

A FIVE-DIMENSIONAL MODEL FOR CHANGE: CONTRADICTIONS AND FEMINIST CONSCIOUSNESS

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Synopsis—This five-dimensional model for change is based on the assumption that an integrated international economy draws its profit from increasing non-paid and low-paid work everywhere. This means the increased exploitation of women and worsening conditions for the majority in almost all countries. As the idea of equality between nations, classes, races and sexes is accepted and the women's liberation movement develops, the gap between expectations and reality grows. The article describes five dialectic dimensions. Each includes a growing conflict between deteriorating conditions and expectations, reality and promises, despair and anger. Contradictions demand resolution. The author argues that this is why a world-wide uprising of women cannot be stopped.

This paper explains why the next world-wide uprising will be initiated by women and why it cannot be stopped. It shows that during this process fundamental, structural changes in the institutions will take place.

These introductory remarks will be followed by a short version of the model.¹ Then, the model's five dialectic dimensions will be reviewed with reference to relevant literature. In the concluding paragraphs I try to address the question: 'Why should the time for a women's uprising be ripe *now*'?

SOME PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS

This model grew out of very special experiences. During a period of 10 months in 1978, I read literature on contemporary women's issues. When I started I was convinced that women had achieved higher status during the last decades and that equality between the sexes had largely been achieved. But as I continued to read, I realized that this had happened for only a small group of women. As I went on I became hesitant about that conclusion too, especially as more and more eminent women crept out of old history books, out of earlier literature studies, and women's accomplishments in philosophy and science. As the wise and well educated earlier suffragettes appeared, I thought: 'Why were they forgotten?' I felt betrayed.

Somebody had made them invisible by putting curtains in front of them and taking them out of my history books. I had been denied material upon which I could have built further. Much work *had* been done earlier but somehow this had been thrown away. Otherwise we

¹ An earlier version of this model was described in my article, *Kvindebevegelsen som en del av samfunnsudviklingen: begynnelsen til en ny tid?* (The women's movement as a contributor to development of society: introducing a new time period), *J. 25th Anniversary Meeting of the Danish Association for Social Politics*, Copenhagen, 1978. I presented a second version in 'Towards a theory of female culture: an exposition of master suppression techniques', a paper given at the CEFRES conference on 'Work and employment: toward what kind of a society?' Lisbon, January 22-24, 1979.

should indeed have come much further. Then the words about 'being betrayed' struck me. They appeared in a book which described how Mao Tse Tung had understood that a revolution in which the women refrained from participation would never become a revolution. Chinese women had helped win the victory. At first they were rewarded in the same way as men. They got their pieces of land. But as collectivization started and the communities required new leaders, the number of women in power decreased. They got less money than men for the same work. After a while they began to 'talk bitter'. They felt they had been betrayed (Diamond, 1975; pp. 272-292).

Reading about Algerian women gave the same picture. They had fought for their country's freedom, and they had carried heavy burdens of risks and suffering. They had thought that freedom would mean equal rights for the sexes when the war was over. It did not. When the fruits of victory were divided, the women were told that they were no longer of use. They could return to their cooking. Women have participated in Students for Democratic Action and in the civil rights movement in U.S.A. We know what they were expected to do: type and make the coffee for male leaders and members. Women who participated in political work in Norway have experienced similar treatment: women in the underground liberation movement during the Second World War were forgotten when the victory was won. Women prisoners in Greece during the Junta period were as numerous and were tortured as viciously as were the men. Most of these women obviously took it for granted that they were fighting for the same freedoms and the same privileges. But when the Junta fell, there were no positions in political life for any of the women who had fought. They had been betrayed once more.

The ways in which women identify with the weak and how they sacrifice themselves without questioning the rewards are worth a study by themselves. A young Norwegian woman visiting Portugal when the country got its freedom in April 1974 wanted to share the happiness of the Portuguese. She bicycled along, feeling that she was free just as they seem to be. Then one day she was attacked. Somebody tried to rape her. And she understood suddenly that only half of the population had been liberated. Over and over again women are forced to draw the conclusion: WE HAVE BEEN BETRAYED ONCE MORE.

Though women are told over and over again that they are moving forward, toward greater equality between the sexes, an uncomfortable truth appears. Equal status is offered only to a minority of us, and only if we accept the terms of male society. We are asked to 'pass over', to 'forget silly girls' interests'. We are invited to 'talk big', but can only acquire power on the premises of men. The gap is widening between men and women in *all* countries, because it is widening for the majority of women. Inequality becomes greater with respect to opportunities for education, for paid jobs and for participation in decision-making concerning the conditions of women and other depressed groups.² We are back to where started.

INTRODUCTION

There is growing concern among feminists that women's interests are badly taken care of by the male-dominated political institution. Therefore, women in many countries have

² '... According to the most recent UNESCO figures, the disparity between male and female illiteracy is growing. In Africa (where illiteracy is extremely high among both sexes), nine out of ten women still are illiterate. In Asia, female illiteracy rates range from 87 per cent in India to 52 per cent in Hong Kong; and even in Hong Kong, women are five times more likely to be illiterate than men. Generally, the higher level of education, the lower the female enrollment ...' (See Tinker, Irene. 1976. The adverse impact of development on women. In: Tinker, Irene and Bo Bramsen, Michèle. *Women and World Development*, p. 28. Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C.

formed feminist parties and action groups to expose this situation.³ Some of these groups are constructed across traditional party lines; others are organized within existing constitutional frameworks.⁴ Irrespective of their organizational set-ups, they usually end by criticizing the basic assumptions underlying those institutions that presently support the superstructure of society. The following points must be emphasized before the model is presented:

I am convinced that if social science had taken women's work, experiences and conditions as a point of departure, the disciplines in this area would not have been organized in such a compartmentalized, individualized and competitive fashion (Miles, 1979; pp. 9–44). Not only would the conceptual apparatus have developed differently, but so would the relationships between the social sciences, philosophy and the natural sciences. Educational methods would have been different, and evaluation as well as implementation of research findings would probably have benefited society to a much greater extent.⁵ Working from such a conviction, I present data and propose relationships between phenomena which, from a traditional point of view, belong to different levels of analysis.

I further doubt that men, who have never as a group experienced sex discrimination, fully understand the psychological effects of such suppression. This view was stressed by the former director of the Norwegian broadcasting system when he was interviewed on his 75th birthday. He emphasized that men would have to be suppressed in the same way as women are suppressed now, and for a considerable period of time, to understand the effects of discrimination. Women have worked very hard to identify male suppression techniques,⁶ in order to defend themselves against them; this represents a consciousness raising effort which few men have experienced. Since men are agents of male-dominated institutions, the legitimacy of male power and the patriarchal structures within the institutions are easily accepted. 'Power', that is violence or threat of violence within the family, on the streets, in sports and in politics, has for centuries been accepted as 'the natural state of affairs'.^{7–12} If men, weakened by customs and conventions, are only able to relate to women as objects or as

³ In Denmark and Sweden women's political parties were organized just before and after the Second World War. In Norway a woman's party was organized in 1970 prior to the elections for community and city councils. At present there is a feminist party at work on the county level. In Sweden a local 'Stockholmspartiet' won three seats in the local election in 1979. A feminist party has been organized in France and another in Canada.

⁴ In Norway a series of action groups have worked across party lines since the early 1960s. The first was a branch of the American Women's International Strike for Peace, and it brought women from six of the established parties together in work for peace, against nuclear weapons and the war in Vietnam. A strong multi-party women's coalition worked against Norway's membership in the Common Market and it was probably the women's votes which settled the issue. Another such coalition increased women's representation in the Norwegian Parliament from 16 to 24 in 1976.

⁵ Dorothy E. Smith expresses these views in her paper 'A sociology for women', Department of Sociology in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, 1977.

⁶ A comprehensive elaboration of master suppression techniques appears in the *Danish Women Lawyers Annual: De 5 herskerteknikker,—om ufarliggjøring av undertrykkerens våpen.* ('The 5 master Suppression Techniques—on destroying the dictator's weapon.')

⁷ On planned 'gang rape' as a cultural feature: Murphy, Yolanda and Robert. 1977. *Women of the Forest*. Columbia University Press, New York and London.

⁸ On rape in modern cities: Bart, Pauline. Avoiding rape: a comparative study. Paper presented at the meeting of the International Sociological Association, Uppsala, Sweden, August 1978.

⁹ On wife burning: Dowry murders: happens every day, editorial in *New Women's Times* 5 (16), August, 31–September 13, 1979. 804 Meigs Street, Rochester, NY 14620, U.S.A.

¹⁰ On prostitution: Neumann, Lin. 1979. Hospitality Girls in the Philippines: over 100,000 Manila women serve the tourist industry as prostitutes. *Southeast Asia Chronicle* 66, January–February 1979. P.O. Box 4 000D., Berkeley, CA.

'a secondary sex', there is no reason to believe that they can or will accept theoretical models constructed by women.¹²

Finally, my claim that the global women's uprising cannot be stopped does not stem from the fact that the generally worsening conditions for women in most countries have reached a particularly crucial stage. The claim is rooted in the characteristics of the five dimensions of which the model is constructed.

All five dimensions are dialectic. Each of them contains contradictions and conflicts which force the population which they concern in the direction of mobilization and unrest. The model takes into account the detrimental effects of urbanization and decreasing labour opportunities for women in the Third World. It also takes note of the increasing burdens on women in industrialized societies who carry the responsibility of both paid and unpaid work. It treats institutionalized violence as well as mechanisms of economic deprivation. It shows the connection between developing world economic conditions and the strains upon family life caused by the increasingly rigid division of labour.

Co-operation between women, develops however, as they survive in 'matriarchal' family systems or as 'majorities' in impoverished communities in the rural areas of many countries, or on the outskirts of the big cities. Growing out of these conditions, the female culture (Ås, 1975) is revitalized as new political demands originate from a value system which women all over the world have internalized.

THE MODEL

(a) *The first dimension*

The general worsening of women's conditions has developed over many decades. As early as 1894 an English critic of society wrote:

'It seems strange that with the growth of inventions and production the status of the female sex should have tended to decline rather than to improve. Yet such has often to often been the case' (Carpenter, 1894; p. 1).

After the first development decade of the UN it became apparent that with respect to equal education, opportunities for paid work and political influence, one of the three widening gaps in the world was between men and women. The myths about equalization of opportunities, especially in the developed countries, have been so convincingly promoted that it still requires work to spread the documentation that the *majority* of women, everywhere are experiencing worsening conditions relative to men's. One such documentation concluded

Continued from p. 103.

¹¹ On shooting and burning women's institutions: housewives editing news for Radio Donna were shot at by a fascist group of men, January 9, when giving contraceptive information. Between January 24–25, 1979 the Crisis Centre for battered women in Berlin was set on fire. Articles on both events appear in the Danish Feminist Journal: *Kvinder* 28, October–November 1979, Gøthersgade 37, 1123 Copenhagen.

¹² When the Faculty of Social Science evaluated my work some years ago I was told that neither 'female culture' nor 'unpaid production' were useful concepts. In 1977 the work on 'Suppression Techniques' was evaluated by an all-male social science council as 'a literary essay'. As early as in 1960 a research proposal on 'The Female Society' was turned down because it was labelled feminism, not social research. Aas, Berit. 1975. On Female Culture: an attempt to formulate a theory of women's solidarity and action. *Acta Sociologica* 18 (2–3). (Also in *Feministische Cultuur—een Wetenskapskritiek*. 5, Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen, May 1974.)

that there tends to be a negative relationship between a nation's socio-economic development and the economic, social and psychological development of its women.¹³ In 1979 the UN published figures showing that women today perform at least 66 per cent of all the labour in the world while receiving only 10 per cent of the total of all salaries. Since they own only 1 per cent of all property¹⁴ it becomes difficult to characterize women as anything other than the new proletariat of our time—everywhere.

The detrimental consequences of 'development' would be catastrophic were it not for the fact that such conditions develop irregularly. Despite the general trends, quite a few women have, during the last decades, acquired considerable training and insight into political work. The experience of hardship may ultimately motivate change, especially among those who care for the next generation. In addition, special groups of women have developed research tools, specific theories and organizational skills and can explain to the masses of women the causes of changes in their life conditions. When competent women tell their sisters that it is not dark fate, the 'will of God' or their own inability which causes changes but concrete persons who plan and decide, consciousness, as well as action potential, will rise among all women.

Thus we may have

WORSENING CONDITIONS BUT A BETTER UNDERSTANDING

about the forces and mechanisms behind detrimental processes.

(b) *The second dimension*

Time budget research from a series of countries shows that women of all ages perform the unpaid household work.¹⁵⁻¹⁸ This work is still done by women when they enter the segregated labour market which offers the lowest wages to its female applicants. The increase of women workers in all industrialized countries shows that capitalism (state as well as private) profits from employing part of this reserve army of workers.¹⁹ However, since the participation of husbands in household work has not increased while the percentage of

¹³ This point is made in the contributions by Margaret Mead, Rae Lesser Blumberg, Irene Tinker and Fatima Mernissi in Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen, eds, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ The former Foreign Minister of Sweden, Karin Söder, quoted the figure of 75 per cent at the Center Party convention, but this was later reported in the daily *Svenska Dagbladet* as 66 per cent. Prof. Elina Haavio-Manilla of the University of Helsinki reported at the Moscow Conference of Political Scientists in August 1979, that the UN had recently issued the figures of 66, 10 and 1 per cent.

¹⁵ Szalai, A., ed. 1972. *The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations*. Mouton, The Hague, Paris.

¹⁶ Lindsom, Susan. 1979. *Time Budget Survey 1971-72*, Central Bureau of Statistics, Norway. According to this study, in a family with at least one child under the age of 7, the mother spends 5.2 hr daily on housework, compared to about 1 hr for the father.

¹⁷ Latour da Veiga-Pinto, Francoise. 1976. A Synthesis Report. *Research Symposium on Women and Decision Making: A Social Policy Priority*, Research Series No. 20, pp. 11-13. International Institute for Labour Studies, Geneva.

¹⁸ Boulding, Elise. 1970. *Women in the Twentieth Century World*. Halsted Press (A Sage Publication Book), New York.

¹⁹ See Connelly, Patricia. 1978. *Last Hired, First Fired. Women and the Canadian Work Force*. The Women's Press, Toronto; MacDonald, Martha. Women in the workforce—meeting the changing needs of capitalism. Paper presented in the Political Economy section of the Canadian Political Science Association Meetings, Saskatoon, June 1979. Mimeo, *Women and the Workplace, The Implication of Occupational Segregation*, special issue of *Signs* (Spring, 1976) 1 (3), Part 2; Ohrlander, Kajsa. 22 timmars arbetsdag (The 22 hour working day), Gidlunds forlag, 1971, Stockholm, Sweden.

employed wives and mothers has risen so drastically, the actual weekly working loads of these women may be estimated to range from 37 hr in the G.D.R. (Reintoft, 1976) to 26 hr in the U.S.A. (Vanek, 1974; pp. 116–120) in addition to the time they spend as wage earners. Many modern studies have revealed this 'double ghetto' in which modern women are exploited both by employers and husbands.^{20, 21} Thirty-six per cent of employed women in Stockholm (Sweden) for example say that they constantly suffer from fatigue.^{22–25} In industrialized countries the strain on family life shows up in the rapidly increasing divorce rates and in the fact that women initiate a majority of the divorces.^{26–28}

Turning to another part of the world we find that African women usually work 14–16 hr daily. While an official report from the beginning of the 1970s states that only 5 per cent of the women in Africa is in the labour force, the UN Economic Mission on Africa has calculated that women are responsible for 70 per cent of the food which Africans eat. In addition 90–100 per cent of the harvesting, transport and conserving of food is done by women (Stoltenberg, n.d.).

Women of that continent are kept outside power positions in economic development despite the fact that they are extremely important as labourers in the fields. African women from various countries claim that because of the way development aid has been invested, their conditions have worsened, not improved (Boserup, 1970).

Some countries with an intimate dependency on the leading capitalist countries regulate the relationship between paid and unpaid labour in a different way. A country like South Korea buys cheap labour for the textile mills and other work-intensive industries. Women in these textile mills usually work 14–16 hr daily, and the work-week has 7 days. Korean

²⁰ Seventy-one per cent of Swedish men never clean the house; 52 per cent of the men never shop; 73 per cent of the men never cook; 89 per cent of the men never wash clothes; 64 per cent of the men never do the dishes. (From the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics.) The table appears in: Bergom-Larsson, Maria. *Women and Technology in Industrialized Countries*. Science and technology Working Papers Series, p. 37 (UNITAR, 801 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY) 1979, Sweden.

²¹ Armstrong, Hugh and Patricia. 1978. *The Double Ghetto, Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work*, p. 65. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto.

²² Bergom-Larsson, Maria. *op. cit.*: 'The leisure time for men in families with children in which both spouses are gainfully employed is 2.3 hr longer a day than for women. Thirty-six per cent of the women in Stockholm suffer from general fatigue. Considering the circumstances, this is a surprisingly low figure.' (p. 38).

²³ Wärness, Kari. 1976. Kvinnerens ulønnede omsorgsarbeid (Women's unpaid care of others). *Forskningssnytt* 1. University Press, Oslo. Her data shows that when the number of children increase in the family the time the father spends with the children daily is reduced.

²⁴ Armstrong and Armstrong (*op. cit.*) report: 'In both Vancouver and Halifax studies, women responded to the increased demands of their outside employment and children by decreasing their leisure time. In fact, in Vancouver the husbands' television time increased, while their gardening and visiting time remained constant when their families included children or their wives had paid employment.' (p. 65).

²⁵ It should be taken into consideration that women often have a more strenuous day on the job than men, as well as being paid less for their work than a man performing a similar or even easier job. See Sondergaard Kristensen, Tage. 1978. *Kvindens Arbeidsmiljø*. Fremad, Copenhagen.

²⁶ Three aspects of the divorce trend emerge from numerous statistical reports and research findings in Scandinavia: the divorce rate is increasing; it is most often the woman who applies for divorce; this is particularly true for women who are gainfully employed. The same trends have been reported in the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and the U.S.

²⁷ In Norway, the country in Scandinavia which has the lowest percentage of women in its labour force, the divorce rates has increased from 10.4 (per 100 marriages) in 1966–1970 to 25.4 in 1977.

²⁸ The strain on family life in the U.S.S.R. is being more and more openly expressed. See Warshofsky Lapidus, Gail. 1978. *Women in Soviet Society*, pp. 273 and 281. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.

workers at the Pangram⁴ Textile Company, which exports to all major Western countries, recently complained that they had to take drugs in order to stay awake at their machines.²⁹

In South America large groups of women are trapped either as agricultural workers in an almost feudal system of landowners or as housemaids in middle-class families. Still others are irregularly employed or self-employed persons from the urban slum areas. Not a few women insist that it is preferable to live in a free union rather than formal marriage because husbands use their wife's incomes for alcohol, betting and prostitutes (Brown, 1975; pp. 178–180). When we describe the majority of women the picture which emerges is that, under the present conditions, hardship may be easier to bear when obligations toward a husband do not exist. Women decide to stay single or to divorce as a solution to their problems. In this respect the situation of the hard-working, underpaid female wage earner in suburbs of Rio de Janeiro resembles that of her sister in suburban Copenhagen. If we search for a description for the second dimension of our model, we must include the fact that imperialism is destroying nuclear families in dissimilar areas of the world. This pattern exists in all countries, from those with the most advanced capitalist economy to those with the greatest economic dependence. But we are missing a counterforce for this second dimension. The contradiction which is involved has not yet been established.

'Women's solidarity' is, in fact, this counterforce, and it is based on two conditions.

First, the socialization of the female child is based on the idea that it is valuable to take care of other people. Embedded in much of women's guilt feelings (good or bad) is an 'identification with the weak'. Secondly, women have an awareness of suffering which, in my opinion, has constituted the base for many of the women's humanitarian organizations. Historically, the movement against slavery, the temperance movement, the unions and health organizations have all profited from the engagement and grass-roots participation of women (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). I am convinced that this well-established socialization pattern will not disappear when it becomes clear that the women themselves are the unfortunates in need of help.

Feminist scholars are needed to spread this information. The experience of earlier organizers must be utilized to organize women for women's issues. To avoid turning the new organizations into purely welfare organizations, however, the demand for justice must be formulated in political terms. We may label the second dimension as follows:

**'IMPERIALISM' DESTROYS FAMILIES EVERYWHERE BUT STRENGTHENS
WOMEN'S SOLIDARITY.**

(c) The third dimension

We will have to look for the 'politics' within our third dimension. The reason women become single or single providers are here of less interest than the fact that the number of such women is rapidly growing everywhere.

The economic mechanisms that are involved in such dissimilar areas as Central Europe and developing countries of Africa are different but the outcomes are similar. Commuting male workers from the south of Italy and the outskirts of Turkey have left mothers, sisters and wives behind in female dominated rural areas.³⁰ 'Planned development' has forced men away

²⁹ Article on Korean and Canadian textile workers. *Canadian Dimension* (September–October 1979). In a recent appeal the women workers of Pangrim declared: 'Animals have rest time, Why must we work harder than animals?'

³⁰ In Southern Italy an estimated six million women are left behind in rural areas while their male relatives have moved to towns and cities to find paid employment.

from their villages in African countries and left the women behind to pay the price of economic growth and to take care of the children, the sick and the aged there.³¹ Therefore there is an increasing need among women to co-operate. Single mothers are forced to search for help from other women: mothers must help daughters; sisters and women friends move together. The social situation of the slum Black women in the U.S. and the Caribbean, which is usually described as matrifocal, could develop all over the world.³²

It should be emphasized, however, that nothing can be said about women 'planning' or 'willing' such a development. The common demands of patriarchal and economic priorities bring this new community of women together. Imperialism, not socialism, could become the system which releases women from their repressed position in the family. Togetherness, in any case, represents an opportunity for these women to recognize their common fate and to discuss their common political situation. The power system, existing in almost every established institution and based on sexism as determined by men, could finally be modified.

In this perspective we can already observe that associations of 'single parents', the great majority of whom are women, and 'welfare mothers' groups have been formed in many countries. Positions in local communities formerly held by men are increasingly held by women. Women functioning in these positions have become authorities and politicians have become aware of the serious conflicts between women's needs and the priorities of centrally located powers. When private problems become political questions, a generalized formulation of the third dimension would be

MISERY MAKES WOMEN CO-OPERATE

(d) *The fourth dimension*

When women are kept isolated, illiterate and in general ignorance about the conditions which shape the economic and cultural patterns under which they live, they can be treated with violence which they are socialized to accept. Wife beating, wife abuse and wife killing have obviously gone on for centuries and have in fact been legitimized by the institutions of law and religion (Pizzey, 1974; Pomeroy, 1975). As foot-binding in China was once defended on the basis of a cultural code, mutilating clitoridectomy is still performed on more than 20 million small girls in a series of African countries (Hoskin, n.d.). It is still being defended as an important part of a cultural pattern. However, as education becomes available to women they become aware of their rights as human beings.

The extended communication among women who meet at work or in consciousness-raising groups has obviously given support to wives who are beaten or abused by their husbands. The women's movement all over the world has provided new information about the size of the problem. Feminists have established crisis centres in a series of countries. This aid in itself gives the most helpless women among us some hope for the future. Women are

³¹ African villages—women pay the price. *Temanummer om kvinner i utvikling* (special issue on Women and Development) (The Danish Society of Women, Copenhagen, no date).

³² For literature on matrifocal households and families with a single female provider, see Brown, 1975. W. Penn Handwerker has shown that this type of family becomes common even among the traditionally patrilineal, patrilocal Bassa of Monrovia, Liberia, once they join the urban 'underclass'. See Technology and household configuration in urban Africa: the Bassa of Monrovia. *Am. sociol. Rev.* 38, 182–197 (1973). There is good reason to believe that not only will more traditional families break up, but the woman-headed families will be more numerous and these units will be relatively poorer. See, for example: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration. Women's Bureau. 1973. *Facts about Women Heads of Households and Heads of Families*, Washington D.C., and *Women and Poverty*, a report by the National Council of Welfare, Ottawa, October 1979.

mutilated, abused and battered because of the established male attitudes 'that if it happens, it is because women like it or deserve it', or, because religion or the social order require women's suppression.³³ In other words, male-dominated institutions in society demand it. A discussion about how established institutions desert the victims is found in Chapter 6 of the book: *Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear* (Pizzey, 1974).

Those women who have worked in crisis centres and who have become aware of the suppression mechanisms in the family have asked whether similar suppression mechanisms could be found in other well-established organizations. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) has provided an excellent analysis of this question in her book *Men and Women of the Corporation*³⁴ and a Danish writer, Vibeke Vasbo, describes the built-in discriminatory practices in a shipyard where she was employed in her book: *Nobody Knows About Our Strength*.³⁵ In one Swedish paper, *Aftonbladet*, all the women journalists took up this issue for discussion. They analysed the way they were treated by their male colleagues and forwarded the analysis to the unions and to women's groups in Sweden.³⁶ Since the experiences from an 'all women's establishment', the crisis centre, has shown women what it is like to work in groups without male suppression, I feel that an appropriate definition of this fourth dimension would be:

**ALL-FEMALE ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS CRISIS CENTRES REVEAL
SUPPRESSIVE MECHANISMS IN MALE-DOMINATED INSTITUTIONS.**

(e) *The fifth dimension*

Women researchers are concerned about the fact that growth in many sectors of the economy takes place by adding more work to the existing unpaid work performed by women. For instance, all over the Western world supermarkets replace small retailers.³⁷ This requires housewives to increase the time needed for shopping. A Swedish study revealed that a majority of women customers had no car at their disposal. Either they had to shop every day and walk longer distances or they had to carry heavier burdens and use bus transportation when it was available. Reducing the number of sales personnel in the supermarkets and hiring of unqualified people make it necessary for housewives to inform themselves more thoroughly by reading labels and comparing products. Good advice and consumer information can no longer be expected.

³³ The sociology, ideology and justice involved in this problem is discussed by Emerson Dobash, Rebecca and Dobash, Russel P. in: With friends like this who needs enemies: institutional supports for the patriarchy and violence against women. Paper presented at the IXth World Congress of Sociology, Uppsala, Sweden, 1978.

³⁴ Moss Kanter, Rosabeth. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporations*. Basic Books, Inc., New York. In this book the author treats the question of women as a minority in a male dominated institution. She shows how mechanisms on the personal and institutional level keep women in a minority position and make their functioning difficult until they reach a representation of between 30 to 40 per cent.

³⁵ Vasbo, Vibeke. 1976. *Ingen kjenner vår styrke*. (Nobody knows our strength.) Pax, Oslo. She compares the working conditions of two different work places: a hospital and a steel plant. She has worked in both, and describes the differences, especially how rest and leisure time are available at the steel plant to a much greater extent than among the hospital workers.

³⁶ *Dokument: Vårt liv på Aftonbladet*. (A Document about our daily life on Aftonbladet.) May 8, 1978, Stockholm. Women journalists in a male-dominated organization describe the suppression techniques and the discrimination against them.

³⁷ How economic growth may increase by changing the load of work from paid labour to unpaid work, performed by the 'housewives' is illustrated in *Women and Technology in Industrialized Countries*. (See note 26): 'The saving of time and rationalization in the work economy has occurred at the expense of women's time budget. Savings in paid time have been passed on to women in the form of increased utilization of unpaid time' (p. 42).

American studies of consumerism have shown that the average shopping time per family amounts to about 8 hr weekly compared to about 2 hr per week only a few decades ago (Weinbaum and Bridges, 1979).

The increased load of women in Africa is a result of structural changes connected with 'development' and 'foreign aid'.³⁸ But structural changes, as they appear in modern investment plans hit women's interests in Scandinavian cities too. In a rich country like Norway, political decisions such as the one taken by the city council of the capital, Oslo, are not unusual: 33 million crowns were allocated for rebuilding the ski jump of Holmenkollen when, in fact, home nurses were needed to take care of more than 1000 elderly and sick persons in the town. The reasons behind the decision have to do with promoting tourism and keeping on good terms with economically strong male opinion groups. The results of such decisions are that women loose their jobs, and older people suffer more, as do children and disabled persons whose needs are overlooked whenever such priorities regulate spending.

The principles behind the exploitation of women are very old. Work that men do has been organized into paid labour. Women's work has been kept invisible and unpaid. The patriarchal understanding of work excludes work in the 'reproductive area'. Never in any country have male workers or politicians agreed to divide the amount of paid and unpaid labour evenly between the sexes, though this could, of course, have been done. The injustice of this system is most easily understood when we consider the fact that through years women working on farms have been producing products for the market—without drawing any salary. In most cases and in most countries the value of their production is added to the husband's income. This sum then functions as a base for society's calculation of 'his' taxes and estimation of the social security rights which the farmers' organizations have obtained for 'him'.

What acts, now, as the counter force toward such a process, a force which I claim is accelerating?

On the micro-level, women in many Western countries have begun to ask why the same job performed outside and inside the confines of a family should award such a different economic status to the persons involved (Grenness, 1978). There is growing awareness among women that when their time for participation in political and cultural organizations decreases women can take care of their own interests to a lesser and lesser degree.

In developing countries women are protesting against the 'contracts' which often are made between donor and receiver countries regarding foreign aid. Not only are cultural patterns and values destroyed, but the health of women and children is seriously affected. The textile mill workers in Korea protest against the rule that they must come to work half an hour earlier and leave much later than the time stated in their contracts. This is stealing additional working energy from them. The same happens when we consider 'Equal pay for equal labour'. This convention was adopted by ILO in 1951, but no country has yet been able to implement it. Norway has been able to decrease the gap between men's and women's salaries, but in this country, too, every eighth hour is 'stolen'. Women's salaries for the same work average 85 per cent of men's.^{39, 40} The knowledge that women have to work without pay or

³⁸ See notes 14, 29, 36 and 37 and Stoltenberg (n.d.) and Boserup, 1970.

³⁹ In Norway there has been an increase in women's average hourly wages compared to men's. During the period from 1970 to 1977 this increased from 74 per cent to 80 per cent of men's.

⁴⁰ Brock-Utne, Birgit and Haukaa, Runa. 1980. *Kunnskap uten makt* (Knowledge without power). The University Press, Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø (pp. 119, 133, 141–143).

for lower salaries than men, and that they increasingly must take over jobs for which money is no longer available, helps us label the last dimension. It reveals that:

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE MALE-DOMINATED ECONOMY RESULTS IN NEW BURDENS OF UNPAID WORK BEING LOADED ONTO WOMEN.

THE DOCUMENTATION OF AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DIMENSIONS

To treat the dimensions extensively would require presentation of the considerable body of research which supports each of them. The literature about the general worsening of conditions is rapidly growing. It ranges from simple examples which show that sending tractors to Sri Lanka has made it necessary for women to pick cotton twice as rapidly to earn the same daily wages, to UNESCO's figures which show that illiteracy among women is growing six to eight times as rapidly as among men.^{41,42}

What happens when women live together, work closely together or are 'left behind', is treated systematically in 'radical therapy' and in studies by consciousness-raising groups (Wyckoff, 1977). Until recently, theories about abuse, rape and mutilation of women have made such group behaviour necessary. Theories which take women's experiences as the point of departure have been lacking. Some interesting books have appeared on the market, and contributed to an understanding of women's problems. *Against Our Will* (Brownmiller, 1975) has already become a classic. Another: *The Curious Courtship between Women's Liberation and Socialism* (Weimbaum, 1978) explains as *Gyn/Ecology* (Daly, 1978) does, why male theorists have suppressed facts and information about important aspects of women's lives. Finally, data about the effects of centralization, rationalization, relocation of industry and data processing have been available for many years. It is common knowledge that women's jobs are the first to be eliminated in a recession. Unfortunately, such phenomena have always been accepted as natural by the powerholders, those who are responsible for economic growth, and by the strongest group among the victims, the male workers. The latter have used the theory of women as a reserve army of workers 'to legitimize the idea that female workers may be pushed out and impoverished when crisis appears'. Now, for the first time, there is a theoretical approach which shows the strong relationship between economic growth and the exploitation of women.

When provided for by male relatives, women could be controlled both physically and psychologically (Eichler, 1973). When major structural changes in society occur as they do today, the control is lessened, and women are free to co-operate, organize and discover how repressive the earlier economic relations were.

There are important ways in which the dimensions interact with each other. A woman scientist for instance may publish, do research on women's issues and may privately move into a women's collective to escape a difficult family situation.

Most of the five dimensions contain objective as well as subjective elements. The changes in objective conditions such as work loads, unemployment and mortality, changes in neighbourhoods as well as in family structure and in numbers of physically injured persons, have in this model been connected with women's subjective reactions to the changes. These

⁴¹ Personal communication from the delegate from Sri Lanka in the United Nation's Second Committee on Social and Economic Development, fall, 1973.

⁴² Numerous studies show that as the number of illiterates increases in the world between 80 to 85 per cent of them are women. See: Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen, *op. cit.*

reactions range from new ways of perceiving and understanding phenomena, to different feelings about oneself, and to initiating new behaviour patterns. The last dimension differs from the previous ones in that the contradictory elements are characterized by objectivity and that increase and decrease in economic power and wealth may easily be measured.

One more thing should be mentioned before I close this paragraph. One may ask why I chose my dimensions and their contradictory elements from the areas of work, use of time, economic and social interaction, and have left out such obvious areas as technology, energy and geographic mobility. As cars have become available, mobility has increased more for men than women. At the same time collective transportation used by most other groups than men has decreased, making many groups, including women, less mobile. Technology has been available to aid male workers in industry, the military and state. Manual workers among women—nurses, for example, who must lift heavy loads—have not received simple technical aids to relieve them.

An analysis of the division of energy between the male and female communities shows that when energy consumption increases, the gap widens between the groups. As the capability of violence materializes in enormous mountains of arms, missiles and aircraft, the administration of violence and threats, is almost exclusively in the hands of men. Technology, energy, mobility and violence, all could have been worked out as additional dimensions. I have refrained from doing so because I feel that the social organization of political and economic power precedes the concrete utilization of power as it appears in the production, purchase and use of capital goods.

WHY SHOULD THE TIME BE RIPE FOR A WORLD-WIDE UPRISING OF WOMEN NOW?

There are many signs which indicate that the time has become ripe. I have described how common experiences develop new consciousness. The idea of equality between male citizens has a long history. When Barbara Ward in the early 1960s, presented four revolutionary ideas, she wrote dramatically about all the changes to come:

'I suppose we are all aware of the fact that we live in the most catastrophically revolutionary age that men have ever faced. Usually one thinks of a revolution as one event or at least as one interconnected series of events. But we are in fact living with ten or twenty such revolutions—all changing our ways of life, our ways of looking at things, changing everything out of recognition and changing it fast.'

She reminds us of how the idea of equality suddenly became important to ordinary 'men' when the soldier, John Lilburne 'gave classic expression to the drive which would dominate politics for the next 400 years: The poorest he that is in England has a life to live as the richest he.'

When she writes about equality of men and equality of nations she finally, half-consciously, includes the oncoming women's struggle: 'We know that men's passionate desire to see themselves as equals of other human beings without distinction of class or sex or race or nationhood is one of the driving forces of our day.'⁴³

Since this principle of equality has been adopted by male societies and declared as one to be implemented all over the world, the increased discrimination against women raises protest

⁴³ Ward, Barbara. 1962. *The Rich Nations and the Poor*, pp. 13 and 20. W. W. Norton, New York.

and revolt. It is useless to report on 'women who have *made* it', when those women did it on male premisses. It is only when *information* about the gap between promises and results is spread around the world that women are mobilized in liberation movements to rely on their own strength alone.

When Elise Boulding evaluates the 'World Plan of Action' issued by the UN Conference on 'Women, Development and Peace', she calls it 'the most significant and far reaching document about the human role of women ever to be conceived and written'. But she writes in addition:

*'It could not have been written any earlier than 1975 because the knowledge base for the understanding of the relationship between the situation of women in each of the world's societies and the global problem of war and poverty did not exist before this decade.'*⁴⁴

In the world of new media, information about men's privileges and male power is spread by television and radios. Women—as listeners and viewers—become acquainted with the male world and understand that almost every initiative, action and political move is organized for men, and by men everywhere. Women are no longer innocent concerning power struggles, wars or strong union powers. They know that women constitute more than half of the population of the world, and they now understand how that half is manipulated and made invisible.

Resistance to the changes which bring about a worsening of women's conditions is being organized everywhere. It takes place on group, national and international levels. The model reveals some of the factors which contribute to the changes, how the female communities are affected and how women become conscious of the way their exploitation is planned.

Further, the model shows how the world-wide uprising is being set in motion by the operation of a series of contradictory conditions.

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⁴⁴ Elise Boulding, *op. cit.* See Chapter 10: The coming of the gentle society, p. 221.

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