: women abstain from voting because they are politically inexperienced, and they do not gain experience because they abstain from voting. The circle must be broken with a deliberate attempt at giving women education in politics.

Even in the case of a very high proportion of female voters, the question still remains as to what extent are the women's votes expressive of their own opinions?

Duverger estimated that between eighty five and ninety percent of married couples vote the same way.² In most cases the vote is governed by the husband. But the question can still be asked if the woman has any indirect or latent influence on the man's vote.

1. Katharine Stone, "Women as Citizens", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol.251, p. 81.

2. Duverger, Political Role, p. 46.

The answer to this question is not likely to be found easily, but the point deserves some speculation.

The Role of Women in National Politics

Although the percentage of women taking part in elections is not much lower than that of men, there is a very big difference in the number of active participants in politics among men and women. Apart from the USSR where women make up seventeen percent of the Supreme Soviet Council, the maximum percentage of women elected to the various parliaments seems to be about five percent.¹

Furthermore, the political role of women gets smaller as we approach the "center" of politics. The highest percentage of women in the civil service is in the Communist countries (forty percent in Yugoslavia)² In Germany women make up only fourteen percent of the higher grades of civil service. The contribution of women in public offices can be quite significant, if more women could go into the administration. In many cases there are laws that make it difficult for women to enter or to continue in the civil service. In Germany, a clause in the 1950 law states that "any woman civil servant may be retired in the event of her marriage. She must be if she so requests, she may be without any request on her part if her domestic financial position seems secure."³

Moreover, the low participation of women in national politics does not seem to increase over the years. In Lebanon, there has

1. Ibid, p. 76.

2. Ibid, p. 100.

3. Ibid, p.101.

been only one female member of parliament. In Turkey, the first Grand National Assembly had thirty-five female members, today there are only eight. One ex-member of the first Turkish Grand National Assembly who was interviewed by the writer illustrated the meagre role of women in active politics when she said that she and her other female colleagues had no intention of going into politics and were urged to run for parliamentary elections by Mustafa Kemal, as a symbolic representation of the principles of the New Turkish Republic.

Why do not women take an active part in politics? This can be attributed at first glance to the male opposition. Politics is definitely very competitive and politicians who are in high positions find it more advantageous to have men as running mates instead of women, since to have a female running mate might mean losing. The public seems to be prejudiced against women candidates; as a result, the actual number of women who do get elected is even a smaller percentage than those nominated. Even in advanced countries like Norway, where ticket splitting is allowed, the names of women candidates were more often struck out than those of men.¹

Prejudice against women tends to run along the following lines: either women are not capable of performing political duties or that they can perform those political duties which are already familiar to them like legislation in relation to juvenile delinquency etc.

1. Ibid, p.89

This latter form of thinking is called "the functional theory" by Duverger and is just as anti-equalitarian as the former one.¹ However, the arguments that men advance against women playing any active political role would not be as effective if women themselves did not give in to these arguments. Their acceptance of these arguments is illustrated by their lack of interest in politics. Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique (IFOP) investigations conducted in June 1953 showed that two out of three men said they had been interested in the results of municipal elections for the whole country. One third of the women gave the same answer. While only thirty-five percent of the women said they discussed politics with people of their acquaintance, seventy-five percent of the men did so. In reply to the question, "Are you interested in politics?" sixty percent of the women said "No", twenty seven percent said "Slightly" and only thirteen percent said "Yes". For men the figures were twenty eight percent "No", thirty six percent said "Slightly" and thirty six percent said "Yes".² In another survey by the same organisation forty six percent of the women believed that several political activities (running for municipality elections) were inappropriate for women, whereas men did not object so strongly (only fourteen percent of the men objected)³. Duverger observes that in Norway more women crossed out women candidates than men did.

1. Ibid, p. 126.

2. Ibid, p. 127.

3. Ibid, p. 127.

Some people tend to explain this anti feminine feeling against women's participation in politics by economic factors. They believe that as incomes grow, the introversion of women to their own small world would be alleviated. In fact, this point cannot be generalized upon; the women of higher income groups are not necessarily more interested in politics.¹ However, economic conditions do make a certain impact on the political participation of women. As the woman assumes an outside job her world of contact gets bigger (this effect is discussed in the next chapter of this thesis). A working woman no longer limits herself to her immediate surroundings but has the opportunity to identify with far away activities. In short the political role of women is very closely linked with their social emancipation.

In some countries, the legal rights women have gained in reference to political activity seem to be ahead of the customs and traditions of society. It is these customs and traditions rather than laws that limit the political role of women.

The small part played by women in politics merely reflects and results from the secondary place to which they are still assigned by the customs and attitudes of our society and which their education and training tend to make them accept as the natural order of things.²

The legal reforms concerning political rights of women have not been very effective in the short run. This is only natural since reforms will have indirect results in the future by changing the social customs that assign only a secondary role to women in society at large.

1. Ibid, p. 128.

2. Ibid p. 130.

Necessity when recognized can and does change the mores, however, slowly. The necessity of wise citizen action will eventually make it right for women to devote a portion of their time regularly to their citizen responsibilities. Family living will adjust to the fact; schedules will be managed. Personal comforts will be seen as luxuries.... In our intricate society it must one day be recognised that any adult who does nothing for the wider social good is guilty of immorality.¹

What can be done to facilitate the change of mores so that more women can play an active role in politics? Adult education in citizenship seems to be the answer to the political apathy. Such education starts at the low levels. The work of some women's organisations in this field are noteworthy. The reading and discussion of the daily news, public debates and speeches are all bound to help. The publications of the US League of Women Voters can serve as examples for the women's organisations of the developing countries. Such publications bring up several political issues that would be of interest to the women citizens of the particular country. Women's sections of political parties in many countries are mobilizing the latent capacities of women as far as political maturity is concerned.

Women's indifference to political activity has been said to center around three main questions: "I don't know enough about it", "What difference can my vote make?", and "What difference can it make to me?". The first of these points is usually true; the apathy of the Middle Eastern woman usually stems out from her ignorance. The second and third questions illustrate the ignorance of women as far as politics is concerned. The falseness of these statements should be explained to women.

1. K. Stone "Women as Citizens", p. 83.

In this respect there are many opportunities for the educated women of the Middle East to enlighten other women. Women's organisations make many contributions by giving citizenship classes. Another worthwhile activity would be to practice democracy in youth clubs and associations of a similar nature. The mass communication media can also be exploited to this end. Through such activities the women of developing nations can learn to make choices, a fundamental prerequisite for good citizenship. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be realized only as a result of such education. Even if such citizenship education achieves its purposes and women take an active part in politics, to what extent will they be influential? Will women members of parliament and ministers busy themselves with all aspects of political life? The data that we have on this question shows that up till now women have not done so (with the exceptions of such figures as Mrs. Gandhi; Mrs. Meier). Even the outgoing female politicians have restricted their interest to political issues close to themselves. For one thing, women take less part in debates and discussions, but more significant is the fact that more than fifty percent of women's speeches in parliament center around social problems like mother's welfare, the status of women workers etc.¹ Very few women are concerned about such things as the budget etc.

There is nothing inherently wrong with the concern of women with social issues; they have a lot to contribute. However, there is a need for women politicians to busy themselves also with other aspects of political and economic life. Even when they discuss

1. Duverger, Political Role, p. 97.

social issues they should be fully aware of the entire context of such issues. Moreover, a woman member of parliament is a representative not only of her own sex but of a mixed electorate. Hence she should present to parliament issues not only concerning women but concerning her electorate and the nation at large.

Political leadership encompasses political parties, hence it is proper here to touch upon the role of women in political parties. This role, as might be expected, has been a minor one. Duverger makes the following generalizations about women in political parties: a) female membership of political parties is small; b) the part played by women in party activities is even smaller; c) there is a fairly clear tendency to prevent the formation within the parties of any women's organization with a degree of autonomy.¹ The female membership ratio fluctuates between one fourth and one fifth in the countries in which Duverger carried out his survey. This low ratio of female membership partly illustrates the lack of interest of women in politics since membership in political parties is open to all. The reluctance of the political parties to allow any autonomy for the women's organisations is not seen by Duverger as specific discrimination against women. It is, he says, a measure taken to preserve the party unity and applies to all special organisations of the party that demand autonomy.¹

1. Ibid, p. 103.

The Role of Women in Local Government

The role of women in national government may continue to be a small one for at least some time to come in the developing countries of the Middle East. However, an even more significant role awaits women in the political world; this is in local government. As far as local government is concerned, there is even more scope for action for a greater number of women. With the trend toward decentralization of administrative functions in developing countries, the part to be played by women in local government activities is now bigger than ever.

One student of this issue describes the activities of local government as:

What local authorities have to do is to keep the place tidy and fit to live in, to see that the streets are swept, that the houses are properly built, to provide parks and gardens for the recreation of young and old... The sphere of the local authority's activities may not be so grand...; but it is very intimate and affects the citizen in all sorts of ways from the cradle to the grave.¹

To perform an effective role in local government, women need the knowledge as well as the willingness to participate. The knowledge required for such a job is that of the conditions of the area, of the social composition of society, of the needs and of the means for improving that society. Such knowledge can be acquired in educational institutions; but it can also be acquired at women's clubs which deal with these matters, as well as through the radio, TV, etc. The employment of women in local government

1. W. Jakson, Local Government in England, (London: Pelican), p.14.
(No date)

will furthermore be a pioneering activity for other employers to follow. In short, the political maturity that was discussed in relationship to active participation in politics can very well start at the local level. The participation of women in local government will add also to their own feeling of accomplishment. Women who have outside interests usually make better wives and mothers. Their children will learn from them that civic responsibility is part of our moral values.

If children can take an intelligent interest in their mother as a person who does more than get the meals etc.... will not the relationship with her have gained in stability, because it links up with the wider reality of life? The growing child may feel the transition into the strange world outside the family much less of a break if mother herself has always had an outside function.¹

Hence, as was shown in this chapter, women play a minor role in active politics, but it cannot be said that their indirect influence in politics is small. The fact that they can vote is enough reason for political parties to review their programs and policies. This is in fact a very important influence. But this indirect role should not be sufficient; women need to take bigger roles in active politics. If we are going to experience real democracy, it will be absurd to think of democracy with only half of the population participating in it. But such an enlarged political role can become a reality only if women start to play bigger social and economic roles, since, as emphasized in this chapter, the small political role of women is only a reflection of their social and economic standing.

1. C.Lvetkens, Women and a New Society, (London: Nicholson and Watson, 1946), p. 78.

C H A P T E R I V

THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF WOMEN

The preceding chapters discussed the new role that the Middle Eastern woman has started assuming in her society as an agent of change and as a member of women's organisations. It has also touched upon the revolutionary changes that have taken place in a woman's social position. These changes have not been confined to the social sphere of life, but have had deep repercussions on the women's economic life as well.

The economic role of women (as consumers and/or producers) has placed a heavy burden on the Middle Eastern woman if she is to play any effective part in development.

The Role of Women as Consumers

Consumption, saving, and capital formation are extremely important in the discussion of economic development. With the emancipation of women and with the changes that have taken place in our family patterns, the female has started participating in the economic activities more than ever. Gone are the days when women would only consume what was bought by the husbands or the male servants. Today's woman either buys her household needs herself or influences the purchase of about seventy to eighty percent of all goods sold (in the United States and Western Europe).¹

1. Janet Wolff, What Makes Women Buy, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1958), p. vi.

There are several factors that led to the increase in the influence of women on consumption. (This increase is twofold: women now decide how much to consume as well as what to consume.) As women started getting an education and as they started working and having contact with the outside world, they started buying more goods as well as new goods. Today, many women, in addition to their household duties, work in the office and use office equipment. Some women drive cars and in many cases women are the consumers with whom the salesmen of these articles will be faced. The gaining of economic independence means that women have an income of their own, part of which they spend on different kinds of consumer goods. This fact by itself is probably the most important factor that led to the increase of consumption by women, since more income means more consumption.

The smaller family that is replacing the extended family in the Middle East has had the direct influence on consumption of increasing the demand for consumer goods; more families mean more furniture to buy etc. Moreover, it might be argued that the decrease of the size of the family has also had an indirect psychological effect on the consumption habits of women. In small households, women who do not hold jobs are usually alone, and this causes a considerable amount of boredom. Out of this loneliness arises the need to purchase.¹ The argument may seem very far-fetched, since it can be argued that boredom caused by free time does not determine consumption; consumption is a function of income.

1. Ibid, p.19.

But Keynesian theory also tells us that consumption is a function of income only when the subjective factors are constant.

There remains the second category of factors which affect the amount of consumption out of a given income, namely those subjective and social incentives which determine how much is spent, given the aggregate of income in terms of wage-units and given the relevant objective factors.¹

In this case, since other factors are not constant, a whole shift of the consumption function is involved.

Research seems to prove that women buy out of moodiness: seventy percent of buying by women is impulse buying.²

Another factor which leads to the sometimes puzzling consumption habits of women is the fact that society is undergoing rapid change. The demonstration effect is operating in our Middle Eastern countries, which are in continuous contact with the Western and Eastern countries alike. Change seems to be the biggest motivator of consumption by women. Woolf quotes Scaife of Hotpoint Co. as saying that the introduction of coloured refrigerators enabled his company to reduce the trade-in span from eleven to seven years.³

The picture given up to now tends to support the hypothesis that women are the biggest waste makers. In fact, there is no reason to believe that women are spend-thrifts. It is, however, true that women do not emphasize saving in an abstract sense, but tend to translate it into tangible items like saving for a house.

1. John Maynard Keynes, General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, (London:McMillan and Co. 1936), p. 107.

2. J. Wolff, What Makes Women Buy, p.231 .

3. Ibid, p.56.

The Minnesota Personality Scale showed that men rate higher in conservation but women understand the value of concrete saving.¹ They understand money in terms of what it will buy rather than for its own sake. Hence, one hears women speaking of a bargain at what most men would call an exorbitant price.

Today's woman is conscious of the need to save. This is probably a result of working outside, the experience of wars, and, especially in the Middle East the instability of the political situation. After the June war of 1967, the consumption patterns of women have probably changed. (This is not a statement based on empirical evidence, but one that stems out from observation). At least the consciousness of the need for a change in consumption habits is apparent. Mrs. Cortas, speaking at a panel discussion on the subject of women in the Palestinian movement, voiced this need and stated that the time had come when women should live in accordance with modest standards.

To recapitulate, the woman consumer in the Middle East stands in such a position that on the one hand, she is consuming more than ever because of the change in social patterns and the availability of mass communication and transportation media. On the other hand, however, she is feeling the need for saving because of her insecure position (political as well as marital insecurity). The net effect, however, is probably an increase in consumption.

1. Ibid, p. 131.

What is the effect of women's consumption on our economic life? Increased consumption, coupled with labor union pressure for higher wages, or excessive government or business spending leads to inflation. The effect of increased consumption, of course, would be welcome if we were in a recession. But unfortunately, in such a state, women as well as men refrain from consumption. Moreover, the inflationary effect is more important for us since most of the developing countries are faced with inflationary tendencies. During 1958-1961 increase in wholesale prices in Brazil and Argentina was sixty percent, in Turkey thirty percent, in Peru and Chile forty percent, while in Western Europe and the USA the increase was between zero and two percent.¹

Moreover, the increased consumption (especially of luxury items) affects investment and economic development adversely since any pound used for consumption of luxury items is one pound lost from saving and most probably from investment.

Keynesian theory argues that a high marginal propensity to consume (as would probably be the case when we consider women's new consumption patterns) would actually be beneficial for income generation since a higher marginal propensity to consume means a bigger multiplier, and a bigger multiplier means bigger increases in income for any amount spent. This, however, would not be true in a developing society since in such an economy the multiplier effect is curbed a great deal because of the inelasticity of supply, especially in the food industry and the consumer goods industry, which usually work nearly at full capacity in underdeveloped countries.

1. Charles Kindleberger, Economic Development, (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1958), p. 229.

As Rao points out,

Now in the case of a country like India, the secondary, tertiary and other increases in income output and employment visualized by the multiplier principle do not follow, even though the marginal propensity to consume is very high and the multiplier should, therefore, function in a vigorous fashion. This is because the consumption good industries to which the increased demand is directed are not in a position to expand output and offer effective additional employment. The most important reason for this is the technical nature of the chief consumption industry to which the additional demand will be directed. Viz. food.¹

Together with the inelasticity of supply, Rao states that, the existence of household enterprise and production for self-consumption (characteristic of underdeveloped economies) lead to conditions in which a high marginal propensity to consume does not yield the expected results of increase in income. When the above mentioned characteristics are present in an economy, "the increased demand will be met by a diversion of output from the market to self consumption. Thus, a reduction in the marketable surplus rather than an increase in output makes available the extra quantity of consumers' goods."² This is also an explanation for the inflationary tendencies of developing countries: due to the decrease in the marketable output, prices rise faster than output itself.

1. V. K.R.V. Rao, "Investment, Income, and Multiplier in an Underdeveloped Economy", ed. Agarwala and Singh, Economics of Underdevelopment, (India: Oxford Press, 1958) p. 208.

2. Ibid, p. 216

However, the adverse effect on capital formation is not all. Increased consumption on luxury items also has an adverse social effect. It tends to emphasize class differences and draws us away from a democratic society.

Here is a challenge to those in the upper and lower strata of our society, a challenge especially to women. Will they follow class determined types and ideals? Will the working and lower middle classes, lagging behind in the reception of new ideas and tastes and the more expensive things, still hold to the kind of home, of taste, of preference and conventions which they think are those of a higher class? Or will they be independent and realistic enough to demand an environment, house, furniture, entertainment and education which are sound, up-to-date and fitting for the life and work of a truly democratic people.¹

What can be done to reduce the high level of conspicuous consumption? As indicated in the preceding paragraphs, an increase of conspicuous consumption seems to be inherent in the change process that our society is going through. Demonstration effects are inevitable when the Middle East is opening up to the rest of the world. However, this is quite a high price for development and it may be desirable for society to take certain measures to curb this effect.

Education of women will bring about the civic-consciousness needed for carrying out government policies that call for a tightening or loosening of the belts. Methods of encouraging saving like bonds, stamps etc. would also help.

1. C. Luetkens, Women and a New Society, p. 126.

Hence the role of women as consumers in our economy is closely linked with the social position they assume and only when women become more public-spirited can it be expected to serve the developmental ends of our society.

The Role of Women as Producers

The economic role of women as part of the labor force is not a new phenomenon. During the Biblical times women have assumed important roles in the working life. Sudlow cites the example of Deborah (the Judge), Anna (the Factory Worker) and Lydia (the Saleswoman).¹ It is only in later centuries that working women became more and more rare and people started arguing that women are not fit for non-domestic work. It is these arguments that spurred the famous 19th century novelist, Charlotte Bronte to criticize the Victorian idea of the ideal woman and to opt for more challenging work for women.

Look at the numerous families of girls in this neighborhood.... The brothers of these girls are everyone in business or in professions; they have something to do, their sisters have no earthly employment but household work..... Lucretia, spinning at midnight and Solomon's virtuous woman are often quoted as patterns of what 'the sex' ought to be. The virtuous woman (of the Bible)..... had something more to do than spin and give out proportions: she was an agriculturalist - she was a manufacturer..... King of Israel! Your model of a woman is a worthy model! But are we, in these days, brought up to be like her? ²

-
1. Elizabeth Sudlow, Career Women of the Bible, (New York:Pageant Press, 1951)
 2. Charlotte Bronte, Shirley (1849), quoted in Sylvia Anthony, Woman's Place in Industry and Home, (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd, 1932), pp. 68-9.

With the Industrial Revolution, however, women who had up to that time been confined to their homes found other outlets. This happened much later in the Middle East. By now, the working of women outside of home has become quite well established in most societies. Countries that want to embark on development usually employ their women in non-domestic activities. Women are sometimes employed within the home-handicrafts, weaving etc. The statistics for home employment are very scanty, but the world ratio of women in the labor force is estimated to be somewhere around fifty percent rather than the often quoted thirty percent if home employment is taken account of.¹

The experience of Soviet Russia is very interesting and significant in this respect. The USSR had high per capita income as a major goal from the beginning. During the first years, therefore, its need for the employment of women was very high. Also during those early periods, the sex ratio was ninety two males for every hundred females (census of 1939).² After World War II the sex ratio decreased further and following World War II in 1946 it was seventy-four males for every hundred females. As a result of this imbalance in the sex ratio, the participation of women in the economy was very high (seventy percent of those in the working ages were actually in the labor force).³ Russian women are active in science, technology, the arts, industry and agriculture. In the white-collar occupations, the ratio of women employment is more than fifty percent of total employment.

1. Amata Raksasataya, "The Political Role of South East Asian Women", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 375, (Jan. 1968), p. 89.

2. Norton Dodge, *Women in the Soviet Economy*, (Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1966), p. 238.

3. *Ibid.* passim ch. 3.

These figures, however, point out only the brighter side of employment of women in Soviet Russia. The other side of the coin shows that the prospects of women rising to high echelons in government are not so high. For example in research institutions where women constitute half of the technical staff, only sixteen percent of the directors are women. This suggests that the investment in women's education is wasted to some degree. This fact cannot be explained by lower intelligence or other innate characteristics, since all psychological findings have proved that there is no difference in intelligence between the sexes. Neither can they be explained by discrimination against women, since such discrimination, it is insisted, does not exist in the Soviet Union.¹ The reasons for this disproportionate ratio at top echelons must be of an environmental nature. These are distractions due to family responsibilities, the interruption of a career because of child-bearing, the lack of enough child-care facilities etc. These social factors affect the productivity of the Soviet woman adversely.

The lessons to be learned from the Soviet experience are significant. In the Middle Eastern countries the Soviet working woman is usually given as an example to be followed. However, if we really did double our labor force by employing all women (neither our philosophy which cares about the welfare of the individual nor our existing policies would allow this) still we would find that we cannot increase our productivity much unless we provide all the facilities for the working woman so that she will

1. Ibid, passim Ch. 11.

not be torn between her duties as a housewife and a career woman. As of now such facilities do not exist and working women feel that they are torn between two responsibilities. These two roles of women interact in such a way that the separation of these roles would have unfavorable consequences. In interviews conducted by the writer to the question: "Do you feel that you can carry the roles of a good mother and housewife together with that of a career woman?" all full-time workers answered "no".

An elementary school teacher who works thirty hours per week voiced the common opinion. She said that although she enjoys her work tremendously, she feels that she is cheating her children in not giving them enough emotional care. This is to say, our working women are going to be conscious of their duties as mothers and wives and this is going to affect their working life. This should be taken into consideration in any discussion of womanpower.

The Soviet experience teaches us another lesson: the developing countries have enormous potentialities in the untapped talents of their women

The question might be raised whether we can really afford— not only from the standpoint of the national interest but also from that of the welfare of women as individuals—to neglect the potential contribution of talent and intellect and to leave them so largely at the margin of our economic life. ¹

In the tapping of this latent capacity, the obstacles that stand in the way of women employment should be minimized. Equal pay for equal work has long been the maxim in the area of the female

1. Ibid, p. 247.

labor force. The statement when put forth in this simple form seems to be self-evident. However, there is reason to question its validity. To what extent do working women receive the same remuneration for the same type of work done by males? Some argue that they do not; among them is West.¹ To prove his argument he indicates that in 1966 the median earned incomes of white men in the US was \$6510, of white women \$3079 (in the US). However, if we probe into the issue, we realize that these figures conceal a great deal. In fact, it is almost agreed that there is no basis for comparison except at lower ranks (where they perform the same job), since women usually do not go up to the highest echelons. The reasons for this lack of achievement on the women's part were previously discussed. M. Mead, the famous anthropologist, explains this lag in achievement by saying, "You have to prod a woman a great deal harder to make her discontented enough to do something."² She finds that the spirit of competition in women is low in comparison with men, and that women get a feeling of achievement out of motherhood rather than out of professional success. This is a very plausible argument. Most of the working women interviewed feel that their duty as a mother is more important than their job.

In reply to the question: "Is your role as a mother more important than your role as a career woman?" Most women said "Yes". (The writer recognises that the question is a culture-bound one; the women probably felt they had to answer in this way.)

1. Anthony West, "Who Takes Advantage of American Women? Men", Vogue, (Sep. 1966) pp. 198-99.

2. M. Mead, "One Aspect of Male and Female" quoted in J. Wolff, What Makes Women Buy, p. 146.

Whatever the reasons for the low achievement of women, its presence lowers the validity of the equal pay for equal work argument.

The wide-spread feeling that discrimination against women exists in employment may not be as true as it is believed. In professions traditionally considered to be feminine - social work, teaching, nursing etc. if there is any discrimination it is against men. In the "male" professions like sciences, engineering etc. there is no empirical evidence that employers discriminate against women (nor is there any evidence to the contrary).

Incidentally, an interesting survey conducted in Argelik factories in Istanbul showed that the subordinates make no distinction between male and female supervisors. Another study made at the court house of Istanbul proved that men brought into court show no preference for male or female judges.¹

These two surveys mentioned are not enough to generalize from. The facts about discrimination remain unknown to a large degree. However, most writers about discrimination point out the observation that in most cases women are not willing to perform equal work with men. One of these writers is Eriksen who says,

There is always that most basic discrimination and prejudice against themselves that still exists in the minds of women themselves and this is related to the question of how the men will react if women dare to change.²

-
1. Bernet Zeki Ungor, "Women in the Middle East" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 375 (Jan. 1968), p. 74.
 2. Erik Eriksen, "Concluding Remarks" Women and the Scientific Professions, ed. by Mattfield and Van Aken, (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1965), p. 236.

Even the most educated and intelligent woman does not take to heart the fact that if she performs the same job a man does, she is not necessarily unfeminine. What Balzac said in the last century that,

a woman who has had a man's education is the possessor of both the most brilliant faculties and the faculties most fruitful in happiness for herself and for her husband.¹

is still not accepted today.

Hence, the motto of "rights of women" movements demanding equal pay for equal work seems to be a myth in the sense that women are not performing equal work when compared with men. The remedy to this phenomenon of discrimination of women against themselves would be to raise girls in such a way that they do not feel apologetic about employment.

Another argument against equal pay for equal work would be that if this doctrine were enforced, the number of women in the labor force might actually decrease, since in this case women who are being paid less than men would be discharged by their employers and leave the labor force (unless the economy is able to generate new employment opportunities to absorb more workers).

The argument up till now might have painted a rosy picture in the mind of the reader. It is not at all the intention of the writer to say that no discrimination exists against women in the minds of men. The truth is that a great deal of it does exist.

1. Bruno Bettelheim, "Commitment Required of a Woman",
Ibid, p. 12.

But the low participation of women in productive fields cannot be explained entirely by men discriminating against women. Such figures that show that only one percent of all scientists are women¹ are a result of both kinds of discrimination.

But why insist on the employment of women? Is it only to increase our productivity or does it also add to the individual welfare of the woman concerned? Will the economically independent woman be a better agent of change in a developing country?

In answering these questions, a study made by Lambiri in a Greek country town is enlightening. Lambiri discusses the impact of factory work on the position of women. After extensive research in which she divided the population into two groups: those who worked in cotton factories (experimental) and those who had the same background but did not have any factory experience (controls) she concludes that "a larger number of non-traditionally minded girls are found among the factory workers than among the controls."²

In this particular study the girls who started working in the cotton factory did not have much chance to modify their behaviour, because they were under careful supervision of their parents. Nevertheless, their outlook on life rather than their actual behaviour changed. Given more lenient conditions the impact of the factory work on the women would have been more noticeable.

-
1. Alice Rossi, "Who Wants Women Scientists?," Ibid, P.60.
 2. Iona Lambiri, Social Change in a Greek Country Town, Athens: Center of Planning, 1960), p. 93.

The results of the interviews made for this paper, too, revealed similar results. The interviewed women felt that their job changed them and made them better wives and mothers. One social worker said, "Now that I'm working, I feel I'm a better companion for my husband. Moreover, my children take pride in the fact that I'm working. I have gained a lot from work. Although my position is a difficult one, my family appreciates me more."

The change that comes about as a result of women's employment is just as important as the increase in productivity. Furthermore, most women get more satisfaction out of using the income they earn than using their husband's income. It is because of these reasons that women's employment is to be encouraged. What would be the best way to achieve this? The establishment of good child-care facilities would most certainly increase productivity. A mother whose mind is free of worry is a better worker. The special problems that working women spoke of in the interviews (in order of priority) were:

- 1) lack of child-care facilities
- 2) lack of time-saving devices at home
- 3) the problem of transportation and having to come home in the dark.

Providing for women whose children have grown up, enough work opportunities and in many cases short periods of re-training, would help. In the US colleges encourage middle-aged women to go back to school so that they can get appropriate jobs.

At this point, it is appropriate to mention women's labor unions. Protective legislation for women might be one way in which unions can help. However, in this case there might be discrimination against men. Moreover protective legislation such as minimum wages, & maximum hours might shut out some women employees from work and is not considered desirable by the employees themselves. In the United States, the trend in women's labor unions is to view protective legislation as restrictive of opportunities.¹ Nowadays, women's labor unions are concentrating on "abolition of male and female job classifications, open opportunity in promotion or open bidding on vacant jobs". Protective legislation is amended so that it applies to all, the weak, the old, the handicapped, or the children.²

Even more important than the measures suggested above for employment of women is the education of women so as to make them realize that work is not unfeminine. And last but not least, our society has to recognize the fact that home and family are the most demanding of all careers, and if a woman chooses to work only at home, she should receive as much recognition as she would if she had an outside job. As is often said, "a woman's first commitment is to being a woman." She can remain committed through her family or through her work. Either way she is serving her society in a most honorable way.

-
1. Alice Cook, "Women and Trade Unions", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 375 (Jan. 1968), p. 129.
 2. Ibid, p. 130.

C O N C L U S I O N S A N D R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

Throughout the different chapters of this thesis, the new position that women have acquired in the Middle Eastern society has been emphasized. This new role, nevertheless, implies new responsibilities as well as new rights. With respect to the different aspects of development, the roles of women have been pointed out. In the way of final remarks, it is appropriate at this point to recapitulate the conclusions of these chapters.

In the recent years many authors (like Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan) have criticized the traditional role of women as homemakers and builders of society. They would like to see a more "masculine" role to be attributed to women. The writer does not agree with these views wholly. She believes that women have a unique contribution to make to society as builders of families and therefore of modern values. This indirect role of women as agents of change was stressed in the chapter on the social role of women. In that chapter it was also pointed out that this role implies that women should be educated and should be able to change their outlook on life to one that is more compatible with the advances in knowledge, technology, and the new institutions (like the family, the factory etc.) In connection with these social changes that development brings about, the contribution of women's organisations was touched upon.

Education (formal as informal education which will be discussed later) is, the thread that runs through all the new roles of women in development. The contribution to economic life can

be a most spectacular one by means of even a small amount of education to large numbers of women.

It was stressed at many points that if the Middle Eastern countries are committed to development in a serious way, they cannot afford to neglect the potential contribution of half of the society. However, in order for this contribution to become a reality, obstacles such as discrimination should be surmounted. In this respect the better training of both men and women is necessary to appreciate the role of women and to eliminate the root causes of discrimination. Lack of education and of qualified women to perform an economic role is another obstacle to economic contribution. The other economic role of women as consumers also emphasized the key factor of education.

In connection with the political sphere it was pointed out that the modest contribution of women was mainly a result of political immaturity. The need for civic and political training in order to overcome this immaturity was pointed out.

Apart from education, other measures are also necessary to bring about a more constructive contribution by women. These shall be mentioned in the recommendations.

The following recommendations shall not be grouped under the headings of social, political and economic. The reason is that most of these recommendations are interrelated and will have effects on more than one field. This is in keeping with the general interrelated approach pursued in this study, because the role of

women in development is a multidimensional one, each dimension having a bearing on the others.

Recommendations

The suggestions for a more constructive role for women will be grouped under two headings: suggestions for legislation and suggestions for action other than legislation by governments or by organizations.

Legislation

In recent years legislation has been passed in several of the Middle Eastern countries regarding women. The political rights of women were acquired in this way. However, in some Middle Eastern countries women do not yet stand on equal footing with men even under the law. In Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen and Iraq they cannot vote or hold office.

It is significant that out of the nine countries all over the world that do not grant women voting power, five are Arab states.

Apart from legislation for political rights (the right to vote, to be elected, and to hold office), legislation is necessary for female education. Compulsory primary and even secondary school education must be made into a mandatory law in places where this has not yet been done.

Concerning the employment of women, legislative action should be taken that will center around the assurance of non-discrimination practices. Equal opportunity with men in hiring,

remuneration and promotion in government, as well as private employment, should be a law. Minimum wages and maximum hours should be stated by law for both sexes. (Such a law may not appear to be conducive to economic development but social considerations make it a necessity - forty hours per week is the accepted norm as far as maximum hours are concerned.)

Paid maternity leaves or paid sickness leaves should be made into a law for both the private and the public sector. The law should also make it possible for a woman who has left her work due to child-bearing or rearing, to be able to return to work (not necessarily in the same job but in similar ones). These laws may make female employment even more unattractive for employers but their existence is necessary from a social point of view.

Legislation concerning personal and property rights in many Middle Eastern states clearly discriminates against women. (examples are inheritance laws in Islamic countries under which women inherit only half as much as men) The minimum age for marriage should be set by law so as to allow for the elementary education of girls. Protection of women by law in case of divorce is also essential: the wife as well as the husband should have the right to obtain a divorce, and the husband should not be given the right to divorce a wife without sufficient grounds (as is the practice in some Middle Eastern countries). Polygamy should be restricted by law if not abolished completely. (Polygamy is disappearing in most Middle Eastern countries due to economic conditions. However, legislation which attempts to abolish this practice at once, might lead to social upheaval, because it would contradict with religious beliefs. In the short run, it is more advisable to stress on the better education of women concerning this point.)

Moreover, any law that discriminates against women should be changed. Unless legislation is passed that puts women on equal footing with men under the law, the contribution of women to development cannot be expected to be a full one.

International organisations, like the UN and related bodies such as the International Labour Organisation, have been urging all nations to pass legislation in the direction of equal rights for women. The UN Commission on the Status of Women has been active since 1946. The recommendations of the Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, the Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registrations of Marriage, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, the Convention against Discrimination in Education were adopted by the UN. The recommendations of the Convention on Equal Remuneration for Men and Women (1951) and the Convention on Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation (1958) were adopted by the ILO. In all these cases, the conventions were promulgated so that developing as well as the developed countries might adopt them as standards.

It should be pointed out that legislation is only a first step towards a more fruitful contribution to society by women. Legislation, if not followed by concrete action, will yield no results. Governments as well as non-governmental agencies should take action of the type suggested below so that women will be ready to play a more useful social, political and economic role.

Legislation should also be accompanied by a change of attitudes. In countries like Saudi Arabia where **only a few women work**, minimum wage laws cannot be expected to make any changes. It is

this change of attitudes that will mean the most in the long run. Education is one way of changing attitudes (of both men and women alike). Youth clubs are also beneficial in this way since most attitudes are implanted in the individual at an early age. The 4 - H Clubs of the United States are examples that might be modified to fit the environment of a developing country.

Action is also necessary by governments as well as non-governmental agencies, regarding appointments of women to positions in which their talents can be utilized efficiently. One example among others, would be the appointment of women on development boards. As these boards are concerned with nation-wide problems, the presence of women among their members would mean that women are getting a chance to voice their opinions and serve their nation. The General Assembly of the UN in 1963 unanimously adopted a resolution urging all governments to appoint qualified women to bodies of planning and to educate them so that they can participate in all phases of the planning process¹ (Trade commissions, education boards, local government, are other examples of positions to which women should be appointed.)

Other needs have been pointed out in the contents of the preceding chapters. One of these is the creation of enough child-care facilities for the children of working women.

Under legislation some recommendations concerning education were suggested. The following are some recommendations relating to action concerning education which will influence the participation of women in the social, political, and economic fields.

1. UN, Civic Education of Women, p. 24.

The suggestions can be grouped under two headings: those in connection with formal education (primary through college) and those in connection with adult education.

Under legislation the necessity for compulsory education was mentioned. But as was pointed out in the chapter on the social role of women, many times because of financial difficulties schools cannot accommodate all children, and boys are given priority, even though education is compulsory for both sexes. A bigger part of our resources has to be allocated for education. The United Nations Special Fund can also be drawn upon for this purpose.

Another problem regarding education is that of curricula. Most educators today believe that there should not be a basic difference between the curricula of boys and girls in the early stages of education.¹ However in vocational schools the curricula would be different. In many countries girls' education is usually inferior to boys'. This disadvantage should be abolished whether we follow the same curriculum as in elementary education or different curricula as in vocational schools.

In secondary and higher education, the need for vocational counseling is felt by many. Women's jobs have up till now been restricted to the traditionally "feminine" ones.² Through good counseling women's interests should be broadened so that they can make their contribution to all spheres of life.

1. Mrs. Antippa in "Conference for Women" held on April 22, 1967 in AUB, Beirut.

2. Examples: nursing, teaching, social work

One aspect of formal schooling with which the advanced countries are very much concerned is the education of older women. The developing countries too, should make it easier for the older woman to go back to her formal schooling after a period of interruption.

In developing countries, the results of adult education have been demonstrated to be quite spectacular. In those countries where a great proportion of the population is illiterate, literacy campaigns for men and women should be conducted. Governments as well as private organisations, like women's organisations, can conduct these campaigns. The experiences of other countries can be helpful in this respect. In Morocco, daily town meetings were held at which literacy lessons were given by the elders of the town who received their teaching by radio.¹

Adult education can take several forms; it might be aimed at improving sanitary and health conditions, at teaching basic homemaking techniques for women, civic education, birth control, etc.

Audio-visual aids like motion pictures, slides, radio and TV, may all be used for the purposes of adult education. In India the radio has proved to be very beneficial for the education of rural women. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has provided, free of charge, fifty million transistor radios for use in the developing countries.² Discussion groups are also good for the development of women in the developing countries. Through give-and-take they promote

1. UN, Civic Education of Women, p.32.

2. Ibid, p.4.

open-mindedness and public-spiritedness. These can be conducted in the form of panel discussions, round table talks, seminars, etc.

Citizenship schools are recommended for developing political maturity in women. In citizenship schools the techniques of voting, government, etc. can be taught. The USA has made extensive use of such schools in the early years of the women's suffrage movement.

Publications like pamphlets, which will be distributed to citizens can be helpful. Pictorial demonstrations are useful for illiterate citizens. Libraries (conventional or mobile) can provide women with the books of their choice.

A most beneficial way in which women can participate in society as well as getting practical education would be through community development programs. The UN committees recognize the need for women to participate in these programs and says to this effect,

full community development is not possible without women's understanding co-operation... the encouragement of women to take part in various committees such as village development committees and local government bodies is indeed essential.¹

Community development programs give women the opportunity to learn through practise. Such programs can be started under government auspices or can be undertaken by some local women's organisation. The Beirut YWCA as cited previously set an excellent example when it organised a campaign for city improvement.

1. Ibid, p. 21.

These recommendations can be applied in developing countries to varying degrees. The list of activities suggested here is by no means an exhaustive one. Moreover, not all the recommendations can be applied in every developing country. Nor can they all be applied simultaneously. Some might be too expensive or they might lead to very severe and unfavorable social consequences because of the religious element etc. In such cases, priorities should be assigned so that the best end-results can be attained.

An important recommendation of this study, has not yet been mentioned. It is that of the need for research concerning the several aspects of the role of women. The difficulties of working under the constraint of very limited data were mentioned in the introduction. Here it can only be emphasized again that research is needed, especially in the following areas: the social attitudes of women, their openness to change, the consumption habits of women, the facts about discrimination against women in education and in employment, the attitudes of women towards work, the special problems of working women, the prejudice of the public towards women in politics, the special problems of women in politics, etc. Without such research, the causes of, and consequently the solutions to the above-mentioned problems cannot be identified and overcome.

The fact that development requires the use of all resources - material as well as human - should be realized. A recent report by Paul Hoffmann, Director of the UN Special Fund, states that

only five percent of the human resources of the world are currently being used effectively.¹ Human resources, unlike the material ones, are changing all the time, hence there is an urgent need to use them now and here, if we are to achieve progress at all. Activities of the kind suggested here or of a similar nature should be undertaken so that the development process in the Middle East can be a fruitful one involving men and women alike, who are proud to be citizens of the progressive countries of the Middle East.

1. Alison R. Lanier, "Women in the Rural Areas", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 375 (Jan. 1968), p. 115.

S E L E C T E D B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Books

- Anthony, Sylvia. Woman's Place in Industry and Home,
London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1932.
- Austin, Mary Hunter. The Young Woman Citizen.
New York: The Woman Press, 1918.
- Cain, Glen. Married Women in the Labor Force.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Conference On Work in the Lives of Married Women.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Djebar, Assia. Women of Islam.
London: A Deutsch, 1961.
- Dodge, Norton. Women in the Soviet Economy.
Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1966.
- Duverger, Maurice. The Political Role of Women.
Paris: UNESCO, 1955.
- Friedan, Betty. The Feminine Mystique.
New York: Norton, 1963.
- Gavron, Hannah. The Captive Wife, Conflicts of Housebound Mothers.
London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1966.
- Gordon, David. Women of Algeria.
Cambridge, Massachusetts: President and Fellows of Harvard
College, 1968.
- Hooks, Janet. Women's Occupations through Seven Decades.
Washington: Government Printing Office, 1947.
- Inan, Afet. The Emancipation of the Turkish Woman.
Paris: UNESCO, 1962.
- Klein, Viola. Britain's Married Women Workers.
New York: Humanities Press, 1965.
- Lambiri, Iona. Social Change in a Greek Country Town.
Athens: Center of Planning, 1965.
- Luetkens, Charlotte. Women and a New Society.
London: Nicholson, 1946.

- Mattfeld, Jacquelyn and Aken, Carol, ed., Women and the Scientific Professions. Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1965.
- Mead, Margaret, ed., American Women. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965.
- Mill, John Stuart. On Liberty. Representative Government. The Subjection of Women. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Mogannam, Matiel. The Arab Woman. London: Herbert Joseph Limited, 1937.
- Myrdal, Alva. Women's two roles, home and work. London: Routledge, 1956.
- National Manpower Council. Womanpower. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Smuts, Robert, Women and Work in America. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Sudlow, Elizabeth. Career Women of the Bible. New York: Pageant Press, 1951.
- UN, Civic Education of Women. New York: UN, 1964.
- Williams, Gertrude. Women and Work. London: Nicholson, 1945.
- Wolff, Janet. What Makes Women Buy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1958.
- Woodsmall, Ruth. The Role of Women- Their Activities and Organisations in Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Syria. New York: The International Federation of Business and Professional Women, 1956.
- _____ Moslem Women Enter a New World. New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1936.
- _____ Women and the New East. Washington: Middle East Institute, 1960.

Journals and Magazines

- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. XXVIII No. 2, 1906.
- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 375. (Jan. 1968)
- Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 251. (1947).

Day, Beth. "Thailand's Executives Sweet", Reader's Digest,
July, 1969. pp.155-160.

West, Anthony. "Who Takes Advantage of American Women? Men".
Vogue, September 1967. pp. 198-99.

Unpublished Material

"Conference for Women" at the American University of Beirut,
April 22, 1967.

Hickey, Margaret. "Women's Role in a Changing Society".
Lecture presented at the American University of Beirut on
October 18, 1966.

Najjar, Salma. "The Status of Women in a Moslem Lebanese Village".
M.A. Thesis, American University of Beirut. June 1967.

Sultana, Qaisar. "The Roles of Women in the Urban Areas of Pakistan
and Implications for Education". M.A. Thesis. American University
of Beirut. 1962.