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The Invisible Majority: What Feminist Economics can offer

Excerpts of a Paper delivered to the VIIth Conference of the Association for Caribbean Economists, November 2001, by Peggy Antrobus

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Since the Decade for Women, feminist scholarship has highlighted the ways in which development and social change affect women and men differently. The combination of the notion that women are best/normally "confined to the household" and that this domain is not as important as the public domain of the economy renders women's experience 'invisible' to those who operate in the public domain.

Feminist scholarship has argued that none of the dominant economic theories deal adequately with issues of women, or with the asymmetry of gender relations. Feminists have challenged these theories and rejected dualistic approaches that dichotomize relationships between private and public spheres, production and reproduction, the household and the economy, the personal and the political, the realms of feeling and intuition and those of reason.

In seeking a theory of women and development, feminist economists have focused on three areas in particular: the household; the measurement of women's work; and women's multiple roles.

The household

A focus on poor households – and on women within those households – enables us not only to evaluate the extent to which development strategies benefit or harm the poorest, but also to judge their impact on a range of sectors and activities crucial to socio-economic development and human welfare.

Economists, neoclassical as well as marxist, have traditionally ignored the household or, alternatively, have tended to treat it as an undifferentiated unit, as if the efforts and interest of all members were the same. Both have maintained the 'traditional' myths of the separation of public/workplace (men's domain) and private/household (women's domain) and have tended to "treat the household as though it were an almost wholly cooperative, altruistic unit", allowing economic self-interest to operate upon, but not within it.

However empirical studies evidence a high degree of inequality between men and women within the household, particularly at the lowest income levels. For example, at the lowest levels of subsistence, women work longer hours, expend more effort, but receive fewer benefits for their labor, than men. While, in part, this is a reflection of class imbalances in relation to the distribution of resources from the larger structures of the society, there is evidence of the existence of gender and age-based hierarchies within households at every socio-economic level.

The Measurement of Women's Work

Most labor force and national income statistics reflect a gross underestimation of women's participation in economic activity'. Since a large proportion of women's work is unpaid and associated with women's subordination in the household, there is a tendency to evaluate women's work as non-productive and, therefore, non-economic.

However, the gift economy remains unrecognized, unvalidated and, at worse, exploited. Without recognition and affirmation it could disappear. At the same time, with a minimum of support it's contribution to Caribbean economies could be greatly enhanced. Many of these survival strategies – remittances, swap labour, the extended family, the sharing of scarce resources – were developed to meet the specific needs of people lacking in material resources but rich in social and spiritual resources.

Conclusion

It is clear that a significant proportion of economic activity is not recorded. This has consequences for public policy as well as for the well-being of families and the society at large. The failure to count or value women's unwaged work in the household allows governments to impose cuts in the provision of public services in the area of health. Cuts in this area within the framework of structural adjustment policies have led to serious deterioration in the quality of these essential services. In addition, social policy, in general, is based on the assumption that women are fulltime housewives, leading to the serious neglect of the needs of vulnerable groups in the society.

The blurring of the distinction between use-values and exchange values has made it difficult to assess levels of poverty, or to understand how poor, rural households survive. The failure to appreciate the value of women's contribution to use-value production also limits the scope of poverty alleviation policies. Poverty alleviation policies that are gender-sensitive would have provided support for women's activities in the area of food production in poor rural communities.

The failure to recognize the links between economic production and social reproduction has led to macroeconomic policies that have privileged economic growth over social development. However, since economic production is a function of the physical, intellectual and psychological capacities of the labour force, the undermining of these capacities can defeat the objective of higher productivity and economic growth, even in the short-run.

Unfortunately, the way in which gender issues are now articulated bears little relation to these problems, which should be a matter of major concern to policy makers and planners. Indeed, far from leading to policies to redress the imbalances between women and men in our societies, the new gender policy has led to an intensification of the tensions in gender power relations as women are pitted against men in such a way as to suggest that every gain to women is at the expense of men.

An alternative approach would be to recognize that men and women are both affected by the crises we face as small dependent economies in today's world, and draw on the strengths that each has to offer in finding solutions. If Caribbean economists are to contribute to finding alternatives to an economic model that is fundamentally exploitative and pitted against the aspirations of the majority of Caribbean people, more attention needs to be given to this 'invisible' economy and its importance to Caribbean people as they try to find paths to making their way through the obstacles and challenges of this phase of globalisation.

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