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Developing Nations: Challenges Involving Women



Proceedings of the Women in Development Conference
Texas Tech University

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Developing Nations: Challenges Involving Women

Conference Committee

Carolyn Ater, Family Management, Housing, and Consumer
Science, Texas Tech University

Wildring Edwards, Home and Family Life, Texas Tech
University

Edna Gott, Economics, Texas Tech University

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Janet Schrock, Family Management, Housing, and Consumer
Science, Texas Tech University

Kathleen Staudt, Political Science, University of Texas at
El Paso

Barbara J. Stoecker, Food and Nutrition, Texas Tech
University*

*chairperson

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Developing Nations: Challenges Involving Women

Editors

Barbara J. Stoecker
Evelyn I. Montgomery
S. Edna Gott

Manuscript Editors

Katina McCloy Clark
Kathryn H. McCorkle

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Foreword

Understanding people in their own cultures is crucial to the success of development programs. We chose to emphasize the roles of women in this conference primarily because women in developing countries are major contributors to the agricultural work force. The importance of women's roles in agriculture, selling and trading, and community projects has been underestimated in the past.

A second reason we emphasized women's roles was because there are women in the United States who are eager to enter international development work but find it difficult to be included on development teams.

We hope this conference provided some insights on ways to become involved in international work and sensitized participants to the importance of women in alleviating famine and world hunger. We were very pleased with the quality of the presentations and the enthusiasm of the participants at the conference.

We quickly discovered the difficulty entailed in reconstructing presentations from tapes and wish to extend special thanks to those speakers who furnished manuscripts or edited copies of the transcripts. Unfortunately, we were unable to identify individual speakers during the informal sessions. Particular thanks are due to Edna and Preston Gott for arranging the taping of all sessions.

Organizing the conference was a group effort and I would particularly like to thank the members of the planning committee for their work prior to and during the conference. Serving on the committee were: from Texas A&M, Pamela Horne; from the University of Texas at El Paso, Kathleen Staudt; and from Texas Tech University, Carolyn Ater, Wildring Edwards, Edna Gott, Samina Khan, Delores Mack, Debie Martin, Evelyn Montgomery, Marietta Morrissey, and Janet Schrock.

We acknowledge the support provided from the Title XII Strengthening Grant of Texas Tech University and the encouragement and support of Dr. Harold Dregne and Dr. Idris R. Traylor, Jr. of the International Center for Arid and Semi-Arid Land Studies (ICASALS).

Mr. Calvin Raullerson from the Bureau for Private and Development Cooperation, Agency for International Development, provided valuable insights into AID policies and programs. We also appreciate the travel support provided to many participants from Texas A&M University by their Title XII Strengthening Grant and the assistance of Pam Horne and Cynthia Dessel, the A&M Strengthening Grant informational representative, during the conference. Gay Riggan of ICASALS was instrumental to the success of the conference through her work behind the scenes. Her typing of the proceedings was also much appreciated. Tina Clark, information specialist at ICASALS, patiently dealt with the many details involved in producing a finished manuscript from transcripts and we gratefully

acknowledge her contributions. We also wish to thank Kathy McCorkle for her early work on the transcripts and Vicki Spillman for typing assistance.

BARBARA J. STOECKER
Chairperson, Conference Committee

Abbreviations

AID	Agency for International Development
A.T.	Appropriate Technology
BIFAD	Board for International Food and Agricultural Development
CARE	Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere, Inc.
CBS	CBS, Inc. (formerly Columbia Broadcasting System)
CDSS	Country Development Strategy Statement
CID	Consortium for International Development
CIMMYT	Centro Internacional para Mejoramiento de Maíz y Trigo
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EOPS	End of Project Status
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FY	Fiscal Year
GNP	Gross National Product
GPOI	Goals, Purpose, Outputs, and Inputs
IAW	International Alliance of Women
IDI	International Development Intern
ILCA	International Livestock Center for Africa
INCAP	Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama
IPA	Intergovernmental Personnel Act
IPM	Integrated Pest Management
IQC	Indefinite Quantity Contractors
LDC	Less Developed Countries
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PDC	Bureau for Private and Development Cooperation
PDD	Project Design Document
PID	Project Identification Document
PL 480	Public Law 480
PP	Project Paper
PPC	Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination
PVO	Private and Voluntary Organizations
SBA	Small Business Administration
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund (formerly United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund)

USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USDA/OICD	United States Department of Agriculture Office of International Cooperation and Development
WCARRD	World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development
WID	Office of Women in Development

Welcome

C. LEN AINSWORTH
Interim Vice President for Academic Affairs
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

It is a pleasure to see so many people. We are very pleased that you have come from Wisconsin and Arizona and a few people from East Texas as well, I understand. It is also appropriate that you hold this conference in this particular week, I think; we at Texas Tech are celebrating "Education Week" because certainly you are involved in education in this significant role we are considering today. I think we don't have to look far in the past to think about the role of women in developing nations. I know that my grandmother and perhaps some of your great-grandmothers may also have come to this area in a covered wagon. And I think if we think about those females and their tremendous burdens, we see something about how people have developed and something about how women have been involved in that development in an extremely significant way.

I think that if we think about our own recent past, if we think about the aspects of education, we then begin to get into those kinds of topics that you'll be concerned with over the next two days in terms of women in developing nations. So, it isn't something that is completely new, even though it may be new to some of us, to study those areas, but I think that we have to again use history as a guide and our own experiences as a base from which to work. At Texas Tech we are very pleased to be involved in a range of women's studies of various parts. We have in different departments and areas concerns all the way from the mother-to-be to the idea of gerontology, so I'm sure that many of you at your institutions have this same spectrum of study and are beginning to look at developing nations from that same pattern.

We are very pleased to have with us some people who have been on the Texas Tech campus previously: Dr. Gerald Thomas, who was here at Texas Tech as dean of agriculture and is now president of New Mexico State University, and Dr. Gerald Matlock, one of the directors of the Consortium for International Development from the University of Arizona. We

will also have Mr. Calvin Raullerson, who was on this campus a couple of years ago and will be returning. I'm sure that some of you who have been acquainted with Hank before will want to meet and visit with him while he is here. I don't want to go on introducing people because everyone here is important; we know that you have much to offer.

We're pleased that you're at Texas Tech for this conference, and we hope that you will come back many times in the future. I know that you have a whole range of activities, and we don't want to delay you from getting into those, and we're sure there will be room for everyone even though this room appears to be full at the present time.

Again, thank you very much for coming.

CHALLENGE: Expanding Opportunities

Critical Issues in Women in Development

NADIA YOUSSEF
Research Director
International Center for Research on Women
Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION:

We are delighted that Dr. Nadia Youssef will keynote this first session of our conference. Dr. Youssef is research director of the International Center for Research on Women and she will be speaking about "Critical Issues in Women in Development." Dr. Youssef received her Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley in sociology and her M.A. in Middle Eastern studies from American University in Cairo. Among her professional interests are comparative demography, development sociology, stratification, and women in development. Many of you probably know her from her book Women and Work in Developing Countries and from her many other published articles in the field of women and development.

DR. YOUSSEF:

I am not an expert in agriculture or nutrition. I renamed my presentation from a "General Overview of Women in Development Issues" to make it more directly related to what I consider to be critical issues in the field of women in development as viewed from the perspective of a social scientist. My point of departure is that it should no longer be necessary for us to justify established facts and realities or rural economies in the Third World. Two of these realities I mention because they are at the core of what I have identified as critical issues in the field. The first concerns the fact that women are productive agents and are crucial because of the contributions they make in the agricultural sector and food production. The other fact is that women are increasingly encountering economic needs as a consequence of their changing roles and responsibilities during the process of economic transformation. If we just concentrate awhile on these two basic realities, we have to point out that in most rural economies of the Third World women are gradually losing control over their productive processes; they are being delegated to subsistence crops and virtually excluded from the cash economy. At the same time both as cause and effect of the above, women have restricted access to training oppor-

tunities that will prepare them for income-generating activities and even less access to productive resources such as credit and technology which would enhance their productivity and their earnings.

Focus on the role of women in agriculture also has to take into account the position of women in the system of agricultural wage labor. We tend to combine all categories of agricultural workers into one; however, working conditions differ drastically between women working in subsistence production, those hired for wage labor on farms and those who work in the plantation systems. Recent studies in Asia suggest that it is in the latter where women are the most exploited. Then again, some women are losing opportunities to earn income as wage laborers in countries which have experienced changing systems of land ownership, and changing modes of agricultural production. Land fragmentation has meant that families recruit their women to work on the farmstead in the capacity of unpaid family labor -- a process which needs further documentation and systematic appraisal insofar as loss of income-earning opportunities to women are concerned.

With this as a background, let me speak about critical issues in the women in development field.

1. Historically, it is demographers who were the first to identify women as potential contributors to economic development -- if they could only be motivated to curb their fertility: the relationship between high fertility and low per capita income being stressed as the major obstacle to economic growth. Such motivation, it was argued, could be engendered if women were given the opportunity to have alternatives outside of marriage and childbearing. The general stance, however, was to view women as a means to development rather than an end in themselves.

Today, despite the evolution of the field, we still try hard to persuade policy makers to perceive women in other roles than the reproductive. For it is only in coming to recognize and acknowledge the active productive contributions women make in their economic capacity that we can possibly hope to link women to development efforts -- not as an obstacle but, in fact, an asset. What seems at the outset an easy argument to convey has been made difficult by the fact that researchers continue to focus studies on women as mothers, and data collection practices find a hundred and one ways to ask questions of and about women's reproductive behavior. We have sufficient information about the fertility angle. What we need now is to document in quantifiable terms the contribution of women as producers.

The women in development movement is not a woman's liberation movement. I get into a lot of trouble for saying that, but let me state my point. I think that women in development extends beyond the feminist movement in the sense that it is an integral part of the social, economic and political transformation affecting the Third World. Women's rights and status in most Third World countries are still nationalistically rather than individualistically grounded and the concept of women's position is closely associated with her potential contribution to national development, rather than to her own self-actualization. In

the long run, we hope, the one factor will impact upon the other.

2. Another important point is this whole question of what constitutes "high" and "low" status insofar as women are concerned. What does it mean "high status/low status", "important roles/unimportant roles"? Some of us have dropped the words "roles" and "status" and instead talk of the condition of women. This is in large part because we are not able to define the concept status. Conceptually, the literature has borrowed from what high and low status mean in the Western/urban context and tried to apply the same indicators to measure women's progress in the Third World. In so doing they have not only transplanted the Western criteria to the non-Western world, but also what is essentially an "urban" configuration to the "rural" world. We do not know as yet what it means in a particular rural setting for women to have high or low status. Using typical indicators such as education, employment, fertility, etc., may be meaningless since there may be other factors that give women status in the rural community.

One of the variables that I have been studying lately is the sexual division of labor in rural areas as a possible indicator of the status of women. I do not know how far it will lead me but there are some indications that it could be one of the factors indicative of the power base women have within the family and the community.

3. Another controversial issue concerns the separation of women -- conceptually and empirically -- from the larger familial or household unit. To attempt to see the woman outside of the family is seen as a radical step. I find it is important because in analyzing results obtained from household data, it is apparent that the active contribution of women to the household and to the economy is understated. What happens when you take the household as your unit of analysis is that you submerge women as dependents of the male household head. Women are seen as wives and mothers. Men are seen as men -- the breadwinners. A survey carried out in Kenya tried to systematically analyze the differences in results obtained in rural settings when applying surveys using the household as unit of analysis as compared to those which use individual data, with particular emphasis on the division of labor by sex in agricultural work. Differences in results were astonishing. When women were located as household members, their productive contribution to the agricultural process was grossly underestimated. Where individual data for men and women was emphasized, the productive/economic activities of women came to be acknowledged.

The whole question of women within or as separate from the household came to surface in another way. A few weeks ago I was reviewing project and evaluation papers related to what is known as a "success story" in income-generating projects for women. Yet, what the detailed description of the project indicated was that first of all this was a project targeted to the "household" and that women figured in it as unpaid family labor. It is doubtful whether the women were ever asked whether they wanted to do this type of job or not. Furthermore, not only did men have the skilled tasks to perform and women the menial ones, but men controlled the marketing of the final product. I have

no objection to income-generation projects for the household, but such projects should be identified as household or family projects and not as income-generation/employment projects for women.

4. Immediately related to this issue is the whole question of associating women with motherhood. I feel this has been very detrimental to the programming of skills-training activities and employment/income-generation projects for women. Equating women with motherhood has led to a great deal of ambivalence, hesitancy, awkwardness and often downright immobility as far as the articulation and implementation of meaningful policy directed at women as economic beings. Policy makers continue to focus on women's roles as reproducers; they approach programming for women with a welfare orientation.

There appears to be a certain guilt not only among policy makers in this country but in the Third World as well about taking action that encourages women to take up alternative roles to home and children, lest this destroy the sanctity of the family. The point is that the sanctity of the family has already been destroyed as witnessed by the emerging number of women-headed households and the overall demise of the traditional family-based support system. Whether they like it or not, women, especially the poor, have had economic responsibilities thrust upon them for which they were completely unprepared and which they had to fulfill whether or not they were mothers.

5. This brings us to the next issue in the development community and that is the strong polarization between the direction and goals of policy planning directed for welfare concerns and policy planning which is based on integrating women into the development process. The former concentrates on the delivery of services, family planning, child care, nutritional skills, and perpetuates the traditional view of women as wives and mothers -- sometimes as problems as well. Integrating women into development concerns approaches women as a productive source whom development planners can draw upon; it means perceiving women in terms of their strengths, their capacity, their contributions, not only to the family but to development goals. In this respect the Women in Development Office at AID has made a tremendous contribution because as an organization more than any other they have promoted the vision of women as economic beings, have encouraged research that capitalizes on that perception and have encouraged projects and programs that address the issue of women's integration into the overall development process, particularly the economic ones.

6. Another matter of concern in the field is the tendency among some social scientists to evoke this nostalgia about how wonderful life was in the old days and how we must preserve traditional structures and avoid the evils of addressing economic/employment needs of women because this will take them outside the home and away from the family. Such an orientation is dangerous and can only perpetuate the traditional stance that policy makers in general have toward women. First of all, ideal traditional structures do not exist in many parts of the developing world; they have already changed. Secondly, I am not so sure that women were that well off with the existence of these traditional structures.

Thirdly, emphasizing the benefits of traditional structures only serves to perpetuate the notion of women as "traditional" in their behavior and resistant to change. Women, given the little resources at their disposal, have come out quite well given the enormous changes they have experienced; they have accepted the change imposed upon them and adapted themselves to it. Development efforts on their behalf, I believe, are to assist them in coping with what is an irreversible process of change, rather than to try to pull them back to some vague ideal which does not correspond to reality. Women act in the same calculating way, in cost/benefit terms, as men do. The point not being considered is that in their calculations they may define benefits in different ways from men; this is not because they are traditional and men are modern, but because they are located in different structural circumstances than men.

7. There are critical problems related to the statistical acknowledgement related to women's work. What data are available is misleading with respect to the true contribution of women to a country's economy since there is continuous undercounting of those economic sectors in which most poor women are involved: the subsistence sector and the informal labor market sectors. The problem is that these low participation rates are taken up by policy makers as indications of the fact that there is a shortage in supply of women workers due to cultural restrictions or to high fertility. No thought is given to the possibility that if indeed there are few women working, this might be because they are not able to find a job. By contrast, when labor economists look at the employment statistics of men, and find their participation rates relatively low, an immediate explanation is that this indicates a surplus of male labor that is not being absorbed in the economy.

In the urban context, we are now very careful in emphasizing that the reported low activity rates for women in the urban labor market should not be seen as a shortage of supply but as shortage of demand for women workers. The demand for women in the labor market can be curtailed by several factors: one is a high male unemployment rate, the other is the introduction of capital-intensive technology both in the farm and in the industries which has shown to squeeze women out of the work force very systematically. The fact that women's opportunities become contracted does not mean that women go back into the home, but that they seek income-earning capacity in the so-called marginal-informal sector of the economy in what are usually low status, low paid jobs -- many of which are not even recorded in the labor force statistics.

To address the whole issue of productivity for policy action means coming to grips with the measurement issue. This will probably be even more difficult to do in rural areas. For if you look at the agricultural statistics cross-nationally one finds that in most Middle Eastern and Latin American countries, the labor force figures acknowledge only three to five percent of all agricultural workers as being women. This is, of course, because unpaid women workers in the agricultural sector are not being counted; though it is likewise possible that many of those working on plantations are also overlooked in the labor force count. In the case of Egypt, for example, comparison of census and survey results showed the following: according to census

data, only three percent of all agricultural workers are women; survey results showed the comparable percentage to be 45. By contrast, in Asian countries you find a very high percentage of women acknowledged in the statistics as agricultural workers. This is because in those countries unpaid family labor is counted as actively participating in the process.

8. On a very different level, there is concern among people who are policy-oriented that too many objective social scientists -- men and women -- are being brought into the research and policy planning process that is affecting decisions regarding millions of women in the Third World who are themselves not always concerned about the use of knowledge for practical purposes and, more crucially, are not committed to women and to the integration of women into development concerns. What you find are often teams made up of highly qualified academics presenting to policy makers results which are sophisticated analytically but serve no policy purposes, and even if they do, they are not geared to the best interests of women in poverty. I am not suggesting here that social scientists engage in unorthodox research and/or misrepresent facts through dishonest reporting. I am saying that with respect to women in development issues there is a cause at stake and we may need committed people rather than objective social scientists. For there is a difference in the way that an issue is dealt with from an absolutely value-free perspective and one which reflects commitment toward development in general and women, in particular. While on this topic, let me strike a note of caution. It is naive to believe that the solution to commitment lies in hiring women experts. I have been on teams with Western and Third World women and can assure you that you find in certain women less commitment to the women in development cause than you do from some men.

9. Last but not least, we have to understand that the women in development movement can no longer be carried out from Washington or the states alone. For it to be successful it has to be integrated into and internalized by the Third World. This is something that can be worked on at university levels where Third World students should be subjected to courses on development and sensitized to all these different aspects.

There is not sufficient sensitivity to development issues in the Third World, least of all to the role of women in the process. It is still a great effort to convince policy makers in some Third World countries of the need to take women into consideration in policy planning. Yet, if such efforts do not receive national support from the women and men in the country, particularly those who occupy strategic positions in the country, we are not going to get very far by discussing and analyzing the problems in this country.

Too much talk goes around in the United States about cultural imperialism and concerns that Westerners should not go into developing countries to try to implement programs and projects in foreign settings. This may represent a problem, but what is often overlooked is another obstacle that you should be aware of if you are working in the Third World. And

that is that many people in high level positions in developing countries are not really aware, because of their own class position, of the poverty that is being experienced by the majority of the population, of the actual problems and obstacles that people in their own country are facing. And I think that somehow that message has to be gotten through to them, and that should be a more serious task than worrying about the charge of cultural imperialism. Thank you very much.

COMMENT:

This is not a question, but just a comment. The problems that you discussed so well in terms of the under-count of women's labor, of the systematic refusal to see it, also goes on in this United States economy. We've never succeeded in counting the agricultural labor of women on American family farms. They appear in the census to the extent that they appear at all as unpaid family labor, and the census has been trying to get around this by asking farmers who are in control of the farm which, as one farm woman said, "If I feel like I am in control that day, I'll say me, and if I'm feeling nice I'll say him." So, in the global problem, it is not just a manifestation of under-development or cultural bias in some way. It is much more a problem, I think, of economists who feel that unemployment looks better if fewer people are looking for work; productivity indexes look better if delays of fewer people come to them. I think the whole look at productivity in American agriculture would look rather differently during post-World War II if we had counted the women and children's labor in this country that sustained farms. And you know it is just generally a problem of individualizing the contributions and rights and returns of people within family units, since family does remain important to everybody in some way.

DR. YOUSSEF:

I didn't know about that. Thank you.

QUESTION:

I was thinking when you were talking about the governments being sensitized, that is, in the Third World, that perhaps one settling point that might have been used is to tell them that the GNP and the national income would be increased for the country; it would be much bigger if women's contribution was included.

DR. YOUSSEF:

Yes, I should have mentioned this, because it is really a tricky point. The only way you can convince policy makers that including women in the economic process would raise the GNP is to sort of hypothetically show them what it would mean to the overall economy if women were included, and that is something that people haven't worked at yet. Even then, I suspect that the immediate answer would be "Well, the fact is that women are not in the labor market and how are we going to get them there?" Again the shortage of supply argument would come into the picture. In one way then, they are not perceived to be economic beings, but they are also not allowed to prove themselves as such, and the whole circle becomes a vicious one, which needs a real breakthrough of sorts.

QUESTION:

I just wanted to make a comment that you were talking about the issue of motherhood, and I agree wholeheartedly that they should be seen more as workers and producers rather than reproducers. I think that men need to be looked upon as fathers and family members every once in a while also. It needs to be a dual effort.

DR. YOUSSEF:

This is going to be difficult in Third World countries, because there isn't yet such a type of awareness as you have here because of the feminist movement. The first step is to start to view women in the multi-dimensionality of their roles, then worry about the fatherhood issue.

QUESTION:

You mentioned that mechanization was squeezing women out of jobs and indirectly curtailing the types of training programs made available to them. Traditionally, mechanization has been a way to improve production and the rate of productivity. How can women cope with that? Should we teach women to run the machines or should we just cop out of mechanization? If women are in the work force do they need so much mechanization?

DR. YOUSSEF:

The only way is to encourage effective labor-intensive modes of production. Steps are being taken in that direction by some countries where there is awareness of the notion that labor-intensive efforts may not always increase the rate of production as is the case with capital-intensive technology, but they do provide work and that is an important consideration.

Three weeks ago there was a seminar in Washington where a series of research papers was presented to the Board of Title XII that attempted to address this very issue. If intensification of agricultural production tends to displace women from jobs, and you don't want that to happen, you don't want those women who are out there in an economic situation where they can't feed their families to confront such a situation. But, on the other hand, you need to increase production; what are the policy options that are available to us? Do we have examples of countries that have gone through the transition to a more highly technical level agriculturally, that have not marginalized their women?

These questions were raised at the board and the board responded by recognizing their importance and the need to research each issue raised systematically. Labor-intensive production in some areas has been very successful and it does involve higher productivity on small farms, particularly in Asia. So that may be one way to go with certain kinds of crops; in other situations, we may have to adopt solutions where we emphasize capital-intensive technology for agriculture, plus some rural industries as complement form. But the end of it all is not really clear. The women in development people brought the data to the board and said, "You are the economists; now help us think through what the

policy options are. We are no longer satisfied with merely describing how women are negatively affected by development."

That process is just really beginning.

AID and Women in Development

KATHLEEN CLOUD
Women and Food Information Network
Cambridge, Massachusetts

INTRODUCTION:

I would like to introduce Kate Cloud. Kate is replacing Arvonne Fraser. Arvonne is coping with one of the realities of development; she returned from Africa and is ill. Kate is working on her doctoral program in Administration Planning and Social Policy Analysis in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard. Kate and John Fischer organized the first Women and Food Conference at the University of Arizona in 1978. She has since then organized two national workshops on women in Title XII, and she is the director of Women and Food Communication Network.

MS. CLOUD:

I find myself in a somewhat odd position today. You have to think of me not as myself, but as Arvonne Fraser. Since I am giving Arvonne's speeches, I am not talking about the kinds of things I usually talk about; I hope I am able to sound coherent under the circumstances. I am to speak about AID's response to the issue of women and development, to give a historical and organizational overview of how the agency has responded to the concerns of women in the developing world.

Over the past 15 years, there has been literature emerging from a series of sources, documenting that development policies undertaken in all good faith were having differential impact on women and men; women were suffering disproportionately from development. Some data came from demographic literature, some of it came from the ethnographic literature. Esther Boserup's book, The Role of Women in Economic Development, in 1970, is generally considered a seminal work because for the first time the effects of development on women were documented systematically in the economic literature. During the same time there were groups in the Third World raising similar issues. The Economic Commission for Africa began to publish documentation of the very strong involvement of women in agricultural production in Africa. They estimated that 60 to 70 percent of the food crops in Africa were being produced by women.

All this new information led to an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 known as the Percy Amendment, which said that preference should be given "to those programs, projects, and activities, which tended to integrate women into the economics of developing countries." It is interesting that the women in development legislation is written so that emphasis is put on women's economic roles. It was up to AID to understand how the amendment might be implemented. A task force representing major stake-holders was formed within the agency to develop an agency response to this mandate from Congress. Their recommendations will seem familiar to those of you who are struggling with the problem of institutionalizing the issue on your own campuses. On the one hand they felt it was extremely important that the issue not be marginalized-- that there not be a little women's program over to one side, while the regular work of the agency went untouched. They wanted a system that would make it clear that it was the responsibility of every part of the agency to be concerned with the issue of the women in development. At the same time they felt, to paraphrase the old New England saying, that everybody's business is nobody's business. They wanted a focal point for women in development that would have the time and the resources to think systematically about the problem, to pull together research and literature, to write guidelines for the rest of the agency. Their final recommendation was that an Office of Women in Development be instituted at a high level within the agency with responsibility for the overall research and policy articulation on the issue. At the same time, each of the regional bureaus, each of the country missions, and the Development Support Bureau, was to take into account in a systematic way the role of women in whatever they were doing. At first, the Office of Women in Development was placed directly under the administrator, but at the change of administration in 1976, it was put into the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination. PPC has the responsibility of making clear to the rest of the agency what it is that Congress wants. They review projects as they are funded, to be sure they are in conformity with congressional mandates.

At the same time, within each of the regional bureaus, one or several people were designated to have some responsibility for women in development, in addition to their other responsibilities. Within the Development Support Bureau, which funds technical research, there is a person in each office who is responsible for the women in development issue, and most of the country mission offices have a person designated as a women in development officer.

Once this structure was in place, the problem became what to do first. In the beginning it was not clear what the extent and nature of the problem was, let alone what the best solutions might be. Therefore, in these early years of the Women in Development Office, a great deal of effort has been focused around trying to find the research that has already been done, find people to do state of the art papers around it, find people who have project experience that is useful and can be transformed into documents. In general, there has been an effort to pull together the knowledge that exists, synthesize it and put it in a form that busy policy makers can use. Over time the Women in Development Office has commissioned reports and documents, as well as collecting them from a variety of other sources. These documents have been made

available both within the agency and outside of it, through mailings and development of a resource library. The office has also had a series of meetings of researchers to try and get a better sense of what the research needs really are, what people are working on, what else people should be working on, what issues need to be addressed. In 1978, WID funded the Women and Food Conference in Tucson which was the first attempt of the office to attach the women in development concerns to a particular substantive issue. Since that time they have been active in working with the Title XII system to clarify understanding of how women's roles in rural economics relate to, and can be helped by, agriculture modernization.

At the same time, the office has faced out towards the rest of the developing world. In 1979 FAO had a conference on rural development, the WCARRD conference. The office developed policy and backup papers on women and rural development used by the American delegation and shared with members of other delegations. They did a similar set of background papers for the Copenhagen Conference. They also brought a number of developing world scholars to the American Women's Conference in Houston in 1978 to be in dialogue with American women involved there.

As time has gone on, as more documentation and more tools are developed to address this issue, the need has shifted from simply a need to convince people that women in development is a serious issue to a need for implementation capability to solve some of the problems. It is one thing to say, "You need to do something about it." It is another thing to find people who have some sense of what to do, who have the technical capabilities to participate on teams and help make changes. It is my sense that within the agency the policy issue is really settled. It does seem to be clear to most people that women are productive, that women's roles are not being addressed in a systematically helpful way within development, that we must be paying more attention to shoring up the roles of women, both the traditional roles and their changing roles. The problem now is how do you do it, in this project, with this set of circumstances, in this country? In many offices within the agency, it is no longer a question of "Should we do it?" It is a question of "Who can we find that we trust enough to let them try to do it?"

That, I think, is one reason that the Women in Development Office has been so very interested in the Title XII system and the universities. Much of AID's research and technical assistance work is now shifting to the universities. I do not know how many of you are aware of it, but over the last several years there has been a consistent effort to shrink the size of the agency. The agency is getting smaller by congressional choice. More and more of the technical assistance work is being done on contract, either to universities or to private contractors. More and more, the technical assistance work is not done by people in the agency; instead they manage the programs and contract out the technical assistance.

With regard to using women as agents of development, AID is in a peculiar position. Because the agency has been shrinking, there have been hiring freezes during most of the past 10 years. Therefore, at the same time that the equal opportunity and affirmative action projects have drawn women into other parts of the federal bureaucracy, there has been little

increase in the number of women in the foreign service. Up until 1975, women in the foreign service had to resign when they married. Men did not, obviously. This meant that numbers of women in the foreign service in AID were very low prior to 1975. The combination of the two circumstances has resulted in a very low proportion of women professionals in AID. The small percentage of foreign service women means that U.S. development capacity as it is reflected in the developing world is overwhelmingly male. There are posts where there are no women in the program officer roles. There is real hope on the part of the agency that they can display the commitment of the government to integrating women as agents of development by including women in a range of professional roles on technical assistance teams, such as those coming from Title XII institutions.

But whether the women are there or not, there is a tremendous need for the issue of women in development to be analytically addressed on every team, every project, in every circumstance. There is a hope that the Title XII system, over a period of time, will be able to build capabilities to do this. I believe that the potential for a great deal of this capability exists in the Title XII system, capability that needs to be supported as it grows. Many of us have a particular technical skill that is very useful in the developing world. We may be nutritionists, agronomists, extension people. Some of us have experience working abroad with those technical skills and some of us do not. Many of us who have the technical skills do not have very much specific knowledge about women in development issues. Some of us have a great deal of knowledge about a particular regional area, but do not have very much knowledge about the development process, because until recently, many of us have tended to see development as destructive. The agency would hope for dialogue among people with a variety of capabilities to build and institutionalize an integrated women and development capability that would be reflected on in the technical assistance work that the universities are doing in developing countries.

To give a specific example, the highest priority of the agency right now is agricultural development. In rural areas, much of what AID is doing is to help governments develop their own institutional structures, their own research capabilities, their own extension capabilities. In all these projects the question arises of whether you will design in or design out the involvement of women in the improvement of agriculture in that country. It arises in many forms: Who will be trained? Will you have dormitories for both women and men in your ag schools? Will you have women and men extension workers? Will technical packages be developed for women's crops and women's work as well as for men's crops and men's work? In planning for agricultural development that does not design women out, it is important to begin with an analysis of the current system and its constraints. Who is doing the work in this culture? Is there a division of labor that means that women do some crops and men do other crops? Questions about who does the work can be answered by the anthropologists and other social scientists. Questions about how to build an extension service that will reach out to the people who do the work are questions that can be addressed by the extension personnel. Problems of developing new breeds of millet, of what kinds of fertilizer to use, are questions that will be addressed by the agronomists. These

seem to be relatively straightforward technical questions, but if women are, as in fact they are in much of Africa, responsible for the choice of seed, for the planting of seed, if men never touch seeds, if you produce a technical package that needs seeds treated with fungicides before they are put in the ground, if you do not know that it is women who will inevitably select and treat the seeds, if you build a system that is completely male, male agricultural training, male extension delivering information at the village level, teaching the males to treat the new seeds with fungicides, it is like teaching American men how to diaper a baby better, or teaching them how to can tomatoes. In these cultures men do not go home and teach their wives; they do not see seed management as part of their role in the first place. Or if they do, they do not know enough about seeds and planting to get it straight. You have built a system that is inefficient in delivering a technical package to the people responsible for the work. That is the kind of integration of women's concerns the agency is now struggling with. How can you get the attention to women's roles embedded in every single project in such a way that you produce the most efficient project?

The hope is that instead of inadvertently making things worse for women, we make them better for everybody, for men, women, and children, by relating to the system in a way that is the most efficient and also the most equitable. Some circumstances are more difficult than others. For example, in Indonesia a new milling machine which you introduce may displace a large number of women who have been hand pounding grain to earn food for their families -- poor landless women who have no other source of income. You could go in there with a team that never looks at the division of labor, and you would never know who it is that you are displacing. You put in the machines and congratulate yourself, because you can do the milling much more efficiently. You never see that you have taken away the only means of support that those women have. That is bad development. It is efficient in one way, but it is very inefficient in another because you have created a population that has no way of making its own living. If you had the capacity to look at who was doing the work ahead of time, and then designed a program that introduced the rice mills, but provided a way of siphoning some of the income from the rice mills towards those people who have been displaced, either by teaching them to operate the machinery, putting in a small industry, or using some of the byproducts of the mill, you would have a more adequate technical assistance effort.

What we are working towards is capability that relates better to reality. Within AID today, I sense a willingness to use more integrated approaches. It is uneven. It is stronger in some missions, in some agencies, in some bureaus, than it is in others, but it is distributed throughout the agency, like the chocolate in a marble cake. There are plenty of offices that would buy this more reality-based, integrated technical assistance capability if they could find it within the agency. The policy issue seems settled, the implementation problem now is the focus of concern.

QUESTION:

I think you said that women have not had much interest in development because they had viewed it as destructive.

MS. CLOUD:

I did not mean to say that all women had, rather that certain kinds of scholars have tended to take that view.

QUESTION:

All right, and destructive of what, in what way?

MS. CLOUD:

You see, in Third World literature as well as in the American literature, a feeling that development is destructive of the traditional social systems, that it tends to pull the traditional culture apart, the traditional family apart, that food things are being lost, that many people are being impoverished, few people are benefiting. It is seen as disruptive, and there is a focus on the cost rather than benefits.

COMMENT:

It sounds very much like the American literature on the American Indians -- get rid of the reservations and push them into the economy at the bottom, or leave them out there untouched.

MS. CLOUD:

Yes, it is. On the one hand you can say it is a sentimentalizing of the traditional system to say that that was beautiful and any kind of changes are bad. That is the most extreme form, and very few people state it in that form. But many people do see the disruptions and disintegration caused by economic development. For example, there had been a tremendous migration of population as a function of development. Modernization has tended to pull social structures apart. Certainly Iran is a country with conflicts about development that are particularly acute right now. That is a society that is suffering from an acute case of development conflicts.

COMMENT:

But I think it is very important to exchange and get into a network. I think being able to learn what is happening out on the campuses and being of assistance in this respect is very important. I think that I need to reaffirm this. It is very important also that we learn from one another, that each person that goes out on a team is willing to share what has worked, what has not worked and we try to cumulate that experience as rapidly and as systematically as possible, because this is such a delicate sort of thing.

QUESTION:

Is there any speculation or indication of what might be happening within the Women in Development Office come January 20?

MS. CLOUD:

The rule is that presidential appointments all offer their resignations. The Women in Development Office coordinator is at that level, and that resignation will be tendered. What will happen is anyone's guess. I certainly do not know. I would judge that it is too early for that particular issue.

I would say, however, that to the degree that people feel that that is an important issue which would be useful for them to be sensitive to what does happen, and if there does seem to be some downgrading of the issue, to lobby the system. I will say one hopeful thing to you -- the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is Senator Percy, of Percy Amendment fame. This will undoubtedly help.

Participation through Title XII, Consortia,
and the Project Process in AID

GERALD MATLOCK
Director of International Agricultural Programs
University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona

KATHLEEN STAUDT
Department of Political Science
University of Texas at El Paso
El Paso, Texas

INTRODUCTION:

Dr. Matlock is from the University of Arizona; his work has been in agriculture and civil engineering. He has held several positions with the University of Arizona, from research associate to professor. He is currently the director of International Agricultural Programs, with activities in Mali, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Upper Volta and Brazil, so he has a lot of things going on. His research activities have been mainly in the area of water resources, irrigation and drainage, and arid lands agricultural development planning. He was a member of National Academy of Science's panels on Brazil and Ghana, and a consultant for AID in West Africa. Kathleen Staudt is at the University of Texas at El Paso in the Department of Political Science; her dissertation was on agricultural policies, political power, and farming in western Kenya. She has been on a one-year academic leave under the IPA, which she may explain to you, with the Office of Women in Development in AID in 1979. She is very well-acquainted with the AID agency and the concepts by which the programs pass through the various channels of the agency. So she will be filling you in on that.

DR. MATLOCK:

It is certainly a pleasure for me to be here and discuss involvement in women in development activities, whether through Title XII programs generally, or specifically, working through consortium activities. I am also happy to follow the coffee break, because if we are going to

talk about food and nutrition problems, I always like to do that on a full stomach.

It might be well for us to consider what Title XII is and how it relates to the overall development process. I will make some brief comments relative to the way which Title XII was established, and what it means to the U.S. technical assistance program at this point. Then I will try to show you how the U.S. universities are involved.

Title XII got started, before it became a bill in and of itself, as a proposal by then-Senator Humphrey and Congressman Findley from Illinois. Their intent, backed by many of the U.S. universities, was to make some major changes in the AID program and to strengthen the relationship of the program with the universities. As a final result, their proposal was made part of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1975. Since that time, because it became Title XII of that act, it has been known as the Title XII Program. Its focus is on food and nutrition problems in the agricultural development process.

A key feature of the Title XII legislation is that it is to strengthen the involvement of U.S. universities in the process. Kate Cloud has already mentioned to you some of the reasons for this in a practical sense, but I think there is another fundamental reason, and that is the universities wanted it. In addition to the fact that AID was no longer able to fill many of the positions for its projects because of a "hiring freeze," the universities were interested in being more involved in the development process, and so were actively lobbying for that involvement.

You have also heard this morning that in addition to being a part of the solution of the problems, that is, that women represent a resource that can be applied to the solution of the problems of development, in some cases they are also a part of the problem in the sense that women's roles are so extremely important in the developing countries and have been long neglected, as Nadia Youssef has pointed out to you. Why haven't the women been involved? I think that there are at least three reasons. One is that there are not enough of them, and I use that term advisedly. Everyone keeps telling me that there are more people -- women -- out there than we recognize that are available for these project activities, and that is probably true. But still in all when we look through the files of those people who have submitted résumés to the organizations that are most involved with us in these activities, we don't find many women's résumés there. There are a number of reasons for this. I speak specifically with respect to those disciplines with which I am most familiar with having problems of filling positions, and they are primarily the agricultural disciplines. We know that for many, many years it has not been -- I hate to use the word "accepted" -- but it has not been pushed that women would become agronomists or animal scientists, or would occupy positions of this kind. I think that it is encouraging to note, for example, that at the University of Arizona one-half of the agricultural undergraduates are now women. But if you go back just five years, you would probably find that to be only 10 percent. So I think that what we are seeing is that there are going to be people available, but there have not been in the past. A second

reason that women have not been involved is that they have not been aware of the opportunities for involvement. There has been no concerted effort to get women involved, and so there has been some lack of awareness on their part as to what they might do. Thirdly, we have a little bit of the chicken and egg problem. That is, because of the previous reasons, a lot of women do not have experience in technical assistance projects, and so the women who are nominated for a team may get turned down because of the fact that they don't have experience. Then you ask the question, "How do they get experience if they can't become involved in some way?" That is another one of the difficulties we are looking at.

In terms of their becoming involved, there are a number of important things. I think they -- women -- should know about Title XII programs, and you can divide that into a couple of aspects. First of all they should know what is going on in Washington with respect to Title XII. Kate Cloud has already mentioned some of the things in that respect, but I think that it is important to know how the system functions. Kathy Staudt is going to speak more specifically about that a little later. There are two important aspects of Title XII. First, know which projects are Title XII projects and are so designated by AID. Perhaps of even greater importance is knowing what BIFAD is and how it functions and how projects get identified as Title XII projects. BIFAD is the Board for International Food and Agriculture Development. It was established as part of the legislation. The first BIFAD was appointed by then-President Ford. Gerald Thomas, who was introduced to you this morning, was one of the initial members of BIFAD. BIFAD is composed of representatives from universities, from government, from industries. BIFAD has an executive office. It has an executive director and a staff there and is quite active in identifying projects which should be Title XII projects, having them classified as such, and in developing mechanisms for increasing the universities' involvement by various methods, one of which is the Strengthening Grants which have been provided. Some 50 universities have Strengthening Grants which are specifically designed to improve their capabilities for being involved in this process.

In terms of opportunities for involvement of women, there are opportunities with AID itself in various ways. They are not hiring vast numbers of people at the present time, but they do have, from time to time, interest in hiring people, and their process includes a search for appropriate women candidates. There are opportunities for service with BIFAD in its executive office; there will be more of those in the future.

It is important that you know about the Title XII program at your own universities, or if your university is not fortunate enough to be a Title XII university, you may be able to exercise your interest in involvement in the development process through activities with a nearby university. For those universities that are designated as Title XII universities, there are Title XII officers on your campuses. You should know who that person is -- I was going to say that you should know who "he" is because I don't know of any university that has a woman as the Title XII officer. But you should know that person.

You should know what the Title XII program emphasis is on your campus.

I think the universities have recognized that they can't do all things for all people, and so they have tried to give some focus to their international programs. We certainly do that at the University of Arizona. We have said, for example, that we would prefer to work in the arid lands countries of the world, specifically those in West Africa and the Middle East.

We have tried to limit our program to small-scale agricultural systems and to livestock and related crop-production activities in those regions. That is not to say that the program might not encompass other activities, but we manage to put our emphasis on these.

If there is a women in development component of the Title XII program on your campus, you ought to be thoroughly familiar with that. That is extremely important, and I will speak a little bit more about it later.

Finally, if your university does have an international program that is involved with project activities in the developing countries, you should become familiar with those projects. What are the elements of the projects? Where are they being done? What is the possible role for women at this point in the implementation, or what are the problems with respect to women in those areas which are being worked with or on?

In addition, obviously, to the opportunities for involvement either in Washington or on a university campus working with university programs, there are some opportunities for individual involvement through Agency for International Development projects. Those of you who are interested in increasing your level of experience or involvement should contact their personnel office, and be sure that your résumé is on file so that when people look through those files for candidates for the various opportunities, your file will be there.

In terms of preparing for involvement, I would suggest that it is important that you become a specialist, and I use that term broadly. But I think it is important that if you want to be involved, you recognize that you can't do everything in a women's program and that you better decide to focus on certain aspects of that. Just as the universities are developing a focus for their programs, I think that you have to do the same thing. And if you are in a university that has a desire to focus on programs in West Africa and arid lands, and livestock production there, then you better find out something about that, or maybe find a new university, because if you are working at cross-purposes with your own institution in that respect, your opportunities for involvement are certainly going to be less. That is not to say that you have to completely subjugate your own interests in this respect. I think what I am suggesting is that you look for ways in which those interests that you have will be made compatible with the university that you are working for. I know that for many disciplines this is particularly difficult because the projects do not define activities in these disciplines. Projects tend to be production oriented and everybody traditionally thinks, of course, that when you are talking about production you need an agronomist. But they don't always think at the same time that you need somebody who understands the social issues of crop production. And so it may be

that you have to keep pushing to get this kind of input into the projects that are being thought about.

I mentioned the need for experience. There are a number of ways to get it. One way is through what we are doing here, that is to say, going to conferences and finding out what is going on in the world. I would urge a caution at this point. It is very easy for us to get together and talk about things, and we tend to do that with great regularity, and AID finances this without much question because it represents something that has been put together and done and finished. The report is filed and it looks real nice, and you can consider that we have held 75 conferences. But when you really stop and think about what the issues of women in development are, it is time to stop talking and do something. I think we need to devote more of our resources, which are extremely limited as far as being able to really attract money for women in development, to action. We need to stop talking and start doing. So I would not recommend that -- conference going -- highly as a means to get experience. The project procedures that Kathy Staudt will describe in a few minutes depend on, first of all, a design process. Usually some kind of design team is organized to pull that together, and there are opportunities for women to be involved with design teams. Then there are opportunities for women, if they have the right disciplines as defined by the project documents, to be involved in the implementation in long- or short-term positions.

But beyond that there is a great opportunity for those people who are interested in issues of women in development to write their own proposals and try to get those funded. I think that this is something that we need to work on more. It is a lot easier to sit back and wait for a request to come through the system and then respond to it in some way. But wouldn't it be better if we could develop our own interests and our own ideas and then push them through the system? I know it is difficult, but it is something that we do need to work on, particularly in the arena that we are talking about here today. Those people who are interested in women in development activities at the various universities need to get their acts together. They need to organize internally, and again I would caution that I don't think we want an over-organization of these capabilities at the universities, but if you are going to do anything you have to know where you are. We have already experienced some difficulties in CID because of the fact that the CID universities are not completely organized themselves as to where they want to go regarding women in development activities. So it is very important that as you return to your individual institutions after this conference you try to find out what is going on there, what kind of interests and capabilities are represented by your own faculty.

I don't think that what we have done at the University of Arizona in those respects has been all that unique. I think that my own role in that has been to see the women on our campus who are interested in the development process as being a resource that I could use in my program. So, I use women in a very self-serving way. The fact that they are women is not a fundamental issue with our program. We look at the people in terms of what their capabilities are. Even though I am sure there are some biases with respect to the involvement of women in development

activities -- I would be less than realistic to suggest that there aren't any! -- I don't think they need to be a serious constraint for that involvement if, in fact, the approach that is made to those people that are administering projects is an organized approach, and the people that are suggested for these involvements are in fact the appropriate ones.

For my remaining few minutes, I would like to talk for just a few minutes about the consortia and about what special problems they may present or opportunities that they may present as far as involvement of women is concerned. Consortia are groups of universities that have come together for a purpose, and the purpose for which they came together is quite varied, as varied as each individual institution. Usually those consortia involved in international development activities were organized because they felt that somehow they could do a better job, that there would be advantages to them as individual institutions, and that the entire program would be improved by joining together. Their relationship to women in development problems and solutions is also varied. They may or may not be strongly involved in women in development activities. There may be greater or lesser opportunities for involvement in these kinds of programs, because of their internal arrangements. They have different administrative structures, different management styles.

One of the problems in relating Title XII activities to the consortia is that the consortia themselves are not recognized as institutions by the Title XII program. Title XII recognizes individual universities, but it does not recognize the consortia. This means that many times the consortia themselves do not receive information about Title XII activities, but must depend upon their member institutions to receive the news about Title XII projects and pass it on to the consortia.

I want to add a few specific words now about the Consortium for International Development (CID). CID is a group of 11 Western universities that was incorporated a few years ago. It started quite broadly, but the obvious intent of the consortium is to bring the universities together in a way that makes them not only more capable of involvement in international development programs but makes that kind of involvement more beneficial to them as institutions. It operates under what we call the decentralized management concept which essentially means that all project activities are carried out through a "lead university." That is, the CID executive office does not manage projects. The projects are managed by the institutions, and we would not have it any other way. The CID office provides logistics support for the projects; it provides assistance in getting the universities together. One major activity that we think it provides, and that individual institutions would have difficulty in doing themselves, is an evaluation process. Project activities are evaluated, not from a completely external point of view, but certainly from a broader perspective than would be done if the universities were evaluating their own projects.

CID has several tens of millions of dollars worth of AID and other contracts in the current year. The total of contract business that CID is doing has grown tremendously over the last few years. CID projects are being conducted on a worldwide scale, and I think that there is something going on in CID that probably would be of interest to every

discipline and every person represented in this room. So, there are roles to play in those projects.

Finally, I want to make just a couple of remarks about what CID is doing with respect to women in development activities. At its last board of trustees meeting, CID approved a policy which said that all information brought to the university campuses through their CID contact offices should be channeled to the person or persons on the campus who are concerned with women in development activities, e.g., women's studies and those kinds of programs, so that there will be more complete knowledge on the CID campuses by the women who might be interested in involvement in CID projects.

That brings up another issue. There is a CID contact procedure, and CID ordinarily contacts the individual university through a contact person, and you should know who that contact person is. Again I hesitate to say it, but you should know who "he" is. I think that is also true, that in the CID institutions at the present time, all of the contact offices are headed by men. I think that this is something that will change in the institutions as women become involved, but at any event, know that person, know what the contact procedure is, get on the distribution list, so that when project information is channeled to the university you will become aware of it. Secondly, I think that I should point out that CID has recently signed a contract which extends and expands the activities that Kate Cloud has been doing with the AID Women in Development Office in Washington. Kate will be serving as CID project director for those activities which will include not only the kind of liaison and linkage activities that she has been responsible for in the Women and Food Communications Network, but also support for women in development activities at the individual CID campuses. We are particularly pleased with that project and are looking forward to great things over the years to come, hoping that despite what happened in the election, there will continue to be some support for these types of activities and that we can really make great progress. I think at this point I will stop and turn it over to Kathy Staudt.

DR. STAUDT:

What I am going to talk about for the next 15 minutes will, hopefully, be very practical. I will discuss the project process and the project cycle within AID. I have already put some of the acronyms -- only a few of the hundreds and hundreds of acronyms that you would encounter were you ever in AID for a while -- on the board.

First, Handbook III contains guidance on project design and numerous copies can be found in AID/Washington and in AID missions. Handbook III is one of more than 30 AID handbooks that detail processes and procedures to be carried out by contractors, university people, and AID staff. As you might already have inferred, AID is an agency almost suffocating in procedure. The second source is something known as a Project Design and Evaluation Seminar, offered six times a year within AID. Various people can take the seminars, including people from universities, AID staff, and members of private voluntary organizations doing development work. It is a one-week seminar detailing procedures.

The third source is that of an "IPA" position. IPA stands for the Inter-governmental Personnel Act. Congress had authorized agencies to "borrow" people from universities, state and local government, and vice versa, for a one- to two-year period. I was an IPA for a one-year period in the Women in Development Office, on loan from my university. I would like to encourage other people who are affiliated with an institution to consider joining the agency temporarily as an IPA.

Now I will discuss the project process and how you might impact on this process. The project process is a fairly lengthy cycle. It begins with planning in AID, and with documents known as the CDSS, the Country Development Strategy Statements. The CDSSs are documents written in the AID field missions. They are five-year planning documents, called "rolling" documents, which means they are revised every year. The CDSSs are supposed to contain an analysis of poverty within that country and an analysis of AID's response to that poverty analysis. Guidelines are sent out from AID to the field missions every year as to what the CDSS should contain, and every year that guidance also contains information about how women are to be analyzed within the documents. However, this does not necessarily mean that women are analyzed in the document, or that any policy-oriented research is really being tapped in the documents.

When working in the Women in Development Office, I put together an analysis of CDSSs submitted in 1979. Despite the fact that there was guidance given to the missions about analyzing women's and men's roles in decision making, production, and consumption, there were a number of CDSSs that did not even mention women at all. There were many CDSSs that dealt with women in a very vague and diffuse way. They wrote about the role and status of women. For example, some contained analysis and diagnosis such as "the status of women is low"; AID will "raise the status of women." One might question whether a statement like that made about men or other occupational groups would have any real substance for a strategy within a country. What would it mean for AID to "raise the status of farmers, or men?" Many of the documents did address women, often focused on women, however, in their domestic and reproductive roles. For example, several discussed "pregnant and lactating women," a very important group with special needs. But this was unmatched with sensitivity for the non-pregnant and non-lactating women. Probably the most striking CDSS was from the India mission. The only statement made about women was that they died earlier than men in the analysis of poverty. There was no AID response on development strategy, although there could have been with, for example, health projects.

The CDSS is the planning framework for a country and a document that is used to "cue" the other parts of the project process. Later, during the approval process of project design documents, people will consult the CDSS for justification. If a concern is not addressed in the CDSS, the rationale for a project of that concern is low or non-existent and a project idea may be killed.

Last year BIFAD conducted an analysis of CDSSs. Among other problems, they found that women were not dealt with effectively.

There is a role for people to play at Title XII institutions, a role

that relates to building more policy-oriented research on women into those CDSSs. There is talk now in AID about establishing some sort of linkage between Title XII institutions and particular AID field missions and the agricultural institutions within those countries. If more permanent relationships are established between single schools and single missions, there is a potential, I think, for people at those schools to try to feed in and share policy-oriented research information about women that can then be built into the CDSS and that will then affect subsequent parts of the project process.

The next part of the process is the PID, Project Identification Document. This is the first stage of the project design cycle, and it supposedly is the product of the initial "Collaborative Process" in which AID field-mission staff dialogue with host country government officials. Project ideas are discussed and outlined in very preliminary ways. It is a fairly short document; a couple of years ago it was about 10 pages long, but it is becoming longer now to cope with the many concerns raised in the initial review process. Moreover, projects under \$5 million can be approved in the field if this first hurdle is passed; thus, early details are necessary.

The Project Identification Document is written up in the AID field mission, and then sent to Washington for review. Before I discuss the review process, let me talk briefly about the decentralized nature of AID. Quite a lot of autonomy and discretion exist at the AID field-mission level. Much of AID "action" -- design, implementation, evaluation, and technical expert selection -- takes place in the field mission and with field staff performing key oversight functions. Most project details are known in the field mission.

The PID is sent up to Washington where it is reviewed in committee with a variety of people representing different interests within the agency. Prior to the meeting people are given copies of the PID and they will, hopefully, read the PID before they go to the meeting. At the review, participants sit for an hour or more picking apart the project. After the meeting, the country desk officer will summarize these comments, then cable those comments back to the field mission. From the perspective of women in development, hopefully, there will be someone at that review meeting who will raise the issue and generate dialogue on how strategies to include women can be designed into the next stage of the project process. For example, questions might be raised about whether specific knowledge about women's work is evident, whether outreach strategies to reach women exist, and the like. Frequently, nothing is said about women in these Project Identification Documents, so if that issue is "put on the table," so to speak, then it will be cabled to the mission and technical experts may then be reasserted to address this issue in subsequent stages of project design.

The next stage is the PP stage, the Project Paper stage. To write this complex document, ordinarily, an interdisciplinary team of people is put together, such as contractors, AID staff, and/or Title XII university faculty. Usually there is at least one anthropologist, sociologist, or social scientist who is responsible for the "social soundness analysis" discussed shortly. For writing the Project Paper, the project

team takes their cues from the PID, from the cable that has been sent back to the mission, and from the work assignments -- the "scopes of work" -- that have been written up in AID regional bureaus, and/or in field missions. Hopefully, there will be cues on women that those writing work assignments and team members will respond to.

A Project Paper must contain a technical analysis, an economic analysis, an environmental analysis, and a social soundness analysis. The more experts who are sensitive to women in development with all those skills, the more likely it is that women will be included.

The social soundness analysis considers such factors as the social structure, diffusion patterns, distribution of benefits, division of labor, and general effects of the project on people within communities that are going to be affected by the project. This is an attempt to build some sort of "people sensitivity" into the project design. Although information on women, the sex division of labor, female-headed households, women's access problems, and income-earning activities presumably are part of any good social analysis, that information is often missing. Social analysts do not always "see" these issues, nor are they familiar with the WID literature. A reason for incomplete social analyses can be found in the speed by which the task must be completed. Sometimes team members must do their work in a brief period of two, three, or four weeks, and anyone who has anthropological or social science training might shudder at the thought of doing what should be a fairly comprehensive analysis in a period of only a few weeks. So while the social analyses are not always that good, they are a vehicle by which information about women's work can be built into project designs. Also, the social scientist team member is able to interact with others on the team, and hopefully, the product of this interaction will be that other members of the team have greater sensitivity to "people" issues, with women included in the people category.

Now let me give you an example of that "cue" process that I just described before. When I first started working in AID, one of my first project review committees that I went to was a PID review for a higher education project in a West African country. At the meeting, I raised a number of fairly specific issues about women's access problems in agricultural extension, how women might be recruited, and outreach activity. I talked about some research on that country, detailing women's agricultural work. The response was somewhat typical, in the sense of some people saying, "Oh yes, the ladies" and "We hadn't really thought about that." In any case the issue was "on the table"; the desk officer noted all of this and then wrote up the dialogue in the cable that was sent back to the mission. Just a few weeks ago when I was at a BIFAD meeting in Washington there was a woman anthropologist from a Title XII institution that had been recruited to work on the higher education project PP team. Her scope of work included agriculture and family roles. Fortunately, the cable cued attention to this issue. The issue must be there in writing, so that all team members recognize that they have to deal with this issue in order to get it through the next stage of the review process in AID.

The PP, oftentimes a document an inch or more thick, including appendices,

is reviewed in Washington by a project review committee meeting similar to that of the PID. Interested parties are invited to attend the meeting, and speak to what is in the PP or what is not in the PP. If changes are to be made, that is again summarized in the cable for PP revision. If there are no changes, the path is paved for the project agreement to be signed. If women are not designed into the project, it may already be too late; projects would rarely be revised on this issue alone.

One other element that is in the PP that might appear useful is what is known as the "women impact" statement. When women in development procedures were first set up, a policy determination was made in 1974 that projects had to contain strategies to reach women. That was eventually interpreted to be women impact statements. A women impact statement is about a paragraph or so indicating that the project will have positive impact on women. The statements sound very much alike from country to country. A Near East missions staffperson once indicated that they wrote up their women impact statement in 1974, just after the legislation was adopted, and that it has "tremendous recyclable value." The women impact statement is almost meaningless, but it does call attention to women.

Another crucial part of the PP is what is known as the logical framework, or "logframe." This concise, one-page statement at the end of every PP is a summary statement about what the project will accomplish, how it will be evaluated, and its major assumptions. People will refer to the logframe when they want a quick summary of the project. Logframes contain charts, categorizing the GPOI, or the goals, purpose, outputs, and inputs, for specific time periods and amounts. Also looked at very seriously is the part of this chart known as the EOPS, the End of Project Status, which details what the project is to accomplish in terms. Very rarely is there anything about women in logframes or the EOPS. Were something about women in that logical framework, and there are some rare projects like these, that would represent "targeting." For example, statements could indicate that one-third of all people to be reached are women or that half of all the people to have their incomes raised would be women. There are a couple of West African projects that do have targeting for women built into the logical framework. Questions, however, should be raised about numerical targets. A project in Afghanistan targeted female students at an elementary school project as 16 percent of all the participants. Now, at the time that the project was designed, about 16 percent of all the school children at that age level were girl children. Why did the target simply perpetuate vast underrepresentation rather than aim at 20 or 25 percent? Also there was a West Africa project where a baseline study indicated that women were 48 percent of the farmers in the area. Nevertheless, when the target was set in the logical framework, 15 percent of those reached were to be women. So one might question why it wasn't 48 percent? A potential to build reasonable targets to reach women exists in that logical framework. Once goals are targeted, people associated with the project will realize they are accountable for reaching goals and must "prove" in evaluations that those goals are met. Thus, the incentive would exist to collect information and to design the project so that a certain number of women will be reached. Otherwise, it is very easy for women to more or less "fall through the cracks" and be bypassed without project benefits as research is beginning to indicate. Unless there are specific

strategies to reach women, they probably will not be reached.

The logframe ties into another part of the project process, the evaluation process. The Project Paper contains an evaluation plan, and ordinarily most projects will have at minimum an interim evaluation and final evaluation.

One final item I want to mention is the time-consuming paper process in AID. It takes on the average of 2.7 years from the time the project idea is initiated to the time that the project agreement is signed. That is prior to any implementation beginning at all. So you might imagine the many complications that this causes in local communities, for example, or in various ministries about the expectation of forthcoming resources. I might add that AID is always trying to cut down on some of the paperwork. Before the PID and PP sequence, there was another document in between, the PRP, which has now been eliminated. So AID has improved slightly in this sense. Rather than there being three Project Design Documents and three review committees in Washington, there are now only two, but one result is that the first stage has now become a longer, more elaborate stage.

I have focused here on procedures and on bureaucracy. It might be easy to get caught up in all of this bureaucratic procedure and lose sight of real development. I would like to plead with all of you to not lose sight of real development in the sense of people in those countries and in those local communities being involved in the decision-making process. Please, too, do not lose sight of the fact that we are concerned here with sharing information, building institutions, and strengthening pockets of institutions in those countries that are going to be responsive to people and women. Unfortunately, you have to deal with this bureaucratic maze in order to make the resources available.

QUESTION:

Dealing with your description of the bureaucratic maze, in your experience, how relevant are the designs to the actual, eventual institution of the project?

DR. STAUDT:

The design is a document on paper -- about which people are both comfortable and accountable. In actual practice, implementation can be fairly different, but people do feel somewhat compelled to respond to that initial design. That is, after all, what was approved in Washington.

COMMENT:

I would like to make one comment on that. I think there is a great tendency to overdesign in Washington right now, in the sense that somehow there is an assumption that everything that ever went wrong with an AID project can be corrected by having a more comprehensive design. On the other hand, I would argue that this kind of approach leads toward inflexibility that is difficult to deal with and many times it would be better if the design documents set out a framework for the project.

DR. STAUDT:

In something called the "rolling design" which now exists in a small

minority of AID projects, there is an attempt to lay out only the basic framework and then allow subproject activities to emerge based on local people's participation. One such project exists in Mali. That procedure permits a response to what I discussed in the concluding remarks -- that local people must be involved in decision-making for real development to occur. Of course, we must also recognize that local politics may exclude women.

AID: Promise and Performance

KATHLEEN STAUDT
Department of Political Science
University of Texas at El Paso
El Paso, Texas

INTRODUCTION:

As mentioned earlier this morning, Dr. Staudt recently completed an IPA assignment in the Women in Development Office in Washington, D.C. She is currently an assistant professor of political science at the University of Texas at El Paso and teaches courses which include administrative theory, Third World politics, and women in development. She has worked as a research associate at the University of Nairobi, has done extensive research, and written numerous articles on women farmers and women in development. Please welcome again Dr. Kathleen Staudt.

DR. STAUDT:

This afternoon I will talk first about some of the promising aspects of women in development, the structure of Women in Development within AID, and the tools that are now available to make women in development "happen" in the agency. Then I will move on to talk about ways we might try to measure actual performance of the agency on women in development -- performance which has been less than satisfactory. Better knowledge and use of those tools can improve current AID performance.

As was mentioned this morning, the Women in Development Office was set up as a result of a congressional amendment, the Percy Amendment, which was established in 1973 directing AID to integrate women in development efforts. Also mentioned before was the focus on women's economic integration, in contrast to the past when the focus has been almost solely on women's domestic and reproductive roles. Let's start with an overview of the AID structure and WID within it. Many political appointees are at top levels of the various bureaus.

The Women in Development Office was initially attached to the administrator's office. In a reorganization that took place in 1977, it was put into the Programming and Policy Coordination Bureau and a new WID

appointment was made. Political appointees usually signify some tie to outside groups and to Congresspersons and then to staff, the latter of whom are both responsive to outside groups and oversee AID activity. When Women in Development began, the WID political appointment was added to the EEO officer's appointment. As you might imagine, that added a good deal of work and also confused Women in Development -- with a focus on women beneficiaries in the Third World -- with EEO in some people's minds. The issues are certainly linked; presumably, more women who are employed in AID who are sensitive to women in development will mean more progress toward women in development. EEO, however, is not the same thing as Women in Development.

In 1974, AID formulated Policy Determination No. 60, a very strong statement which calls upon the agency to have strategies to reach women in all of its projects. This has not happened, however. Instead, there are "women impact" statements in the Project Papers, or PPs, not actual strategies to reach women in the PPs.

Women in Development was very visible in the early days -- visibility associated with attachment to the administrator's office. Cables were sent out to AID field missions asking what they were doing and what they wanted to do on women in development. At the time Women in Development was created, there was also a whole new supportive context for people-sensitive programming within AID. In 1973, Congress mandated many new requirements on the agency, known as the "New Mandates." Congress directed that AID reorient its strategy to reach the "rural poor majority" and to promote "growth with equity" rather than simply growth alone. A few years later, Congress also prompted AID to concern itself with "basic human needs" -- health, nutrition, and education. So, at the time that Women in Development was created, other new mandates presumably reinforced the issue. In 1975, "social soundness analysis" was established, which required that PPs give attention to impacts of projects on people and on communities. Seemingly, sensitivity to women would occur in the process of doing social soundness analysis.

Structurally, there were also some changes that took place within AID after the Women in Development mandate. Women in Development officers were established in the four regional bureaus -- Near East, Latin America-Caribbean, Africa, and Asia. Some regional WID officers are assigned 50 percent of their time to women in development and others, 100 percent. Staff also "watch" Women in Development in some of the Development Support Bureau sector offices, but at less than 50 percent time. There is also a WID officer in PDC, the bureau which is concerned with private voluntary organizations who run development activities with grassroots staff in other countries. Seemingly, too, this is fairly powerful structural penetration within the agency. After all, a small Women in Development Office cannot possibly watch all that this huge and complex agency is doing. Other people watching, making suggestions, and establishing linkages are necessary to truly "integrate" the issue and make the whole agency sensitive to women in development.

The Women in Development Office has a number of different functions which assist the agency and help to penetrate this issue in various parts of

the agency. One task is to attend project review committees, to raise the issue of women and to make suggestions about how women might be built into projects. In other words, the office attempts to assure that women are taken into account in the project design process within the agency. One problem, of course, is that every year there are hundreds of PIDs and PPs which an office with only five professionals is hard-pressed to cover. The office also monitors agency activities and provides quarterly reports to Congress on agency activities and spending to integrate women in development. A 1978 congressional amendment indicated that agency spending on women in development has to be at least \$10 million. Another function of the Women in Development Office is offering technical assistance and providing information about persons who can provide WID expertise. The Women in Development Office has sponsored several rosters that make available the names of people who can provide technical assistance on women in development to AID central and field staff. There are other rosters floating around the agency and the women in development rosters follow a great many of these. Whether or not they are used, or whether or not there is much of a demand for them, are other questions. The Women in Development Office has also sponsored some policy-oriented research for AID policy program and project activity. Several crucial studies include topics on female-headed households, forestry, food, education, water projects, and other sector-specific issues within the agency. The office has a resource center to disseminate these and other studies to AID staff, researchers, and other practitioners. One question always is, of course, whether or not the material is read. If an executive summary precedes the paper, that will be read. Even the executive summary may not be read because the AID field mission staff is heavily burdened, in terms of procedures and paperwork. Finally, the Women in Development Office coordinates activities with other donors.

In late 1979, the Women in Development Office reported that there were 143 AID women in development projects. These projects are composed of two basic types: the "women-specific" project, where women are the central focus, and the "women's component" in a larger project.

All of this sounds fairly impressive. We see that structurally there is focus on women in development, that there are women in development projects in the field, that there have been budgetary commitments to women in development, and that there are some procedural cues to make agency people focus on women in development, on the sexual division of labor, and on social analysis. At the same time, when we look at actual performance, we do not see as much forward movement as might have been anticipated given the length of time which has passed since the amendment. We must temper this analysis with more understanding of AID and the limited resources of the WID office.

For one, the procedure itself within the agency can be a hindrance to putting into practice women in development activities. It takes two to three years from the time a project idea is initiated until a Project Agreement is signed. Therefore, it will take several years before mandates are implemented in the field. Even though the procedures create certain barriers, they also make available numerous tools and access points on which people might have some influence.

Second, there are only five professionals working in the Women in Development Office who are expected to turn around an agency of thousands of direct-hire staff, plus numerous contractors. After all, the agency is staffed with bureaucrats who are supposed to put into practice this new mandate, even though they are the same people who focused on women in their domestic and reproductive roles in the past.

Third, we might look at the budget and the kind of money that is available to turn around the agency. The Women in Development Office, being located in the Policy Bureau, does not fund projects in the field. Most of the projects are funded through the regional bureaus and field missions. The Women in Development Office does not have money which could be used as "incentives" to stimulate projects in the field. Instead, missions are expected to use the same budgetary framework, into which WID resources would cut. There are no special financial incentives available to create women in development projects within the field. At the same time, we see that there are more than 140 women in development projects in the field. So, field missions have incorporated this into their budget requests and regional bureaus have funded, have approved, and have supported women in development projects in the field. It is critical to have actual projects in the field to demonstrate that women in development projects do work, and that it is possible to have a project that will build on women's agricultural activities or build on women's income-earning activities and enhance project and development goals.

Another change, too, has been a certain transformation in mentality in the agency. In the beginning when the WID mandate was first received by the agency, there was very little consensus -- and I might add there is still not all that much consensus -- about whether or not to support women in development, although that is the mandate. When some of the early Women in Development representatives attended project review committee meetings, their questions on women were actually greeted with laughter. We are now at a stage in which agency people are no longer laughing; indeed, other people are raising women's issues, even the chairpersons of the project review committees. There was a sentiment then, and perhaps still now to a certain extent, that this is a fad, or that if they just wait awhile it will all disappear. This sentiment is not limited to WID, but to various new mandates and even the "New Directions" of 1973 and thereafter. AID is not a monolithic organization, but has many, many different values represented within it.

Still another problem in the agency is that WID was a new goal among many new goals including basic human needs, growth with equity, and renewable energy among others. Projects are coded and classified with 20 so-called "special concern codes." Definitions, periodically revised, are used for women in development, appropriate technology, growth with equity, and so on, and it is difficult for AID staff to absorb all this information, much less accept or abide by it. What this means, in effect, is that it is easy to ignore women in development because of the multiple goals. And finally, AID is a decentralized agency, as I talked about this morning.

What is AID actual performance and how can we measure performance on women in development? It is very difficult to measure performance from the

perspective of AID/Washington. AID action is in the field, in the missions, and in the countries themselves, and implementation may be somewhat different than the original project design or may contrast with the "paper" that missions send to AID/Washington. Optimally, one would measure performance in the field, observing projects, collecting data on people, and comparing that with baseline data collected prior to the project to determine what change can be attributed to the project. That is time-consuming and costly, so one generally relies on reports from the mission or on evaluations. I have searched for data that is amenable to quantitative assessment and much of that is found in AID documents. Although documents may reflect "paper compliance" they do establish a standard of accountability to which AID must conform at least in part.

One quantitative way to assess AID performance on women in development is in international trainee figures. Presumably, since the Women in Development mandates, there should be more women who receive international training. In 1973, four percent of all the international trainees were females. This has gradually gone up to 13 percent in 1976, the last year I have figures for. This is an improvement, but not all that striking. In fact, if one looks at the international training figures for the early 1960s, one finds 12 percent female participation. So, for some reason, there was a real dip during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Another way to assess performance would be to look at the amount of agency spending on women in development. Part of this comes from the WID monitoring system. They periodically cable the missions and ask them what they are doing on women in development in terms of projects and spending. In 1979 the tracking system result reported to Congress indicated that approximately \$32 million was being spent in the agency on women in development. In terms of the percentage of total regional bureau funding, that amount represents about three percent of regional bureau funding -- not all that striking of a figure for a multi-billion dollar agency. The amount spent for the Women in Development Office is even less than that. So, financially, there is not a striking commitment to women in development within the agency.

I mentioned before that there were more than 140 projects reported by the missions to be women in development projects. Many of these projects are "women-specific" projects; that is, they focus on women. Some of those projects are pilot activities and provide us with models that offer useful lessons for future project design. Many of the women-specific projects, however, are minutely funded. The Africa Bureau has a whole series of women-specific projects under a regional funding number, the WID-umbrella projects. These projects range from \$25,000 to about \$365,000. That is some commitment, but when you look at the usual size of project funding within the agency, it appears to be a "drop in the bucket." Last year in Kenya, I drew up a Project Paper under the WID-umbrella project for \$175,000. I was pleased to see the money finally obligated for Peace Corps Volunteers to work with home extension people in Kenya to reach women farmers. But while in Kenya, I compared the funding amount to a recent agricultural project that had just been funded for \$52 million. One has to compare the financial size of some of these women-specific projects to regular projects in the agency.

Fifty-two million dollars is much larger than most AID projects, but \$5 million to \$10 million is a typical AID project sum. Most women-specific projects are minimally funded.

Another way to look at performance would be to examine whether there are strategies to reach women in the larger projects. Since I have studied agricultural extension services, I was particularly interested in agency agricultural activities, a budget account that represents half of AID bilateral development assistance. For projects classified as agricultural credit and extension projects, I computed how often a strategy to reach women was present in seven different document types. Presumably in places like Africa, one would expect that virtually all of the projects would contain a strategy to reach women, because in so many of the societies women are the producers and decision-makers.

Before I report my findings on strategies to reach women in these projects, let me briefly summarize the accumulating research evidence on women farmers and their access to agricultural services. Many women head households in developing countries, and women are farmers as well. Even when men are living with them in the household, women are still performing agricultural tasks, making decisions, and so on. Several studies in Kenya, Tanzania, and Botswana compared women farmers' access to agricultural extension services with men's access. These services include visits from extension officers, training, and credit. Data indicate that women farmers always have less access to agricultural extension services than men. One of a number of explanations relates to male staff delivering the services. Men extension officers deliver services largely to men in societies where communication structures are somewhat separated -- men talk to men and women to women about these kinds of matters -- and where women household heads are avoided due to cultural constraints against interaction between unrelated men and women. Because land reforms have placed men's names on title deeds, the primary form of guarantee for agricultural loans, women's access to credit is problematic. It is crucial to have a strategy to reach women with female extension and to meet their credit needs with other guarantees.

I looked at a variety of agency documents in the field of agricultural extension and credit to determine whether or not there were strategies to reach women. Looking at print-outs of past projects and breaking down information by regional area, I found that in the Latin American Bureau, five percent of those project types had strategies to reach women; Asia Bureau, nine percent; Africa Bureau, 10 percent; and Near East Bureau, nothing. The congressional presentation, which previews current and future activities, brought similar figures: five percent, Latin American Bureau; six percent, Asia Bureau; seven percent, Africa Bureau -- nine percent, Sahel, which is a separate budget category; and seven percent, Near East Bureau. One might have expected a higher percentage in the congressional presentation, because it is a preview of the future. Still, for both of those sources, usually a tenth of projects or less had some strategy to reach women. Also, when there was a strategy to reach women, it was not always specified in terms of women as producers, but rather in more traditional terms, such as family planning or old-style home economics focusing on women solely in their domestic roles -- not to

denigrate these activities, however. I was interested in economic activities -- the concern of the WID definition -- which deals with women as farmers and producers. In another source, a study of integrated rural development projects, I found that eight percent of the projects had a strategy to reach women. There again, they included family planning and domestic activities. I studiously paged through the Annual Budget Submission for the Agricultural Office and the Development Support Bureau for Fiscal Year -- FY -- 1980, a single-spaced 460-page document, and found five lines on women. I also looked through the inch-thick Agricultural Sector Program Identification and Classification Document, which profiled agriculture in the agency for FY76 through FY85. There was a WID category in this classification document, but only one WID project was listed. I called the relevant country desk officer to inquire about this project. She indicated that the project was listed in error! What this suggests, I think, is that there is little attention to women in this primary AID sector. Perhaps implementation patterns are at odds with these figures, but something should reflect this in the documents. In fact, during implementation, even less inclusion of women may occur compared to documents. It is impossible to say in any precise way what is actually happening during implementation unless one is there to observe and measure women's access. Yet this material suggests that the agency has not progressed very far in a sector-specific area like agriculture on women in development.

Women in development, however, is a "process" issue as well as an end product issue, and that is extremely difficult to measure. It is hard to measure, for example, how much increased sensitivity there is to women's work among staff people within the agency. Probably more people now are sensitive, but it is impossible to say precisely how many more. Women in development is now found in the training programs within the agency: the Development Studies Program, a three-month training program, and the international intern, the IDI, training program. So some of these "process" concerns may be dealt with in part by the agency.

There have been some successes. For example, a participatory women's project in Tanzania began as a research effort -- funded at a low level, \$36,000 in AID terms. The project has turned into a half-million dollar project, also paltry in the AID terms, but that suggests some progress. There are beginning to be models of large integrated rural development projects with women's components built in that focus on women as producers, such as Jamaica and Senegal projects. The projects provide guidance and documentation as to how women might be integrated in other large projects. There is very strong policy support from Title XII to the women in development issue.

Integration does depend on "process" and on people who can make all of those connections during those very complicated steps of the projects design. People must use the tools available, such as the policy determination statement and the various procedures and guidelines, to "leverage in" strategies that include women. All this depends on people making those kinds of connections and the Women in Development Office cannot do it alone, with only five professional staff. The Women in Development officers in the regional bureaus also cannot do it

alone, nor can the Women in Development officers in the field who are assigned an even smaller part of their time to women in development. But, hopefully, the involvement of people like yourselves can make this kind of issue happen within the agency.

Any questions?

QUESTION:

Yes, I would just like to make one comment. When we had the research seminar presentation two weeks ago, the head of evaluation in AID said to me afterwards that the attempt to influence BIFAD and the agency should incorporate evaluation and take baseline data before you go any further so that once you articulate your goals, you will have some measure of how successful you will be over the next few years in influencing the agency to more directly address the role of women in agriculture. I responded to him that I had surveyed where the Title XII universities were at this point in time. I now see the other piece in a sense -- that this is where the agency is at the point in time -- where Title XII's women in development stream of capacity begins to flow in. It might be very interesting to think about where we want to be in five years with regard to these kinds of things. Do we want 10 percent, or 12 percent, or 15 percent of the budget to reflect this kind of thing? Should we set ourselves some goals over the next five years and then try and measure from baseline to goal?

DR. STAUDT:

Yes, it would be very useful to think about things in those terms. We would want to be careful about the level at which goals and targets are set. Current goals on women, both for the agency and the few projects with targets, are set far too low to reflect women's contributions and numbers.

Since you mentioned the word "evaluation" I have another point to make. When I was looking at the agriculture documents, I was also interested to see whether or not the evaluation documents that were already on file within the agency had some indication as to whether or not women had been included. Because that, after all, could be a rich data source available to us, to provide guidance and lessons for the future. When I was tracking down evaluation documents, I found that very rarely was there any data disaggregated by sex. Many different projects, such as those in the agricultural sector, use the household as the last unit of analysis, and are oblivious to variations in household structures, such as the female-headed household. One also had to look at relationships inside the household, such as work contributions and income within -- because, as we know, there are a variety of societies that do have very separate incomes inside the family, so that increased income for the man does not necessarily mean increased income for the women or for the children -- but the evaluations do not disaggregate the data by sex. So it is very difficult to know whether or not women were even participating, much less whether or not the impact of the project was positive -- it is always supposed to be positive, negative, neutral or whatever. In education, better evaluation is likely to happen because

studies traditionally break down data by sex on literacy rates, illiteracy rates, school attendance, and so on. Educational disparities are very visible to people; they can see sex differences because the data conveniently display them. But for other sectors, it is very difficult to know the differences and the differential impact between sexes.

QUESTION:

Kathleen, have you mentioned these methodology problems? Because it seems to me, in reading your report on trying to evaluate other projects when the data was not there, that there must be some way in AID to influence the standards of evaluation and the methodologies of evaluation. They are supposed to be very methodology-prone. You could say that to all of them perhaps or to Bob Berg of PPC, in charge of some kind of evaluation standards. What is going on?

DR. STAUDT:

There is an office for evaluation in PPC, every regional bureau has an evaluation officer, and all the missions have evaluation officers. Sometimes the program officer or the deputy mission director is the evaluation officer. Certainly within PPC Bob Berg has been an active supporter of women in development. He has funded the Ruth Dixon monograph, Assessing the Impact of Development Projects on Women (1980). I think Bob Berg is aware of the fact that AID has many projects that cannot really be evaluated in the strict sense of the term. A minute proportion of AID projects have baseline data collected in the beginning, from which to later measure progress. Even when AID projects are evaluated, the evaluation is not always oriented to impact on people. More typically evaluated are, for example, whether or not the commodities were delivered on time, whether or not the project started on time, and/or how much of "X" was delivered. These are management evaluations rather than "impact" evaluations. Of course, evaluation is very difficult in countries where massive data is not available. Rigorous evaluation is also costly and time-consuming. And until the agency and Congress are concerned enough about measuring impact, until they are willing to obligate that kind of money, there will be no baseline data for the program. But I think that evaluation might be a very useful focus for women in development, because the agency is committed to evaluation. Evaluation is decentralized within the agency, and Bob Berg has neither the authority nor the staff to closely monitor other evaluation officers. However, he can provide guidelines and influence the forms that are being used which would "cue" evaluation to measure impact by sex. Evaluation plans are also in the original project design. If project managers knew they were responsible to reach a certain number or percentage of women, and to "prove" that in evaluation, there would be a greater incentive to include women during implementation.

MR. RAULLERSON¹:

I feel the need to make a comment. It seems to me that the number of WID projects you mentioned, 142, is not really important. Regardless of

¹Calvin H. Raullerson, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Private and Development Cooperation, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C.

whether you have 143 or 572 projects, what is really critical is what you have acknowledged that we cannot measure -- the sensitivity of the agency to how a particular project can account for and address the role of women. I think that is happening within the geographical bureaus. I cannot tell whether that is 10 percent of the projects or not.

A second comment: I think it is very good that we are not a monolithic agency. There is a lot of tension in the agency about basic human needs and addressing the poor majority. There is some feeling in some quarters, and I guess I am part of that, that we probably tried to outdo Congress in looking to those so-called "New Directions." We probably went further than Congress even intended for us to go. There is probably a need to come back and look at things, like infrastructure, which are necessary in some agricultural programs. But there is a need to address again the very important aspect of education. Your figures on international training -- while I do not argue with them, I think you also have to say at the same time that in the past five years and within the last two years especially, the emphasis in the Office of Training has been virtually nil, and that office has been stripped down to the bare bones. They just lost another 25 slots, so when you say that there is an increase that is relatively small, that is quite true in terms of the total number of people they are providing training for. It may be very significant. We just reduced our interest because of other concerns in the whole aspect of training. Again, I think that is a very great mistake that we have made. I think that in the long run, what is going to be helpful more than numbers of projects is to look, for example, as we do in the PL 480 Program, at food aid and see that one of the important implications for that is human capital development, the capital of human resources in individual nations. If you look at the role of women in that development, it is critical in every developing country. For example, the education level of a child is more dependent upon a woman than it is upon a man in developing societies, and so it is very important that we look at the traditional things like maternal and child care programs and nutrition programs, but also at other aspects that address the role of the woman in society and in a particular country. And there are countries in partnership with AID -- such as Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and to a relatively smaller extent, India -- that are looking very seriously at that. I have no quarrel generally with a number of the things that you are saying, and if you will excuse the reference, it is a terribly complicated process that is sort of like the five-minute comment that CBS makes about the Middle East; it is like CBS is addressing the situation as if it were a basketball game -- who got 50 points and who got 60? I think we have to get out of that mode and really begin to look at effective ways to support those people within the agency, people who have served for a long period of time. For example, last year there had been some 30 impact evaluations of projects within countries that AID provides support for. I have no idea how those project evaluations have addressed the role of women. I would suspect that, for example, in an area like Tunisia and some others, it is addressed in a very critical manner. But there is a forward movement, I think, and I believe that through dialogues like this and through pressures and concerns that can be brought to AID through forums like this, advances are going to be made, so that in time you need not have

a Women in Development Office. I think that women should work to move that out of existence at a point in time when we can normally address that and not be concerned about men in development or women in development, but development.

DR. STAUDT:

Yes, I hope I have given you a sense of how complex this is; I only had about an hour and a half to do this all in. I have stated a number of different times how complex this is. There are a variety of things happening; there is no clear direction that we are moving in, and while I can appreciate your comments on the importance of process on how women interconnect with other development goals, I think it still is useful to have some way to think about where we were and where we are going and a structure to back that up. It would be very easy to say, "Okay, let's just throw all this out; AID is already doing women in development; let's not concern ourselves with it." It would be very easy, I think, in a situation like that for AID to simply revert back to its inattention to women.

MR. RAULLERSON:

The project process is ridiculous. It just takes too long. It is a stupid kind of thing to do and I think nine out of 10 people that you talk with would agree with that. A large part of this is concerned with bureaucrats justifying their business.

DR. STAUDT:

Who would quarrel with that?

CHALLENGE: Resource Development

The Development Process: A Holistic Approach

GERALD W. THOMAS
President
New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, New Mexico

INTRODUCTION:

I would like to welcome you all to the second part of the first day of our conference and today I have the honor of introducing Dr. Gerald W. Thomas, president of New Mexico State University. Prior to assuming the presidency of New Mexico State University in 1970, Dr. Thomas was the dean of the College of Agricultural Sciences at Texas Tech University. He has also worked for Texas A&M, for the U.S. Conservation Service, and the U.S. Forest Center. Dr. Thomas has written more than 100 professional articles, is co-author of several books, and is the author of Progress and Change in the Agricultural Industry and co-author of the book Food and Fiber for a Changing World. He has received international recognition in the field of agriculture, ecology, and resource management. As president of the land grant university in New Mexico, Dr. Thomas is responsible for academic programs on five campuses throughout the state. New Mexico State University also has extensive research and extension programs throughout the state, and personnel in more than 30 locations worldwide. I would like to welcome Dr. Gerald Thomas.

DR. THOMAS:

The more I become involved in international development, the more I realize that the process of development is complex, with many variables which are difficult to evaluate and control. The role of women is an important and neglected part of this puzzle. My paper is designed to explore the broad development challenge, particularly in the food and nutrition sector. Furthermore, due to my background in resources and the environment, this paper is approached with an ecological perspective -- emphasizing that the process of producing food cannot be accomplished in the long term by ignoring the resource base, particularly land, water and energy. Indeed, it is apparent that many attempts to increase food production are actually contributing to environmental degradation. The problem of desert encroachment in the Sahelian/Sudanian

zones of Africa is an example of this interaction between food production and resource deterioration.

The dual challenge, therefore, from an ecological perspective is to produce food and yet conserve the basic resources. It might appear from these introductory comments that I am ignoring the social and humanities element, such as the role of women. Such is not the case, as you will see during this presentation.

I have had the opportunity during my professional career to study the development problems in a number of countries. However, for the purpose of this analysis, I want to use my most recent experience in sub-Saharan Africa -- a study that was sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation in their new program on fragile environments, a part of their larger commitment to the "Conquest of Hunger."

Observations and recommendations in this paper are drawn from my professional experience, visits to several areas of the world, contacts with scientists and technicians in these regions, a review of selected literature, and specific field studies in the Sahelian/Sudanian zones in 1980. I spent three months actually in the field looking at the major portion of the 10 countries lying south of the Sahara from Somalia to Senegal. Previous field trips in the semi-desert and desert areas to the north of the Sahara, in Algeria, Libya and Egypt, reveal similar patterns of man-accelerated desert encroachment. Also the fringe areas of the Rub al Khali -- the Empty Quarter -- of Saudi Arabia demonstrate the constant struggle by sparse vegetation against the ravages of nature confounded by the impact of man and animals.

At the present time, it is estimated that there are more than 50 million people in the areas of the Sahelian/Sudanian zones with an annual rainfall below 800 millimeters, or 31.5 inches. While it may be possible to sustain this many people with "proper" management of the resources, it is also obvious that, under present practices, the resources are rapidly deteriorating. The process of desertification is measurable by accepted scientific standards.

The challenge is not only to support the present population, but to provide for population growth rates ranging from 2.0 to 3.8 percent per year. This means that the population will double in about 25 years. Since present per capita incomes are now less than \$200 per person per year, the need is not only to maintain the status quo as population increases, but to try to improve on these minimum standards.

Overall, according to Butcher, food production in sub-Saharan Africa is not now keeping up with population growth (1980). The prognosis is not optimistic for the region as a whole, but there is evidence of slow progress in localized areas and there is the potential for increasing food production over the long term.

Under present practices, this generation is "living off their grandchildren" as they continue to overexploit the fragile resource base, locked into a situation with large families to feed, desperate for the bare

essentials of life, and operating in an economic, social, and political environment that does not encourage progress. And, as appropriately stated by the Commission on World Hunger, "The struggle to survive often forces people to act in ways that seriously threaten their fragile environment" (1980).

Some estimates show that the progress of the true Sahara Desert to the south is about five to six kilometers per year. "In the Sudan the desert has advanced between 90 and 100 kilometers within a 17-year period," according to Ali (1977). But, even this alarming movement, which absorbs many hectares per year into the true Sahara, is not the major concern. Rather, it is the "desertification in situ"; that is, the deterioration of the resources around villages and water holes south of the true desert that is the major problem. "The desert does not usually move forward in a straight line, but spreads like a skin disease, in blotches and spots" (Thacher, 1979).

Before proceeding further, it may be appropriate to put this problem of desertification in the Sahel in proper international perspective. Mr. P.S. Thacher, deputy executive director of the United Nations Environmental Programme, states that, "Desertification is probably the greatest single environmental threat to the future well-being of the earth" (1979). Other recent articles and publications such as Eric Eckholm's book, Losing Ground, also tend to emphasize the dramatic problem of desert encroachment. I believe Mr. Thacher's and Dr. Eckholm's statements are an overemphasis of the problem, particularly in view of the newly recognized threats to the world's environment from increased CO₂ levels in the upper atmosphere or the problem of depletion of the ozone from chlorofluorocarbons. Both of these environmental issues which may lead to climatic change have been emphasized in recent articles in Science magazine. To put the Sahelian/Sudanian desertification problem in world perspective, it appears more likely that the activities of the highly developed countries, with their large appetites for fossil fuels and other resources, along with their sophisticated technologies, pose more of a potential threat to the world's environment than the poor peoples in the underdeveloped world who unknowingly are spreading the progress of the deserts. However, there is ample cause for concern on both fronts.

I. Natural and Man-Accelerated Desertification

How much of the desertification process is natural -- that is, normal to the high fluctuations in climate which produce disastrous droughts -- and how much of the process is man-caused or man-accelerated? Part of this study was designed to probe this question in the sub-Saharan region. In most of the recent literature, mankind has been uniformly condemned for the "advance of the deserts." While the opinions of the experts vary, the ecological evidence indicates that there is an element of the desertification movement in Africa that is geologic -- that is, associated with natural climatic fluctuations or long-term climatic change. Also, the effects of "normal" periodic drought can be very pronounced on soils and vegetation even under complete protection from domesticated livestock or farming operations. For example, the occurrence of drought at

the time of an explosion in certain insect populations could be just as devastating as drought combined with overgrazing.

Obviously, more research is needed on long-term weather patterns and possible geologic trends toward desert encroachment in Africa as well as other parts of the world. There is no doubt, however, that mankind is the great accelerator of change. Mankind is speeding up the desertification process. Most of these human activities are associated with the desperate attempts to supply basic food and fuel needs for the family.

The major activities leading to the deterioration or destruction of the resource base in sub-Saharan Africa are: cultivation of marginal and submarginal lands; overgrazing or mismanagement of livestock; overharvesting of brush and tree species for wood; and irresponsible and haphazard burning of the vegetation. I will discuss each of these only very briefly.

A. Cultivation of Marginal and Submarginal Lands

Although there are some differences among the sub-Saharan countries in their approach to land ownership and use, there is not a good system of "land capability classification" for the region. Marginal and submarginal lands in the drier zones are often burned, plowed with hand or animal-traction equipment, farmed for one or more years, and then abandoned. Even where soil survey information is available, there is no enforcement scheme or economic incentive to confine farming to the areas suitable for cultivation. Land-tenure policies vary from country to country. More often than not, the land is not owned by the farmer, although he may have traditional rights from the village chief to use the land.

B. Overgrazing and Mismanagement of Livestock

Overgrazing not only causes a change in the vegetation complex, but if continued over long periods of time, leads to almost complete destruction of the ground cover and serious erosion. It is this loss of ground cover that is the major contributor to desert encroachment in the sub-Sahara. Virtually all range ecologists are agreed that there are too many livestock on the area at the present time. The area was deteriorating before the drought, the process was intensified during the dry years, and now livestock numbers have again built back to excessive levels.

Overgrazing or mismanagement of livestock is considered in my study a more critical problem than irresponsible cultivation for four reasons:

1. There is vastly more range land than cultivated land by a factor of about 5- or 6-to-1.
2. Livestock are forced into the lower rainfall zones which are more fragile environments, and the grazing land base is being reduced by increased cultivation.
3. Livestock numbers and grazing patterns are more difficult to control, because of nomadic or transhumance traditions.

4. Governments, understandably, are reluctant to take corrective action, often for political reasons. The next drought south of the Sahara, which will start at an unpredictable future date, will be even more damaging to the resource base than the last.

C. Deforestation -- Brush and Tree Removal

One of the most visible changes in the sub-Saharan zones is the marked reduction in the density of forest stands. There is virtually complete removal of all forms of wood supplies for large distances around most of the towns and villages in drier zones. The disappearance of the forests is primarily related to need for wood for cooking -- a poor man's energy crisis -- but it is also associated with cultivation and grazing pressure which destroys the young plants.

D. Irresponsible or Haphazard Burning

It is appropriate to list irresponsible burning of vegetation as one of the contributing factors to desert encroachment. However, burning from the viewpoint of the farmer or pastoralist is neither irresponsible nor haphazard. It is done for one or more specific purposes such as burning to clear land for cultivation; burning to remove old grass and destroy "cobras"; and burning to increase forage palatability. It appears from an ecological viewpoint that there is a desirable role for fire in managing many of these vegetation types. Nevertheless, fire too often, at the wrong time and in the wrong circumstances, contributes to the destruction of vegetative cover and hastens the process of aridity. Dr. Le Houerou, a range ecologist at ILCA, stated recently, "It was also estimated that in the African savannas such fires burn more than 80 million tons of forage per year, the ration of 25 million cattle for nine months" (1977).

II. A Formula for Progress

The dual challenge, food production and resource conservation, cannot be met by a simplified approach which involves the manipulation of only one or two limiting factors in production. There is no easy solution to a very complex problem, no simple political choice, no ideal economical alternative, no single appropriate technology, and no solution which does not involve serious social and cultural adjustments. It is important, therefore, to examine the challenge in the broadest possible terms. Such an approach was emphasized in a recent Rockefeller Foundation Conference titled, "International Development Strategies for the Sahel." A statement from this conference at Bellagio follows:

A holistic approach is necessary -- one that transcends national boundaries to deal with the Sahel as a region, one that encompasses the totality of its life, resources, and relationships, and one that considers its numerous links to adjacent regions and beyond (Butcher, 1980).

The holistic approach visualized in this paper does not include only a broad geographical consideration, but also a combination of many

factors, activities and policies that must be put in place in order to reverse the desertification process and meet the challenge to double food production in the next 25 years.

For purposes of this discussion, I am proposing eight major categories which must be considered as a "Proposed Formula for Progress" in the region. These are not listed in order of priority, although they are all directly influenced by governmental programs and policies. All eight categories must be taken into consideration in the long-term approach to the conquest of hunger. Adaptations of this formula must be made to fit individual country situations. Furthermore, without the cooperation and commitment of local people and institutions, no permanent progress can be made.

I want to comment now only on a few items in this formula that relate to the conference theme.

A. Responsible Government Programs and Policies

Most of the contacts that I made and most of the literature that I reviewed on sub-Saharan Africa indicated that the governments must increase their emphasis on the agricultural sector and the problems of the rural people. Many of these governments have made a verbal commitment, and in some cases, a limited financial commitment, to this policy, but the attention more often than not is too little and too late. Substantial changes must be made in governmental policies and programs.

Governmental programs must be designed to release the creativity of the individual and provide stability for his operation. Long-term credit to ensure stable markets, tax programs to encourage proper land development, price incentives to stimulate production, and emergency credit programs for drought or variable weather conditions are especially needed for food production systems in sub-Saharan Africa.

In the new book To Feed This World, Wortman and Cummings focus on where the responsibility lies with the following statement: "Every government must be responsible for the food supply of its own people and for the development of its rural areas . . . Only the governments can set the policies, strengthen the institutions and reach the farmers and other rural people" (1978).

In a recent USDA publication The World Food Situation and Prospects to 1985, the statement was made that "The world food situation can be changed to the extent that governments and individuals see needs for change and are willing to modify those policies and conditions that influence food production and consumption" (1978).

McNamara, president of the World Bank, put it this way: "The first step is to change government policies that have neglected the rural poor and discriminated against the agricultural sector" (1980).

Since the 1970 drought, with the large input of outside development assistance to the food sector, there is some evidence that African governments are now placing agriculture in a higher priority. However, the emphasis on food production usually tends to neglect the problems of environmental degradation.

An interesting statement was made in 1799 by Napoleon Bonaparte: "Under a good administration the Nile gains on the desert; under a bad one, the desert gains on the Nile" (Moorhead, 1962).

Director General Edouard Saouma of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) stated recently, "The developing nations themselves have in too many cases accepted a growing dependence on food aid and commercial food imports, and even a decline in nutritional standards, in order to devote resources to projects of national pride or passing attraction bringing little tangible benefits for the totality of the population, instead of concentrating on the strengthening of the agricultural sector, on which depends the very survival of the nation" (1980).

- B. Proper Use of Resources -- Land, Water, Energy and Vegetation
Under the pressure from population growth, it is imperative that all sub-Sahara countries re-examine their resource base. Water is probably the most limiting resource in the area and will likely continue to be the major limitation to food production in the Sahelian/Sudanian zones. There is a need to recognize the value of water with the appreciation of the desert nomad. However, there is now a serious "poor man's energy crisis" -- with the majority of the people depending upon the decreasing supply of wood for fuel. At the same time, the cost of petroleum limits fertilizer use, farm inputs, marketing, and transportation. Land is more abundant, but the potential productivity of the soils is deteriorating due to continued misuse.

The role of energy in the food and fiber systems should be more carefully analyzed by an evaluation of the two major energy flow patterns: first, the capture of solar energy by vegetation through the process of photosynthesis, the movement of this energy through ecosystems, and the ultimate utilization of a small fraction of this photosynthetic energy by mankind as a food or fiber product; and secondly, the flow of cultural energy -- energy subsidies -- required to "run" the food and fiber ecosystems. This latter source of energy includes manpower, animal power, hydroelectric power, critical amounts of fossil fuels, and certain other energy subsidies.

Understanding the complicated interrelationships between these two energy flow patterns is not only important to energy and food conservation, but indeed, it may be one key to man's survival in the Sahelian/Sudanian zones.

One unique feature about life in the sub-Sahara, as compared to the more developed areas of the world, is the high dependence upon direct photosynthetic energy, not only as the basic source

of food, but also for fuel, primarily wood, and for "cultural energy" to produce food through manpower and animal traction. The traditional African systems are far less dependent upon fossil fuel than the systems in the United States. Nevertheless, the cost and availability of fossil fuel is critical to the development of the agriculture sector even in these zones.

Based upon the research that has been done in the United States and the experience in semi-arid and arid lands, I would estimate that the vegetation in this region captures only about one-tenth of one percent of the solar energy that falls on the area and that insects, particularly termites and locusts, consume 10 times more vegetation than livestock even under heavy grazing pressure. Also, the role of small animals such as rodents is probably more important than has been generally recognized. Dr. Van Dyne, who has studied U.S. arid range lands, states it this way: "The characteristic of these range ecosystems which seems surprising is the relatively small proportion of the net primary production that enters the grazing food chain. Thus, when one summarizes the energy flow in terms of a five-month growing season, cattle capture only .0003 percent -- but this is a very important and tasty percentage" (1978). What I am trying to say here is that we know far too little about photo-synthetic energy capture and movement of food to the table, and we know far too little about the "cultural energy" requirements to run the food system, such as the role of manpower, animal traction and fossil fuel. There are vast possibilities for the development of "appropriate technology" using energy as a constraint.

C. Education and Research as an Investment in Progress

The first rung on the long ladder to adequate food production is education at all levels and research to develop new knowledge as it relates to the problems in the area. I am not going to spend much time on this item except to point out that more than 80 percent of the people in this zone, as well as in most other under-developed countries of the world, cannot read or write their own language. The cultural mixture in sub-Saharan Africa is very complex. There are more than 100 different ethnic groups in the Sudan alone, and communication between these groups and the government is very poor.

The role of research has also been underestimated. In my opinion, there is a need for some very sophisticated technologies in the zone, particularly as related to energy. I think that, too often, we are underestimating the value of new research developments as it might improve the conditions of the people in the area.

While new information must be continually developed for the area through research, the problem of transferring this information to the field and adapting it to the problems of the farmer and pastoralist must receive a higher priority. Extension skills are unique and too few people have mastered this art. Financial support for extension activities is difficult to obtain in a

marginal economy and the rewards to the extension specialists are usually not as great as the rewards for other professional efforts.

One important problem that I list under the educational process is poor communication and lack of coordination for development. The most obvious opportunities for improvement in communication are:

1. among multi-national agencies and organizations -- and there are many operating in the area
2. between development organizations and the country governments
3. within the governments themselves and among the various governmental agencies
4. between the governments and the people they serve
5. among and between professional groups, that is, veterinarians, range ecologists, agronomists, economists, nutritionists, and sociologists.

A major purpose of Title XII is to improve coordination between the functions of education, research and extension. This is a special problem in developing countries that have been influenced by European tradition, where education is too often isolated in the university community, research is in a Ministry of Agriculture separated from extension which is also administered by the national government.

D. Focus on the Farmer and Pastoralist to Create the Incentive to Produce

All too often, people seem to forget that governments, bureaucracies, and even food conferences do not produce food; "only farmers produce food, and they must have the incentive to produce" (Thomas, 1975). Farmers and pastoralists must have the right political, social and economic environment in which to operate. The focus must therefore be on the food producer. Thus, the effectiveness of all development activities will depend not only on our ability to find solutions to the problems through research and our ability to transfer this information to the farmer, but more importantly, on the ability of the producer to put new technology into practice. The key issues here are economic incentives, availability of capital and long-term credit plus recognition of cultural, religious, or traditional barriers to change.

Recognizing the role of both the male and female in the family is an important part of the "incentive to produce." In many areas of the Sahel, where there are mixed farm/livestock operations, the women are the farmers, while the men are traditional livestock managers. Most studies in the Sahelian/Sudanese zones indicate that change will occur if the right incentives are provided.

E. Application of Modern Science and Appropriate Technology

1. Utilizing the Principles of Genetics

Genetic improvement in plants and animals is one of the most rapid ways to increase food production in the developing world. This includes not only a study of the variability and distribution of "existing" plants and animal forms, but development and adaptation of new kinds of plants and animals to the situation. The "Green Revolution" was largely based upon the development and adaptation of new cereal grains to the underdeveloped world. The opportunities for insect and disease control, for increasing yield based upon water constraints and for adapting genetic material to environmental situations rest on the science of genetics. Over the long pull, genetics is one of our most important technologies.

2. Proper Use of Agricultural Chemicals

The major types of chemicals of economic significance to agriculture are fertilizers, insecticides, fungicides, nematocides, herbicides, chemical additives, and growth regulators. Chemical fertilizers are particularly important to maximize crop yields. World Bank studies show that "on average, for every incremental ton of fertilizer, six to eight incremental tons of grain are produced in developing countries" (Wortman and Cummings, 1978). However, in the sub-Sahara, due to the high cost, fertilizer use has been largely confined to the irrigated sector and the high rainfall zones. For rainfed crop production in the marginal areas of the Sahel, fertilizer is not feasible for the small farmer unless the government can subsidize part of the cost.

In some of the areas there is an overuse of pesticides without considering the environmental consequences. Integrated pest management (IPM) programs are needed for the zone.

3. Appropriate Technology and Energy Alternatives

This topic has been discussed earlier under "energy resources" but it is well to again point out that a compromise must be established between labor-intensive techniques and the degree of mechanization. Even in the developing countries, the trend toward more power, better equipment and improved technology will likely continue as an essential part of any program for increasing production and improving the timeliness of planting, cultivation, harvesting, and processing of food. The pressure to mechanize is more often a risk-reducing decision than a pure economic one.

The so-called large scale "mechanized farming" schemes of many of the countries of the Sahelian/Sudanian zones are a subject of much controversy. While these operations do not fit into the small-farm mandate of USAID, they are one attempt to move the primitive traditional systems into modern-day technology. There is a place for this approach, but the issue requires careful study by each country as it

faces the question of high levels of unemployment and at the same time is confronted with the urgent need for rapid increases in production.

4. Storage, Processing and Distribution Systems

An increase of 25 to 30 percent in the food supply available to the consumer is a conservative goal for the countries in this region through improvement of these food conservation activities. Recognition of these opportunities is long overdue as is the applied research to investigate reasonable alternatives in the traditional processing and distribution systems.

5. The Socioeconomic Dimension

In these African regions of diverse cultures, religions, politics and traditions, there is a special need for research in the social and economic sciences in order to better understand the people and their actions. Over and above the basic concerns for food and shelter, there are logical reasons why farmers and pastoralists burn the vegetation, overgraze, or otherwise contribute to resource exploitation. There are factors in their social environment which perpetuate subsistence farming and discourage development.

Religious issues are also emerging as important considerations in country development activities. Most countries in this region of Africa have not faced up to the question of separation of church and state even though they profess religious freedom. The Moslem faith is spreading faster in the area than any other religious belief. The prevention of polarization among religions, and between religious and anti-religious groups, will be an increasing challenge in the years ahead. A good example of this conflict is in Ethiopia which has a very strong core of Coptic Christians, a very strong fundamentalist Moslem element, and a large group of animists. Communism has been superimposed over this religious complex, increasing the unrest and suspicion by religious groups of the "people's revolution."

Also, in the background and becoming more important with improved education and development, is the sexual issue -- the role of women. As pointed out by several studies, women are important decision-makers and workers. AID and BIFAD are now sponsoring research and seminars, such as this one, on sex roles in food production and food distribution systems as well as other aspects of development. Data resulting from one study in the African Sahel by Dr. Kathleen Cloud (1977) indicates that women play a highly significant role, not only in setting the standards of nutrition for the family, but in food production, domestic food storage, food processing, animal husbandry, marketing, brewing, water supply and fuel sources. These studies are important, but the long-standing tradition of male domination

and discrimination in these societies cannot be corrected without changing the attitudes of people through education.

The socioeconomic dimension is indeed an important part of any formula for progress in the region. Value systems and measures of success are different in sub-Saharan Africa than in the Western cultures. Research in sociology, anthropology, psychology, and economics can help provide better ways to bring about orderly change. The teamwork approach, however, is time-consuming and frustrating. In the meantime, rapid changes are necessary in order to provide the basic human needs of these expanding populations. Survival is still more important than the preservation of culture and tradition.

F. Balanced Human Nutrition -- The Consumer Goal

The ultimate goal of all food production and distribution systems is to improve the nutritional status of each member of the family. McNamara, president of the World Bank, stated recently, "It is clear now that the 'food problem' is not only a production problem . . . but one of balanced nutrition" (1980). He further states that in the low income countries as a group, "the absolute number of malnourished has increased over the last 20 years." The Presidential Commission on World Hunger emphasized that "malnutrition takes its greatest toll among infants and very young children. When malnutrition sets in during the early stages of life, it sometimes kills and nearly always sharply decreases the quality of life" (1980).

There are serious deficiencies in the diets of the people in this part of the world. Some of these deficiencies are unavoidable because of lack of an adequate or balanced food supply, and some are influenced by tradition or religious beliefs. The average caloric intake is now the lowest in Chad and Mauritania with an average of about 2100 calories per person per day, ranging to a high of 2300 calories in Kenya and Senegal (USAID, 1980). But, these averages mask the much more severe nutritional problems in some rural areas across the zone. Probably more than two-thirds of the region's people have daily or seasonal deficiencies in food energy. The long dry season imposes severe shortages of many food items needed in the daily diet. There is evidence of protein, vitamin and mineral deficiencies among nearly all the children.

G. Effective Development Assistance

None of the countries in the Sahelian/Sudanian zones are economically viable at the present time, with the possible exception of Nigeria. They must have outside assistance for orderly development and to provide the basic needs for their people. Since most nations have few opportunities for mineral or petroleum exploitation or for industrial development, they must look to the agricultural sector for long-term economic viability. A good potential for substantial improvement in food production exists in each country if it can determine the proper priorities

and if it can develop the logical approaches to its problems. Due consideration must be given, of course, to resource conservation to sustain this development.

The reliance on multilateral and bilateral development assistance raises many questions about the effectiveness of such assistance:

1. What nations or organizations can provide the assistance?
2. Where should the aid be directed?
3. How should it be administered within the countries?
4. How can aid reach the "poorest of the poor"?
5. What provisions are made to follow up on development projects?
6. What is the "absorptive capacity" of the country to accept development assistance?

Some observations on development assistance may be appropriate to stimulate follow-up discussion.

The PVO's -- private and voluntary organizations -- and the Peace Corps are generally more effective in direct help to the poor people than most large international development organizations. However, the UN and other major donors have a greater input into long-term development and direct governmental assistance.

The recipient countries are becoming very astute at maneuvering development agencies to maximize the total assistance. Questions about "absorptive capacity" to properly utilize these large sums of money and political manipulation are appropriate. For example, in one country, the total development assistance is almost equal to the per capita income of the country, and the U.S. contributes about 20 percent of this total. There are many other development agencies and organizations in the business such as the European Economic Community, World Bank, United Nations agencies, Canada, Germany and various OPEC countries, Communist China, Soviet Union, and the United States to name a few. In addition, a number of private voluntary organizations are involved in this same country, some of them receiving substantial funds from USAID.

The development programs funded by USAID were generally better managed and controlled than the activities of most other development agencies. Nevertheless, there are serious questions about the thrust of USAID activities. The "new directions" mandate to USAID has caused a shift from "institution building" to more direct technical assistance by U.S. nationals. One AID official, while reluctant to criticize his own agency, stated as follows:

A tragic shift from encouraging Third World productivity to merely providing welfare services . . . the new 'human needs' strategy simply bypasses the elite (the indigenous structure as well) by sending foreign aid directly to the poor as welfare services, health care, etc. The deeper significance of the policy shift is that this strategy substitutes foreign initiatives, values, and resources for indigenous responsibility . . .

The 'human needs' strategy does not solve Third World poverty -- it expands it (Cotter, 1979).

Development assistance, particularly in the agricultural sector, must be designed to build the in-country incentives to produce at the farm level. Short-term food aid, PL480 programs, and even long-term development assistance sometimes interfere with the marketing system or reduce the profit and motivation for the pastoralist or small farmer. Several conferences have been held on this topic and yet no good solutions to the problem have been proposed.

Most of the development assistance to the region by outside governments tends to neglect the potential for private enterprise. International aid usually focuses on land reform, service to the poor majority, and other social issues -- issues which emphasize governmental action and thus, indirectly, lead to a socialistic approach to the problems. Governments are very inefficient in managing many of the food production, processing and delivery systems in either developed or underdeveloped countries. More attention, in my opinion, should be given to assisting in the development of private enterprise activities in the off-farm sectors of the food system as well as stimulation of economically viable competitive farm and livestock units.

H. Maintaining the Ecological Balance

An important principle that we have learned from the science of ecology, combined with the lessons of history and economics, is that all biological populations must ultimately be controlled by habitat limitations. This principle applies to the Homo sapiens, Bergrothea steelia, and the species Loxodonta africana, although the Homo sapiens species has a much greater ability to adapt to changing conditions and to divert more basic resources to his own use. Therefore, at the heart of all food production problems and environmental issues lies the population explosion. Whether we look at energy resources, land use, water, chemicals, or other requirements for food production, all nations must become more concerned about population growth and its impacts on the world's environment. Population limitations, hopefully, fostered by voluntary cooperation, family planning, and individual responsibility, become a necessity for maintaining a minimum "quality of life." The problem is even more critical in the fragile environments of the world where progress in food production is more than offset by population growth.

Nigeria was one of the examples used in a recent World Bank study of population growth in developing countries. This study indicates that the present population momentum will carry Nigeria from today's level of about 90 million people to an eventual 435 million, nearly one-half billion, before Nigeria can stop. Even this study assumes that with better education and family planning the "replacement level" fertility will not be reached until the year 2040.

Perhaps our concern about the horrible specter of hunger today has dimmed our vision of the long-term food problem. We have not hesitated to move medical help into remote areas of the world to save lives. Medical technology has preceded our technology in food production as well as our ecological understanding of nature. Man has influenced nature, removed his natural enemies, and increased his life span. But, even an elementary understanding of nature reveals that there are resource limitations to population growth.

In the Sahelian/Sudanian zones of Africa, as well as many other areas of the underdeveloped world, man lives in a delicate balance with other organisms and the physical factors of the environment. As more people are added to the population base, as the countries in the sub-Sahara adopt more modern technology and increase their per capita incomes, the ecological balance becomes more precarious. Decisions made today about these important issues will affect the future of mankind in the region.

"Never does nature say one thing and wisdom another" -- Anonymous.

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Appropriate Technology

CYNTHIA ANSON
Southwest Program Director
Meals for Millions
Tucson, Arizona

FRANCES HILL
Department of Government
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

DR. ANSON:

It looks like this is a pretty diverse group, but I am amazed at how many people have experience working with appropriate technology or dealing with what kinds of technology might be appropriate in field situations. It actually sounds like about half of the people in the room have that kind of experience so that questions about technology are probably very real questions.

DR. HILL:

We will begin by laying out some topics we think might be of general concern that we could then discuss from the perspective of how one gets this working in the field. Kathy Staudt talked this morning about what she called the bureaucratic mess. The problem is that one has to go through that bureaucratic mess, because that is how one moves resources. Maybe we could talk just a little bit about that gap between the field and the bureaucratic mess and some of the problems of translating that. Then we could begin to share experiences around some of these themes -- of getting things into the field through the bureaucratic process which is sometimes helpful and is sometimes not. Those of you who have dealt with political scientists know that we tend to be rather gloomy folks. We tend to study bureaucracies, parties, leadership, money, power and corruption, and we tend to look at institutions as both facilitators and as barriers. Both from my training as a social scientist and from my experiences with what should have been an appropriate technology project in Tanzania, I tend to be a little gloomy. So why don't we maybe get that out of the way and then we can talk about field experiences and

get either gloomier or cheerier, but we need to deal with some of this.

It seems to me that women have a particular interest in cost-effective technologies in all phases of the food chain -- production, processing, storage, and preparation -- for the reason that women are less likely than men to control cash and women are less likely than men to benefit from those transitions to a more cash-intensive economy. Now that is clearly the way the world is going and we know, from the research Kate Cloud referred to this morning and that other speakers did, about this historic transformation and why women are being marginalized. So women have a particular interest, I think, in what I regard as appropriate technologies, which is to say cost-effective technologies. But these benefits are not necessarily going to be automatic. If we just say appropriate technology, that doesn't mean that women are going to be included in those projects any more than in the high-tech projects. Because I think, in addition to labor-enhancing technologies, we need administrative and legal arrangements that preserve and/or enhance women's access to the resources of production and to the products of their labor. And appropriate technology, more than any other type of technology, has looked at this. We see in the United States, if we look at many appropriate technology projects -- what we think of as appropriate technology projects, which we always think of in terms of solar collectors, or low cost, minimum-scale technologies -- many of those projects have made very little effort to include women.

There is a very good project called the "Small Farm Energy Project" which worked with low-income, small-scale farmers in Nebraska, an area where women do a great deal of the farm work and are in the final decision-making process. But the project itself had no women on the project board and indeed, the slide presentation from that project didn't even have women doing anything other than keeping the babies quiet during conferences with project staff. I asked the director of this project if that was the way it really was, or was it just the way that the project people saw women? And he said, "Oh, my goodness," and they took a new view of reality and thought that women were helping put up the solar collectors on the farrowing houses and such and began to show it.

But the point I'm trying to make is that the linkage is not automatic. Appropriate technology has no inherent feminist morality with it, and so there is going to be, I think, a sort of two-front struggle, both for appropriate technology -- which is by no means an accepted way of doing things -- and then for special attention to the impacts of appropriate technology projects on women. Now this is really quite discouraging, I think, because the battle over appropriate technology itself, whatever it might mean, is likely to be long and bitter and, I think, irrational.

I was doing a Tanzanian project that was supposed to link the research stations with the producers in the area so that the research -- the short-term research agenda -- could be more adapted to needs. It was not a program designed to wipe out basic research, which I believe in

fundamentally. I think that anyone who has any sense believes in long-term basic research, but this was a project to say, "Here are these research stations and they want to have an impact on production in their immediate area. How do they find out what the problems are?" Well, you link them with the local populations, right? And the problems in Tanzania are obvious that it is a very poor country -- it is on the U.N. list for the 25 least developed. It can't afford proper fuel technology for food production, so what kind of inputs would make sense? Projects supported by the Rockefeller Foundation -- I was told by the person who hired me at the Rockefeller Foundation that all of these appropriate technology people "eat birdseed." Now, he just didn't want to get his foundation messed up with that sort of folks, so I found him an appropriate technologist who wore neckties from Liberty of London and three-piece suits and shirts from the Harvard Cooperative Society, and he said, "Grumble, grumble, grumble -- it won't work yet."

Well, I ended up on this team with my non-birdseed-eating A.T. person and a Mexican agronomist who felt that the future of the poor countries lay in having external funding provide nuclear power plants through which they could produce nitrogen fertilizer through a fusion process, taking nitrogen out of the air. All of this was designed to get peasants linked into their local research projects. I am just using this to illustrate a point. Here is a person at a major foundation who hired a female political scientist to head an agricultural project. He was willing to go all the way with me until a label -- appropriate technology -- hit him and then what do I get back? "They all eat birdseed." This kind of resistance is fairly fundamental -- it is almost the nature of resistance.

The Small Farm Energy Project that I talked about, funded by the National Science Foundation, which is hardly a flighty group of folks, nearly didn't get off the ground in Nebraska because the energy office was mobilized by the College of Agriculture at the University of Nebraska to try and stop this project as "dangerously unsound." In other words, the National Science Foundation was dangerously unsound. All got sorted out politically; there are good things from the political process, such as when a local banker who supported the Small Farm Energy Project called up the governor's office and said, "I delivered my county to you and several others. You'll just sign it now, won't you?" And the governor signed it. And the College of Agriculture went, "Grumble, grumble." And the project went on and Nebraska is still there.

There is a similar process now. The Department of Agriculture, those well-known alternative technology radicals, has just come out with a report endorsing organic farming. Yes, the Department of Agriculture is saying that given certain situations, organic farming is as reasonable as any other kind of farming, and it is a very careful study. And the land grant colleges' Council of Ag Science and Technology has gone, "Oh, the saints preserve us from this impurity," and has now accused the USDA of being a bunch of dangerous birdseed-eating radicals in their report on this project. And so the struggle is likely to go.

Our struggles here are going to matter a great deal to the rest of the world. The rest of the world is rejecting rusticity, and if you have ever grown up on a farm you know that we have no interest in rusticity whatsoever. The next person who tells me that my parents should have farmed with mules in central Wisconsin is likely to get socked out. I think that very definitely if you work with Third World people, you know that they do not want things that we do not use ourselves or approaches we will not use ourselves. They see much appropriate technology as stuff that we do not think is good enough for us or is hobbyism for people who cannot make it in their own society who have come to try it out on them; they are very suspicious. I am not suggesting that we develop appropriate technologies that work for us and plop them down on the Third World; they might not need solar crop driers. In much of Tanzania, crops come off the field dry enough to be stored. They don't need solar crop drying, so replicating the Small Farm Energy Project in central Tanzania would be silly. It is appropriate technology by a sort of very formalistic definition, but to the extent that we refuse to look at a broad range of technology in their society. With the people we train in our agricultural schools, that general refusal, I think, would be carried over to the Third World, much of which has no petroleum reserves at all. Now where all of this leaves women is where I think any external initiative leaves women, unless those legal administrators' arrangements are worked out to recognize individual members of households as economic producers, as Nadia Youssef was talking about this morning. I don't think A.T. is going to do anything more for women than high-tech would. I said I was gloomy, didn't I?

DR. ANSON:

Well, I don't know if I am a cheery anthropologist or not, but I would like to pick up on one point that Fran made just in passing. She made a statement that is sort of telling, describing the Nebraska Small Farm Energy Project, and said appropriate technology more than any other technology movement has looked into the question of how technology affects women. And that brings me to make a point that I think is important. You have heard a couple of references this morning to appropriate technologies, and I think that we all have a little picture in our mind of what that might be. I don't know if you have a windmill or solar cooker or whatever, but you know, in fact, the phrase "appropriate technology" does not denote any particular technology at all. And some of the founding figures of the so-called A.T. movement, like Shumacher, make a great point of this -- that their ideas did not entail any particular technologies, they had nothing specific in mind, and in fact the phrase "appropriate technology" is a question; the attachment of the word "appropriate" to the word "technology" introduces the questions, "Technology appropriate for what? Appropriate for whom?"

And that is why I think the appropriate technology movement has looked into that question more than others, because the basis for the whole thing is the consideration of the impact of technology on people. And you might decide that a very high-tech solution or a very low-tech solution is the appropriate solution or you might decide that no technical solution was appropriate, but what is important about the A.T. movement is posing the question. And it raises the issues of the

consequences of technology. And I think that, in turn, means that you begin with a problem; you don't start with a technique or a gimmick or a piece of equipment and find a place to plug it in, but you start at the other end with the on-the-ground problem and ask first, "Does technology play a part in our solution to the problem, and if so, what technology? Who would it benefit? What will the impact be on the existing technologies and their support systems? What will the impact be on the broader social and cultural setting?" In this process of questioning about technology, we are introducing the element of choice, and it is really in that sense that the A.T. movement is any kind of revolution if it is a revolution.

It is our idea that we can begin to have a choice about the technology that we use in terms of its costs and benefits to us. Now what does this mean to the development process? To me, it means rather than concentrating on particular things -- and Americans love things and we often think we can solve problems by finding the right things -- I think that those of us who are involved in development would do much better to make a place in the development process for the asking of that question about technology. I think that is what you did when you were in Nebraska. You posed a question that caused them to go back and rework their process of planning and designing.

DR. HILL:

They were absolutely horrified because they thought they were so morally pure -- you know, moving away from fossil fuels -- and indeed in some senses they were.

QUESTION:

I would like to ask a specific question; maybe we could get people to talk about this. In your foreign experiences, or in the things that you have read about appropriate technology, I wonder if you have found the same thing that I have? What I tend to find is that A.T. for women tends to focus on stoves -- we are enamored of stoves. We have long debates in the literature on stoves: How much heat does it throw out here and there? Where can you put the wood in and then get it out again when you are through cooking? That is very important, given Dr. Thomas' discussion of the shortage of wood as the poor person's energy crisis. We have tremendous literature now on stoves. Every A.T. project you go to has a prototype of a stove that is going to solve the problems of the Third World. But this may be rather beside the point -- I mean to the idea that they work with the model of women at home cooking, and what they need is a labor-enhancing stove. It neglects to look at the role of women producing food or earning income in industries outside the home or pursuing income-generating projects in cottage industry, all sorts of things. I don't know; maybe I have just been visiting the wrong projects and reading the wrong literature in terms of a specific women's relationship with A.T.

ANSWER:

I would say that in the Sahel, which is the area I know well, there is certainly a lot of focus on stoves. But it seems to me that there, in terms of a labor constraint, you can conceptualize stoves as the way of

releasing women's labor for productive activities which she would otherwise have lost; she has got to cook the food sooner or later. In fact she is the person who does it, and even more than stoves, it is mills for grinding the grain that she is going to be using that day. Well, if you are finding that those two tasks take three or four hours of her time, then you can talk realistically about giving her tools for her productive work, because she is also likely to be doing the vegetable production and caring for the small animals at least. You can conceptualize giving her a stove as a way of freeing up time for other productive activities. And on that basis, I think it makes good sense and it seems to be more acceptable to the governments to give women home-based technology, which I think is your major point. But I'm not above making that argument where it will work and also getting some other side benefits out of it. And I think that provides some sort of reasonable rationale for stoves.

QUESTION:

Have the rest of you found that the linkages are made between these home-based technologies and an unarticulated view of women, which is having rather major consequences in terms of sexual division of government programs for women? I think of some of Kathy Staudt's examples of the case where 48 percent of the farm workers were women and 15 percent of the project participants were supposed to be women. What I am trying to get at is that A.T. can fall into this trap, too, and how do you fight this two-front struggle?

COMMENT:

I've never been overseas but it was a little bit surprising to about 40 men when I showed up for a solar greenhouse construction workshop and actually could hit the nail with a hammer.

DR. ANSON:

A.T. is certainly no magic fix and it can fall into all the same pitfalls as any other kind of technical fix. I was thinking about where appropriate technologies come from, and I think most often they develop in that context in the field and the people who are going to use them have a part in developing them. I think that we already have, in many cases, fallen into the error of thinking we can invent things here which we can send over there, and people will use them or the things will be right for the situation. We need to pay much more attention to the process of development of technology too, and how that happens in a productive way.

COMMENT:

I would say that relates back in a way to the point that Fran was making before. In the paper that Elise Boulding did for the Women in Food Conference, one of the major points she made is that women have never been seen as tool makers, and one reason they are not seen as tool makers is that they have so little leisure time for reflection. And particularly, the more traditional the culture, the more women tend to be working all the time and they do not have the free time to think and to make tools. With regards to the stove business, it may be again that women can see and in fact, often do, make their own stoves in very

traditional situations. But women don't usually make a better scythe or something else because it takes more release of time and you have got to have skills like blacksmithing to make the first one. And you also never have the time to really reflect on how to make the better tool for the productive activities because you don't have the time for it. So the division of labor tends to work against women as producers of tools for anything other than what is going on right in their houses. I don't know how much that plays into it either, Cynthia.

DR. ANSON:

I think this works against men, too, in many societies. There are very few men with blacksmithing skills and it is a declining art in every society of the world that is going to a cash economy. One might be getting better tools of the kind that already exist by paying for them; that is very possible. But the people who have the capacity to work or to implement other people's designs seem to be getting wiped out. Local blacksmiths in the Third World are not flourishing. It is a whole question about a local technological capacity maybe being replaced by something that in many ways is better, or better made, or even cheaper when it comes to a cash economy. Maybe it is not cheaper. But a lot of these trade-offs relate to what you say, to who makes the tools.

QUESTION:

This is sort of a basic question because my field is urban development and so I am not very familiar with appropriate technology, but this relates to what you were saying a couple of minutes ago. Where do you see appropriate technology fitting in, in a Third World situation, when most of the forces for economic change are forces which are overwhelmingly intended to produce a consumer market of inappropriate technology, and are extractive or productive enterprises which are based on high technology? Where are the forces or where are the interests for utilizing appropriate technology?

DR. HILL:

I made the remark that I thought the battle for appropriate technology was likely to be long and bitter and largely irrational. I think in the agriculture sector now there is a willingness to take a look at cost-effective methods that provide sustainable production systems. The phrase "sustainable agriculture" used to be a rallying cry that sent deans of agriculture screaming into the night that the leftists were at it again. And now sustainable agriculture has become a responsible phrase in response to petroleum-dependent food systems. I am interested in hearing that because I think agriculture offers opportunities. When I was at the World Bank about four years ago, an Indian agronomist said to me, "It is not that we don't know how to grow food. We know perfectly well how to grow food. There is just a slight problem -- nobody can afford our technologies." In other words, it had been all worked out -- the technologies -- but nobody could afford them. So if we could just tidy up the economy we could wrap it up and the food crisis would be over. Now this man was not a sort of irresponsible person, but I think the concern with the economic viability of the cost-effective technology is growing around the world. CIMMYT (Centro Internacional para Mejoramiento de Maíz y Trigo) in Mexico produced the

Green Revolution and the research institute that Rockefeller funded. Put what has spun off of CIMMYT is a fascinating project called the "Pueblo Project," where a number of American-trained Mexican agronomists went to the state of Pueblo, initially, and they talked about technologies that small farmers could actually afford. And these were the cream of the crop of the Mexican agronomists, all of them American trained. They had a tremendous success in the state of Pueblo with intercropping systems. The first head of that Pueblo Project is now the assistant director of the Mexican Extension Service. This isn't going to revolutionize Mexico, but I think in the food production area, there are openings now for some of these concerns. This doesn't mean that appropriate technology will be people-controlled technology or local innovation. If you read Business Week magazine -- and I urge everybody in the room who is interested in development to do so -- Business Week has been haranguing the American farm implement companies for building things that are too big for the Third World, thereby closing off our markets. I have no doubt that appropriate technology soon will be seen quite broadly as a good trade strategy and will become part of the global market. Whether this is good or bad for development, I don't know. Whether it is good or bad ultimately for our balance of payments, I don't know.

DR. ANSON:

It is a fact. I have brought an article from the publication called Soft Energy that is saying it is called the "soft path to dependency," and just because it's A.T. doesn't mean that it can't be an export item from the industrialized countries to the developing countries. And it actually encourages their dependency on outside expertise and it is costly to them. It's just not inherently free of all of those bad things.

QUESTION:

What kind of criteria is there to evaluate appropriate technology or whether a technology is appropriate for a given country or a given situation? Has there been research done on it?

DR. ANSON:

I think once we realize that it is a question about what is appropriate, then we come up against the fact that people come to that question with different criteria, and some people are looking for economic justice and equity and other people are looking for good cost-benefit ratios and other people are looking at resource use that will finally result in using other resources.

COMMENT:

And then that gets us back to the struggle that she was talking about.

DR. ANSON:

Back to the question that you asked about interests. There are these very powerful interests to market technology. On the other hand there are very powerful interests from everyone to do the thing that is the most cost-effective to them, and that constitutes an interest too. And I think actually that people have gotten interested in appropriate

technology from different directions, some people because they saw it as a path to independence and more equity and other people because they saw it as being more ecological and more cost-effective. These things will eventually mesh, because what is more ecological is in the long run also more cost-effective and what is economically equitable is also more cost-effective in the long run.

DR. HILL:

There is an economic concept which I think makes an important philosophical point which to me helps define appropriate technology, and that is the concept of "Pareto optimality." Philosophically it is fascinating. You can even talk to economists about Pareto optimality and they won't throw you out the door and hand you a box of birdseed. It is a concept that says as the general situation gets better, no one individual should be worse off than he or she was before the change started. That, to me, is appropriate technology. That is my criteria of a change process that I find defensible -- one that does not do active harm to some sector of the population in the process of making it better for others. Philosophically, that is not particularly clear. Maybe it is the historic duty of some peoples around the world to sacrifice for others. But I personally am not going to be the first American to volunteer to give up my job and forego Social Security and unemployment benefits, while giving up my job in the interest of fighting the inflation rate. Maybe some of us should volunteer to self-destruct, but I don't think it might be philosophically justifiable to say that some part of the population should go away and self-destruct or whatever. I prefer to work with Pareto optimality as a concept of what I mean by an A.T. project.

COMMENT:

When we were in the market for small-scale implements, we had to go to Japan. There was no production of such here. Secondly, AID has a prohibition against buying indigenous materials. We couldn't buy West African pumps made in Nigeria. We couldn't buy indigenously-made rice harvesters through the blacksmiths; we had to go to America to buy them.

DR. ANSON:

That gets back to Fran's point about legal and administrative restrictions on access to technology, which is just as important as what's available.

QUESTION:

Thirdly, when you go into a village, you are preceded by radios and "007" movies and fantastically accelerated expectation. To hit them with a modified hoe which increases production seems a little short, and chiefly, what do you do with the increased time and the displacement of that labor?

DR. HILL:

Well, with women I don't think that is such a problem when one considers that women are overemployed in most rural areas around the world. What one does about men, who are very much underemployed around the world, is let them sit, I think. They have been at it for generations. The Tanzanians have a solution -- they run tournaments, like chess. It

keeps the men busy; they run national contests and the women are out in the field growing food. I think with women and labor-enhancing technologies, there is probably an argument to be made that one is not disrupting social structures and creating visible self-employment for at least the social discontent. I think for women, one really is lifting burdens, probably enhancing the quality of mothering, and maybe just making their lives better, which one doesn't want to suggest too loudly. I don't think the women's problem, in the societies that I am familiar with -- primarily African societies -- is as bad as the kind of men's problem. The women's problem, I think, is with technologies; whether they are A.T. or whether they are high tech, women are being shoved altogether out of the production processes and being really shoved into an intensified marginality.

QUESTION:

I have a question that comes from my Guatemalan experience, which is that in the last five years women in the highlands of Guatemala have stopped buying clay water jugs and started buying plastic water jugs, which to the American anthropologist are extremely unaesthetic in the aqua or pink. In terms of appropriate technology, this had a lot of sides to it because clearly the ceramic jugs, which are cheaper, are made there with local mud and employ a number of family productive systems to do it over the generations. The imported plastic water jugs, which come from Honduras, last a lot longer and make it a lot easier to haul the water. Now in terms of this term -- Pareto optimality -- that complicates the situation tremendously, because you are using imported mechanized plastic industry to make a woman's job easier and displacing something that was made right in town. The same with T-shirts. But where does that fit in, in terms of appropriate technology?

DR. HILL:

I think that is where the paradox really is -- are we going to think, "What is our unit for analysis of all of this?" If we think of the village, it is easier than if we think of the country, and if we think of the country it is easier than if we accept the fact that what we have now is a global economy which is only partially controlled by national government policies. I am not going to sit and pontificate about the backward and forward linkages between the Guatemalan and Honduran economies in terms of whether the general good is served and women are happier with their plastic water jugs.

COMMENT:

They must be happier or they wouldn't buy plastic water jugs that they have to pay more for.

QUESTION:

But are they happy when they see their female relatives who have lost their businesses for making clay water jugs?

ANSWER:

It is like you not wanting to give up your Social Security and become unemployed. They really don't care that much as long as it is lighter

for them to carry themselves.

DR. HILL:

And also it is modern; I mean there is going to be an element here that it is modern. They want it because it is plastic. Now we can't say that just the Third World populations are irrational, because modernization is exactly what all those of us who grew up on a farm wanted. I grew up in a 14-room house that I now recognize was elegant. I thought we were deprived because we didn't have a ticky-tacky ranch house on the level. For 14 years I thought we were poor and suffering and unless one can understand these kind of cultural emulations and irrationalities, what are we going to do? One of the solutions to the problem may be that they shouldn't buy plastic water jugs because it dislocates the local economy. Maybe they should just not import -- have an import ban against Honduran plastic water carriers. You can do that with government policy.

COMMENT:

You could set up a plastic plant in Guatemala. I am not suggesting that in any way. But clay water jugs are very heavy, and if you are finally liberating the carriers of the heavy water jugs, you have done something for real people. Now it is not that simple, but just impose a ban on plastic imports.

DR. HILL:

But see, there are lots of public policy methods that you can use to structure people preferences. You can raise the price. Government has a lot to say about the price in most countries around the world. You can slap a tax on it, whether it is produced locally or in a foreign production process. You can put a tax on something you don't want. It will reach a point where people won't buy it. But then maybe there are other negative consequences.

QUESTION:

Should the issue be encouraging them not to buy plastic jugs, or should the issue be putting to work the women whose jobs are done away with?

QUESTION:

What has happened to those women?

ANSWER:

Interesting that you asked me that. The thing that happens to the women is one of the serious consequences of development -- they don't have their traditional businesses. They were in control of that production and had been for generations. It was their own money -- separate from their husband's money -- that they kept for food for their children and clothes for themselves. Without that kind of entrepreneur effort available any more, they are forced to go into sort of a semi-industrial labor market, or some of them go to work for their husbands. So it is a real undermining of women's economic independence in the face of development.

QUESTION:

Do the husbands pay the women?

ANSWER:

Oh no, not at all. They become unpaid family labor in the public domain. You go around in any Central American Indian town or Latino town and you see women working in stores, and there is always the assumption that this woman is the proprietor of the store. Wrong -- she is the wife or the sister of the proprietor, who is using her to run his business while he is probably out. No, those women whose standard of living has been raised, either by going into industrial jobs or by their husbands making more money, have less power.

QUESTION:

So they have become more marginalized within their families and less individualized?

ANSWER:

Absolutely. While they were making those water jugs, it was their own business.

DR. HILL:

You see this happening in Africa, too. The governments have taken control or have tried to take control of food distribution, wiping out local markets by declaring them illegal in much of the continent. Women have lost their positions as independent traders, and they have been replaced by government employees, largely men, who are controlling markets. This has, of course, led to a fantastic amount of smuggling and illegal food trading, but now women running the local markets have to do it outside the law, rather than working out of a shop.

COMMENT:

Which is why you need a good evaluation process including an impact evaluation. A lot of people think, "It is a good cost-benefit that the standard of living is raised by 'X' dollars per month per capita," or "You know, this cost-benefit analysis -- this type of thing is real good," but you need the impact analysis also. What impact does it have on other aspects of the society and the community other than just strictly the people who are supposedly getting the benefits? For instance, the women with the plastic water jugs are getting the benefit right there, but there are other groups that are affected.

COMMENT:

For the overall national economy, really the most important thing about the whole situation is the loss of productivity -- economic productivity in Guatemala. It was a gain for Honduras because they are exporting items that the Guatemalans are buying at the same time that they are losing in income-producing activity. When you present it in that way, it doesn't have anything to do with whether the pots are plastic or clay, or pink or blue. But it is a matter in those women's productive roles when you put it to the national government, "Here were so many women who are contributing to the national economy. We have lost that. There is now a flow of cash out of the country to Honduras to buy a

product that they make which we can make just as well."

COMMENT:

Unless the Hondurans are using their revenue in Guatemala to buy something from Guatemala that Guatemalans want to unload on the Hondurans and that they are making a profit on, that is why we say the pressures in this direction could make it so difficult on the emergence of a global economy. It is not going to stop; more and more economic activity is financed with global sources, public or private. Much of it, I think, is outside the project process and the competition of interests at every level. It is not going to be a solution that helps everybody at some level.

COMMENT:

Well, I am all for better evaluation, better project design, but I think so much of this is in a sort of quasi-marketing process now.

COMMENT:

That was my original question. The other point that I think research demonstrates is an irony in the focus on the effect of women in some of these recent projects, just as the focus on development that was directed at male concerns didn't take women into account. If you make changes in the female sector and in the female activities, there is going to be an effect on the male labor force. You can't make a change in one without having a change in the other, and it seems you have to look at both male and female labor in the context of the social relations in the family in order to evaluate the effectiveness in the projects.

DR. HILL:

That is absolutely true, but one can read the literature now on American unemployment, American reindustrialization and see that women are again being asked to volunteer to stop working and stop seeking work -- in the interests of reducing the social service cost and reducing the unemployment costs -- and see this sort of historic treating of women as a way to even it all out economically.

QUESTION:

Why is it then that male employment is so high, when the females are in the labor force at an ever-increasing number?

DR. HILL:

That's true only in certain sectors of the economy. It has to do with labor demand and this relationship had to do with the health of the overall economy -- women are asked to come in and work for substandard wages and means in some sectors, or they cannot work at all in other sectors. I mean, there are economic strategies we have to look at.

Nutrition and Health

NEVEN P. LAMB
Department of Anthropology
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

BETTY JO SMITH
Texas Agricultural Extension Service
Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas

DR. LAMB:

My name is Patt Lamb, and I am from the Department of Anthropology here at Texas Tech University, and next to me is Dr. Betty Jo Smith from Texas A&M University. We are discussion leaders, here to keep the rhythm, or to maintain order should that be necessary. Dr. Smith is going to read something which she has prepared about nutrition and health problems and I will then make some comments on it or extend it further, depending on what she has to say. The rest of the time will be yours. Dr. Smith.

DR. SMITH:

This afternoon, I would like to provide you with a very brief overview of the current status of health and nutrition issues pertaining to women in the developing world. But first, I would like to emphasize three points:

1. I will be speaking from a female perspective, partially because I am a woman, and more specifically because the data I have collected is mainly centered on women. Being a home economist, my emphasis is on looking at the total family unit and individuals within that unit regardless of whether they are male or female.
2. Even though I will be using terms such as developing countries, LDCs (Less-Developed Countries), Third World countries, etc., please bear in mind that I perceive us all as developing. Development is a continual process. No one individual or nation has arrived. I have always found that I learn far more from my visits to the developing countries than what they could ever glean from my assistance. We

have a lot to learn. In other words, the whole idea of "development" is for us all an exchange, an interaction, and a learning process.

3. When speaking of health, the whole thing must be considered; the physical, mental, and spiritual aspects are all important, although most cross-cultural research to date addresses issues primarily related to physical health. It is hoped that the other areas of health will not be neglected.

Let us now move on to the tasks at hand -- discussing the health and nutrition of women in the developing world. Today, I would like to briefly discuss areas of health and nutrition (1) where progress has been made, and (2) where much more work still needs to be done.

I. Family Planning

Family planning is a process designed to help people plan families, not just prevent the birth of children. It is sometimes easy to lose sight of the important, ultimate purpose of family planning. Family planning, or the lack of it, has a great impact on the health and well-being of women.

In the perspective of women and parents in developing countries, especially in rural areas, the reasons for large families seem quite rational. There are several reasons for having many children. In rural areas, children are needed to assist with the farm work; the more children one has, the more laborers one has. In many cultures, it is the children's responsibility to care for their elderly parents. This system functions as a form of Social Security. With the present high infant mortality rates, the parents have several children, hoping for one or two to survive adulthood and the parents' own old age. This is the beginning of a vicious cycle.

The cycle often progresses as follows: The young woman becomes pregnant. During pregnancy, the nutritional intake needs of the mother increase by approximately one-third of the normal, nutritious diet. If for some reason the mother's nutritional needs aren't met, it may well harm the growth of the fetus and the health of the mother. This often adds to the incidence of premature births and miscarriages. The greatest risk for women is that of protein-calorie malnutrition, and today there are signs that calories are more important than protein. Calories are needed for energy. If mother and baby do not receive adequate amounts of protein and calories through pregnancy and through the first three months after birth, the child may be mentally stunted for the remainder of its life. If the mother's diet continues to be inadequate after the birth of the child, it will affect the production of milk and the nutrition of the milk which is produced. Thus, it cuts back on the quality and quantity of milk for the baby. It also affects the health of the mother by draining her energy and lowering her resistance to disease (Abelson, 1975; Ritchie, 1967).

The two major diseases which result from protein-calorie malnutrition are kwashiorkor and marasmus. It is estimated that between 10 and 20

million young children suffer with severe syndromes of one of these diseases (Jelliffe and Jelliffe, 1975). Either of these diseases can appear within the first year of life; however, the cycle usually continues so that within a year to a year and a half after the first child is born, the mother bears a second baby. At this point, the problems are multiplied. The first child is usually displaced from the breast and loses its main source of protein. The child often is then placed on a basically carbohydrate diet which then results in the disease of kwashiorkor. If at the same time the mother's diet is lacking in nutrients, she may lose a portion of her ability to breast-feed and the younger baby may starve. This is marasmus. Marasmus can occur at any age when the body is starving for food, but it generally occurs in infants when mothers lose the ability to breast-feed or when poor bottle-feeding practices are used. That is, diluted milk or formula is used or contaminated water is used to wash bottles or mix formula (Krieg, 1978). Marasmus frequently results in the death of the infant, whereas kwashiorkor children may live but nearly always show signs of stunted physical and mental growth.

How can this scenario be changed? Studies now show that women who have some education and are employed for pay tend to have fewer children (Fullam, 1975). This may be a function of urban living versus rural habitation. Data is not yet available to clarify this point; therefore, this is an area where further research is needed. However, the global population growth rate is coming down; it is no longer accelerating. And researchers believe this reduction in growth rate is a result of improved economic and educational conditions.

II. Nutrition and Related Health Courses

There is a substantial amount of data on these issues. Two areas deserve particular mention:

- A. Cultural traditions and taboos often impact adversely upon the health and well-being of women in many developing countries. Tradition dictates when men, women, and children eat, where they eat, and, of course, what they eat. Often women are the last to be fed at a meal, eating what has not been consumed by men and children. In some cultures, traditions and taboos prevent women and children from consuming certain food items. Generally, these are the protein foods such as chicken, eggs, milk, etc. (Benson, 1980).

What women can produce is also regulated by custom or tradition in some cultures. For women to perform some agricultural tasks is not considered "ladylike" or "appropriate" in a particular culture and this results in the loss of production of food items for women and their families (Benson, 1980).

- B. The introduction of new or alternative food items is not always acceptable. New and unusual smells, textures, colors, or even methods of preparation of foods may be objectionable, and therefore, unacceptable (Ritchie, 1967).

III. Sanitation

The major health problem worldwide today is that of obtaining and

maintaining a clean, fresh water supply, one that is accessible and does not require water being carried for miles before it can be consumed or used by the family.

A second problem is that of appropriate waste disposal systems or methods which would help to eliminate the pollution of food and water sources.

IV. Housing Conditions

- A. Lighting can often be improved through use of windows, improved lamps, candles, or other methods, all of which would benefit the eyesight of countless family members.
- B. Cooking facilities need to be raised up off of floors to improve the sanitation of food preparation, to ease the process of cooking, and to eliminate hours of back-bending labor of women. At the same time, chimneys or vents need to be used for expelling smoke and saving respiratory systems.
- C. Screens need to be developed which are within the budget of families so that windows and doors can be covered to keep out unwanted insects, rodents, and other animals.

V. Food Production, Preservation, and Storage

Food production, preservation, and storage are all of great concern. Training programs should be interdisciplinary in design and execution in order that families be educated about the entire chain of events between food production and consumption or utilization.

Specific areas of training need to be provided in the following areas: home gardening, food drying, canning where appropriate, and storage of foodstuffs. The greatest post-harvest losses of food are due to pests. Depending upon the country and the food crop, between 25 and 50 percent of food crops are lost due to pests (Toquero, 1979). For example, in Ecuador, my host family stored their potatoes in a corner room of our house. The result was an infestation of rodents, not only in the potatoes, but throughout the family's living quarters. Household storage techniques can be easily made and used, although at times it does call for an initial capital investment for screening, lumber, and other items. A capital investment may be a barrier which prevents families from making use of such techniques.

VI. Other problems

- A. Deforestation, along with its other negative impacts, results in a loss of fuel supply to cook foods and for warming the home. This is a critical issue. Whole forests have been and continue to be destroyed. In Kenya, forests were destroyed to make charcoal, which was then exported for a high profit. In many places, overpopulation of the area is the primary cause of deforestation (Super, 1980). What can be done? People need to know how to grow trees. They want to learn. But growing trees requires water, care, and a type of tree suited to the climate. A lesson may be learned from the Israelis who have done a remarkable job of reforestation in their own country. Most importantly, they have

proven that it can be done.

- B. Seasonal ill health of women is often related to the agricultural production cycle. Labor bottlenecks during the planting, harvesting, or weeding period often cause women to work longer hours with less food consumption due to lack of time to prepare foods and to eat. This is an especially difficult time for women who are breast-feeding or who are pregnant (Mellor, 1974; Norman, 1978). In these cases, the poor health of the mother has a direct impact upon the health and well-being of children.

The introduction of intermediate technologies could help in this situation. Also, improving the general economic conditions would make more food available for families and thereby improve their chances of maintaining good health.

In conclusion, the issues discussed in this presentation are not by any means the only issues relating to nutrition and health of women in the developing world. My purpose was to provide a broad overview from which other issues and ideas can be addressed and from which recommendations can be made.

DR. LAMB:

Is there anything anyone would like to add to what Betty Jo said? If, indeed, there is anything to add -- she's touched on all points. The mention of rats and the problems of post-harvest storage losses reminds me of a figure that I read of a warehouse in India that had a ratio of .78 rats per square foot. I don't know if I'd rather see whole rats scattered over this floor at a ratio of somewhat less than that or see, per square foot, four-fifths of a rat! Post-harvest losses are incredibly enormous and their reduction is potentially the most efficient and easiest way to increase effective crop production. The control of pre-harvest losses involves costly things like sprays and chemicals -- pesticides and herbicides -- and these involve further cost as well as danger to the individuals using them and upset of ecological balances that have been established. Some post-harvest preservation techniques are expensive, of course, whenever refrigeration or radiation is required, for example. But others can be simple and mechanical devices, perhaps even warehouse supports with the sort of anti-rat shields that you find on the ropes of ships tied to a dock!

However, what I would prefer to do rather than talk about rats and post-harvest storage is compare the hunger and nutrition problems of the Third World with those in this country and ask, "To what extent are we willing or able to solve them?" I am not referring to the distribution of resources -- and health and nutritional care -- within either affluent or Third World countries. In India, for example, the wealthiest 10 percent own 54 percent of the land, the poorest 10 percent only 27 percent. We are quite familiar with that. I am thinking of the differences in health and nutritional care among the Third World countries and between them and us and the extent to which our development aid can reduce those differences.

Studies of nutritional status in the Third World are usually done and reported in terms of mean number of calories consumed per capita. The protein, and to an extent other nutrients, will take care of themselves, if a person gets enough food. That has become the working assumption. Since the major problem they face is often outright starvation, measuring a nation's nutritional status in terms simply of the calories makes sense. Furthermore, the recording of such data is very easy. And so, each year we read about the lesser developed countries reporting mean caloric intakes that are substantially less than the FAO minimum requirements. While caloric deficiency is the major nutritional problem, this does not mean, I want to add, that others do not exist. Vitamin and mineral deficiencies are necessarily a part of any gross caloric deficiency, of course, and even where there are not food shortages special problems occur. We see vitamin A deficiencies in several areas, including Latin America, where it led INCAP to its very clever fortification of sugar with vitamin A. In certain areas of West Africa where there is low iodine, goiter is endemic. It is estimated that 10 percent of the maternal deaths in India are due to iron deficiencies. On the whole, however, protein-caloric malnutrition has been the chief concern.

The domestic scene contrasts with this almost exactly today. If anything, on the average, we consume too many calories. Not that we haven't had difficulties in the past. In the early 1960s, for instance, government reports of nutritional surveys indicated to the surprise of all but a few that there was more malnourishment and undernourishment in the country than people had supposed. The condition was so bad that the twins of malnutrition, kwashiorkor and marasmus, were showing up on Indian reservations and in the ghettos. The scandal was very well publicized. I am sure that some of you remember Hunger USA. Robert Kennedy wrote an introduction to it and it sold like a best seller. What resulted was the formation of a number of programs -- food stamps, feeding the elderly, school lunches and breakfasts, and so on -- which so reduced the problem that today that book couldn't be written. The improvements that have been made in this country have been so great that the concerns we face today are primarily those of nutritional niceties -- balanced diets, recommended amounts of vitamins and minerals, control of overweight. However, to even suggest that we no longer have any caloric deficiency problems, that no one in this country goes to bed hungry today, is something of an exaggeration.

There are groups in which gross and serious malnutrition continues, as you know. The three most often mentioned are migrant workers, the elderly, and the American Indian, especially the reservation Indian. The infant mortality rates are still high. The mean life expectancy projections are still low, more like those of the whites in the 1960s, than today. These are all groups in which some caloric deprivation continues to be found. Also, they are all at the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder -- our own Third World.

This brings me to the first point I wish to make. In the United States, we appear to have reduced the problem and the number of persons involved to what we might call an acceptable level -- an acceptable level of poverty, malnourishment, and ill health, rather like acceptable levels of radiation dosages. We have had serious caloric deficiency problems in

this country, we have them today, and will in the future. I don't know what that acceptable level is; it fluctuates from one year to the next, according to circumstances and generational changes. But we seem to be willing to live, as a society, with a certain amount of malnourishment in the population so long as it is a subtle form and does not affect our own group directly.

The second point that I wish to make emphasizes an interesting parallel that is developing among nations. The same socioeconomic strata that we have within this country exists among countries, affluent to poor, and the effect on nutrition and health is clear.

According to FAO figures, the developed nations have caloric intakes which are 40 percent above FAO recommended minimums. Among the lowest income countries the caloric intakes are less than 94 percent of the minimums. But even among the have-not nations some are worse off than others. If you break down the lowest income countries according to their gross national products, you find that the top third, the wealthiest of the poor, is 85 to 95 percent of the minimum FAO requirement for caloric intake. Among the lowest third the nutritional deprivation is even greater. Caloric intake drops to less than 85 percent of the minimum.

The parallel extends further: I think there is an acceptable level of global poverty and hunger. Quite aside from the conditions within any single country, there is, from the point of view of the developed nations, an acceptable number of poor, undeveloped nations. That is, there is an economic restriction to the degree -- or level -- of development which can be permitted. It is at this level that the humanitarian and economic motives to end world hunger and to help other nations develop economically conflict -- that the countries helping others to develop begin work counterproductively against themselves. The humanitarians' goal is to feed everybody, help everybody grow normally, mature, have a good life. The economic goal of the developed nations is to develop stable national consumers among the lesser developed nations, not competitors -- we don't need any more of these in the world, as the auto industry would be quick to tell us -- just steady, stable consumers, markets for our goods. Robert McNamara, in a very moving way, according to those who heard the departing speech -- I did not -- said about as much when he left the World Bank. He said that something must be done to eliminate poverty, malnourishment and ill health in this world. If we don't, we will find ourselves unable to sell to global markets and if we can't do that, we will be the ones hurting. It is this acceptable level, whether it is phrased in social, economic, or political terms, that is the limit to the solution of world hunger problems.

If we recognize this it will, I suggest, eliminate a lot of our frustration over our inability to succeed in many of our AID programs. Possibly, we don't want to.

We will now turn this over to you all for questions and remarks.

MR. RAULLERSON¹:

Some comments, particularly, on food aid which has been my major responsibility since May. I have had occasion to travel about the world, throughout Bangladesh, Africa, and other places talking to both donors and recipients. One of the problems of the current approach to food aid is that it cannot be counted upon, that it is too much in the mode of emergency crisis response and not near enough integrated into the regular development assistance kind of program that we generally have in AID. And one of my responsibilities is to try to achieve that. One of the important aspects of this, it seems to me, that people very rarely talk about but several scholars have looked into, is the human capital development aspects of food aid which has to be associated with health and nutrition also. And for this particular point it is very important, I think, to recognize that these studies seem to indicate that the woman in a family has the most critical effect upon human capital development in the developing world. In the decision-making process, she is critical at many kinds of interventions along the way. This relates to maternal and child care programs, nutrition programs, the kind of total education or sanitation or nutrition that can be brought more effectively to women in developing countries and has a tremendous impact in the long run on whether children go to school, how long they stay in school, their abilities to learn, and the total question of the capital of the human resources to deal with development. We are just beginning to understand that we ought to orient our concerns in food aid and hunger in which we'll have a world in the year 2000 of 6 billion people. We better begin to orient ourselves in those directions rather than only in the concessional sales aspects of PL 480.

DR. LAMB:

What about Title III? Doesn't that attempt to do that?

MR. RAULLERSON:

Title III does, but there are relatively few Title III programs throughout the world. We are attempting to increase those.

DR. LAMB:

Is there any prospect that they have been increased substantially, if this, as you say, is one way to go?

DR. SMITH:

Excuse me, but could you explain briefly what Title III is?

MR. RAULLERSON:

Title III enables a country which has purchased Title I commodities -- Title I allows you to purchase wheat, for example.

DR. LAMB:

Perhaps you had better go back to Public Law 480.

¹Calvin H. Raullerson, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Private and Development Cooperation, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. Because of recording difficulties, other participants could not be identified in the question and answer session.

MR. RAULLERSON:

Well, right, it's all Public Law 480, really, but under Title I we sell various kinds of commodities to developing countries, with preferable rates of both interest and long-term repayment. Title III permits an individual country to enter into an agreement with the United States to undertake certain reforms in development and, if they can demonstrate that, then there can be a forgiveness of Title I debt. It enables them to write off, eventually, the total amount of the debt that they spent. In Title I the terms provide, if I am not mistaken, up to 40 years at something like two percent interest. But all of that can be written off by undertaking a formal agreement to enter into those kinds of things that enhance the development. In August I talked with officials of Bangladesh and cited our own interest, for example, in eventually looking to their food production and self-sufficiency, which is easier said than done -- a reserve stock approach that has been done which considers problems of storage and management of those stocks, but really, more importantly, a third item which would be a distribution system of equity. Because what happens now in a number of countries, and Bangladesh is a good example, is that the food aid under a ration system or a food stamp system goes largely to those people who are civil servants, people in the military, and those people to whom the government, in a sense, wants to do a favor. And what we are saying is that you have to enter into a system that really gets to the target population of the neediest and does not allow those people who really can afford to buy food to take advantage of a ration system.

DR. LAMB:

I just want to add one thing. Your mentioning the population increase to 6 billion reminds me of the Global 2000 Study Report. The upshot of that report in terms of the food production was, "We can do it. We can get the food supply." There is no question that we can produce the food, given that our technological ingenuity continues. The problem is maldistribution as you describe it there and as I was indicating earlier. The maldistribution -- what can be done about that?

QUESTION:

I have another question, too, and that is I've read many comments by people saying that the Green Revolution really isn't working. There are a lot of reasons -- it's too expensive, and it drives the labor off the land and to the cities where they don't have any work. Is that true? Or are they exaggerating when they make those statements?

MR. RAULLERSON:

I think it depends on the kind of country you're talking about. It's obviously not true for India. I was there about a year ago. There was wheat stacked in the field that they hadn't any place to put it because of a long series of decisions begun about 15 years ago. But as has been pointed out, there are associated problems with the environment that make food production very difficult. This includes a lack of qualified people. I don't mean people with Ph.D.'s or M.S.'s, but people who have had some basic agricultural education.

DR. LAMB:

In addition, many of the new varieties lack resistance to various dis-

eases. Enough of them are so susceptible to disease that geneticists are trying to breed back into them a sufficient amount of heterogeneity to restore the resistance.

QUESTION:

I was wondering -- is it possible to eat rats? Does the culture keep people from doing it or do they carry diseases that you can't eat them?

DR. SMITH:

They do carry diseases. I don't know that much about rats, except that I don't know of any place that eats them as part of their normal everyday diet. And, I don't know if you can or not. Maybe someone else knows.

MR. RAULLERSON:

There are some rodents that can be eaten, but the kind of rats that you are talking about, no, I would think. That is a problem that exists throughout the world.

DR. LAMB:

I see -- you're thinking about picking up with .78 rats and eating them.

QUESTION:

Why not?

QUESTION:

When I was over listening to the other talks, a woman was talking about various problems she encountered in Senegal and I thought a lot of their comments should be in the anthropological literature. Haven't the studies been done or don't the people read them?

DR. LAMB:

I don't know what you heard specifically.

COMMENT:

It was all the details about the life of people in various parts of Africa.

DR. LAMB:

Sure, I think that's one of the problems. I am not certain that I am correct about this, but going through the various conferences that have been published and looking at the contributors to these conferences, especially those that are in administrative jobs, I see they come from agriculture, they come from medicine, they come from other places, but they never come from anthropology. They don't come from anthropology or social sciences. And I was wondering if anthropologists could get themselves up to these policy-making echelons. This might not help to reduce the sort of thing you're talking about. But I don't know. I am very curious, Mr. Raullerson, how many anthropologists do you know who are in AID?

MR. RAULLERSON:

Well, I am not sure. On a direct-hire basis, apparently probably very few, but by contrast my recollection is, for example, the design team

that does much of the program planning for West Africa has at least two anthropologists working on it and I know that there is one for East Africa. In every project there is supposed to be a social science analysis of the project. That may be done by a political scientist or a sociologist or an anthropologist. But that is provided by every project paper in the geographic region.

DR. LAMB:

Well, I was thinking of the policy levels. You know Beverly Winikoff's Nutrition and National Policy? You read the names of all the administrators who have been brought in to do their thing -- none of them is from the social sciences.

COMMENT:

As a home economist, I feel the same way you do, because I think that is a problem that is still being dealt with to a great extent. Home economists who hold those skills and are able to teach them don't appear on those lists either. Out of our discipline, the more specialized ones who are in nutrition or one of the specialized fields -- rather than the general home management or consumer science people -- are the only ones to appear.

DR. SMITH:

I just want to make a quick comment about the anthropological studies. It is sort of like being a family/child development specialist, which I am. I can tell people how they should raise their children and I can write all of the wonderful articles and everyone can read them, but putting that into practice and putting an anthropological study in practice in your own life, you know that the culture is supposed to be this way when you are going into it, but when you get there and are dealing with it, that is something that you have to do within yourself, and I think that is sometimes where the discrepancy comes in.

COMMENT:

Perhaps the problem is with our own political naiveté. Physicians do studies and we may have an AMA that goes and pushes and they have lobbies. Anthropologists and home economists -- I bet we don't have a lobby. I think that we're satisfied to do our studies and put them in the American Anthropologist and feel like, yes, we did our job. I think we've been rather naive.

DR. SMITH:

I think that is very true.

COMMENT:

We need to get the anthropological association to tell AID that we have to have these people on there.

DR. SMITH:

I think that, also, we just haven't made ourselves visible. I think that is very true. I think that for the home economists -- and some of you who are home economists who don't like what I say please say so, you can say it -- we have traditionally been a female profession, and I think that in the last 20 to 30 years rather than being really assertive and

really going after something, we sort of sat back and let things go along. And I think that we are now coming to the point that we are saying it is time that we do something. Sort of like what you were saying, and I think that not only do we have to do it in an organized manner, but we have to do it individually. We have to speak up and we have to stick out now and then, I think.

MR. RAULLERSON:

There's another practical reason why this happened, too. At one time we, the AID staff, had a really large amount of support. There was a decision made, I guess by Congress, to pretty much scuttle the AID operations in terms of personnel, and associated with that there was an earlier decision taken to really rely more on generalists than had been relied on in the past. The agency had an enormous number, as I understand it, of specialists -- agricultural economists, social scientists, scientists of various kinds. Now we have come to recognize that we have lost all that power and now really, with the minimum numbers of people we have to work with, it would be well if we had agricultural economists, anthropologists, and various kinds of individuals. We're trying to build these back up.

DR. SMITH:

Well, that is true, plus the fact that we think that they should get together and organize, I think, is also a cultural bias on our part, or that they should get together in communities and organize a lobby for something. I think that says something about the way we think about politics, too -- political systems and governmental systems and how they should or ought to function.

MR. RAULLERSON:

Some comments on the health aspect. There are some, I think, interesting developments. There is a project in Niger now and there they are using indigenous health personnel working together with a medical and health staff of U.S. people throughout the country to try to implement and develop a new model. That, I believe, is also happening in Brazil -- it is still there, I assume. I think that there are other projects that will follow on from that and presumably what we try to do at AID, and I think that we do it better than other countries do, is work in partnership with indigenous people in trying to look to what they see as development needs rather than imposing our wishes on them. In the old days it was, "It's your country, but it's our program." It really was, back in the 1960s, and we were pouring a lot of money down the drain because it was our ideas that we would present. That's changed considerably. It's probably changed because of the smaller staff, to some extent.

DR. SMITH:

It looks to me that from what I have just perceived from USAID in the last few years that things seem to be moving along in some very hopeful directions.

COMMENT:

It might be interesting to find out how China survived without our help, wouldn't it? Things have been going on there pretty well, I gather.

DR. LAMB:

Those countries which have what are sometimes euphemistically called centrally planned economies seem to do very well. This also includes not only China but also Cuba, and I don't know what the situation is in Cuba -- I know they've had food problems. I don't know of distribution problems though, but it also includes Great Britain during the Second World War. During World War II the clinical symptoms of malnourishment, undernourishment, growth patterns of the children all improved due to rationed distributions. After World War II, the country went back to the class system without rationing and back to the problems again.

COMMENT:

Speaking of China, I am an anthropologist and I don't think that the nutrition and food problem is something that can be solved by giving out a lot of food. One of the things that is happening in terms of this Chinese example is that you take your average Latin American peasant farming a third of an acre on the average. This room would be one peasant's land, the next room another's land -- it's really inefficient in terms of developing enough corn to feed the family for a year. In the Chinese system you have communal land holdings where people are working for the good of the group instead of just for themselves. In Latin America, then, you could put all of these thirds of an acre together and use some kind of appropriate technology in a cost-effective manner to raise more food and distribute it equitably. The question of why people don't have enough land is something that we, I think, should be thinking about. We're not talking about people who are living in a historical vacuum; we're talking about people who have been victims of colonialism and economic imperialism for hundreds of years. And just trying to get people to change their technology or protein tastes is, to me, sort of a Band-Aid issue when every year they have less and less land to grow corn on.

COMMENT:

But there's also the difference between the Latin American systems and Chinese systems of birth control and population control. It covers a broad range of plans for economic development.

COMMENT:

Granted, if people don't have enough land to grow enough to eat on, they have to have more kids to generate more money to buy corn. To me, it's all a systemic problem, a very complicated one. But all I'm suggesting is that from an ecological perspective, this is not something that a development program can come in and change people's future or higher standard of living by giving them more food.

DR. SMITH:

I think that the whole issue of all these issues is very complex and very multifaceted, and I don't think that we are going to come up with any solutions today. We thank you all for your participation.

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Income-Generating Projects

MARIA-LUISA URDANETA
Department of Applied Anthropology
University of Texas at San Antonio
San Antonio, Texas

Today I would like to talk to you about a successful cottage industry project in a small city in Colombia, South America. The project was started in 1968 in the city of Armero, population 100,000, in the departamento or "state" of Tolima, an agricultural area of Colombia.

At that time a small but effective civic committee titled Plan de Desarrollo de Armero -- "Development Plan of Armero" -- was organized by some of the most active, non-partisan local citizens. The committee was composed of eight individuals, three of whom are men. One of the male members is a city planner in his 30s who teaches at the state university in another city; a second male, a civil engineer in his mid-30s, was born and raised in Armero but now resides and also teaches at the above-mentioned university; and the third male on the committee, one of the ex-governors of the state -- also born and raised in Armero -- was aware that there were monies available from CARE.

Of the five women committee members, Mrs. I is the wife of one of the co-owners of a large aircraft assembly plant in Bogotá, Colombia. The plant employs around 300 workers.

Bogotá, the capital of Colombia -- a city with close to 3 million inhabitants -- is about four hours' drive from Armero.

Mrs. I, a former senior high school teacher now in her 50s, was also born and raised in Armero. Four of her eight siblings and their respective families still live in Armero. She and her husband reside in Bogotá but own a hacienda located in the outskirts of the city. The hacienda is managed by a man from Armero. Mrs. I and her husband spend at least every other weekend in Armero. From 1972 to 1974, Mrs. I served on the Armero City Council.

Mrs. M and Mrs. D -- both of them in their 40s -- are very civic-minded and are married to influential men in the city. Mrs. C, a widow in her 60s and also an excellent seamstress, has lived most of her adult life in Armero. Her husband was one of the influential men of the region. And Mrs. A, a grandmother in her late 50s, of very modest economic means, has the reputation of being able to organize other women in her barrio and of accomplishing whatever tasks are delegated to her by the committee.

The first project of the committee was to establish a child care center where children would receive breakfast and lunch while their mothers held jobs outside their homes. The committee also wanted to generate some monies so that services such as health care, instructional services, and recreational facilities at the center could be enlarged.

With CARE and seed money, a child care center was established in 1969 in a rented house. Mrs. M was appointed supervisor of the center. In less than three months they had more children than they could take good care of. A women's Christian association in Canada donated 1,000 U.S. dollars to the center so that they could purchase a large ice box. The committee members got together and decided that they did not need the ice box as much as they needed money to start some commercial activity that would generate additional funds. With permission from the group in Canada, part of these funds was used to buy material to make children's clothes to be sold in the community. The group spent about two months doing this until they realized that the project was not working at all -- the merchandise was barely selling. Somebody proposed that they needed to engage in some enterprise that by the time the garment was made it would be already sold.

Mrs. I came up with the idea of proposing to her husband that his aircraft assembly plant purchase its work uniforms from the committee women in Armero. An agreement was reached and a contract was signed between the aircraft plant and the committee in Armero. The assembly plant paid in advance for 250 uniforms which were to be delivered at the end of three months. Through word of mouth committee members were able to recruit local housewives who were interested in earning additional monies by sewing uniforms in their own homes. Mrs. C, the seamstress, was and is in charge of cutting the material and of supervising the production of garments. Since most of the women had no telephones in their homes Mrs. C would visit and instruct those who were having difficulties how to manage complex sections such as necklines, long sleeves and buttonholes. By the way, for the sake of simplicity and economy, instead of zippers, male trousers have buttons.

At the end of the first three months, delivery of the uniforms was made on time. However, employees at the aircraft assembly plant were complaining about the rough and ordinary finish of their uniforms. Many refused to be seen wearing such "homely looking" outfits. Mrs. I talked to the owners of the assembly plant -- her husband and his partner -- and told them that she realized that this first delivery of uniforms left much to be desired but that the women in Armero needed to be given a chance. The owners told her, "O.K., but you have to handle the

matter and explain this to the employees." Mrs. I spoke to the employees and requested that they give the women in this project a chance to perfect their work; that if they, the employees, agreed to be patient this would eventually provide work to several dozens of women in Armero. Furthermore, the money generated would remain in Colombia instead of being paid to an outside enterprise; prior to this time the uniforms were being purchased from a foreign-owned uniform company in Bogotá. The employees reluctantly agreed.

This cottage industry has been in effect since 1969. Today, 1980, the product has been greatly improved. They are producing 1,000 uniforms per year. The women in Armero have a system in which Mrs. I purchases material, thread and buttons wholesale in Bogotá and takes it to Mrs. C's home in Armero where the different seamstresses come to pick up their supplies. At any given time there are approximately 10 seamstresses in different stages of apprenticeship. A woman, at her own discretion, may agree to finish 20 trousers or shirts or laboratory coats per month. When the seamstress brings her finished garments she is paid, an entry is made in Mrs. C's ledger, and the garments are stored by categories in large cardboard boxes. Every three months a pick-up and transfer of uniforms is made from Mrs. C's home in Armero to the assembly plant in Bogotá.

Bogotá, the largest city in Colombia, is the marketing, financial, political and cultural center of the republic. For these reasons a great pull to it is attracting the husbands of many of Armero's women. In order to cope with the continuous turnover of seamstresses who move with their husbands to the big city, Mrs. C offers free sewing classes to Armero women. After the third lesson, one or two apprentices are assigned to work with each experienced seamstress; in this manner the committee has been able to have personnel ready to take over vacancies.

Today these uniforms can easily compete with any other brand. Furthermore, they are sold to the assembly plant for about 200 pesos, approximately \$4.00, less each than what the large uniform company was charging. According to Mrs. I, there is a net earning of 200 pesos per uniform by the committee.

Revenues from this project have been invested back into various community projects in Armero. For example, a centrally located corner lot adjacent to a spring and a wooded area was purchased and the Guarderia Infantil de Armero -- "Child Care Center of Armero" -- was built in 1975. It has an enrollment of 200 children from 1 to 8 years. It is open from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. The children are divided by age into four groups. The furniture, activities, and instruction are designed to fit the intellectual and locomotor capabilities of each of the groups. The child care center provides employment to approximately 15 people from the community; most of these are young women. Center employees include a cook, two clean-up ladies, eight "den mothers," one secretary, a supervisor, and a gardener. The center walls are decorated with murals -- painted free of charge by a local artist -- depicting Colombian children folklore characters and nursery rhymes such as

"Rin-Rin Renacuajo." The tables, chairs, drinking cups and tooth-brushes are also colorfully decorated with similar motifs. Mrs. M explained that twice as many children need and would use these services if they were available. At present the committee is conducting a drive to collect monies to open a children's library in the center.

A second project consists of involving some faculty and graduate students from the previously mentioned state university -- faculty such as economists, civil engineers, and social scientists -- in conducting a needs assessment of Armero and its surrounding areas. A third project is to open a nursing home for the local elderly. In 1976 the committee had already rented a home for this purpose, but plans were halted when -- supposedly for political jealousy -- someone purchased the property.

In my opinion, there are several reasons why this cottage industry project has been successful:

1. In a city where paying jobs for women are conspicuously absent this cottage industry provides jobs to local women.
2. Sewing is very much a feminine activity in this culture.
3. Women are able to take work to their homes and work out their most suitable work schedule. Also, there is an adviser, Mrs. C, available to handle sewing problems.
4. The product manufactured does not compete with local business.
5. By the time the product is finished it has already been sold.
6. Committee earnings from the project are plowed back into needed community services such as the child care center.
7. The committee is composed of several individuals with access to powerful and influential persons in the region, e.g., Mesdames C, D, I, and M, and the ex-governor.
8. Through the women, but in particular Mrs. A, there is feedback from and representation of the poor and needy women of the community.
9. Three of the committee women have the equivalent of an associate college degree in education, having graduated from the Escuelas Normal Superior, and consequently, are knowledgeable on the basics of a good primary education for community children.
10. Two of the women, Mrs. C and Mrs. I, have managed part of their husbands' extensive businesses, are used to making business deals, and are skilled at applying pressure, diplomacy and making use of contacts.
11. All committee members were either born and raised in Armero or

married individuals from Armero; consequently, they are well known and trusted members of the community -- an important asset in this typical "distrustful of outsiders" community.

12. At least once a month the committee meets to make periodic assessments of the progress and problems of the various projects. At this time goals are articulated, deadlines set, and members volunteer to carry out the different tasks.
13. And last, but equally as important, is that the project fulfills several needs that were identified by and for women in the community. It incorporated what anthropologists call the "emic view" -- a native's point of view -- a necessary prerequisite in any successful applied anthropology project.

Agriculture, Forestry, Conservation and Women

MARILYN W. HOSKINS
Director, Participatory Development Program
Department of Sociology
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

The title of this panel alone sounds overwhelming. Surely it is too much to include three specific topics often treated as unrelated and then add the issue of women. At least these topics seem unrelated when one sits here thinking of the separate agronomy, animal and soil sciences, forestry, agricultural engineering, etc. departments housed in separate offices and taught by different professors. But I contend they are not really separable.

When, instead, one looks from the eyes of the farmer, the whole subject looks entirely different. She/he has limited resources with which to provide the family all their needs and possibly a luxury or two. The farmer watches as the specialists come. The first may tell him to clear the land for increased peanut production and a second may say to plant trees to save the soil and provide fuel. When the experts are not seeing the total needs the farmers must satisfy with their land, how can the farmers follow their conflicting advice? Some program technicians concentrating so on a specific goal fail to address the cause of even that single problem. For example, I have seen projects in which planners fence a live dune to keep animals off while they plant trees to stabilize the sand. Because they have not consulted with the livestock specialists nor adequately considered local livestock needs, the goats create a new dune by overgrazing the next hill. It is really impossible to plan programs that comprehensively deal with one problem such as the need to increase grain crops without considering the livestock, the vegetable gardens, the fuel wood for cooking, and the careful management of resources so the community will be able to provide themselves a livelihood the next year and leave a viable environment for the next generation.

The new farming systems and forestry for local community development approach does try to focus on collaboration with a more comprehensive view to overall resource management. It does take a more respectful look at local practices backed up by the wisdom of generations. However, even

here, with this more integrated approach, most of the new literature continues to treat women as invisible. There are, of course, a few exceptions, such as the work done by Martha Lewis and Elsa Chaney in Jamaica which focuses directly on women.

The need for integrated planning of resources is obvious when looked at from the farmers' perspective. So is the need to regard expected inputs, expertise, benefits, losses and responsibilities for all socioeconomic groups of people, disaggregated by sex. But this summer I had a clear reminder that it is a perspective specialists may not take. I would like to share what I found was a frustrating example. In this case the specialist was applying his trade and only after the project was reexamined did he see the need to consider conflicting demands on land and the role of women.

The eight Sahelian countries of West Africa had asked for soil conservation training for some of their agricultural, forestry, and engineering technicians. A program was organized in three phases. The first phase was a workshop to see on-going projects, to learn to use simple field tools, to study technical principles and to learn to design and work with such projects. Since it is of limited benefit to conserve only unused soil, these types of projects necessarily have to involve the cooperation of local farmers. My contribution to the workshop lay in working with the participating technicians to develop skills with which to collaborate with the local people in designing and implementing projects. We talked of needs and impact assessments, we had role plays, talked with local farmers, judged projects we visited on field trips by examining the role local men and women played in decision making and distribution of benefit and losses. It is at this point that most training projects end, but we were fortunate to have a format in which participants returned to their own countries and worked for a year, either planning a soil conservation project or modifying an on-going project to improve or conserve the soil. During this second year-long phase, instructors were available to consult with participants upon request. It was during individual discussions in the field that one could really find what was happening. The third phase will be several weeks this coming January for the participants to get together to share experiences and possibly make further contacts with donors.

On my way through Mali I went to see a participant-forester who felt his problems were solely in finding funding. His plan looked good on paper and had been approved in principle by his department. In his plan he described the forestry department issuing a limited number of cultivation permits to farmers on severely degraded forestry land. One section included a steep hill which seemed likely to be in danger of eroding. The participant-technician described and mapped out a pilot area, and had informed permit holders that an experiment would take place which would retain more water in the earth, cut soil loss, and greatly improve their production. The report said that there was enthusiastic response from those contacted. The project included digging foot-wide ditches three feet apart along the contour line and planting trees three feet by three feet.

Now, I am not a forester, but I wondered how farmers could find enthusiasm for a project which included losing a great deal of land to ditches and

a heavy planting of trees which would, in a few years, leave no area for crops. Knowing also, if you are the one to give out permits others might give a positive response to anything you suggested, I decided it was time to go talk to these farmers.

When we arrived I saw not fields of millet, but gardens covering the hillside. In Mali, this usually means women, not men, are farming there. However, all permit holders were men. Sure enough, upon questioning, these were all women, none of whom had heard of the proposed project which was about to cut out a ditch a foot wide every three feet through their healthy growing gardens. Not only that, there were rock walls meandering through the gardens. The technician assured me that they were just piles of surplus stones with no scientific value. "After all," he said, "these women have no levels so the walls could not be effective." The women, however, told us of collecting fertilizer in the dry season, working it in the soil, and building the walls as level as possible but they came out during the rains to see if the water "took one path" in which case they would build up that spot.

Needless to say, the proposed project was modified. There were not ditches built through the growing gardens but pigeon pea seeds offered to the women farmers to strengthen the walls, help improve water infiltration, provide a leguminous crop to enrich the soil and which also provided edible peas, fodder leaves and woody stalks to burn as fuel. It will be interesting to see if this young Malian will share with the other participants in the third phase the technology he learned from the women and the need to integrate agriculture, forestry and conservation.

On the whole, women have more at stake in integrating and coordinating agriculture, forestry, and conservation activities. They are the ones with a nurturing role which limits their mobility and therefore limits their use of resources to those near the village. Whether it is a slash-and-burn area in humid tropics, horticulture with animals in the semi-arid areas, or a livestock economy in arid regions, most rural women have this dual role of nurturing and making some type of economic contribution to the family.

Most rural women care for children, cook, process food, and collect fuel and water. Many also raise vegetables, rear small animals, fish and hunt and collect a number of products from wild plants. In the Sahel, women often collect foods, medicines and crafts, and house-building supplies from what is usually referred to as the "useless bush." Not only do they use these areas periodically during regular years, but these are the fall-back, the insurance areas which can be exploited during hard times. On a trip in a more humid climate of Sierra Leone women sitting around one evening told me of 31 things they got from their "unused" land. This included their "fallow" land as well as the neighboring forest. The fact that they harvest so many items from the fallow land means the land is in fact not "fallow" but that the land is being used for agro-forestry and conservation. Women are harvesting local shrubs, trees and plants during the period that the soils are becoming enriched for planting future crops. Women are the first to lose if planners do not recognize these valuable products, or if they use or misuse land in ways which do not satisfy local needs. When products become more difficult to produce

or are only found farther from home, women work longer hours and go greater distances. But there comes a point at which the economic role cannot be continued along with the nurturing role and the quality of life for the whole family diminishes.

The growing demand for agricultural production encourages agriculturalists to concentrate on higher production, increased areas being planted, and methods to shorten the "fallow" cycle. The growing demand for fuel encourages foresters to plant more plantations on land that was formerly "useless bush" or to classify former farms near towns as forestry service land for fuel and timber production. Deteriorating soils, lowering water tables, and fear of growing desertification caused the agricultural engineers to limit farmer use of hillsides and areas with high potential for erosion. The pressure for cash crops sometimes causes men to use larger plots, leaving fewer resources available for the women especially in the areas near the households. Unfortunately, the resources are limited and when one problem is solved others seem to be created.

In some areas where the situation has become extreme, some policies are being modified. In Senegal, development of the peanut basin was focused so completely on growing peanuts that the area is turning into a dust bowl and in some parts women lack fuel with which to cook their meals. With overuse resulting in wind and sheet erosion, the fertility of the soil is diminishing, producing fewer peanuts. The government is now encouraging food diversity and tree planting. More agriculturalists are working with forestry for local community development instead of exclusively using plantations. Perhaps we can help design projects which profit from these examples and focus on using the environment in a way which will assure a continuing stable resource base for agriculture and forestry.

But we must also be sure that projects consider women. When projects are planned several points need to be considered with women in mind. First, women need an adequate allocation of the resources close to the village in order to fulfill the dual roles they perform for their families. Second, benefits foregone need to be considered not only from the community but from the women's viewpoint. This would force planners to, among other things, recognize the value of products from "fallow" land and the "useless bush". Third, traditional conservation and land use practices should be evaluated in light of satisfying basic needs for all residents, including women, before developing luxury products. Because women are frequently in charge of subsistence crops this policy would directly affect them. Fourth, women should be included in the basic research, the planning, the implementation and the benefit-sharing of all projects. Fifth, projects should be seen in the long term to be sure they are technically and ecologically sound, socially viable, and developmentally dynamic for women as well as for men.

The title, "Agriculture, Forestry, Conservation," is not a title representing four discrete issues but three inseparable aspects of resource use in rural areas. Including women in the title does not mean men should be left out but only that women must cease to be invisible. Women have a great deal of experience and macro-knowledge of resource use to contribute and a great deal to lose if local resources are not managed wisely.

Livestock and Range Management

ROBERT C. ALBIN
Associate Dean, College of Agricultural Sciences
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

FRED C. BRYANT
Department of Range and Wildlife Management
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

HELEN K. HENDERSON
Coordinator, Women in Development
University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona

DR. ALBIN:
Faculty in the College of Agricultural Sciences at Texas Tech University are involved in research and education programs in both Peru and Niger, and my remarks will relate to experiences I have had in each of these countries. I will discuss each one separately, Peru first.

Peru is a land of contrasts, with an extremely arid coastal region, a central highlands and a lowland jungle in the interior. The role of women in livestock husbandry practices in each of these areas is similar.

Very little livestock production is evident along the coastal region. In the highlands, livestock are primarily sheep, alpaca and llama. Cattle are found in the jungle, although limited in numbers. The overall lifestyle seems to be centered on activities in the home in the evening and early morning, but during the day, women, small children and old men take the livestock from the home for grazing to a predetermined area while the men are doing other tasks, such as field work and heavy labor-type activities. While herding the animals on unfenced pastures during the day, the women tend the small children, spin, knit and weave fibers from these animals into material for clothing. Care of the children is an important role for women. Seldom were men and children observed together during the day. At night, the animals are penned in an enclosure of rock or mud brick which usually surrounds the

home. Very little feed is given to the animals while they are in the enclosure. The cycle is repeated daily. Few observations were made relative to animal health care. Women and men work together at shearing time; women herd and drive the animals while the men do the shearing and bagging of fleeces.

Washing clothes is a task of women whether it be along the Amazon near sea level in the interior of Peru or at an elevation of more than 4,000 meters in the high altiplano of the central Andes. Women bring clothes that they have made to the small villages or towns where they are traded or sold to merchants.

Cooking is a major responsibility of women, although food preparation does not seem to occupy a lot of time. There is not much quantity or variety of food and preparation is relatively simple. On one of the cooperatives in the central highlands, our study team was served lunch. Food was prepared by two girls and two women; a lady who was a social worker, Peruvian-trained, served the meal to us. She was stationed by the government in the local village and was on the ranch working with the women on this particular day.

Switching to Niger in Africa, it is a country divided by the Sahel, which means "Shore of the Sea of Sand." To the north is the Sahara Desert, but it is encroaching upon the arable land in the south. The role of women in Niger is quite different from Peru. The women are less visible and are very much in a subservient, working role. They are seemingly told by the men what to do and how to do it. We met few women; primarily, men and children were visible in public gatherings and at meals.

Livestock in Niger are primarily cattle and goats. Most of the livestock are owned by nomads. Therefore, livestock management involves moving them from one geographical area to another in search of forage. No animal health or nutritional practices were observed. The family lifestyle simply means following the livestock, with housing being thatched huts or lean-tos that were mobile. Due to extreme drought conditions, there was little food. Food preparation was mainly a mush prepared from grain and occasionally some roasted meat. Little child care was observed; the few numbers of children seemed to be present at random.

Bore holes, large water wells, were developed by the French throughout the Sahel. These locations seemed to be the center of activity for the nomadic tribes because the wells were where we saw the people and the few livestock. At some of the wells, men pulled the ropes for the water buckets and kept the herds of cattle under control. Some of the women visited and filled pigskins with drinking water. At one well, women and children drove animals to pull the water container out of the well. At another well location, some women were walking from a nearby village, with water vessels on their heads, to obtain water for their homes. They were brightly dressed, again in public, possibly indicating that the work was a social experience as well. Far into the bush, we found the homesite of a nomadic family. A woman and child were watching over some livestock while the husband was driving the rest of their cattle to water, some 20 miles distant.

At another small desert village in northern Niger, we were met by the governor of a state and spent the night at his home. Our interpreters were two women, former Peace Corps volunteers. By special request, they were allowed to visit the governor's wife; we were not. At one festival in a bush village, we observed numerous men and some children, but few women. At another village, a woman showed us how to use a type of mortar and pestle for grinding grain into flour.

In summary, in Peru and Niger, women play a major role in livestock management and production. Numerous opportunities exist for women from developed countries to convey information about livestock management to the women in Niger and Peru. Due to different cultural practices and cultural standards, careful attention to prevailing customs would need to be made in order for information transfer to be accomplished.

DR. BRYANT:

In the strictest sense, rangelands are natural grazing lands. Management of them must, in some shape or fashion, include the management of the grazing animals. This is especially true if it is apparent that the forage resource has been damaged or is deteriorating under current grazing strategies.

In the Peruvian highlands, much of the altiplano is misused to the point that significant deterioration of the vegetation is occurring. This misuse of the grazing resource is most evident around villages, e.g., Junín in the central sierra and Puno in the southern sierra of Peru. Overstocking at villages abounds because there is intense concentration of small family flocks on communally owned lands. As animals are added to family flocks, the costs of overgrazing are shared by all who graze this common pasture (Gilles, 1980). The result is a rapid deterioration of the vegetation with the corresponding decline in range condition. Overgrazing is less obvious on the larger cooperativas where grazing is controlled to a certain extent. Further, where bofedales -- spring-fed, mesic areas grazed in the dry season -- occur, stocking rates are regulated by carrying capacity of the bofedales (Orlove, 1976).

Overgrazing or misuse usually has one predictable ending -- the grazing strategy that succeeds in damaging the vegetative resource will also succeed in lowering the animal products that can be taken off the land. In the highlands of Peru, offtake of animal products is declining in the face of a rising human population. Sheep, which outnumber all other livestock, do not perform at their genetic potential due to overgrazing. Lamb crops are quite low at 40 percent, while adult mortality is high at 20 to 30 percent.

In order for this trend to be reversed so that the health of the grazing resource improves, technology of range management must be advanced. The technology has a few basic tenets such as proper stocking of animals, better distribution of animals, and improved strategies of grazing. These improved strategies may include livestock grazing alternated by periods of rest.

In order to advance technology or range management, the thrust must be

directed at those most responsible for control of the animals. It is here that I see a tremendous potential for women to play a central role in promoting agricultural developments on the international scene, particularly range management in the Andean highlands.

In my limited travels throughout Peru, it has become obvious to me that the division of labor in a single family unit leaves the women in charge of herding the family's flock of animals. Usually she herds them to any fresh pasture she can find, every hour of the day, every day of the week. I do not know how much input she may have in decision-making within that family unit, but at least it appears she has sole responsibility to ensure that the flock be fed through some grazing strategy known only to herself. If we can convince her that the health of her animals and the offtake of the animal products may be increased, improved, or enhanced, we would make quantum leaps in advancing the few basic tenets of range management.

In summary, who then do we send to spread the gospel of proper tenets of grazing management? We would not send a woman in an extension capacity to convince a man to change his farming or irrigation patterns, so it makes little sense to send a man to try to convince the woman herder to alter her grazing strategy. This is where I see a very real place in international agriculture for women.

DR. HENDERSON:

During the past 10 years, there have been numerous livestock projects in the Sahel. These projects intend to have a significant impact on the national and domestic economies of the countries involved. And they will be having an impact on the lives of women whether they plan this impact or not.

A major concern of women in development programs is to see that women are involved in planning projects that will affect their lives. Events which affect women's economic situation also affect the economic situation of their children and other members of the family.

For example, recent studies in Africa have indicated that the nutritional level of children's diet has been adversely affected by the drop in the income of women or a drop in women's opportunities to obtain food. This is related to the fact that in much of the world, especially in Africa, men's and women's household budgets are separate, with each individual expected to support different household activities in his or her own way.

There are two major types of livestock projects that I want to talk about here. The first type is projects primarily concerned with nomadic herder populations. The second type is projects primarily directed toward sedentary people. For both types of projects, Michael Horowitz's comments are appropriate: "Herder participation in the identification, design, implementation, and assessment of livestock sector projects has been marginal at best. Participation of women has been non-existent" (1979).

I. Livestock Projects with Herding Populations

Taking the projects concerning herding population first, we must ask, "Why have women been overlooked?" I think there are several explanations, and a major one is the European and American biases in regard to women in agriculture -- that is, that women are just "helping out" and do not do much of significance on their own. It is also believed that if you tell men about improved techniques, they will tell the women and that will be sufficient. Furthermore, agronomists and range managers, who have usually been men, tended not to associate women with livestock and have not considered small stock as important as cattle. Since women are primarily concerned with small stock rather than large stock, their interests have tended to be ignored.

Tasks involving large stock, e.g., cattle raising, are generally male dominated. However, this is not to say that women never perform such tasks as taking cattle back and forth to water holes. In Botswana, where many men migrate to South Africa for work, women are doing a lot of farming and cattle herding. Also, one must not forget young herding women frequently travel with their men on transhumance.

There are two crucial areas in which we know that women are heavily involved in livestock activities in herding societies: dairying and ownership of small stock. For the Fulani, a group of people found in many countries in the Sahel, each wife is allocated a number of cows and it is her responsibility to decide how to use the milk. Part she keeps for her family, and part she sells, using the money for her family and herself. Adult men are viewed as the herdowners and managers, adult women as the dairy women and milk vendors. Some women do own cattle but this is a complex issue not to be gone into here.

The position of women in herding societies is threatened by the objectives of many productivity-oriented projects which convert the economy from a dairy emphasis on feeding of herding populations to one which emphasizes meat production and feeding of urban populations (Horowitz, 1979). High rates of calf mortality under semi-arid range conditions in Africa have been attributed in part to competition for milk between calves and herding populations. There is sufficient milk in the rainy season for calves, family consumption and sale, but herding populations must maintain milk yields sufficient to support dependents in all seasons (Stenning, 1959). They need continuous lactation which is dependent on the birth of calves. This often leads to a steady increase in the herd size. Productivity projects, however, often emphasize limitations of herd size and conservation of the milk for better nutrition of a few calves. When you emphasize meat production, you must assess the nutritional impact on the herding population and the economic costs of converting the system from dairy production to meat production.

It is important to note that while women are in charge of the money they obtain from selling milk, in many cases they use this money to supplement the family diet, and frequently they directly exchange milk for millet. In areas where herding populations are not engaging

in agriculture, this milk/millet exchange is a major source of basic cereals for the family. The small sums that women gain through marketing in aggregate substantially contribute to total household income (Horowitz, 1979).

In a project that emphasizes beef offtake, women may find that though total household income increases from the point of view of the income of the male, women's income declines. There is a loss of control over dairy sales income and lost status associated with lack of influence in decision making concerning the family's food supply (Ibid.).

Foreign aid can lead to strange contradictions. In one country in the Sahel, a ranch was established for herders, but after the program had begun, it was realized that the ranch was located such a distance from the nearest market or sedentary village that Fulani women were unable to carry their milk for sale or exchange and were losing both household funds and grain for barter. Plans were then made to bring in a truck to transport the milk for sale at distant villages. This, however, would add to the cost of the milk and would probably involve men taking over some of the duties which women were previously handling themselves. You would probably have males coming in as the middle persons. Again, you might ask, "How did this come about on an international, highly funded project?" I find this incredible, but it is not, when you realize how women's roles are so often overlooked, especially when they do not exactly correspond to American women's roles.

The second way that women in herding societies are directly concerned with livestock, aside from dairying, is livestock ownership. Women do own cattle to some degree -- particularly women in herding populations -- but more importantly, they own goats and sheep, and they are concerned about the well-being of these animals. In a livestock project in Upper Volta, we interviewed many women who were disturbed about losses of their goats and sheep, but they said they had never been informed of medicines. They were confused about the types of vaccinations that were available, although use of these vaccinations had been explained to committees of livestockmen (Henderson, H., 1980). In some areas, women may own more small stock than do the men, and since small stock are much easier to market than large stock, women may have more financial stability than men.

In some areas, women milk small stock; they exchange butter for more animals, and they trade animals for milk and millet in times of famine. In a herding society, goats are very important because they recover faster from drought and reproduce more quickly than larger animals. They are also good milk-givers.

During research conducted by Marianne Rupp, with Fulani and Tuareg herders after the drought in Niger, women expressed as much concern as men as to the need to rebuild herds. Prior to the drought, some women possessed important herds, occasionally larger than those of their husbands (Rupp, n.d.). Animal loans by the Livestock Service only benefited a small number of herders. Since the drought in the Sahel marked an end of economic independence for women as well as men,

women in the area asked that needy women be given some priority in the animal distribution program (Ibid.). Many of the women preferred to restock their herds with goats and sheep rather than donkeys and cows (Ibid.). Rupp reinforced their demands by recommending that women be included in future project activities involving the distribution of animals to needy persons, with priority going to women acting as heads of families (Ibid.).

The Niger government did become aware of the importance of livestock to the economic condition of women and the importance of small stock, frequently owned by women, in preventing total devastation in times of drought. It is now dealing with women's needs somewhat more than previously. In some areas, female livestock agents teach women about the need for veterinary medicines, animal hygiene and the use of manure. The awareness of the parts of governments and international funding agencies is increasing in regard to the contribution of women to family survival by their savings in livestock, especially small stock. This is permitting new extension actions to take place.

II. Livestock Projects with Sedentary People

In conclusion, I want to touch briefly on women's activities in regard to livestock among sedentary peoples in the Sahel, using the Hausa of Niger as an example. Hausa women know the care of small stock and they know the traditional treatments of their illnesses. When the animals are in the compound they are generally taken care of by women, although when the animals are taken some distance from the compound during the growing season, it is small boys who lead them. In one survey by Barres, it was shown that when you looked at women's budgets, 64 percent of their total property was in livestock and only eight percent in cultivated fields (1975). Hausa women sell small stock to pay for a pilgrimage to Mecca, to buy agricultural produce or other goods, or to invest in more animals. These women want to increase their incomes to give some support in case of divorce or widowhood. Divorce is not uncommon among the Hausa, and is quite frequent after a woman has reached age 45. If there is a possibility of divorce, movable property such as small stock makes a better investment than does a heavy investment of labor in crops planted on fields that belong to others.

In a survey that I conducted in Niger, we found that 60 percent of the women said they had sold animals in the past year and more than 40 percent said that some of the animals grazing in their fields belonged to them. With the monies from the sale of livestock, women bought clothing and food for their families and themselves, aside from other purchases. I want to close here with the point that women need to be able to contribute to the subsistence of their families and need to have opportunities for extra domestic distribution in exchange for goods and services. Before beginning livestock or any other kinds of projects, it is crucial that the planners understand the current patterns of control over earnings and expenditures in households. They must do this to avoid introducing activities that may undermine women's positions and submerge the goals of the project.

QUESTION:

How long does it take for the land to recover when it has gone down as long as it can without being lost?

DR. BRYANT:

We do not have the slightest idea, and that is what part of our research is going to try to find out. I would suspect that being pretty arid -- less than 26 inches of rain a year -- and at a very high altitude -- more than 14,000 feet -- it would take at least 10 to 15 years to fully recover.

QUESTION:

There is one thing I do not understand. It looked like it may be overgrazed more near the villages, but it looked like all of it was grazed heavily. Where do you put the animals so that the land may recover? And what incentive do you use to the villagers -- when they don't own the land -- to go out of their way to graze their animals somewhere else?

DR. BRYANT:

Recovery may not require totally removing animals, but through changes in grazing management, we can demonstrate proper grazing by putting in some grazing plots to show them animal offtake from good grazing management compared to what they are doing. Allow them to see the difference. Then if you can get them to believe that, it becomes a problem of designing grazing strategies for the family groups that graze around a particular village.

QUESTION:

Would someone from your group go over there and do the demonstration, or would you recruit one of the villagers to do the demonstration?

DR. BRYANT:

Our interest area now is to establish these demonstration plots. Texas Tech has an eight-year commitment to this project.

QUESTION:

You were saying, though, that you are going to have someone to actually go over and perform it themselves. Wouldn't they recruit a couple of innovators over there to do it? The people in the village are less likely to believe you than one of their own people.

DR. BRYANT:

No, what we are going to do is try to figure out what the best grazing strategy is, then encourage the Peruvians to set up an extension program. I think women have a very real place in an extension capacity. No, I couldn't go over there and tell them anything. It is something the Peruvians have to try for themselves, once we have established some recommendations that will work.

COMMENT:

I know that in the Sahel there are strategies where they try to control the grazing patterns. They had herder seminars in the village where they sat with the village people and talked it over and explained to the villagers so that the village would agree. And then they tried to collaborate

among several areas and work with a system of rotating herds over a period of time. But in the Sahel, you also have to have the herd within walking distance of the water. So, they had to work out with each set of villages how they could move their herds along at different times of the year so that they were all close to water to get back and forth in a day, and that sort of thing. One of the very real problems is that in the Sahel it worked okay if the sedentary farm population controlled the land, but if there were nomadic populations that came through once or twice a year, it was much harder to constrain their behavior. But the big problem was that we had to get them to reduce the herd size so that they were not overgrazing. I had never heard before you said it today, and it was so interesting to me, the notion that the nomadic population depends upon the milk supply for their food, their goats' milk. That is their major form of food or they trade the milk for millet on a day-by-day basis. They have got to keep the calves coming because they have got to keep the milk coming through the year, and that is an explanation to the overgrazing and overpopulation, which are two things that are probably true. But this other business -- that the family's nutrition is really resting on that continuous production of calves -- is something that I have never heard before. And then when you say it, it then plays into this problem of range management. It is hard for them to reduce the herd because they are really in a bind. I think that is a very interesting insight.

DR. HENDERSON:

Yes, it is a good one and all of us should be discussing all of these things with range management people so that the problems like this incredible ranch situation does not occur.

COMMENT:

There is another problem also. People get stuck in a situation where there is nobody to trade their milk for millet.

DR. HENDERSON:

Yes, that can develop too. We tend to think of cattle as being for beef or for dairy purposes, but these people do not separate the two. When the people set up the ranch, I imagine they thought of it as a beef ranch. They forgot that there wasn't any other source of livelihood for these people aside from the dairy products.

COMMENT:

My comments are about animal health care. I was thinking what should we do besides teaching and sanitation systems? Do we give them the vaccines and medicines? If the program supplies the materials and the funds dry up and the program pulls out, the animals are more likely to get sick than before. Is there any appropriate technology to give them some semblance of health care with less mortality, yet without making them dependent on Western technology for their vaccines? If they don't have cash, they are not going to be able to mail-order vaccines.

DR. HENDERSON:

I realized this when I was involved in trying to convince them to vaccinate chickens. And after I convinced them to vaccinate chickens, I then realized that if they vaccinated them they would then have to vaccinate

them the next year, and that if they couldn't afford it this year, not only could they not afford to vaccinate the following year, but the vaccinators would never appear -- they would be at another remote village. We were thinking about that village at that point, but the next year they would undoubtedly have been forgotten. So, the women of the village got together and got the money together and vaccinated all their pheasants but what is going to happen next year we don't know. That is a very good point. The chickens are probably going to have a population that is much more vulnerable to disease than ever before.

COMMENT:

We had that problem in a village in Central America, where I was working with chicken coccidiosis. Instead of raising five or six chickens for an egg now and then or to have a chicken on a wedding day or other celebration, they raised 25 to 50 chickens to sell and coccidiosis wiped out nearly the entire flock of the village because the villagers could not get an extension agent to come out -- he never showed up. It was a remote village and they had no medication. They didn't even know how to use it. They were encouraged to do it and then they had no help.

QUESTION:

Isn't there something practical people could do in lieu of vaccinations in remote areas?

DR. BRYANT:

I think that range management has had a real influence on the health of animals and the breaking of life cycles of internal parasites of those animals. What we left with the Peruvian government was that it had to be a government-supported program over time to give the stability that you are talking about. The political support is a very real thing.

DR. HENDERSON:

There is also the problem with vaccines. If you give Newcastle vaccine to the chickens and not all the chickens are vaccinated, then the vaccinated chickens are able to transmit the disease to the unvaccinated chickens and you may have all the other chickens dying off that have not been vaccinated. Of course, if you have a project that is not well planned, you could have a real calamity on the chicken population.

QUESTION:

Are there resistant chickens like there are resistant grain sorghums?

DR. BRYANT:

I don't think animal breeders are at that point yet, where they can breed resistant livestock. Plant breeders have done this for many years to control disease. There is one thing about disease that involves parasites, too. There is a very strong correlation between the nutrition of an animal and the incidence of disease and parasites. If we can improve range management strategies until we are improving the nutrition for those animals, hopefully there will be some reduction in disease and parasites.

COMMENT:

The same thing is true for the loss of children. One of my animal physiologist friends pointed out that the loss of cattle in the Sahel is almost

directly parallel to the loss of children in the Sahel. They lose about 50 percent of their babies before they are five, and they lose about 50 percent of their calves.

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Land Tenure and Cooperatives

Origin, Development and Persistence of Navajo Matrifocality
in Subsistence, Production, Exchange, and Tenure

ROBERT G. CAMPBELL
Department of Anthropology
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

Tenure and the Role of the Female

GENE A. MATHIA
Department of Agricultural Economics
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

Participation by Women in Guatemalan Cooperatives

GARY S. ELBOW
Department of Geography/Latin American Areas Studies Program
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

DR. CAMPBELL:

The Navajo of the southwestern U.S.A., although not a Third World or developing nation, serve as an example of a society which has maintained social and economic roles and associated activities, traditionally reserved for men in most Western societies, as those of women. They provide a case study of a marginal population that remained largely matrifocal because of the environmental demands, direct intense acculturation from other matrifocal societies, limited and modified acculturation from Western societies, careful selection and integration of cultural innovations, and historical accidents that required specific types of change while under Anglo-American politico-military domination. The traditional elevated position of Navajo women in the social and economic sphere probably prepares Navajos more readily for adaptation to intersex role-sharing as they merge with a changing Western industrialized society.

The Navajo language belongs to the Nadene superfamily whose ancestral speakers are believed to have entered North America from Siberia between 3,000 to 6,000 years ago. By 1000 B.C. the Athabaskan family of Nadene is believed to have established itself in the Boreal forests of central

Alaska and northwestern Canada. Judging from their historic descendants who remained in this area, they had developed a subsistence pattern largely involving hunting and fishing activities that are usually male-dominated and favor the development of a patrifocal society. However, since residential units were few in number, small in membership and widely scattered, the simple cultural system appears to have resulted in the development of neither a strong patrifocal nor matrifocal system. The residential unit usually consisted of an autonomous nuclear family tracing descent bilaterally with a non-lineal inheritance pattern.

By A.D. 700 the southern branch of the Athabascans, the Apachean people, had begun an expansion southward into the semi-arid Great Plains. Adaptation by foragers to this environment would require an increased emphasis on hunting and the gathering of wild plants, and decreased emphasis or deletion of fishing. The male role in food and material procurements would decline with the absence of fishing, and the female role would increase with more reliance on gathering. The hunting of larger available forms of game, e.g., bison, would require larger cooperative units, presumably kin groups, and consequently necessitate larger residential and labor units. The survival of traces of matrifocality, e.g., preferential uxorlocality, among historic Plains Apacheans -- Gattacka and Lipan -- who no doubt depended even more on bison hunting than would the prehistoric Apacheans, reflects the probable development of matrikin residential units and communities, or matriclans, and inheritance of property and products primarily through the female line.

Archeological evidence indicates that sometime between A.D. 1500 and 1540, some Apachean people had crossed the southern Rocky Mountains and entered the southern part of the Colorado Plateau in north central New Mexico. They occupied the Puerco and Gobernador Drainages and the Jemez Mountain areas which were then not occupied by other Indians but were close to the Pueblos who resided to the east, south and west of this region. The more arid environment increased the need for greater plant procurement in the face of less available game, e.g., the absence of bison. This probably caused the dissolution of the larger kin-coresidential units, thus scattering these Apacheans -- the ancestral Navajo -- over a wide area and organized them into matriextended family residential units whose members still recognized kinship in a former matriclan.

These non-coresidential matriclans would form the matrisib system that survives to the present day. The nomadic, scattered Navajo would remain few in number, politically disorganized and militarily ineffectual to the point that the Spanish remained ignorant or unconcerned with their existence for nearly a century after Spanish entry into the Southwest and contact with the numerous sedentary, farming Pueblo. But Pueblo-Navajo contact certainly had occurred and gradually farming was added to the Navajo subsistence pattern. Although Navajo men had products of the hunt to exchange with Pueblo men, they probably had little to spare, so Navajo women with more plant surplus, e.g., piñon nuts, would conduct most of the interethnic trade with Pueblo women in exchange for the latter's surplus farm produce, e.g., corn. Through this vehicle of acculturation, the Navajo women would more than likely acquire farming skills from Pueblo women who had traditionally long been involved in farming activities and who themselves were members of societies with some degree of matri-

focal orientation. With Navajo women primarily responsible for plant procurement, processing, and produce, the addition of horticulture would initially be seen as a supplemental activity conducted by women to enhance their productivity in gathering activities. Farming would encourage sedentary life and the replacement of the movable, conical skin tent or "tepee" noted in early Spanish records for Plains Apaches with the conical log-and-earth lodge, or hogan. These immobile hogans would be located in key areas where women's activities required them to be used on a seasonal basis. The location of a kin group's hogans served as symbolic markers of the kin group's territorial limits of resource procurement. Since women's productivity dictated territorial limits, logically the inheritance of real estate, or land tenure, passed from mother to daughter, and the already entrenched cultural traits of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence would be reinforced. Men, repeatedly involved in a search for the limited game resources, could only occasionally involve themselves in the more vital food- and material-procurement activities, farming and gathering. Spanish records first mention the Navajo about A.D. 1630, when they are referred to as Apachu de Nabaju -- Tiwa Pueblo terms meaning "Apaches of the great fields." It is noteworthy, first, that the Spanish learned of them through the Tiwa Pueblos 90 years after Coronado arrived in the Southwest, and second, that the Tiwa distinguished them from other Apache in that the Navajo had farm lands.

In A.D. 1680, the Pueblo revolted and drove the Spanish and their Indian allies from the northern Rio Grande. The following two decades would be marked by internecine warfare among the Pueblo and reconquest by the Spanish. The disruptive effects of this turmoil resulted in many Pueblos fleeing the Rio Grande area and finding refuge among the Navajo. At this point Puebloization of the Navajo was incepted and many Pueblo and Spanish cultural traits were adopted by the Navajo. However, the cultural innovations from the matrifocal Spanish would be transmitted to the Navajo through the more matrifocal Pueblo refugees. Pueblo influence resulted in the adoption of small but similar Pueblo dwellings and villages, and increased reliance on farming and a more sedentary life-style. Pueblos introduced or promoted the development of handicrafts, later to be considered important aspects of Navajo culture. Filtered through the Pueblo, Spanish influence brought metallurgy; additional cultigens, such as wheat, watermelons, etc.; arboriculture, principally peach orchards; and animal husbandry, especially sheep and goats. Most of these activities, especially sheep production, were added to the Navajo women's existing activities. Among the Pueblo, who relied on cotton production to promote weaving, the Pueblo men were the weavers, but the poorly irrigable farmlands of the Navajo were not conducive to cotton production and the introduced weaving handicraft had to rely on wool production, an activity of women. Consequently, women became the weavers among the Navajo. In later times, Navajo women's goods would constitute the most important interethnic trade item, and would place the women in the position to benefit most from increased commercial activity.

Between A.D. 1700 and 1775, the Navajo, Pueblo, and Spanish maintained comparatively amicable relationships, but increased hostility and warfare with more nomadic groups -- e.g., Apache, Comanche, and Ute -- brought disruptive pressure on the Navajo cultural system. The lack of sufficient

irrigable farmland made impossible the concentration of large numbers into more defensible villages and the Navajo Pueblitos fell victim to the incessant raids of nomads; they were particularly vulnerable to Ute attacks from the north. Consequently, Navajos began to abandon their sedentary villages in favor of smaller hogan communities, decrease their farming and increase their reliance on sheep production, develop smaller coresidential units such as the "outfit" -- a matriextended family -- and increase their seasonal nomadism.

Ute warfare forced the abandonment of the Gobernador, Puerco and Jemez areas and the Navajo shifted south and west, widening the geographic gap between themselves and the patrifocal Spanish and the less matrifocal Eastern Pueblo. This increased contact with the more matrifocal Western Pueblo -- the Zuni and Hopi. Coincidental with the shift came deteriorating relations with the Spanish and Pueblos. Navajo men began raiding the latter's settlements to substitute for declining game resources. Livestock gained in raids were added to the women's holdings in payment for their services to the men. The buffer zone between the Navajo and their main enemies, the Utes and Spanish, and the dispersed residences provided adequate defensive mechanisms and precluded the development by Navajo of more elaborate politico-military institutions for defense -- activities which would enhance the traditional male role in the society.

This situation remained unchanged throughout the remainder of the Spanish Period and the following Mexican Period -- post-A.D. 1820 -- and into the early Anglo Period -- A.D. 1846-1850. However, with the appearance of Anglo settlers, it was obvious that the raiding could not go unchecked. Between 1850 and 1865, Anglo society -- through its primary agency, the U.S. government with its army -- would increase its military activities against and the control over the Navajo. Warfare culminated with Kit Carson's successful campaign of 1865 which removed 80 percent or more of the Navajo to the reservation near Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Following a disastrous four years there, the Navajo were permitted to return to a newly established reservation on the New Mexico-Arizona boundary. There they were issued government rations largely in the form of sheep. Sheep production in the hands of women became more successful and as the sheep increased, so did the Navajo. The government expanded the reservation to accommodate this increase, thus enabling the Navajo to expand in territory, sheep production and population. With the termination of warfare, Anglo traders felt secure in establishing trading posts in the immediate vicinity of the Navajo communities. Unlike other nomadic Indians who traveled long distances to trading posts or fairs and thus left such exchange activity largely in the hands of men, the Navajo women had exchange points close by and controlled most of the marketable products, wool, and woven goods. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century -- A.D. 1870-1940 -- the women played a major role in the exchange system involving barter, cash and credit.

With the termination of raiding, the decline of hunting, the development of control of most external trade by Anglo traders, and the lack of political unity and offices, Navajo men were required to seek productive activity mostly beyond the large reservation boundaries as temporary wage-laborers. This seasonal out-migration as well as polygyny encouraged the continuance of the matriextended family and enforced matrilinearity.

During and since the Depression and World War II, the development of Navajo political unity or the Navajo Tribe or Nation, increased wage labor on and off the reservation, improved education, and increased wealth and technology have enabled men to participate more in the economic processes, but have resulted in little change in Navajo matri-focality. As industrialization increasingly draws Navajo men and women into wage labor, services and professions, the traditional role of the women should prepare them to adapt equally well to new intersex occupational roles.

DR. MATHIA:

I. Peru Pre-Agrarian Reform

Peru is a country with a very rich socioeconomic history dating back many centuries. The Inca Indian culture, supplemented later by the Spanish conquerors, provides us a fertile setting to study property rights, inheritance procedures, and the role of women in a less developed country. Many revolutions, including several modern-day coups, have occurred in Peru, but one that has affected the country as much as any is the property ownership revolution popularly referred to as the "agrarian reform." The Agrarian Reform Law was enacted in 1964. This process actually began fermenting in the 1950s and is still in process today.

Much has been said and written about the Peruvian experience with agrarian reform. The effects of land reform on the tenure, inheritance and role of the various participants, including the female, have not been quantified. It is highly questionable whether the economic and social effects can ever be very accurately appraised. However, the broad sweeping effects of the law can be detected by even the casual observer who had an opportunity to study the situation as it was developing during the period between the early 1960s and 1980.

Peru has more than 128 million hectares in land area. Less than 3 million hectares are cultivated and less than 30 million hectares are used very effectively for pasture. The arable land is divided into three geographic areas as follows: (1) coast, 24 percent; (2) sierra, 62 percent; and (3) the jungle, 14 percent. Most of the arable land located on the coast is irrigated. The sources of irrigation water for the coast are the many rivers which drain the mountainous areas.

There is, and has been for a long time, a struggle for arable land in Peru. Density of population per hectare varies considerably. Data collected during the 1960s indicated that the density in the sierra was around three persons per hectare and more than six persons per hectare on the coast.

The following table (Table 1) contains pre-agrarian reform data about land tenure of irrigated lands on the coast. It points out that .5 percent of the holdings controlled almost 50 percent of total arable lands on the coast.

The technologies used in agricultural production were traditional on

most farms other than the few very large holdings. The technology used on the small holdings and the very modern technology observed on the large, efficient units provide an interesting contrast of technological dualism.

TABLE 1.
Irrigated Land by Size of Holding
in the Coastal Region of Peru

Size of unit (hectares)	Total area		Holdings	
	Hectares	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 5	50,300	6.6	35,960	80.7
5 to 30	73,900	9.7	6,600	14.8
30 to 100	59,400	7.8	1,120	2.5
100 to 500	153,700	20.2	690	1.5
Greater than 500	423,900	55.7	180	.5
	761,200		44,550	

Source: Arthur J. Coutou and Richard A. King, The Agricultural Development of Peru, Frederick Praeger, Publishers.

The production process was primarily livestock in the sierra and cotton, sugar, and rice in the irrigated areas of the coast. Cleared areas of the jungle were privately owned, with rice and cattle being the primary enterprises. A quick look at the situation in the major geographic regions might help identify the problems of tenure and the role of the woman.

A. Coast

Pre-agrarian reform technology was very advanced for the production and marketing of the export cash crops on large holdings. The large holdings operated very much like a fully integrated production/marketing firm commonly observed in the U.S. Labor was hired and paid wages. Wages sometimes included the product from small garden plots. Yields of these crops were high and marketing surplus was extremely high, mostly exported with revenue not always returning to Peru. Before agrarian reform, the campesino benefited only from wages paid by these prosperous operations. Many of these firms provided health and education services. The women were housewives living in barriada-type facilities. They did the purchasing for the family, as well as typical household functions. Many were domestic helpers in the homes of the landed classes. The female youths were encouraged to migrate to the urban areas to find work as domestics. The male youths often migrated to urban areas to serve as domestics, while others were employed by the large farming firms.

The farmers with land holdings produced farm products as a family unit. All members of the household worked in the field. The housewife also performed the typical household chores in addition to field work.

B. Sierra

The large holdings in the sierra were created through land grants made by the Spaniards in the early times. The technology was traditional in grazing sheep, cattle, alpaca, and llama. The output from these animals was low, but a relatively high proportion of total production was marketing surplus. The major share of the earnings went to the absentee owner.

Herds of animals were structured by the hacienda management and assigned to the indigenous laborers. Wages were low -- barely subsistence -- and much of it was paid in food, clothing, etc.

Until the early 1960s the campesino and his wife owned no property but did have use rights to small land areas as assigned by the landowner. In general, the mountain woman in the household functioned as a housewife in addition to performing garden work. Boys and girls served as herders. The women also did the buying and selling of food and fiber. The Saturday and Sunday markets found many women located around the plaza selling needlework, foods, etc.

The title of land and other productive resources was normally made in the name of the head of the household or the male representative. Property rights were passed to the next generation. The housewife had control of the resources after the death of the husband.

II. Peru Post-Agrarian Reform

The political situation in the 1950s and 1960s began to change in that the masses expressed unrest with the apparent injustices of the existing system. The popular views were centered on:

- A. Labor exploitation of the landless masses
- B. Inequitable income distributions
- C. Lack of incentives on the part of the absentee landowner to improve production and conservation practices.
- D. No opportunity for the landless masses to develop pride in land ownership and to build a capital base.

These political realities were transferred to political action to reform the structure of land ownership. Thus, the Agrarian Reform Law was enacted in 1964.

The law itself did not really alter the basic property rights. Private ownership was still the rule, but it placed limits on the amount of land which could be owned and operated.

The large holdings or haciendas were expropriated by the government and reapportioned to the landless who had lived and worked on the hacienda. The allocation was made on a specific maximum acreage. The

resulting holdings were very small, often containing too few resources to comprise an economic unit. Each campesino was granted a parcel of land and a title was issued. The title was drawn up in the name of the male, but the ownership was considered to be joint and transferable in case of the death of the male.

The economic effects of agrarian reform have been great. The maximum acreage per farm unit limited the potential for farm growth and has severely affected the ability of farmers to adopt technology which is scale-related. Total output was reduced greatly in the sierra because the agrarian reform applied only to land. The large herds of cattle were liquidated by the former hacienda owners. The new landowner had a tract of land but no basic stock to operate the cattle operations. He had little capital to restock the herds. Also, he had never really been provided capital and management expertise which could be applied to his own operations.

Marketing surpluses dropped sharply because the new landowners consumed larger quantities of the product for on-farm purposes. In essence, production in the aggregate declined because of management and available capital problems of the new owners, the distribution of the aggregate quantity changed drastically, and a much larger share of the aggregate production failed to enter the marketing channels.

There is considerable evidence that the standard of living for the pre-agrarian reform landless peasants improved after the reform. Although cash receipts from agricultural production declined, their level of living, especially nutrition, improved because they consumed a larger share of farm production. The level of living of urban households was adversely affected because of reduced volumes of food entering the commercial channels. Imports of food, especially red meats and milk products, increased sharply, but at sharply higher prices. These growing import demands placed severe strains on the foreign exchange of the country. Thus, Peru instituted a rule which made it illegal to market red meats during four days of each week. This placed a hardship on households without refrigeration. The capability of storing red meat under refrigeration in Peru is limited to a very small percentage of the urban households. Fish and chicken could be marketed during the meatless days, but these products were very expensive.

The role of the female changed very little by the change in land tenure. One could argue that the family is more secure with ownership of land held by the head of the household. The family remains so near the subsistence level that any improvement in its welfare must be pride which goes with resource ownership. The housewife still performs the typical household chores, works in the field, gathers firewood and other fuels, and markets any surplus production resulting from subsistence farming.

III. Prospective Future Conditions in Peru

As noted above, Peru has paid a high price for courses of action taken many centuries ago. The pain of agrarian reform was great and shared not only by the landowners of pre-reform but also the landless

peasants who were provided with land ownership. The urban families also paid a high price for reform. The question now is whether these participants can expect relief from these adjustment pains. Many observers believe that the worst has passed. The new owners have gained management abilities to operate their farms. Aggregate production will increase, which should take some pressure off the rapidly increasing food prices. The institutional arrangements to help these small farmers with water, credit, and other production inputs are developing rapidly. All of these signs point to better times in Peru, but how far Peru can advance is questionable, given the lack of a good natural resource base. It could be concluded that as long as Peru remains agrarian, the role of the female will not change very much. Other sources of economic growth will be necessary before the great strides are made in family relationships.

IV. Lesotho

The situation in Lesotho with tenure and the role of women is drastically different than the one which exists in Peru. Lesotho is a mountain island in the heart of the Republic of South Africa. It depends on South Africa for fuel, electricity, currency, and source of employment. A high percentage of males older than 10 to 12 years work in the mines and large farms of South Africa. The families do not accompany the male workers. Often times, males are separated from the family for months and years at a time.

There are two basic reasons why families are divided. First, South African employers refuse to provide facilities for family members at the mine sites. Second, the land tenure arrangements in Lesotho are such that a family member must remain on the land and make some effort to produce agricultural products in order to maintain use rights. All land in Lesotho is the property of the king. Use rights are provided by tradition. Tribal leaders allocate lifetime use rights to the family, subject to productivity. Productivity is defined as breaking the soil and planting the crop.

Much of the land is publicly controlled and livestock producers have free grazing rights. In fact, crop residue remaining after harvest of the grain becomes public property, open to free grazing. These practices have resulted in serious soil productivity and conservation practices. Since land cannot be used as a stock of wealth, livestock becomes the store of wealth and the indicator of family wealth. The more cattle owned by the family, the wealthier the family is considered. Thus, the owners bring large numbers of cattle to Lesotho from South Africa rather than currency. Consequently, overgrazing is a very serious problem for the country as a whole. Soil erosion is particularly severe.

The female in this society has a very important role. She is head of the household, farm manager, worker and marketer for most of the time. Her presence on the land maintains lifetime use rights, which are critical to the male when he is either unable or too old to work in the mines.

The future of Lesotho is not particularly bright if South Africa should

ever decide to close the border to trade, male migration, and employment. The return of the male to the small, very unproductive farms in Lesotho would seriously affect the level of living of all families, especially the agrarian families in Lesotho. The living standard is near subsistence now with the earnings from South African employment, but the situation would worsen if the border was closed. Solutions to their current problems are not obvious. It is questionable if agrarian reform could improve the base as it may happen in Peru.

DR. ELBOW:

Cooperatives are an important element in the development process in many Third World areas, including Latin America. Yet the cooperatives which are established, often at the urging of well-intentioned development experts, tend to serve a dominantly or exclusively male population; at least that has been my observation in Latin America. Women are considered beneficiaries of cooperatives in an indirect sense; as cooperatives contribute to the improvement of male living standards, their family members -- women and children -- are bound to be better off too. No doubt this is a valid assumption in many cases, but there may be situations in which women could and should be the direct beneficiaries of cooperative development, sharing membership privileges and decision-making roles with men or establishing their own independent cooperatives to expedite women's activities. Given the traditional division of sex roles in developing societies, it seems unlikely that the former strategy would have a high rate of success. On the other hand, establishment of cooperatives which are run by and for women is a distinct possibility and one which has, in fact, been put into operation in countries such as Guatemala. It is the intent of this discussion to briefly examine the participation of women in Guatemalan cooperatives and to explore some of the benefits and problems associated with women's cooperatives.

I. Cooperatives in Guatemala

The existence of cooperatives in Guatemala was legally established in 1903, but very little was done to promote their formation until after the fall of the dictator Jorge Ubico in 1941. The cooperative movement began to develop under the liberal regime which followed Ubico's fall. However, when this regime was deposed in 1954 by a right-wing coup, cooperatives were branded as communistic and their activities discouraged until the late 1950s, when North American and European missionaries -- representing various Protestant groups as well as Roman Catholics -- began programs which included the establishment of cooperatives and training of Guatemalan nationals in cooperative management as part of a general effort to improve living conditions for Guatemala's many poor. Subsequently, these efforts were joined by national and international organizations which have remained active in the promotion of cooperatives as one strategy to promote economic development and social change.

The objectives of cooperatives will vary somewhat, depending on the type of cooperative and the individuals establishing it, but most combine at least some if not all of the following:

- A. To provide access to credit for improved production

- B. To provide supplies and materials at low cost
- C. To provide access to markets, including storage and transportation
- D. To provide training and technical assistance
- E. To obtain the advantages of unity and group cohesiveness in dealing with the government or other influential institutions

A final benefit that is seldom admitted but which accounts for much of the government's support of cooperatives in Guatemala is their role in reducing unrest and potential insurgency, especially in rural areas where government control may be weak. Cooperatives are a tangible sign of government's interest in promoting improved living conditions and also are thought by some in power to present the government and its agents in a positive role as cooperative movement facilitators, an attitude which may be shared by few cooperative members.

Several types of cooperatives operate in Guatemala, including agricultural, savings and credit, artisan, consumer, housing, production, and urban transportation cooperatives. Of these, agricultural cooperatives comprised nearly two-thirds of the total number of 365 cooperatives reported in the country in 1968 and savings and credit cooperatives were nearly another one-third of the total (Amaro and Cuevas, 1970), making these two categories far and away the most important. In 1968 there were only five artisan cooperatives operating in Guatemala, a number which has probably increased in the 1970s. Organizations which include a variety of Guatemalan government agencies, private institutions, religious organizations -- largely but not exclusively Roman Catholic -- and international agencies such as AID.

II. Women's Contributions to Family Income

Most of the work in agriculture in Guatemala and virtually all of the decision making is carried out by men. Occasionally women, especially in the Indian-occupied Western highlands, will participate in agricultural labor, helping with a harvest or with planting or weeding, but this is clearly the exception, even in families where males are involved in seasonal labor migration to coastal plantations. However, it would be inaccurate to portray women as being totally uninvolved in meaningful economic activities in Guatemalan traditional farming communities. Often characterized as subsistence farmers, Guatemalan agriculturalists actually conduct a very active commerce in "surplus" commodities which they sell in periodic markets in the home or nearby communities. This commerce, characterized by the anthropologist Sol Tax as "penny capitalism," is an important women's activity that provides the family with small amounts of cash which can be spent on a variety of consumer goods not produced by the family. Such activities are always small-scale and often of an occasional nature when conducted by women; men control most of the large, regular marketing activities that involve cash purchase of commodities at wholesale prices for resale. Some women also, and increasingly, participate in the manufacture and sale of clothing, textiles, pottery, and other folk art items in an expanding tourist market, activities that also have the potential for adding to the cash of the family.

This commerce is an extension of traditional female activities; however, as these articles find larger markets and as production becomes standardized for sale to shops in Guatemala City or other tourist centers, men begin to take over the trade and frequently gain control of all facets of commerce from production to sale. A prime example of this process is in textiles. Women have exclusive control over the tedious and labor-intensive production and sale of textiles produced on foot looms, a much more efficient process which is capable of producing a standardized product and generating a high level of income for participants. It seems unlikely that men would ever move into production of textiles on backstrap looms, but male tourist shop owners already control a large share of the formal market for these items and as potential profits increase, they will no doubt extend their control of distribution and sale.

III. Women in Cooperatives

As indicated in the introduction, women participate very little in the cooperative movement. With the exception of artisan cooperatives intended to promote the production of women's handicraft items, there is very little female participation and virtually no control. Women do control a small number of the artisan cooperatives and have managed to gain access to credit and limited training -- primarily in design and quality control -- through their participation. Those artisan cooperatives which specialize in production of textiles or other folk art items on a large scale and by mechanized means are controlled by men.

Some artisan cooperatives have experienced success at developing markets for their products and improving incomes for their members. The successful cooperatives tend to be in villages which had a previously established reputation for quality weaving and the primary function of the cooperative is to provide raw materials of uniform quality at wholesale prices, to set quality standards which must be met by all participating weavers, to reduce price competition among weavers, and to locate dependable markets for woven goods. Some cooperatives also encourage production of non-traditional items for which there is potential demand outside of the village; thus, one village produces a complete line of table linens, none of which are used by any producers, and others have modified traditional styles or introduced new ones to serve outside markets. Villages which utilize less distinctive designs, lack a reputation for quality, or lie farther from the established tourist routes have had less success in entering the folk art market.

IV. Thoughts on Women and Cooperatives

Given the theme of this conference, it would be nice if I could end this discussion by encouraging all of the participants to rush out and look for jobs promoting women's cooperatives in the Third World. However, based upon my observations in Latin America, there are some considerations which should be weighed before one launches into the cooperative business. The first point, in order of presentation but not necessarily importance, is the problem of success. There is a danger that a cooperative, if created by and for women, may become a target for resentful males who will attempt to take it over or engineer

its failure. This possibility becomes even greater if the cooperative is successful and participants begin to increase their incomes to the point where the traditional male role as family provider is threatened. Of course, success brings with it also the possibility that outsiders will attempt to gain a share of the benefits by establishing competing independent operations or by attempting to gain control of the cooperative itself. The former pattern is common in Guatemala, where competing groups of artisans may attempt to capitalize on the reputation and markets of cooperative members.

Perhaps a more serious concern, because it may be more difficult to combat than competition, is the threat to traditional family roles presented by women's participation in cooperatives, especially if they are successful. I see this issue as a two-edged sword: conservative women may oppose cooperatives because they see them as potential threats to traditional values and relationships -- many of which may be viewed negatively by cooperative organizers from outside the community -- and men may become hostile, even to the point of denying female family members rights of participation in cooperatives, because of perceived threats to their status in the family or to community norms. Thus, the cooperative may invite attack from precisely those whom it was established to serve and become in the process a divisive element in the community.

A related aspect of cooperatives is their potential to be agents for social change. This role is implicit in the goal of raising standards of living through improved productivity, but it may also become explicit as cooperatives enter into programs aimed at the education of their members. Such programs range from nutrition, child care, and family health to literacy and political awareness. Handled in a well-planned and careful manner, the role of the cooperative as an agent of change can be a powerful force for community betterment. Poorly handled, it can contribute to the very problems it is attempting to alleviate. With regard to women, the potential for disaster is even greater, as is, perhaps, the potential for success. This is because in most societies women are subservient to men, at least in the formal, public aspects of their lives. Thus, motivating change among women in a community dominated by conservative men has potential to disrupt families and the community. On the other hand, women may be, in the long term, more effective carriers of change than men, especially through their roles in the early training of children, so that reaching them in a positive manner acceptable to the community can be extremely beneficial.

None of these problems presents insurmountable obstacles to cooperative development for or by women, but they must be taken into account, both in the initial evaluation of potential for success, and subsequently as the cooperative goes into operation. Otherwise, the potential for failure is greatly increased.

QUESTION:

Do you have any idea what average percentage of foreign development funds ever reaches small farmers in developing countries?

DR. ELBOW:

I don't know an average, but I can say that it is not much. Gene?

DR. MATHIA:

I can give you one case in Peru where there was a very large grant of funds for credit to small farmers. The loans were extended to what one would call the limited resource farmers. It was very hard to ensure that the money was used for the purpose for which it was designed. In many cases, it was used primarily for consumption purposes rather than production purposes. What we found out about our credit programs was that small farmers are just very hard to manage in the sense that they are not operating an economic unit. They are subsistence farmers. As Gary has indicated, they are on a subsistence income and the money gets siphoned off into consumption purposes rather than production purposes. The credit does not regenerate itself. It becomes almost unmanageable to deal with these problems.

COMMENT:

I can give you one possibility. My experience comes from Ghana, but where they had some credit programs designed for small farmers, it was found that frequently large-scale or wealthier farmers were locked into the information system much better than small farmers, and they would hear that the fertilizer or the credit was coming and when it was supposed to be distributed they appeared at the bank. Also, people that were large landowners owned the trucking so that they could usually truck fertilizer north, or they were in some way connected to the transport of whatever was coming to small farmers so that they had first crack at it. If there was any left it went to small farmers, and if there wasn't, then too bad.

COMMENT:

It was a good-old-boy network!

COMMENT:

That's right. In the U.S. it operates too, because when you get an SBA disaster loan there is so much paper work, and private people find it too difficult to do, so that you need to pay an attorney to do it. And cooperatives in the United States, or the ones with which I am familiar, mostly have members of the family, who are men. I mean men are in the decision making, so we can't be too horrified by what we hear.

QUESTION:

But, is any effort made to provide the cooperative banks with extension information dissemination on the project scale?

DR. ELBOW:

In Guatemala they tried in some cases, especially the cooperatives which are organized by the Catholic church. Let me step back for a minute and say that there are a whole bunch of different kinds of cooperatives. There are national government-sponsored cooperatives, there are AID-sponsored cooperatives, there are Catholic church-sponsored cooperatives, and there are Protestant missionary-sponsored cooperatives, and then there are a few private-sponsored cooperatives. Out of all those, the ones that seem to be uniformly the most effective are the Catholic church-sponsored cooperatives. And I think the reason that they are the most effective is

because they put a priest in there, usually a trained priest, and if he doesn't directly run the show, and sometimes they do, he certainly does indirectly, and provides a suppressive influence on the sorts of conflicts and interactions that often develop in cooperatives, at least in the Latin America context. In response to your other question, in the case of Guatemala, and I don't think this is atypical of Latin America, another factor in reducing the supply of money getting down to the small farmers is the fact that the export economy of Guatemala depends on a large supply of seasonal labor which happens to come from Indian farms in the highlands. If the Indians become very prosperous, they quit going down to the coast and providing labor on the plantations and that means that you don't get to export your cotton or your sugar cane or your coffee any more and that hits the government folks right where it hurts. So they really would prefer, if they could possibly do it, to keep the Indians on a very, very marginal subsistence level so that they have to take part in these seasonal labor activities.

QUESTION:

Dr. Elbow, you were describing women's cooperatives, and when they start out the men in the society pretty much ignore them as being unworthy of attention because they are doing what women do. When they become successful, men take them over. How is this change in the men's point of view accomplished? Really, they can't just accept it that after all women are incapable of doing anything successful and then take it over. There must be some rationalization for this.

DR. ELBOW:

I think that is very true, and I think that one of the things that happens is that Guatemala, as I think you know very well, is a bi-cultural country. You have got a population of Indians and a population of what they call Ladinos. They are really non-Indians, primarily of Hispanic culture. We are talking about artisan work primarily in the Indian communities and the take-over comes not from the Indian men, who rise up and say, "No, we are not going to take this away from you." I think the danger is from Ladino men coming in and gaining control of the marketing, in particular, of these things, possibly also directly the co-op. But they are really less concerned with running the co-op than they are in gaining the profits; that is what they are after. So they will do that any way they can figure out, and usually it is not too difficult to gain control of the marketing if there is anything worth bothering with.

QUESTION:

Also, you point out that the large wooden looms are the better choice of the two as far as making cash goes. Why don't they have access to these? Is it capital, or what?

DR. ELBOW:

I think basically capital -- that is the answer to it. It takes a sizable amount of money to set those things up and of course the other thing is the technique. You have got to have someone who will teach the women how to run those looms. Mothers teach daughters how to do the hip strap looming. I have got a whole batch of slides of mothers teaching their daughters how to do this, but the fathers are not going to teach their daughters; they will teach their sons.

QUESTION:

Where are the looms built?

DR. ELBOW:

Well, as far as I know, in the country.

QUESTION:

Women don't build them or engage in that kind of thing?

DR. ELBOW:

No.

QUESTION:

The development of those craft cooperatives that work -- aren't they predicted on an export market? There is certainly not sufficient income internally to sustain them.

DR. ELBOW:

Yes, there is. Most of them depend on internal markets. I just got through reading an article earlier this afternoon in the New York Times on revolutionary potential in Guatemala. That is not what I am going to talk about, but out of this article came the statement that last year there were half a million American and European tourists in Guatemala. Now maybe that is an external market in a sense, but they are in the country and they are buying up that stuff as fast as they can get their hands on it. There is also quite a market among Guatemalans. It has become very fashionable for Guatemalan school students, for example, to wear Indian-made purses. They use them to carry their lunches and books in. It is like Levis with American children; it is something that everybody has and if you go down the streets of Guatemala City, every child who is going to school has got one of those purses. Many of the other textiles are also used pretty heavily within the country. Then the last part of it, I guess, is that there is quite a market among the Indians themselves. One of the products of modernization has been that many of the Indian women have quit doing their own weaving. They create a market for the produce of the women who are still weaving. There are villages that specialize in weaving textiles for the Indian market and not with any idea of tourism or export.

QUESTION:

In the delivery of the extension service, fertilizer and that sort of thing, and in teaching, since women are the heads of the households in many cases, how is it actually functioning? Is it governmentally controlled?

DR. MATHIA:

The government of Lesotho set up some state-owned companies that operate on a more or less commercial basis. Commercial inputs are actually distributed. Very little fertilizer is used. If you are wanting a case of subsistence agriculture, this is where it is. You will find that most of the land is just being held in place. The women are there; they are holding rights to it and farming the land in the absence of their husbands. There are real social problems in South Africa. Of course, the male members of the families follow their fathers to the mines. The females and men too old to mine remain holding the land in place. They use very little

purchasable inputs. It is mainly subsistence agriculture on very small plots. One interesting problem arises between crop and livestock farmers. Land is state owned. Thus, it cannot be used as a stock of wealth. Livestock has become that stock of wealth. Whenever the miner comes back to South Africa, he brings back a few head of cattle instead of the South African dollar. Consequently, there is severe overgrazing on the home land. The severity of erosion is just unbelievable. Of course, the livestock farmer has most of the power and effectiveness in government. They have grazing rights on just about everything during parts of the year and in the mountainous area all of the time. So, therefore, it is just really truly subsistence agriculture. Families are really living on the mining incomes of the husbands' jobs in the mines.

DR. ELBOW:

There is one point of clarification that I might make with regard to the term "subsistence." I think because of the nature of that term, we often tend to think that subsistence farmers do not enter the cash economy of their respective countries. This is not true. What happens is that many times even though they are not producing sufficiently from their farms for their families to survive 12 months, they still enter into the cash economy, partly because they need things which they can only get from cash, and partly because so many subsistence -- or marginal, commercial or whatever you want to call them -- farmers lack storage facilities. What happens is that they are forced to sell off at the harvest period when prices are down as low as they are going to be during the year, and then come middle of the dry season or whatever the out-of-cycle period is, when they have to buy food back, they end up having to buy back what they sold at a much inflated price. They end up losing out in a double sense. Not only are they not producing enough to survive, but everything they sell ends up costing them money in the long run. This is a very common thing. It is one of the things that cooperatives are designed to fight. I am not sure how effective they are at it always, but it is one of the things that they are supposed to, one of the missions.

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CHALLENGE: Culturally Sensitive Programs

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Dynamics of Social and Cultural Change

BROOKE SCHOEPF
Department of Anthropology
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Allow me to begin by thanking the organizers of this conference. The planning committee did a marvelous job and seems to have had excellent backup support as well. I think we've had a really valuable experience here exchanging our views on a subject which has become a consuming passion for a growing number of female academics during the past decade. I think the conference has provided us with an opportunity once again to learn from new friends, to work together and to try to understand this phenomenon of development and underdevelopment. Dr. Nadia Youssef yesterday pointed to many critical issues affecting us and to which we have no solutions as yet. She pointed out that we have yet to reach a consensus on how to define the most basic terms and processes in which we are trying to intervene.

We in the United States are becoming aware that we must learn from women in developing countries; the various assumptions on which our own development strategies rest have been faulty. In fact, none of us have the answers yet. The consequences of this development have caused tremendous dislocation, not only in families and their support systems to which Dr. Youssef called attention and not only in production systems, but also in entire sociocultural systems, leading in many cases to their extinction -- to ethnocide and genocide. Therefore, we must approach the whole subject with a large measure of humility. I propose to sketch some of the theoretical propositions regarding the dynamics of sociocultural change that may help us understand why this is so and how it has come to be -- not in the interest of preserving traditions out of nostalgia for the exotic or what used to be called primitive, but rather, in aid of the search for solutions, not only for the developing world but for us all.

The invitation extended to an anthropologist to speak on theoretical aspects of sociocultural dynamics suggests that the organizers of this conference on challenges involving women view anthropology as a discipline

that offers something of value in practical development work, something more than the usual role we are called on to play. Anthropologists are frequently asked to identify cultural barriers to changes which planners wish to introduce. The stress is on changing the culture to make it more like ours -- in which the technology originated rather than on adapting both the technology and the delivery system to local needs. Anthropologists are also asked to elaborate justification for projects which will render them acceptable to "target populations," to host governments, and in the United States since the Percy Amendment, to Congress. That is, we are asked to supply the "social soundness analysis" that states that the poor, including women, will benefit from the project and that local cultures and peoples will not be harmed. Unless the anthropologist acquiesces to furnishing a pro forma report, he or she is bound to raise issues that others would prefer to avoid. I think it would be fair to say that in many instances, the professionally competent and honest anthropologist comes to be viewed as one of the barriers that must be overcome. Even so, unless the anthropologist is familiar with both the country and the particular technical subject involved, the "quick-and-dirty" analysis required will contribute little to the study of long-range processes of change as these apply to policy objectives.

While it is often said that our technical jargon makes our reasoning unintelligible, I believe that there is a deeper reason for misapprehension. The record of development efforts of the past three decades is mainly a record of failures, and anthropologists have researched the causes of failure. Most of our analyses have concentrated on documenting faulty sociocultural assumptions pertaining to small-scale, local-level structures--families, villages and local governments. More recently, as it has become clearer to more people that the benefits of economic growth rarely trickle down to the village level, attention has shifted to the macrostructure, to the national and international levels and to the political economy of colonialism and underdevelopment. Anthropologists are among those who seek to explain the failure of development efforts in systemic terms, rather than stressing cultural factors which, as in the familiar "culture of poverty" constructs, blame the victims for attributes they do not possess, such as formal education, marketable skills, advanced technology, money and credit. So, many of us now explore the terrain between political economy and culture in the effort to understand the theory and practice of social change. The results of these investigations demonstrate that for the most part, development -- conceived as change which increases the well-being of the masses of humanity, sometimes estimated at one billion people, now suffering from poverty, malnutrition, ill health and powerlessness -- will require fundamental redistribution of political power and access to resources on a world scale. That is, we cannot expect to end poverty and hunger in the lesser developed nations while we continue to consume a disproportionate share of the global resources. This is not a particularly popular stance to take, but it is one becoming increasingly documented by social scientists as well as by scientists in the fields of agriculture and health. Anthropologists have been among those who seek theoretical explanations for the repeated failures.

Attempts to describe accurately and account for the dynamics of human

societies are rendered problematic by the very fact that the analysts are themselves involved as actors in the phenomenon whose understanding is at issue or the understanding which is the issue. The French structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss warns us that social systems are likely to create conscious models or ideological explanations of phenomena. These conscious models are left lying about the surface. Readily accessible to observers and participants alike, they serve to hide the true reality of underlying structures. How to get at those structures is the matter of intense debate within anthropology.

We know that no science is value-free, nor is technology neutral in its applications. A little more than 10 years ago, as women propelled by the women's liberation movement and the struggles for the civil rights of minorities in the study of women cross-culturally, a number of women anthropologists began to develop a methodological strategy that we thought would be useful for the study of women. We said we would study women in cross-cultural and evolutionary perspectives. We recognized a need to strip off the multiple layers of class, ethnic and sex biases that, like so many veils, have prevented us from seeing not only the face of women across time and space but the face of society in the process of change. We proposed that the condition of women is crucial to understanding the human condition, the structures of societies, and the dynamics of sociocultural change. These ideas were not invented by us, of course; they have been around since the beginnings of anthropology more than a hundred years ago. But they had been submerged in ethnocentric, sex-biased anthropological traditions that had, in fact, been supporting the structures of oppression. To that extent, a conceptual revolution was necessary to begin once more to study the variation in the condition of women in society.

Understanding the variation in the condition of women and its causes is vital to shaping development strategies of benefit to women -- to the majority of women -- and unleashing their energies in the struggle to create a better life for the world's peoples. While the exact nature of processes at work in sociocultural evolution, as I said, are a subject of continuing investigation, debate, and speculation, the fact that societies and cultures have evolved is no longer contested. Now, when I say that human societies evolved, I'm not taking a moral stance at all. I'm simply saying that increasingly complex technology and sociopolitical structures have succeeded one another in broadly similar fashion in several widely separated areas of the globe -- not that the emergent structures and technologies have everywhere and always followed the same exact pattern, but that we can distinguish some very broad stages.

That is, we can distinguish a very broad sequence of evolutionary forms, starting with very simple ones and then moving toward the elaboration of more complex ones, in the realm of technology and sociopolitical organization. The relationship between technology and sociopolitical organization seems to be mediated by the relationships that people enter into as they use that technology to make a living in particular environments and in particular historical circumstances. Furthermore, I think most anthropologists would agree that the interplay of influences between

the technology, environment and other productive forces, on the one hand, and structured relations between social groups, on the other, is crucial. It is essential to the study of change to view sociocultural systems as systems and not as features strung together, as bits and patches assembled in random fashion. That is, the study of sociocultural dynamics begins with a series of hypotheses about the articulation of different internal subsystems or structures which constitute the elements of society as social systems and about their specific hierarchies (Godelier, 1973). So we are looking at the relationship of parts within a whole of subsystems within global systems, changes which will affect not only their interrelationships but will effect changes in the whole.

In plain English, it means we seek to discover the condition of women in society by beginning with the social system as a system -- that we begin with the study of women's activities in production of the means of existence that allow people to survive and, furthermore, that this basic subsystem of society must have linkage into all subsystems, influencing them in some fundamental way. So we want to know what women do and what men do in production: what they do that is similar and what they do that is different, what they produce and how much, who produces and who decides what will be done in the process, what resources are available and who controls these strategic resources, what is done to the products and who controls their allocation. So we are looking not only at work, labor and production, we are looking at the control of resources that enable people to produce, the control of what is produced, and how that is distributed; we are looking at how the labor force is mobilized and controlled, and how it is awarded. This methodology is not concerned with just production itself, not just with distribution itself; it is concerned with who controls the access to resources and who holds the power.

The methodology involves several hypotheses. If the subordination of women is not biologically based but is an emergent condition of society, then it should be possible to specify the conditions of its emergence. Thus we look to egalitarian societies, the ones in which are found some of the simplest forms of human organization. Now I am not saying that any human society is simple; it is all pretty complex. But what we are talking about are qualitative differences, and so there we look to study first off the condition of women relative to men.

It is a difficult thing to do. In a purely theoretical evolutionary model of sociocultural dynamics, all change would result from internal forces -- contradictions between various subsystems or between the natural environment and developing production systems. In fact, however, the societies which we have been able to study in process have not been so isolated. A grave methodological error in anthropological discourse results from the proclivity to describe and analyze concrete societies as if they partook of an independent state of bliss.

All societies studied by anthropologists have been subjected to the impact of the global market economy that has been taking form since the end of the 15th century. Thus we have never studied any societies that were pristine and free from outside influence. Furthermore, all the

smaller-scale societies that have become known have been changing and developing just as long as ours, albeit in different ways and at different rates. Thus all attempts at reconstruction of evolutionary stages or even of particular historical sequences are tinged with speculation and fortified by leaps of imagination based upon interpretation of archeological records. Yet it is a worthwhile exercise if only in that it helps us to understand what we humans are and are not.

There are some additional fundamental conceptual problems in the way of understanding sociocultural change. One is the traditional/modern dichotomy. We have become accustomed to contrasting "traditional" and "modern" societies or institutions or ways of doing things. In this conception, traditional is static and unchanging, while modern is like us. When peoples in other areas are found to have institutions unlike ours, these are assumed to be traditional -- that is, to have been around for a long time. Sometimes this is indeed the case. However, prior assumptions must be verified, for historical investigation may reveal them to be quite inaccurate. In some cases, what appear to be traditional ways of doing things are actually quite recent.

For example, the impact of the slave trade in Central Africa gave rise to many changes in political organization. Some state societies, such as Kongo, were shattered; others arose among peoples who had been communal horticulturalists. Ranking and stratification developed, and pawnship, which had been a temporary status, was transformed into hereditary slavery. In some of the matrilineal societies, the formerly high status of free women was eroded by slavery as men took slave wives and post-marital residence patterns became virilocal -- that is, couples resided with the man's family. Not only many ethnographers but many of the people themselves state that the position of women has always been subordinate in these societies. The past has become an ahistorical projection of present traditions.

What makes this elaborate backward excursion necessary in view of our preoccupation with intensely practical and pressing contemporary issues? Why do we need the past to understand the present?

First, it is necessary because sociobiological theories tend to reappear like the phoenix in Western social science. Ignoring contrary evidence and using arguments incapable of being falsified by that evidence, they assert that social inequality in its various forms -- class, sex and "race" is biologically based and present in all human societies, contemporary and long past. The conservative bias of such theories is evident, since inequality which results from forces beyond human control might reasonably be expected to continue in the future.

Second, it is necessary because some feminists, both within anthropology and without, began to view women's oppression as a universal human condition. That is, they joined the sociologists for whom present human relationships are projected into past societies and are thought to be derived from biologically determined animal behavior. These feminist writers viewed women as the first lower class, their position determined by their reproductive functions, childbirth and rearing, which somehow

made them closer to nature than to society and culture, conceived as a male domain. As their influence grew, their ideas added to the pre-conception which made the contributions of women and their actual roles in many societies invisible. They added weight to the arguments of those who asserted that women's natural place was in the home, the domestic sphere, and that in the lesser developed nations, particularly, the place of women was low and could not be expected to change rapidly. So we need theory to organize our perception of women's status in other societies.

This leads to the third reason. It is extremely difficult for us to grasp the idea that the dynamics of interaction between people really are different in societies organized differently from our own. This includes not only relations between women and men but also between parents and children, elders and younger people, priests and worshippers, medical practitioners and patients, leaders and followers, and so forth. That is, the human relations characteristic of different societies vary with differences in social structure. For this reason, assumptions made on the basis of generalizations derived from one culture may not apply when transposed to another culture differently organized.

This is particularly true in the case of relations between women and men, since it seems that many societies have ideologically conceived sexual antagonisms played out on the symbolic level of myth and rival before the complementarity of male and female roles -- separate and equal -- is transformed to a situation of domination and subordination (Schoepf and Mariotti, 1972). Therefore, we must beware of interpreting behavior in ways which do not correspond to assessments formed by members of the culture -- and particularly the women members.

We have argued that if the subordination of women is a special form of a more general condition of inequality, then the emergence of inequality might be expected to give rise to special forms of oppression and exploitation of women. That is, women would be dominated both as a sex and in accordance with their class status, according to the particular historic forms of equality and inequality that characterize specific social epochs.

Both types of domination are indeed found today, in different forms, degrees and kinds, in various parts of the world. Their distribution is not random, however, to make sense of this, we must look to the conditions of their emergence. That is, if the subordination of women is not a universal biologically-based condition present in all human societies everywhere and at all times, then it must be an emergent condition resulting from sociocultural dynamics. Furthermore, it should be possible to specify the conditions of its emergence.

Two recent books adopt the perspective described here. One is a collection of articles titled Women and Colonialism, edited by Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock (1980). In paperback for \$10, it is both readable and affordable for classes, and offers both a theoretical overview and examples from a variety of cultures across the globe. In the other, Karen Sacks (1979) applies the model to compare the position of women

as Sisters and Wives in a number of African societies. Unfortunately, the book's price will limit the number of people who will venture to reflect upon its very interesting contents.

There are many variants of social evolutionary models. The one I use is that which Professor Morton Fried, who was my teacher at Columbia University, elaborated in his book The Evolution of Political Society (1967). The basic distinction is between societies organized primarily on kinship and states administered territorially.

In kin-based communities, the economy, religious life and forms of sociopolitical organization are organized through kin groups which form the basic structural units. Kin-based societies are grouped by Fried into three types: egalitarian, ranked, and stratified societies. I'll define them in a moment. The state societies are grouped in prebendal or centrally administered states, feudal kingdoms, and various forms of capitalist societies, with industrial, capitalist, colonial capitalist and then with centrally planned or socialist societies being the latest to emerge. I would agree with Wallerstein (1974; 1979) that it is no longer accurate to refer to national economics. Rather, characteristic of our age is the emergence of a world economy dominated by capitalist relations of production and exchange.

I. Kin-based Societies

A. Egalitarian Societies

Kin societies have evolved from simpler to more complex forms in relation to demographic and environmental circumstances, to advances in technology and in relation to trade, conquest and other social exchanges. Simpler kin societies -- egalitarian bands -- seem to have resembled the communal ideal type elaborated by some early evolutionary theorists. With fluid membership based upon friendly compatibility, resources were held in common and shared throughout the group. Unrestricted access to productive resources was an important element ensuring group survival, and social rules enforced the egalitarian economic base.

Fried writes that there were as many status positions as there were people to fill them. This means that prestige was awarded to people on the basis of individual qualities and accomplishments, but that prestige was not reflected in differences in wealth. A good hunter enjoyed the prestige of his reputation but gave away most of the meat he obtained to be eaten by others. A skilled healer also enjoyed high prestige, but his or her skills, made available to the members of the group and indeed, to other groups as well, were rewarded with gifts whose value was more symbolic than strategic. Indeed, possessions as well as food were widely distributed, often by means of elaborate sharing rules.

Egalitarian societies provided free access to resources and territory. There was very little storable wealth, no exploitation of the work of others, and no oppression. When people could not get along with others they might be relegated to living on the outskirts of the group or might leave the band and join up with another where they might have more friendly relatives. Thus group members inter-

acted on the basis of a large measure of self-determining autonomy in their day-to-day activities. The term "group members" refers to all adults, but in fact, children, too, appear to have enjoyed a great deal of freedom. In these societies people were human beings endowed with dignity and worth just by virtue of being. This is so foreign to our own values as we live them that it is difficult for us to grasp.

There was no way to monopolize resources and no way to will power over anyone else. Nevertheless, earlier societies did evolve various social control mechanisms for enforcing their norms.

One thing that may have made it possible for these sorts of relations to survive is that while it was rarely possible or desirable to accumulate wealth, at the same time people actually did remarkably little work until they became enmeshed in market economics. For example, Richard Lee found that the Kung! San, or Bushmen, in the Kalahari Desert of Botswana spent about three or four days a week gathering and hunting. Women gathered vegetal foods which supplied some 65 percent of the calories; men did long-distance hunting of large game. When food was exhausted, they would go out again. Women were neither "provided for" nor dependent, nor were they restricted in their movements. In both African and Australian band societies, women traveled long distances to visit relatives -- carrying their babies -- and all sorts of things. They were not oppressed, not afraid to travel.

The size of groups was limited in most areas, because of the large territories required to support people using collecting and hunting as a form of energy capture. As populations grew and new resources were pressed into service, different adaptations were made by groups in various places, each with its own history and circumstances. Professor Evelyn Montgomery of Texas Tech has studied the Yanomamo Indians of South America. She will tell us about them, for they have been described by Napoleon Chagnon as a fundamentally nasty, warlike people who gang-raped women and killed female infants. Dr. Montgomery's view is rather different and helps us to understand why societies changing under the impact of Western expansion cannot be used to falsify the basic outlines of the evolutionary model.

In addition to the hunting and collecting bands, some small-scale horticultural societies were also egalitarian, according to ethnographic accounts. Many tropical forest gardeners existed in Latin America, Africa, Southeast Asia and among native Americans in the Northwestern Woodlands. While association is frequently made between cattle and male dominance, in East Africa both pastoralist and farmer-herder groups with egalitarian organization were found. Furthermore, not all hunters were egalitarian, as we shall see in the next section.

Thus, rather than the specific form of subsistence technology, the relationships developed between people in the process of producing, describing and exchanging the means of subsistence

are crucial to understanding the nature of social relations of equality and inequality.

B. Ranked Societies

Some societies that had been organized as egalitarian bands and communal horticultural villages at some point in their histories became transformed into ranked kin organizations. How the transitions took place, in response to what types of conjoining forces developed within the societies, we cannot say for sure, and in fact there seems to have been more than one route or process leading toward emerging hierarchies.

In ranked societies, the subsistence resources such as land and river banks continued to be available to everyone by virtue of membership in the group. Membership is predominantly ascribed on the basis of kinship, through birth or marriage into the community. Kin groups are said to be "corporate" emphasizing their functions as resource-owning units, and within them lineages of brothers and sisters descended from a common grandfather are ranked according to their reputed distance from the more common, distant founding ancestors.

In ranked societies, leadership is more important, perhaps due to the need to "overproduce" storable foodstuffs in view of the larger concentrations of populations and fluctuations in food supplies over the years. At some points, real inequality, based on unequal access to productive resources and resulting differences in effort, seems to have developed. In some areas, warfare and taking captives resulted in further inequality. Hereditary lineage heads were leaders but there were also opportunities for people to acquire status and found new lineages. Men and women leaders tended to be extremely hardworking individuals who were also able to convince others to work hard as well. There also may have been some specialization in production, as, for example, metalworking, saltmaking, or woodcarving, while trade may have come to play an important role, for example, between riverine fisher folk and cultivators. Sometimes trade was carried over long distances. All these activities provided opportunities for leaders to accumulate wealth, enhance their social status, and acquire new followers by giving feasts and gifts.

A familiar example of ranked societies which supports this type of interpretation is the salmon fishing groups on the northwest coast of North America. The salmon runs are seasonal and vary in extent from year to year. Under these circumstances, exchanges of food between communities with surpluses in good years and shortages in poor years are adaptive for survival. Such exchanges took place in accordance with an elaborate feast-giving institution known as the potlach. Members of one community worked very hard to accumulate great quantities of food and craft products which they then gave -- amidst a series of festive challenges -- to others who were bound to return them at a later date. The give-away feast has come to be viewed as a kind of long-term storage, of "banking" or insurance against future need,

although it would be inappropriate to conceive of these institutions in terms appropriate to our own society.

The spectacular destruction of craft objects and trade blankets observed in the 19th century -- what has been called "fighting with property" -- appears to have resulted from trade with European ships and merchants, as community leaders accumulated wealth that could not be put to productive use in the local economy. Had these European goods entered the production system, they would have dislocated social relations. Instead, leaders expressed their rivalry through huge giveaways in which many goods were burned up, instead of being converted into means by which more people could be induced to furnish greater productive efforts. Thus, burning appears to have been a type of self-regulating mechanism. Societies which were able to make this leap seem to have developed more rigid hierarchical systems. These are the ones Fried terms "stratified" kin-based societies, and will be described in the next section.

C. Stratified Societies

In ranked societies the prestige of kin groups differed, but all had access to land and other productive resources, and thus the societies were relatively egalitarian in that none were deprived of the means of livelihood.

Eventually societies emerged in which groups of producers were without access to land except through relations of dependency with those who controlled productive resources. That is, there emerged producers who were obliged to yield up some of their produce in exchange for access to land. By means of such relationships, some kin groups and their leading individuals were able to amass wealth upon which the actual producers had few claims. These societies we term "stratified kin societies." Redistribution continued, especially in time of crisis, but the leaders -- chiefs and others -- absorbed the greater share. Furthermore, the kin groups -- clans or lineages -- of the leading groups were legitimated in their control by myths which placed their origins nearer to those of the founding ancestor than those of other groups, and made them chiefs of the land as well as of the people.

Stratified societies developed in areas where land resources contracted in relation to population pressure, as well as in areas where trade routes offered special possibilities for accumulating wealth, or perhaps in societies which straddled ecologically diverse zones, developing regional specializations and possibilities for monopolization and domination.

Occupational specializations and status differences arose with warfare for captives, important because they provided additional labor in production systems growing by involution -- that is, by the application of additional amounts of labor to the land rather than by the evolution of new productive technology. Thus, systems of domestic slavery developed in the stratified societies.

Such societies restricted the access of certain groups or individuals to the control of productive resources and excluded them from positions of prestige and authority, apparently without developing the bureaucratic machinery of the state. As kin-based societies containing inequality, they were inherently unstable. Where tensions built up and free land was available, groups might split off in search of freedom. Therefore, some authors prefer to lump them with the ranked societies (Sacks, 1979) or to pass right over them to consider societies organized with classes and the state (Etienne and Leacock, 1980). Having studied a transitionally stratified society myself, I find it more logical to retain this category, particularly since it seems to be at this level that inequality between people takes on a well-delineated form and women, in general, become subordinate to men.

All the societal forms considered above -- the three major groupings conceptualized, according to Fried's model, as egalitarian, ranked, and stratified societies -- were based on kinship. That is, multifunctional kin relations played the dominant role in sociopolitical, economic and symbolic integration. Or put another way, kinship was the mode of expression of economic and political relations. The French economic anthropologist, Godelier, writes that kin relations:

determine the rights of individuals to the land and its products, their obligations to give, receive and cooperate. They also determine who will assume authority over others in the political and religious spheres. And lastly, as Lévi-Strauss shows, they constitute the sociological framework (armature) of thought systems which organize the mythical representations of the relationships between culture and nature, between humans, animals and plants (Godelier, 1973).

Godelier's reference to Lévi-Strauss is from Du Miel Aux Cendres (1973).

New forms of production which altered residential patterns, population growth and pressure on land, the contiguity of other societies and above all, the possibility of new forms of labor mobilization, accumulation and concentration of surplus, are the key processual events that make up the transition from societies based on kin relations to societies based on class stratification.

At some point in their evolution, the relationships of inequality which have been growing inside kin-based societies -- the ranked and stratified forms -- burst through the constraining bonds of kinship to solidify as class exploitation, with accumulation centralized by a ruler who rules over more than his own skin. The political function, which was until then embedded in kinship developed in the solution of new problems and political control, became crystallized in a ruling group which made decisions for more than their own kin and followers. This control became con-

ceptualized and legitimated in many areas of the world, by the divine ruler, the earthly representative of spiritual power.

In ranked and stratified societies in many areas of the world, especially in Africa, women were chiefs and lineage heads. Yet in some places today, the importance of women in political affairs is denied. I was struck by this in the community where I worked in southeastern Shaba, in Zaïre. When asked directly, the late chief replied that the Balemba had no women chiefs. My students, who were men reared in societies that had been both hierarchical and patrilineal, gloated as though they had scored a point in our joking "battle of the sexes." A few moments later, the elderly chief began his recital of the origins of his group, and their establishment in their present location:

A beautiful, courageous and resourceful young woman chief leads her people into the fertile valley blessed with rich black soil and watered by streams and springs. To gain occupancy rights for her people she marries the chief who rules the land and people there and goes to live in his village. A woman, and particularly a chief, should not have done that in the old days. Suddenly, one day, she dies from a small wound on her leg. That evening, her husband's messenger brings the news. Standing at the edge of the clearing, for he is afraid to enter the village, he calls out that their chief-tainness is dead. Her people reply that they will come the next morning, since they do not wish to travel at night.

However, her people suspect foul play and decide to take revenge on the chief who was her husband. Secretly that night, they go to her grave, disinter the body and substitute the corpse of a monkey. Returning home, they give her a proper chief's burial. The following morning they go as mourners to her husband's village, crying loudly. Taken to her grave, they demand to see her body. The grave is opened and the monkey discovered. Feigning surprise, they accuse the chief of foul misdeeds. He offers them a pile of ivory tusks in compensation. Her people refuse, saying that the ivory would only be traded away. He offers them slaves in compensation. Her people refuse, saying that slaves would die off or run off. He offers them land; he will confirm their right to the good land where her people live and her people accept. Unlike ivory or slaves, the land will always be there to support her descendants. So even though their ancestress has left them, her service to her people continues (Schoepf notes, April 1976).

As societies became hierarchically organized, women were among the rulers, as well as among the ruled. Women chiefs existed throughout Central Africa and in many areas of West Africa as well. Sometimes they held special offices reserved for

women. Yet to many ethnographers, they were invisible. They denied that women could be autonomous or could be decision-makers in the public arena or in large households, denied that their special qualities could be appreciated and honored or their attainments awarded special recognition. The persistent blindness to the presence and roles of female rulers, despite contrary evidence -- for example, Leboeuf's review in *Paulme*, 1960 -- testifies to an ideological bias. It is important to note that women not only organized the work of other women in stratified and state societies, they also managed estates which included both men and women laborers. As judges, women not only adjudicated disputes among women but among men as well. As religious leaders, they interceded on behalf of both men and women. Similarly, women healers attended to the needs of both sexes. In sum, high-status women did not merely keep women down for the benefit of men. They were high-status actors in their own right and fully participating members of the ruling groups.

High-status women in these societies were not "honorary men" shorn of female attributes. They were also mothers, sisters and wives of high status. Motherhood was honored and mothers of high-status men were particularly honored. Sisters were also important actors in the kin groups of their birth and had rights to labor, gifts and deference from brothers' children; Sacks correctly emphasizes sister roles. Wives might or might not have high status in relation to their husbands. In some stratified and state societies, their rights were protected by their high status in their own kin groups. Tuutsi women in the Rwanda kingdoms managed domains worked by male and female peasants, owned cattle and participated in decisions regarding the disposition of property and kin alliances (Schoepf notes, December 1977). Nor were women required to wait until the end of their reproductive years to attain high status. While menopause has been noted to mark a liberating state for women in some societies (cf. Schoepf, 1971), it was not necessary for African women to wait until then. Rather, women's prestige in many societies was cumulative, with rulership and reproduction complementing one another. These comments about the status of women in stratified societies, both those based on kinship and in state societies, brings us to the next emergent level of sociopolitical organization, the state.

II. State-based Societies

How did societies develop a type of political organization that made rulers of people who were able to appropriate a significant share of the production of others and to legitimate that appropriation? Why did people acquiesce in these systems, rather than move off to found independent communities? There are a number of theories having to do with ecological and economic specialization, the growth of population concentrations, trade and warfare, and new technological developments. And a key to all these processual events seems to have been new forms of labor organization that made possible the accumulation of surplus in the hands of a few organizers: priests and kings and their retainers. The state apparatus made possible relations of

inequality in status, wealth, and control of access to productive resources with which kinship societies had difficulty. Put another way, at some point in their evolution, at different times in different places, the relations of inequality which burst through the restraining bonds of kinship to solidify as class exploitation. The political functions are taken over by rulers who control more than their own kin. A bureaucracy develops to administer local groups; often indirectly through "traditional" rulers, an army becomes the instrument of internal coercion, kin group blood vengeance is no longer legitimate, and the state institutes a census, taxes, and conscription for the army, public works, royal palaces and temples.

Land, along with labor, continues as the major productive resource. It may continue to be held by local groups -- subjected to taxation and conscription -- or it may be held in large private or public estates or some combination of the two. Class distinctions -- between rulers and ruled, producers and appropriators of surplus -- become marked. These are what have been termed civil -- hence "civilized" -- societies; systems of astronomy, numbers and writing are invented, probably in aid of increased production. Architecture for state buildings also serves as a structural support of the state system.

According to the theory -- and increasingly there is accumulating evidence to support the theory -- the oppression of women, the vast majority of women, becomes full-fledged in state societies. Yet even at this level there are differences, depending upon the strength of kin groups and the resources remaining in the hands of the producers. There is no time remaining to elaborate on this.

III. Conclusions

What I hope to have conveyed in this brief introduction is that the position of women in society has varied and has done so, not at random, but in a pattern of increasing subordination and inequality rather than the reverse. For reasons which we do not fully understand, the development of increasingly complex and potent production systems has occurred in conjunction with increasing social inequality, including increasing inequality between men and women. One might conclude that social inequality has contributed to progress in the development of production systems, while the human condition has suffered. People in intensive cultivation systems work harder and suffer from heavier disease loads than did people in small hunter-gatherer societies. The question, however, is not how to go back to some mythical pristine state of bliss. It is not even a question of choice between state and pre-state systems. There is no way at present, nor any reason to do so, to move backward, for we now have the productive capacity, the technology, science and organizational skills to do what could not be done earlier: end equality.

One step in taking up the challenges facing women in the industrialized societies of the First World, it seems to me, is to recognize that the cherished myths of colonial and post-colonial development have constituted a rationale for further development of inequality. In relation to women, this means that the proclaimed "civilizing" mission

which was to liberate them from male domination often made their lot much worse. Cash crops were added to their production systems and male labor withdrawn; land was appropriated for plantations and shortages created among the peasant villages; urban areas were developed without jobs for women; new discriminatory legal codes were enacted while old ones continued in their oppressive but not their protective aspects; and so on. Thus, Western-inspired "development" has not brought much progress for most women; for many, it has brought increasing toil.

Yesterday, the question was asked about how to distinguish between two contrasting models of development and underdevelopment. Reference was made to "modernization" and "world-system" perspectives. This analysis clearly opts for the latter type of model and in fact marshals some theoretical reasoning in its support. Third World intellectuals are increasingly using forms of the world-system model to explain their present circumstances. They note the world revolution in production systems taking place since the 16th century has increased their production but has contributed much more to Western development and the accumulation of resources in the West. The contrast is made with pre-colonial autonomy, yet nobody wants to return to the 16th or 18th century. Nobody wants to go back, yet for the majority in the Third World, the present is intolerable and future prospects are worse. Nobody wants to go back. The question is how to do things differently.

Hence the search for a new world economic order, for new ways of allocating global resources. How the precolonial societies have been transformed since the 16th century is part of the search, since lessons of the past can inform the future. The transformations occurring in this 500-year period should be part of the intellectual equipment informing our efforts to transfer technology to other societies, but not just because people in other cultures may resist our technology if it does not mesh harmoniously with their customs. Sometimes they will adopt with alacrity technology which will soon cause their cultural demise or even physical extinction. Sometimes resistance will soon be overcome by the demonstrated beneficial effects. Resistance or no, the multinationals will continue to export the technology.

We need the perspective in order to question and to collaborate in inventing means to achieve the social ends desired by peoples who are supposed to benefit from development. Rather than developing one more new colonialism as women and development "experts" -- creating new jobs for ourselves and our students -- we need to understand the perspective and to keep asking, "What are the options? Will it work? How has it turned out elsewhere?"

We need to engage in collaborative work, and rather than lambasting elites in developing countries, work with those who are interested in similar goals. And above all, we need to use the experience gained in work abroad to reflect and act upon the sources of a global system gone wild.

Although we may congratulate ourselves on the vindication of our theoretical perspective and on the promise it offers for further investigation, there is no cause for jubilation in the 1980s. The effort to effect development "as if women mattered" -- and indeed, as is the mass of the world's poor mattered -- faces tremendous obstacles around the globe. On a world scale, as well as within regional blocs and nation-states, short-term economic and strategic considerations prevail, dictating the conditions and constraints of development policy. The phenomenal waste of human and natural resources, generated by social inequality and by the political and cultural processes required to maintain inequality, continues to exacerbate underdevelopment. At this juncture, despite the growing recognition of a need for change, there is no indication that this will soon be possible on the world scale if required.

Process-oriented by definition, the study of sociocultural change is open-ended. Our human beginnings are constantly pushed backward in time by new discoveries which continue to show how humans, by their culture and life in society, have made themselves. Our end need not be charted, not in any imminent sense. However, the industrially developed nations, in the course of creating the global market, have supplied the world with the technology of self-destruction, and as yet we are without the sociopolitical means to avoid using that technology. These conclusions suggest the need for a liberationist perspective which transcends professional, class, ethnic, and national divisions, uniting women for development so that we may liberate ourselves and humanity.

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Panel Discussion:
Women's Roles and Culturally Sensitive Programs

MARIETTA MORRISSEY - TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY
BERTHA PEREZ - LATIN AMERICA
MARIA LUISA URDANETA - LATIN AMERICA
KEBADIRE KHOLA MOGOTSI - AFRICA
ANNA NDEFRU - AFRICA
NAGUA RIZK - MIDDLE EAST
ENE-CHOO TAN - SOUTHEAST ASIA

DR. MORRISSEY:

From "Women in Development" it seems only appropriate that we hear from women who represent developing countries or have spent much time in the field in developing countries. We have today several speakers representing different parts of the developing world. Why don't we go through the names of our panel members in the order in which they will speak today. The format is this: they are each going to speak briefly about the conditions of women in their countries or the countries that they have studied. We will then take questions either directed to each of them individually or to the group.

We have on our panel Dr. Maria Luisa Urdaneta from Colombia. She is an anthropologist who teaches in the Department of Social Science at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Dr. Bertha Perez is the director of the Teacher Corps and the director of the university kindergarten at the University of Texas at El Paso. I am very pleased that we have several students from Texas Tech participating today. Keadire Mogotsi is from Botswana and is a graduate student in plant and soil science at Texas Tech; Anna Ndefru is a student from the Cameroon in the social welfare program in the Department of Sociology. Nagua Rizk from Egypt, a student in the Department of Home and Family Life, will be making remarks that she collaborated on with Adila Attaye, who is also a student at Texas Tech. And finally we have Ene-choo Tan from Malaysia; she is from the Department of Biological Sciences. We will begin with Latin America and Dr. Urdaneta.

DR. URDANETA:

When Teddy first asked me here and mailed me a letter with a list of

questions to answer about women in Latin America, I realized that I cannot convey an idea until I explain a little bit of historical background to this. I have been bothered all throughout the conference about the fact that we seem to be talking about women in developing countries, but we seem to have been concentrating on the poor. There is something very dynamic going on, at least for some of the countries in Latin America, and I think that the remarks that I am making will apply very clearly to the Andean countries where we have a large native American population and a lot of miscegenation with the Spanish, with the black and with the other immigrants that came into those countries, so I feel that we could apply my remarks to countries like Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico, and Venezuela. It does not include Argentina, Uruguay, or the southern parts of Chile, because these countries have a large European influence and were developed much later on. They were developed in the late 1700s, the 1800s and so on.

I feel that before you can get a grasp about some of the situations that I am trying to describe, we must think about women in these countries and put them in about three different classes. One of the classes would be what I consider the rich; it is a very small class, but it is still a very important class. Among the rich I have subdivided it into two groups: what I call the old aristocracy, the wives and the daughters of the old landed hacendados y patronos -- the "landed gentry" if you wish; and a new class that is being formed of what one would consider the young adults, individuals in their 40s, 30s, and 20s who are marrying some of the people from the middle class or people who are the entrepreneurs. Among this class is a large number of Europeans and some orientals, particularly Japanese. These individuals have an entirely different ethos than this one in the sense that many of them are college-educated and have different ideas that are being infused in the particular social group. Now in this, I would say that they comprise less than a fraction of one percent of the population, but this is still a very important crucial group of people.

In the one which I consider the largest group, and which I would consider to have something like 58 to 60 percent of the people that I am talking about, are the women. In this, I saw a group that is very varied; it has a wide range. In it I am including the individuals who are mestizos, and by mestizos I mean that about 80 to 85 percent of the population of the countries that I have mentioned to you are a mixture of Indian, Spanish, black, a lot of miscegenation. When you are looking at me and when you are looking at her and when you are looking at the Mexican-American, you see that in most of the Mexican-Americans, you are certainly talking about us -- the mestizos.

In this group there were some drastic changes that took place around the end of World War II; prior to that time, a college education was accessible only to the elite and in that case mostly to the males of the elite. There were four main branches for these males where they could obtain their education. It was either in philosophy, literature, medicine or religion, and we're lousy with poets, we're lousy with philosophers. It was not part of their vision; it was not an accepted part of the work of an elite to have to get his hands dirty, so we didn't

have agronomers, we didn't have electronic engineers, we didn't have individuals who were professionals but had to go and get their hands in what they were doing. After the end of World War II, there was a great demand for -- I hate to use the word "industrialization," because many of us know that the Latin American countries have exported their national resources -- but indeed there were some industries and some factories that were initiated and that got started and also, let's say that besides industrialization, urbanization. In these large cities then, there was a very large demand for individuals who were secretaries, accountants, this type of profession or skilled or semi-skilled jobs. There were very vociferous demands from the part of the young saying that these universities were not offering the things that society is needing and that we are demanding. And so we begin to demand the establishment of this type of centers of learning, where they could go and learn different types of engineering, where they could go and learn different types of law besides civil law, like a lawyer who specializes in taxes and accounting. And so there have been some types of changes that have been made in the area of education, and this is terribly important to us because a large group of us belongs to the rural process in which our parents were very poor, eking out a living from either sharecropping or working soil that was very depleted. Many of us then through one way or another were able to obtain a college education.

Obtaining a college education then, we were exposed to ideas, very cosmopolitan ideas, that were coming in from Europe and from the United States. The majority of these people that finished their bachillerato or the equivalent of the high school are very dynamic; they are in the process of change and we cannot worry a great deal about the women in the country and changing their role in any way. We are much more concerned with making a living than we are with sex roles. It is much more important that we improve our standard of living than it is to impose on me to apply the standards of machismo or the double standard to the particular situation. Many of these individuals hold not one job but usually three or four jobs. You go out to those of this particular class and they might be teaching at some of the universities and at the same time in the evening, they are accountants for some of the companies in the cities, and they also teach one or two classes to a private group of individuals that are paid for their training.

The other is composed mostly of indigenitas -- peoples of the Indian, the Native Americans. It is also depending on the area; for instance, if you go to the coastal area it would include a large number of blacks, who came from Africa and settled in the coastal regions of the country. With the urbanization has been a pool from these Andean countries -- a pool for all of the particular group of people that are feeding this middle class group in the cities or the urban centers. So a considerable proportion of these individuals are feeding into this particular group. Now with that in mind, I can go ahead and answer some questions. Would you want me to answer some of the questions? Another question I was asked was in what way does the work and family life of women differ in urban and rural areas? Again, before one can answer this question one has to consider what socioeconomic class one is talking about. I would

field some questions after this but most of the people want to go into the urban areas even if it means living in a favela or in a ghetto for a while. That certainly would be done in time to improve one's level of living and increase one's opportunities. Does the government have an agency or a particular program directed to the needs of women and are there the women in the government? It depends on the government. We have so many revolutions that I think that a particular plan that a particular government might happen to institute may last only four or six years and then after that the government goes. So are there women in the government? Yes, we have ministers and I think that South America has had several female presidents; they certainly have got in through their male relatives, like in the case of Argentina -- Isabelita Peron -- and then in the case of Colombia, where she is the daughter of one of the ex-dictators. There are women in government in some of the important posts, but once they are in, there is no emphasis on the fact that she is a woman; it is on the fact that she is trying to compete on an equal basis for that job with whoever it is that is occupying or whoever wants the opponent for that particular post. So it is not a matter of sex differences here.

In what ways does the nation's religion influence the role of women? Well, in Latin America I know that about 82 percent of the population is nominally Roman Catholic, but is very important nominally because for many of us who are born and baptized in the Roman Catholic church, Roman Catholicism doesn't hold the particular dominance over whether it is going to affect their lives or not. For example, in the area of birth control, and this is something that many studies have documented, Roman Catholicism really does not interfere in the use of contraceptives. People educated in the middle classes have opinions of their own and whatever works best for them, then that is what they are going to follow. We have many examples of this. The first time that the Pope visited South America, somewhere around the early '70s, in Bogotá, which is one of the most Catholic cities in Latin America, the Pope was performing mass marriages. There was a group of individuals that was going to be married by the Pope and he spoke to one of these young couples and the Pope asked her how many children she was going to have, and she said, "Only two, Father." It appalled everybody. You might think it but you would not voice it to the Pope.

Thank you.

DR. PEREZ:

She is a hard act to follow. I am going to speak mainly about Nicaragua, and my remarks were developed from some work I did in 1976 and 1977 so I understand that there have been some changes since then. I was primarily working in rural primary education, and a lot of the remarks that Dr. Urdaneta has made apply to Nicaragua, although again in Central America you have a wide variety of different class structures all depending on the colonization of the different countries, and in Nicaragua you do not have a rich class, and you do not really have a native American class as such. It is mainly a mestizo country. There is a small middle class that is extremely poor, with very few natural resources.

Nicaragua, as far as women are concerned, hasn't done as badly as some others. The illiteracy rate is real high. There is 42 percent illiteracy for the total population; for males it is 42.0 percent and for females it is 42.9 percent. In the rural areas, however, for the total population, the illiteracy rate is 67 percent. Approximately 49 percent of all women finish up to the third grade or three years of primary education. In Nicaragua, about 80 percent of all primary educators are women and about five percent of higher education professors are women, which is comparable, I think, to the United States. Some of the more culturally sensitive programs that the Nicaraguans were engaged in a controversy over were the whole issues of the health programs that the United States and other AID programs were trying to implement in Nicaragua. Specifically, programs dealing with the whole system of reproduction and family planning are very controversial, partly because of the religion, but primarily because of the means of production. Again, it is a very rural, very poor country, with the women in the families involved in the rural production, agricultural production, and they need numbers in those areas. With the educational programs, there was emphasis on women participating in the primary level in some of the more traditional education programs. Women were encouraged to go into primary education to become teachers, which was seen as a very high-status job for women. While I was there, the women's rights movement was secondary to the whole liberation movement in which women were very much involved, both very actively at the forefront as well as being very supportive of giving housing and protection for the people who were involved in the revolution. So women were very actively involved in the whole liberation movement, not specifically in their own human rights and women's rights, separate from everybody else. Women were involved in the rural areas in agriculture, small crafts, running their markets. They were in control of the home economy. They might not have been in control of or had a lot of faith; very few people had a lot of faith in the economy in those days. But women generally controlled the money at home and had a very strong voice in the home production, home rule of an economy of the home. I have some other comments, but I think they will come out for questions if you would like to hang on.

MS. NDEFRU:

I am from the United Republic of Cameroon in West Africa and my country is a democratic country. It was colonized by the British. I want to talk about the roles of women in the United Republic of Cameroon. Educational factors have determined what roles women have to engage in in my country, roles which have been made possible by the government and the private sector. I want to talk about Cameroon of today; I won't address myself to Cameroon of the past. That is talking about Africa.

Presently women are engaging in white- and blue-collar jobs and I will address myself to some blue-collar jobs because the majority of the women are involved in blue-collar jobs. Most of the women engage in farming, which is non-mechanized. Women are baby-sitters and some are religiously devoted. When we address ourselves to cultural and religious factors, I don't know why because it's not paying. I am saying that I won't talk about jobs. We don't address ourselves to religious devotion because it is non-paying. In my country women are a

great deal involved in religious devotion so that has developed in my country.

The educational factor has been very progressive; women are often educated nowadays in our country. I would say that 60 percent of women are educated and hold good white-collar jobs, they are involved in politics, and we cannot ignore the factor of defense because any country, no matter how small it is, will try to defend itself from its enemies, irrespective of superpowers. Of course if you asked for aid from a superpower and they don't give you aid, you have to help yourself. So the women are also involved in military defense.

Okay, let me tell you of the position of women in the family. In my country you have stratification of classes. This would vary depending on what class you are talking about. In male- or female-headed households, you have homemakers; their status of living is much higher and this means that they have more say in the families and the clan and the kids are more educated. The women also try to socialize the children. In the female-headed household only, the government tried to use subsidies such as family allowance -- you might call that AFDC here in the United States. We have free medical care.

The economic structure has also determined matters in my country. With those who are poor, who are lower middle class, the wife and husband must work to live. In your upper middle class families, the women stay at home. Those who are poor, of the lower class, tend to grow up farming, crafts and migrating, which is done in a marginal and unprofitable way. And you might ask the question why I came to the United States. I came to the United States because I felt that there was something wrong in the welfare system in our country and I thought that the poor were being neglected. The economy in our country is not that good, but I feel that these women have to be responded to somehow, and if I go back home, I think I will try to change the system. It causes war. I think that women are progressing instead of going backward.

MS. MOGOTSI:

I am going to talk about the role of women in Botswana in the time left. I think that it applies most to the South African countries -- Zimbabwe, Zambia -- but mainly I'll talk about Botswana. Botswana is a very new country; we got independence from Britain in 1965, which makes us only 15 years old, and the type of government is a parliamentary system mainly. Botswana is a cattle-producing country -- big livestock and small livestock and a little bit of arable farming production. Mainly women -- traditional women -- do most of the arable farming. Even though the plowing and the sowing are done by men, traditional women are supposed to take care of the crop and harvest it.

Botswana is a one-party state. We still have some other parties; we have about three other parties. The government took over from Britain in 1965, and it is the same government we have now. Politically, we have some women who were taking part even before independence. Women were running the campaigns for the government, as they are doing now. A little bit of history of Botswana before independence -- women were

mainly educated to go and be nurses in the hospitals and be primary school teachers. But recently, with the rapid change that has taken place in the country, many women have taken up professional jobs like college degrees; we've got some college professors and some who are teaching at the secondary level.

Traditionally, we can say, in Botswana the agriculture part is done by a woman because during the colonial days the government had some contracts with the South African government, which is a separate government and I think most people know about it, but in South Africa they have racial discrimination which has to do with white people advancing first, then blacks later. During that time, most husbands go to work in South Africa in the mines through contracts, and this leaves some families with a woman only, and she has got to take a lot of decision-making in the family, even in the livestock production which is supposed to be a man's job. Women find themselves making major decisions in the family, like taking care of the livestock and everything.

The government has some programs for women such as in the hospitals; they are supposed to learn the modern ways of taking care of the kids, modern ways of educating the kids in the family. And there is some free medical care and now there is free education which has made more people go to school up to a level, and in the past it used to be, at least in the schools, about 90 percent men and maybe only 10 percent women. Now it is a 50-50 ratio in the schools and women are really taking up men's jobs, or jobs that are said to be men's jobs. Another thing in my country is that there isn't anything which ever makes us feel that we are low because as soon as the government took over from the colonial government everything was made equal. If I were to work the same type of job as a man, I would get the same amount of money, and I am supposed to work the same amount of time and just as hard.

MS. RIZK:

In Egypt, the rich class is a very small percentage so you might be interested in this. The majority is the poor class and the middle class. We can speak about the poor class; they are mostly the working and farming class and they live in the rural areas, of course. In the city we have modern women, and these two groups are very different from each other.

Starting with the clothes -- in the rural areas they have to wear special traditional costumes, long dresses, but they are very comfortable and they can move very comfortably. In the city, they wear modern clothes and they are very good in fashion; they follow the fashion, because we are very close to Europe.

As for education, women in the rural areas don't get any education, although schools are free to the sixth grade and it's compulsory, but still for some reason they don't learn. In the city, education is very important. Most women go to college and have college educations; of course, some just have high school educations and they work as secretaries, but the majority go to college. They don't only go to school to become teachers and to fill traditional jobs for women, but

they go to medical school and engineering school. Fifty percent of the medical school enrollees are women and 50 percent of the engineers are women; they work in the government and they go to all types of jobs. As for the rural family, of course women in the rural areas are mostly housewives and mothers. They take care of the kids but they work very, very hard. Women in the rural areas start their day almost at 5 a.m. every day. They help their husbands on the farm and they are very good with their hands. They do handcrafts, baskets, rugs, and they get income for the family by selling these products and selling food like eggs, baked bread and things like that. Of course, in the city women work as doctors, engineers, and teachers, and they are still housewives and mothers. They take most of the responsibility of the house; they get very little help from their husbands in the house, even in the city.

The marriage age in the rural areas is between 16 and 18 and it's pre-arranged marriage; they don't have any chance to meet people. In the city, it's completely different. They get married between 22 and 26 and this is because they need to work after they graduate to save some money because the cost of living is very high and it's very expensive to have an apartment and they have to share apartments.

As for children, in the rural areas, the women of course have many children. They don't know much about birth control, and they prefer to have a boy over a girl because the boy will help his father in the farming. In the city, the women usually have between two and three children and they of course practice birth control. I don't see any more than two or three children and this is usually because they want to send them to college and the cost of living is high. Socially, women in the rural areas have no freedom at all. The husband is usually the master of the house, although the woman works very hard. The divorce rate is very low. We can say that family relations are very strong in Egypt. And still, in the city, women have more social freedom. Marriage is not arranged, of course; they have more chances to meet people. But still we are not very free, not like in the United States. Premarital sex, for instance, is simply out of the question. Living together before marriage is something you never think about. Still, the divorce rate is very low and family relations are very strong. The government is working very hard for the women in the rural areas; we have programs and family planning, teaching them about birth control, and as I said, education is free and compulsory.

MS. TAN:

I am going to talk specifically about Malaysia but I think most of the things I say would apply to all Southeast Asian countries with the exception of Singapore. The reason is that Singapore is very advanced and it is so small that the agricultural sector is almost non-existent. Singapore imports most of its food. In referring to Southeast Asian countries I would say that this includes Thailand, and Indochina before it fell to the communists, the Philippines, Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, and probably Pakistan.

I will begin by saying that the role of women depends on three things. The first thing is the race, the second thing is whether they live in

rural or urban areas, and the third thing is what social class they belong to. These three things determine what jobs they will hold or what class jobs the husbands are going to hold.

The traditional jobs of the women are teachers -- elementary and secondary -- and nurses, and also helping in the businesses of their husbands. I will say the women make up about 95 percent of the elementary school teachers and about 99 percent of the nursing profession and also of small businesses. We don't have things like chain stores in Malaysia, so the business is mainly family; it is limited only to the family and it has only one store in the area instead of several stores all over the country. The family members usually live close by and they take care of the businesses.

The fourth thing is that the men are not so involved in the family. I would say most fathers do not know how old their children are and they don't know what schools they go to. The woman is the main decision-maker in the home in that area of life -- children, food, and family matters. Women do a lot of things in Southeast Asia because of the structure of the family -- like we don't have dishwashers or washing machines or things like that. The home is not mechanized and women take care of their own children. I would say it is out of the question for women to send their children to a nursery or a babysitter from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m.; it is just heresy. Maybe I'm conservative, but I personally don't agree with that either.

As far as the economy is concerned, Malaysia exports one-third of the world's tin and one-third of the world's rubber. Women play a big role in that they work in tin mining; more than 50 percent of them are tin mining workers and also more than 50 percent are the rubber tappers. More recently, women make up more than 90 percent of the factory workers.

In family things, women are not well organized and I am not aware of any program of the government set up particularly for the needs of women. If there is one, it is probably very invisible and very ineffective. Women don't care much about that, either. The politicians are not particularly concerned about the roles of women, like it is here. Women's rights are not an issue there. Women do not fight for their rights because they don't see anything wrong with that. Women get to work and they get to go to school and as far as education is concerned, our system is such that college entrance or admission to medical school or engineering school only depends on grades. It is nothing like recommendations or interviews. If you have the grades, you can go. Women are only limited by their desire and by tradition, whether they want to do it or not.

In conclusion, I would say that Malaysia is in a state of transition in that it got its independence in 1957. So women born after 1957 will be very different from women of the older generation. They will be less tied by the traditional roles because they go to school maybe and they don't care that much about being housewives. Women do a large portion of the work, although they might not think they are the important jobs like garment jobs, engineers, doctors, or anything like that. But

nevertheless, I would say that women are the backbone of the economy of the country.

QUESTION FOR MS. TAN FROM MALAYSIA:

You mentioned a number of industries and a rather wide array of jobs that women hold, but some of them sound like very heavy labor, like tin mining. Are the women in those jobs mainly single and young or are they older and have families?

MS. TAN:

They are mainly older. Women usually wait until their children have grown up -- like when they are in secondary school -- then they go to work. You say tin mining is pretty heavy labor. The major portion of tin is mined by machines and women do the miscellaneous jobs on the sidelines like operating the machines and things like that.

QUESTION:

Do you know how many women are involved in electronics assembly work in Malaysia? You mentioned that it is increasing. Are they young women?

MS. TAN:

Yes, probably a lot are young, single women and chances are they don't go to secondary schools or they are drop-outs. I would consider electronics light industry and over 90 percent, like I said, are women.

QUESTION:

In what places in Malaysia are they in? Are they in rural areas or urban areas?

MS. TAN:

Malaysia has set up a specific place just for light industry, and these areas, I would say, are about five to 10 miles from a main city. So the women come from the cities over to the factories to work.

QUESTION:

My question is to anyone. I heard in most of the comments a kind of division between whether women live in rural or urban areas, but there are urban poor and I am concerned with the role of urban poor women, as well as urban middle class and rich women, too. But I was interested because of that dichotomy and if you have one or two things to say that might describe the role of the woman who might be described as among the urban poor, how would you do that if that applies to your country? What could they do in terms of an economic role -- are they pretty confined to commercial trading or what?

DR. PEREZ:

I talked about Nicaragua in terms of that. Nicaragua has one main urban center, which is Managua, and it was destroyed by an earthquake in the early 1970s. It's really a city of suburbs but the women in the urban area have traditional roles, low-status, low-paying jobs, while most women in the big urban-concentrated areas are maids and secretaries, and

some are involved in markets -- and that's a transition or a transfer from rural areas in that women control the mercados so women naturally go into some phase of sales -- clerks, and things like that. But I imagine it's pretty similar.

DR. URDANETA:

With the urban poor I'm talking about, we must differentiate and look at one of the anthropological concepts there, and that is the names given to the barriadas, which are very poor sections. Barriadas usually have the characteristic that 200 families come from a particular region in the country overnight and then they build huts made of cardboard, straw or whatever. We have one going on in Monterrey right now -- Ciudad Libertad, I think it's called. There is a great deal of vitality going on in there. One of the works these people do is to go through the trash of the city, the dumps, and sort materials out that are sold. Another job that you will usually find them in is street vending with their little wooden boxes; they sell cigarettes, candy, peanuts, and this type of thing. Another job that they usually do in the public markets is they have one of those large lard cans and they put some crossbars in there, light a fire and cook in them. You can go and buy boiled yucca, potato, animal "innards" -- pieces of lung or liver -- and so on. I know families that have sent their children to school from this particular livelihood. Am I addressing what you are asking?

COMMENT:

Yes, you are. In fact, I am glad because for so much of the conference we have talked about women in agriculture, which is very important, but women's role in the informal sector in urban life is so terribly important, and it wasn't addressed too much, and I wanted to see if someone would bring it out on the panels. In Egypt, the women hold jobs as secretaries and nurses -- we never engage in trade too much.

QUESTION:

I was wondering what you see as the role of international development programs as far as focusing more on developing the role of women in their own societies, or should the roles be taken into account when they are planning the programs? If there should be programs specifically oriented toward the role of women, will that cause cultural changes?

DR. URDANETA:

I am delighted you asked that question. One of the main recommendations that I would have for any of us who wants to go to a foreign country is to first go and "case the joint." Don't you dare try to introduce a program that you have designed in this particular type of environment. Go and see what the natives are like; what are the needs that they perceive, and what are the ways that they perceive the solution? After they have identified those main priorities and their main jobs, then we would welcome your expertise as it helps us to achieve that which we want. But I don't know why we have not learned that we have thrown millions of dollars into these programs that have this foreign pattern, that are totally irrelevant to our particular situation. It is very easily done. I have utilized some of the consciousness-raising and group dynamics that I have learned from here and I go and apply it over

there. A very simple one is to suppose that this group here lived in a particular village and I come to discuss what attracted them -- there was some "carrot" we were offering -- then asked them, "Would you write down, each of you, the answers to these questions: What are the three most important problems that you see, and then what are some of the solutions to each of those problems and how would you go about solving them?" Then, after everybody hands in the problems that they have identified, and then the solutions that they have identified, then I can cull it for the seven or 10 problems that were most commonly mentioned, and then the solutions. You are the foreign agent and you have your work cut out for you. It is extremely important that you get what we call in anthropology the "emic view" -- the view and the perception of the native. In this way -- it's what I feel -- this collaboration that Brooke spoke about would be meaningful where we can really begin to get a handle on the problems and on the solutions.

COMMENT:

I just wanted to add a footnote to Dr. Perez's presentation. Since the revolution, one of the new and very active organizations is the National Organization for Women. And I think it is almost unique in Latin America that Nicaragua has an explicit policy of achieving equality for women.

DR. PEREZ:

You have got to understand that Nicaragua has been very heavily influenced by the United States. Almost everyone owns a transistor radio, almost everyone follows the baseball games, and there's a lot of people named "Douglas" which they cannot pronounce. There are women in government; there are women in the professions -- women lawyers, women medical doctors, women teaching in the university. So there is some involvement of women in all strata. Of course, the majority are poor and the majority are in low-paying jobs, but there are a few involved in all areas of the economy.

COMMENT:

The point I would like to make is the difference between the new Nicaragua and the old. There's a new commitment to achieving equality for women.

QUESTION:

I have a question. As an American graduate student, I'm just curious about your subjective overviews about how you got your educational encouragement. Was it something personal, was it familial, was it societal, or was it governmental? How do you hope to be searching for some of the same methodologies and goals that we find ourselves working for? Are you comparable to the norms of your country? How did you as individuals come to be here and how do you see your role and motivation?

MS. MOGOTSI:

I mentioned that Botswana only got independence 15 years ago and all that time, and in part of those 15 years, women were supposed to be teachers or nurses or some other types of jobs or be housewives. I am in the School of Agriculture and it was very rare for women to go

into agriculture professionally although we are the people who are dealing with crop production and livestock production, but going into professional agriculture was something else. I decided to go and work with women because I consider them to be the people dealing mostly with food production, so I should take up the profession myself to go and work in agriculture. I went to school at home for two years, I worked in the extension service for two years and then I came to school here for two years. I think some of us are going to school because of the changes going on in our countries and that's why I took up the profession.

QUESTION:

Did you mention that you were government-sponsored, or are you privately sponsored?

MS. MOGOTSI:

Government.

MS. RIZK:

In Egypt the middle class is expected to go to college -- to support a family you have to have two paychecks.

MS. TAN:

In Malaysia, there are government-sponsored grants for students to go overseas to study, but they are not particularly for women; they are mainly for the native Malaysian. The government does not care whether you are a man or woman. If you are a native Malay and you want to go, you can go. In this way, women are also encouraged by the government, although not directly. I would say in Malaysia there is a sector of population which is the upper class -- doctors, engineers, lawyers and people like that -- with values and goals which are similar to those of the average American. They are very advanced and very highly educated.

DR. URDANETA:

I would like to comment. Even though I am older than that, I am a product of the work carried on by the Presbyterian missionaries in Colombia. They came and established a mission and also a private -- they call it a collective -- from the kindergarten all the way to the twelfth grade, and they established the first private school in Cali, Colombia. It so happened that the children of the workers could go to the private school for a fraction of the cost; my mother was the cook at the private school. So, even though we were very poor, we were raised with a very good education. It is through the brainwashing of the missionaries working through my mother -- my mother was a widow with five children to raise -- that she solved the way out of the mess we were in and it was through an education. So, they have supported this very strongly. The missionaries then gave us this education for a very small amount of money and after that we came over here and through our own efforts we paid for a trip over here and we had scholarships that were private scholarships. They would say, "If you don't go on scholastic probation during the first semester, we will give you a scholarship for the following semester and so on." In this sense, several of the people in Colombia attended college and have benefited

a great deal.

QUESTION:

I suppose there is going to be a small movement of awareness in the United States as far as women are, in a sense, prisoners to sexual abuse, rape, and incest. Is there anything that we could learn from other countries, or is that a very common problem, or is it anything that is even addressed? Is sexual abuse of women addressed in your societies?

DR. PEREZ:

I would like to address that point from the response that all groups, all societies, and in fact, the whole range of people, demonstrate a variety of behaviors from the normal to the abnormal so you will find in all societies a variety of abuse of women, children and men. I would like to address the whole focus that is given especially in Latin America, to the whole concept of machismo and the way it is focused upon and seen as sexual abuse of women. I think that the whole focus on machismo is extremely negative and I don't see where that came from because to me, as a Latin American woman, the concept of machismo was a total concept that contained a lot of very positive things. All of a sudden I see it used in a lot of the literature, in the film last night, as something that is strictly negative. Sure, a lot of men who espouse machismo will be very negative, but there are a lot of very, very positive attributes to being macho for women and for men that are rarely spoken about or addressed. The sexual abuse you will have, but you have it in American society too, and in all societies, because you have a wide range of behaviors.

QUESTION:

Can you give us an example of some of the positive aspects of machismo?

DR. URDANETA:

Two Chicano writers have written on this. First of all, we have to be very careful what aspect of machismo we are talking about when we are talking about machismo, because it involves aspects of the entire range of activities in the society. It means men being responsible, men being able to take care of their families, and men who will back their work. If he promises you something, then that is going to be delivered. Somehow, I think that one of the first social scientists who focused on the sexual aspects of machismo is the fellow who did the work on fertility in Puerto Rico. After he got into this hornet's nest, in a book he said "I'm sorry that I really wasn't looking at all the implications of this." I agree with Dr. Perez that machismo exists in any society, and we must divorce this idea that machismo connotes only the sexual aspect -- that a man has to prove his virility by siring as many children as possible. There are other aspects to machismo -- that is, being a man of his word, taking care of his family. We are getting into an area in which the poor male is in a situation where he is having to be contradictory; several aspects of the machismo are pulling him in different ways. For example, if you are going to view machismo as virility, then a man who likes to have several sexual encounters might support the idea of his wife using contraceptives, so that he won't

sire so many children and he can have more money for his amorous conquests. Let's be careful of what aspects of machismo we are talking about. Does that help or confuse you? I agree that machismo is something that we have helped perpetuate and we really need to look at it, and I see this deals with all of the different aspects of that.

Views of Women in International Development

KATHLEEN CLOUD

Women and Food Information Network
Cambridge, Massachusetts

If there is any one truth that has become increasingly clear in the last few years, it is that concern with women's roles in society is not an American export. Particularly since the first International Women's Conference in 1975, it is true that all over the world the issue is being raised, debated and studied. The most recent manifestation of this has been the Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen, but there are women and development scholars and centers of scholarship all over the world. Policy statements and organizational structures are being developed both by governments and international agencies. The international donor community now has a women and development network that meets twice each year. Each of the four Regional Economic Commissions of the United Nations now has a center for women and development.

In a series of international conferences, resolutions on the importance of women's participation in agricultural and rural development have been noted, and participating governments have endorsed resolutions calling for a wide range of actions to enhance women's roles. To quote just one example, from the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development Rome, 1979:

Recognition of the vital role of women in socio-economic life in both agricultural and non-agricultural activities, in accordance with the goals of the United Nations' Decade for Women, is a prerequisite for successful rural development planning and programme implementation. Rural development based on growth with equity will require full integration of women, including equitable access to land, water, other natural resources, inputs and services and equal opportunity to develop and employ their skills. There is also an urgent need to expand knowledge and statistical data on all aspects of women's roles in rural activities and to disseminate this information in order to promote greater awareness of women's role in society.

Where has all this come from, and what does it mean? If you will permit me, I would like to suggest some tentative explanations of what is happening.

In the last hundred years, several factors have converged in many different parts of the world, producing changes that have affected small but increasing numbers of women. The first is an increasing control over human fertility and the resultant drop in the number of children women bear. The second is increased life span as better health care has developed. A hundred years ago most women died before their families were raised. For many women this is no longer the case. Third, a wider range of household technology has lifted the burden of drudgery from the life-supporting activities such as food preparation.

As increasing numbers of women have lived longer, mothered fewer children, and been released from constant labor to simply sustain their families' lives, for the first time in the history of the world there has developed a significant surplus of women's energy, energy that has sought outlet in the more public world. As more women have become educated and gained access to the tools of intellectual technology, this surplus energy has been used to turn around, to look and see where we are; to understand the world we live in.

Because in every culture women stand in different places than men, and have different relationships with the family and society, they have tended to see from a different angle, to see things that are invisible to men. We have tried to understand the world using both the intellectual and cultural technology we have inherited from men and other tools of our own invention. What we're now witnessing worldwide is the attempt of women to understand both our personal experience and the social constructions of families, cultures, nations and the world system from our own perspectives, from the places where women stand.

This effort to see from our vantage point seems to concentrate on common themes, with differences of emphasis by differing cultures and different regions of the world. Three strands seem to be woven together in the discussion, internationally: (1) women as individuals with individual rights and individual capacities; (2) women as family and community members with rights, obligations, and affections entwined with lives of others; and (3) economic relationships at the family, community, national, and international levels. In weaving these three strands the Americans, and to a lesser extent the Western Europeans, have tended to emphasize women as individuals and women's economic situations in cash economies. Latin Americans have tended to stress the importance of family, Africans the importance of women's economic roles in subsistence economies. The Eastern Europeans emphasize the relationships between women and the means of productions, both Latin Americans and Indians the participation of women in the informal sections of the economy, Middle Eastern and Latin American scholars the interplay between women and migration. All Third World women consistently raise the issue of the unequal distribution of the world's goods -- many in poverty and few in affluence -- and the need for a new international economic order to improve the situation for women as well as for their husbands, brothers and sons.

But all women -- east, west, north and south -- agree on the importance of one central fact. In all cultures the overwhelming number of women have dual roles, that of production of economic goods and of reproduction of the society through producing, educating and cherishing the new generation. Most women in most of the world are constantly making trade-offs between their productive and reproductive roles. For the African woman, it may be how long she can stay in the field leaving a toddler in the care of a six-year-old. For an urban migrant woman it may be how she can care for her children and still earn money for family food. For the paid agricultural laborer in Indonesia it may be whether she has strength to prepare an evening meal for her family after 14 hours in the fields. For the American woman it may be the problems of day care and decisions on when to enter and leave the paid labor force and what levels of lifetime professional commitment to make.

These trade-offs between women's productive and reproductive roles have not yet been systematically and intensively studied either at the personal, family or national policy level. There are, however, pockets of interesting work in a variety of places. In order to think through realistic options for the integration of women in agricultural and rural development it seems important that we do so.

American universities possess the major technical-assistance capability in world agriculture. They are increasingly being called upon to help governments design the institutions and policies that will increase agricultural production. We are seen as the experts. If we are to address the issues of women's integration in modernizing agricultural systems, it is important that we neither squeeze women out of access to economic resources by emphasizing only women's reproductive roles nor by emphasizing only women's economic roles and adding more work to already overburdened mothers.

As more resources begin to flow into research and programs for women in developing countries we need to be sensitive to both of women's roles, and to the interplay between them. At the same time, we need to become more and more involved in dialogue with the women and development community throughout the world, both the researchers and the practitioners, so that we can learn from their insights as well as sharing ours with them.

CHALLENGE: Getting Involved

Issues and Alternatives in Planning Projects for Women

MARILYN W. HOSKINS
Director, Participatory Development Program
Department of Sociology
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia

There has been a great deal of talk about participation recently. In fact, the director of the famous Camalia Project has been quoted as saying, "The rhetoric of population participation in rural development has suffered an acute verbal inflation. There are so many references to it, and at the same time the condition of the rural underdeveloped has deteriorated continuously. The misery of the poor, the majority, has increased at exactly the inverse proportion to the rhetoric on the subject." I am hoping not to add too much to the rhetoric, yet we must examine participation if we are to find a way to move this concept off first base.

Participation is not at all new in development projects. You can go back to the colonial times when colonists had the concept of "the white man's burden." Even then local people participated. Development projects were selected and designed by administrators. In West Africa, administrators informed local chiefs what level of participation -- read "unpaid labor" -- he wanted and both men and women came to work. Projects were often such things as building a road from an administrative center to a financial center. Women performed traditional women's roles which in building roads included pounding and carrying earth, carrying water, and making food for the workmen. When colonized countries won their independence the model had to change; one can, however, still hear an undercurrent where participation means only an unpaid labor source.

A popular philosophy which followed was the famous "trickle down" approach based on the fact that most nonindustrial societies had a weak economic base. The emphasis of this approach was on generating money at the national level through export cash crops, agro-industry, etc., and through building infrastructure. Taking again the example of roads, they were built to connect such things as raw materials to export or commercial centers. Workers were paid low wages, but this was justified on the grounds that, as soon as the economic base was built, the country would

be able to afford to pay better wages and everybody would profit. When it became apparent that the money did not trickle down but instead created a small elite group with the poor becoming increasingly impoverished, this idea was discredited. However, one still hears echoes of this philosophy and the pressure for American aid to again stress building large-scale infrastructures such as roads connecting centers of commerce, etc.

Next came the community development theory focused mainly on the rural poor. The emphasis on the rural rather than the urban is based on the idea that when there is not a strong economic base in the agricultural sector, a country cannot supply basic human needs to its citizens. One tactic used is the self-help project. This, again, has a focus on local participation, especially of the rural poor. One has difficulty imagining city folk coming out to build their schools or streets. To carry on the example of road building, in Sierra Leone, there is a CARE project of building feeder roads through self-help. Although one can again read "free labor" the selection of the project has been made by the community, and the road will connect the participants, one assumes, to someplace they wish to go. Women again participate in the traditional role of pounding earth, although the CARE machinery helps; women carry dirt and water and feed the workmen. Although the village elders have requested these roads, generally the women have little, if any, input into the decision on whether they wish to use their time in this way. In Sierra Leone women are delighted with roads, clinics, schools and other communally built items. They complain, however, that with self-help projects taking so much of their time, they are losing the chance to contribute income to the family and to take care of their own needs at the same level they did before. Women say they would like to plan the work and their participation somewhat differently.

Many project designers who have emphasized participation in such things as building roads for the colonist administrators, for industrial development and export, and for rural village or community development, have focused almost exclusively on participation in implementation. However, there are other types of participation. There is participation in the selection of a project, in doing the research needed to design the project, in management of project implementation, in benefit selection and sharing, and in project evaluation. Different projects show different levels of women's participation or control from the original conception stage through to the evaluation. It is important to look at projects from this perspective.

One general regional project which has some implications for women's participation is a cattle-fattening project in Niger. It was designed by a European private voluntary organization after discussions with local people. Local leaders stated they had familiarity with and had interest in fattening cattle. Project designers found the area an economically sound area for such a project. The two constraints residents identified to raising cattle were lack of sufficient money needed to purchase the cattle and lack of veterinary facilities. The government agreed to provide veterinary facilities and donors agreed to create a revolving loan fund. The project contains both a loan fund and an educational component as the participants learn to select and care for

animals. From the beginning those who participated earned a comparative large profit. However, the project managers found that only richer farmers were participating because of the risk factor. Though loans had been created which required no collateral, the landless, including all women, had no way to pay back a loan should their animal die. When the managers instituted a mandatory insurance program in which all those who borrowed gave a small amount for an insurance fund, the makeup of the group participating in the project changed immediately. The landless started participating, and soon the majority of project animals were owned by women. This is one case in which a large sectoral program identified and dealt with constraining factors and opened up participation possibilities to women.

This cattle-fattening project has increased the economic standards of the poor in the community, but it has not increased their political sensitivity nor their organizational skills. Benefits are unequal in that women do not profit as much as men from this project. This inequality of benefits, both financial and educational, comes from the fact that women traditionally do not purchase or sell animals, nor do they paddle boats needed to collect river grasses used as cattle feed. The women, then, complain that they are forced to pay men to perform these tasks and they gain no skill in animal selection. Had the project included an organizational component, the women as a group might have been able to successfully overcome these constraints, and participate more fully in project benefits.

Another project format which encourages local participation is used by a French community development group called Maison Familial -- the "Family Home". This group helps organize community-sponsored alternative educational programs for youth who would otherwise have no schooling. The youth serve as resource people in helping plan activities and solve problems identified by the community as priority areas. Community members can also form special interest groups. Women often select to work together on projects. In one case the women decided they wanted a pharmacy. They needed money to purchase supplies, so they organized a garden, sold the produce, and thus provisioned their pharmacy. The Maison Familial project concept stresses training in problem identification, strengthening problem solving skills, and providing enabling information. Women in these projects have complete control over their participation starting with project selection and including regular feedback evaluation. Women also learn to deal with governmental agencies and to work together in problem solving.

These two examples include one sectoral-type project and one community development project. The latter is unlike the Sierra Leone self-help program as, though it focuses on community-wide activities, it also allows women to have women-specific actions. Both of these examples are unusual for generalized projects because women's interests and the problems have been identified and addressed.

Another style of project, the women-specific project, runs the risk of being out of the mainstream but offering women a chance to participate in the organization and management of the project. One group that works with this type of project is the International Alliance of Women, or IAW.

The focus of their projects is family planning and social betterment. They hold workshops with speakers talking about various problems. The women then decide what types of projects they would like to develop. Many of the selected projects reflect the concern of the parent organization in social welfare projects, though more participating women are expressing interest in income-generating activities. The women do not ordinarily gain skills in dealing with government structures, but because IAW is an international organization the women do profit from the association with an international network of women.

Another example of a women's group is the Voltaic Organization of Widows and Orphans. This national group was organized by the dynamic widow of a Voltaic governmental official in order to protect its members from a situation of cultural lag. The widows are treated with suspicion due to old traditions which imply a widow may be responsible for her husband's death. At the same time, the large extended families with an adequate economic base to support absorbing widows and orphans are breaking down, so that these women and children may be left without support. The women members are exploring a number of small income-generating projects, and some groups have already established small businesses. Because of the experience of the leader, the group gains some access to governmental services. The members themselves, who are mostly illiterate, depend greatly on their leader with whom they only have widowhood in common. They are, therefore, not gaining leadership skills themselves. Numerous women, however, have become economically self-sufficient through this group participation.

Some interesting Indian examples were described by Devaki Jain at the mid-decade Copenhagen meeting. One example shows that women who join together can sometimes participate in projects which give them economic, social, and political power, even against unusual odds. One is a group of bread makers made up of lower-caste women who have mobility but no work space and the higher-caste women who have the opposite. The mobile women get the ingredients and take the bread to the marketing center, while the women with clean kitchen space make the breads. As a group the women studied the role of the middleman and took over that function. Another example Ms. Jain described was a group called the "night patrol-ers." Women decided to work together to solve the problem of women in their community being beaten by their drunken husbands. The patrollers join with the police and in small groups patrol the streets looking for drunken men. They capture the men and hold them until the police come to put the drunk in jail until he is sober. When the patrol finds bars selling alcohol to drunken men they enter the establishment and break the bottles. Both of these projects include local women identifying problems and finding ingenious ways to address them; one activity stresses economic and the other social benefits.

In one West African country the government was making new rules which would have squeezed women out of their traditional economic place in the market. Market women gathered and went as a group to the president. When he did not appear to be supporting their cause, they turned in desperation and performed a traditional act to embarrass a man who was mistreating a woman. They lifted their skirts and "mooned" him. This extreme action so impressed the president that he gave in and allowed them to continue

their marketing activities. This was participation in a political act to protect an economic role.

The way projects are currently designed not all women have time or energy to participate. Sometimes wells, mills, carts or other items may be introduced first so that women can be freed from their daily activities long enough to be able to take on a new one. Sometimes projects are designed around women's other obligations, i.e., taking place in the off-farming season, by providing child care, or by organizing activities which take place near their homes. Some desired social benefits such as those in the example of the community pharmacy, may be out of the economic reach of women and income-generating activities will have to be organized first. Resources such as land may be so limited, especially to women, that it will take creative input from outside technical or managerial input or legal support for reallocation of resources. When there are traditional barriers to participation sometimes the project design can be changed. On the other hand, sometimes through organization women can overcome oppressive traditions.

Women's participation in development programs is not always easy to obtain. However, we have examples where generalized sectoral or community as well as women-only projects have successfully addressed women-specific needs and issues. We can point to cases where women have organized to overcome numerous constraints including economic, social and political situations they perceive as unjust.

If women are to participate in formulating their environments, it will take dedication to this as a goal in project design, management, and evaluation. We need to continue searching out innovative project designs, being on the alert for constraints, and providing enabling information and training to the women themselves. We do know that many women are actively wanting to participate more fully in selecting the direction of and in formulating their own social, economic and political development. We also know that stressing only the participation of added labor in the implementation stage of development projects is not at all what they have in mind.

Curriculum: Preparation for Involvement

LINDA VENGROFF
Planner, Senior Citizens Programs
South Plains Association of Governments
Lubbock, Texas

WILLIAM F. BENNETT
College of Agricultural Sciences
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

RICHARD VENGROFF
Department of Political Science
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

MS. VENGROFF:

Good afternoon to all of you. I am very glad to have been given this opportunity to address the issue of appropriate curriculum requirements for persons planning and implementing Third World development programs. Prior to this afternoon's discussion, I spent quite a bit of time reassessing my overseas experiences to determine those training and academic experiences most useful to me while working in Third World countries.

I have become convinced there are certain fundamental courses necessary for all individuals interested in overseas work, regardless of one's gender, position or level of expertise -- from the generalist administrator to the solar energy technician. The basics include language, social sciences, coursework and prior field work experience. Of all the tools needed by the individuals working overseas, language is certainly an essential one. An individual not fluent in the spoken language of the country he or she is to work in is immediately at a tremendous disadvantage. By fluency I mean the ability to communicate accurately and with a certain amount of ease and familiarity. In order to develop good rapport with host country officials, one must be able to communicate directly and accurately.

I would like to give you a brief example of what can happen when there is a "failure to communicate." A Peace Corps friend, after completing his tour, had been hired by an American-sponsored project to work as an administrative assistant. This individual attended a meeting between host country officials and an American project team. After about one hour of discussion, nothing had been resolved. The American chief of party had at best a limited knowledge of the country's language and was unable to effectively communicate his ideas, while at the same time was unable to fully understand the host country official's either. Finally in exasperation, the ex-Peace Corps administrative assistant launched into the discussion himself and partially resolved the problem. However, the chief of party had lost credibility with host country officials for allowing a junior level official to carry out the negotiations. The project ended in failure, and part of this failure was a result of the chief of party's inability to communicate. Although the chief of party had the technical expertise, he had neither the language skills nor an understanding of the cultural context within which he had to work. Thus, the project was doomed before it started.

When dealing with a power structure, whether it be at the national or local level, it is important to communicate directly rather through an intermediary. Working through a translator will result, at times, in inaccurate or partial information. Working through an interpreter also tends to lead to a great deal of formalities and very little substance in the conversation. In addition, anyone who has been involved in overseas work knows that one acquires the best information and can conduct quite a bit of business during informal, relaxed conversations. Informal interactions can occur during meetings, ceremonies, receptions, and while engaging in daily activities. Information obtained during these informal interactions is often very valuable and useful in obtaining project objectives.

Finally, the ability to speak the country's language indicates an interest in the people with whom you are working. That is, an interest in getting to know them as people and developing both personal and business relationships.

The second curriculum area I would like to discuss today is the social sciences. Knowledge of the country's language will permit an entrée into the society, but one must also have some knowledge of the major values, attitudes, beliefs, and some historical perspective of the people with whom one is working. Therefore, courses in anthropology, economics, and political and social anthropology as well as specific courses in the traditional and the changing male and female roles are important. For example, prior to the development of a nutrition project for pregnant women, it is advisable to investigate the food taboos or restrictions a specific culture places on pregnant women. In some cultures women are forbidden to eat eggs during pregnancy, yet the need for pregnant women to have eggs in their diet is often stressed in maternal health care projects. Planners must be aware of the constraints prior to implementation of a project to permit cultural adjustments.

In general, anthropological courses will increase one's level of awareness of the traditional cultures of Third World countries and enable one to ascertain the likelihood of success of a specific intervention prior to the commitment of financial and human resources. For example, if one had knowledge of the traditional role of women, the young and the old in society, or how specific interventions interface with societal norms and values, one may be able to develop a realistic, workable project.

While information concerning the above areas may be dealt with for the most part within anthropology courses, there are a number of additional social science departments, such as history, geography, economics and political science, that can provide the individual with useful information concerning Third World countries. For example, if one has knowledge of resource allocation and how power is distributed within a society or how Third World bureaucracies function and a knowledge of the working of formal or informal structures, one's chances for program success are greatly enhanced. In addition, familiarity with the political realities of the country are extremely important to individuals working on women's projects, since these projects tend to be isolated from the main stream of power and are usually given low priority by host country officials. If women's projects are to accomplish the identified goals and objectives, project officials must have access to the power base.

Language fluency and a solid social science background will not be sufficient for those working in Third World countries. Not all individuals can function effectively. By "function effectively" I mean have the ability to deal with "culture shock," high levels of frustration, never-ending problems and being adaptable to totally new situations. For some individuals, it may be best to have some short-term overseas experience prior a two- to three-year commitment. Perhaps, having a number of short-term experiences, each requiring more self-dependency and reliance, is a good approach.

For example, one's initial entrée into Third World living may be as a member of a three- to six-week university guided tour, the next stage could be living with a host family for one year. The final stage would be living by one's self for a two- to three-month period in a village and conducting a relatively simple research project. It is this third experience that will constitute actual field work experience. This relatively short field work experience should enable an individual to better assess his or her ability to handle a Third World setting.

Let me emphasize that no matter how much university training one might have, no matter how much technical expertise one might have, an individual will never know how he or she will function in a developing country until he or she is actually there. To find out that you are ill-suited to overseas work during a short-term field work experience will result in less serious consequences than would occur if you concluded this after making a two- to three-year commitment to a multi-million dollar project.

In summary, there are certain core areas that anyone working in Third

World countries must complete prior to embarking on an overseas development project. These include language courses, social science courses, and field work experience. Having this type of background, a planner, for example, would be able to structure projects that meet the real needs of the target population and develop intervention programs that are culturally acceptable to those they are designed to serve; this background also will permit one to develop a realistic program that has a fairly good chance of achieving its goals. These courses will also permit project implementors to interact positively with host country officials and the target population.

DR. BENNETT:

I'll go on now to further discuss curriculum preparation for involvement. When I started to prepare for this activity I had an impression that the conference would be concerned not only with the training of American women for involvement in international programs, but I also had an impression that it would be concerned with the training of international women students that would come to our country for training. I would like to give you the procedure that we use in our College of Agricultural Sciences to determine a program for international women students and then talk about the training of domestic women students for their involvement in international programs.

Let me pass out this outline and save a little note-taking maybe. You know, we get involved in the classroom and I sometimes think that the students are graded on their ability to take notes rather than on the subject matter that's involved, so I'll keep you from having to do that and let you think a little more with me, and if you have any comments or questions or items you would like to talk about as we go along, feel free to bring those up.

The first one I would like to discuss briefly with you would be the training of international women students. We have had some in our College of Agricultural Sciences and I will give you a couple of specific cases here in a few minutes. The first thing that we do is determine the specific job or professional opportunity involved when the student returns to the home country. This information is always made known to us and I'm talking now primarily about those countries or those individuals who come to the United States in some type of sponsored manner. In addition to determining the specific job, we review their background, course work, and university level training so that we'll obviously know where they are in the training process and where to go from there. Then from that, we will prepare an academic degree program specifically for that individual, designed to accomplish specific goals of the program objectives.

I'll give you two examples here of the type of degree program that we prepared for two women students. Both happen to be from Botswana -- one from several years back and the other one a young lady who is still with us and will graduate this spring semester. The objective of the first woman student was to be prepared to work in the Ministry of Agriculture in programs related to livestock production. We prepared

her degree program to give her primarily technology training, a couple of courses in agricultural economics, three courses in agronomy or crop production. You can see the ones that are listed there, with emphasis primarily on the animal science courses. This was approximately five years ago and we were relatively new in the business of training.

We are doing it a bit differently now, particularly in the types of courses that are taken. Had we had that student today, we would have insisted that at least one of those political science courses be taken in some other type of course other than the American political process. In other words, some fiscal administration, or public administration or something of that nature. Our coursework is designed such that the student must take the initial political science course before advancing to the upper level, so they take at least one. And the same way with the history courses. We suggest they take courses in the history of American agriculture, for example, or history of the ranching industry and trans-Mississippi West -- these types of history courses that could relate to their own country, particularly if they would be usable for the requirement here at this institution. In other words, we trained the first young lady primarily in technology.

Then the second woman student had as a degree objective to receive training to return to Botswana professionally qualified as a lecturer in horticulture at the Botswana Agricultural College, where she was to stay on the staff at the agricultural college in that country. We gave her more courses in the basic sciences such as biology and chemistry, since she was going to be in the teaching program, and then the plant and soil science courses, primarily horticulturally-oriented, vegetable production-oriented. Then we gave her more of the general course structure than we did the first young lady -- six courses, and in this particular case we did insist that she take the types of political science courses and history courses that I talked about for the first young lady, and then encouraged her to take courses in organization and management which would be more applicable to the role that she was to fill.

In addition to that, we try to provide all of our students some non-academic program activities off-campus to observe the implication of technology, and in this particular case of the two young ladies, to observe the role of women in U.S. agriculture. I think we are doing a much better job now five years later with the second young lady than we did with the first young lady. I think we probably would hope to do a better job with the next one that might come to us. Then, in addition, would be the development of management skills and I might point out that we don't have any particular course work designed to permit this but we hope that in the process of the courses taken, the person would develop planning and decision-making skills and learn how to influence, how to use leadership skills -- these types of things which they would need to be able to do when they return to their position in their home country.

The second part is the training of domestic women students for international work. Ms. Vengroff mentioned the one that should have been

number one on all lists and I should have put down language training also. I guess I think that well, it's going to be part of it and they automatically are going to learn how to speak French if they go to Niger and won't have any problem with it. But we've had some experience in some of our own projects related to this thing of language training, whether it's men or women. It's very important that you are able to speak the language and do it fluently, and there can be some real problems with communication if you don't have that capability. So I should have put up there as a big number one under course work "language capability."

Secondly would be to take courses related to international programs. I think that in nearly every case in the course work that I have listed, we would have courses at Texas Tech specifically designed for this particular subject matter area -- international trade for example, with a course in agricultural economics that is designed primarily for that; international politics with courses in political science; international agriculture, with a course designed to talk about agriculture, and we relate it in our case primarily to arid and semi-arid land type of agriculture.

Then the social sciences, and Ms. Vengroff again referred to these -- history, anthropology, sociology, political science -- and these should all be related to a specific area of the world if at all possible or even specifically to a country in which one would be planning to work. I know it's difficult to always know what that particular case will be but if you have a particular interest in a certain part of the world then the courses could be developed around that particular situation. I told some people at lunch, sitting with some Baylor anthropologists, that I didn't really see a lot of use for that discipline prior to about six to eight years ago. But I had never been in any kind of international travel or international programs and I wondered if there was a real need for such people outside except to teach at universities and so on. But I took my first trip to the sub-Saharan type countries, Niger, Mali, Senegal, etc., and I came back with a great deal more appreciation for the need for anthropologists, and I might say the sociologists and the political scientists and so on, than I had before. There is a real need for the practical type of anthropologists and the people who can apply their knowledge in these settings. I think that it's very important that people have some background and they take courses in these subject matter areas if they are going to be involved in international programs. The general courses are to develop the general capability of a person, and include courses in interpersonal communications, group dynamics, psychology, problem-solving, goal setting, leadership skills, budgeting processes, all these types of things in which a person will be involved and in which some background and training normally would be highly desirable. This is a second phase of the training that I think is important is not a formal type thing but is interactions with international students, both male and female, on the U.S. campuses. I think these interactions would be highly desirable. There are certain settings in which this can occur and opportunities for that to develop.

Then the third one -- you notice that I put this last and maybe I should

have put it first. I don't really know where this fits in terms of importance; I guess you can't say that one is more important than the other, but if there is to be a subject matter area involved then the person obviously needs the experience in the field of technology. It depends obviously on what they plan to do as to the area of concern and it may be that there would be no subject matter involvement -- it may be more administration, more overall program development, these types of things -- but still, if there is some little bit of technology that a person could have in regard to agriculture background, food production, the importance of food, this type of thing, I think it can be helpful. In most of the developing countries, at least 60 to 70 to 80 percent of the people are actually engaged in food production. In some countries it gets up to 90 to 95 percent, whereas in the United States it's four percent and we are not used to the fact that nearly all the people are engaged in food production. So, some knowledge of food, where it comes from, how it is grown, how it is processed, how it is marketed, these types of things, it seems to me, would be beneficial even if the person involved only in the administration of a program, whether it be public health or administration of a road system or transportation system or these types of things, because it's still all involved in food and food is one of their primary concerns. I think some experience in the field of technology would be good and if possible even some hands-on experience, how vegetables are grown, how cattle are taken care of, these types of things, would be helpful.

I might even preach a little more and say I think our domestic students, regardless of what they go into on all campuses, should have a course in food production because we are coming to the point where a food crisis may be of even more importance to us somewhere down the line than the current energy crisis. I know I'll never get that sold to my friends across campus but I think a person ought to be exposed to the fact that someday each one of you may have to grow your own garden and grow your own vegetables.

So, this gives you some idea of perhaps the types of training that we attempt to put into the system for international women students and some of the approaches that would be taken for those of our domestic students who would plan to go into international work.

DR. VENGROFF:

If the curricula suggested by my two colleagues are followed, we will be sending our graduates into the field with good language skills, cultural sensitivity and a broad-based understanding of the complex interrelationships, including the role of women, which must be considered in any development effort.

However, upon arriving on site, the international development specialist quickly discovers the need to transform his or her more general knowledge into a thorough understanding of the factors involved in a particular development project. Often the newly trained development specialist finds himself or herself at a loss as to what to do. It is at the point when he or she needs to get directly involved in the design,

implementation, or evaluation of a concrete technical intervention that he or she confronts the greatest difficulty and the most frequent failures.

It is my view that it is incumbent on us, as the academic trainers of development specialists, to provide them with a "tool box" containing a variety of methodological skills and experiences. All too often in undergraduate education and sometimes even as far as the M.A. level, students, while familiarizing themselves with the findings of past research and technical efforts, fail to master the techniques necessary to make independent judgments regarding the validity or applicability of their work. What is lacking is sufficient methodological training and practical experience.

I am proposing that a curriculum designed to prepare students for work in international development is incomplete and inadequate if it does not provide courses which familiarize the student with a wide variety of methodological approaches. This does not mean that we should program students to follow a doctrinaire approach to the development problems at hand. On the contrary, one of the most important characteristics of a successful development manager or implementor is flexibility. That flexibility can be gained by having at his or her disposal a variety of potential approaches to a problem area.

Because each approach has its strengths and weaknesses, and because the cultural environment may impose limitations on the applicability of certain techniques, creativity is very important. A solid understanding of several different techniques makes it possible to use a variety of approaches to reinforce our confidence in the validity of our findings, where one approach alone might be inconclusive.

I have seen well-intentioned development efforts -- including the design, implementation, and evaluation of development projects -- go astray because the "experts" involved failed to engage in a process of systematic data collection and/or analysis. Unfortunately, the importance of these methodological skills are often not fully appreciated by the donor bureaucracies.

What kind of methodological training am I suggesting? First, every student should have a course in basic applied statistics, with emphasis on the word "applied." Simply feeding students statistical formulas -- without providing them with the opportunity to apply them to concrete career-relevant situations -- is about as useful as not giving them any statistics at all. Additionally, some skills in data processing would be quite useful. Given the broad dissemination of easy to use "canned" computer programs, any future development worker should be able to utilize computer technology to maximize the speed and efficiency with which he or she works.

Second, we should train our students to engage in "systematic" participant observation. This is an area in which students can easily gain experience in their own communities. It must be emphasized that I am not talking about simply going somewhere and seeing what happens. Instead, we are talking about going with a check list of specific kinds

of behaviors and interactions to be observed, going with some familiarity with the kinds of questions to ask and how to assess the responses, and going with a feel for how one finds and utilizes informants and assesses the data they provide.

Third, development workers should be familiar with survey research methods, including instrument design, sampling, question construction, interviewing, techniques to train interviewers and problems of translation. Most students can gain such experience in the context of their university communities.

Fourth, the issues involved in systematic program evaluation are quite crucial. Correctly assessing the impact of a project is one of the areas in which those involved in technical assistance have traditionally been weakest. The dominant there has been the "old boy" network. I think we are seeing today the beginnings of an "old girl" network as well. While these networks are good for business, they are lousy for development. Systematic techniques of program evaluation need to be transmitted to students who can then see that they are properly employed in the field.

In summary, I would like to say simply that we are remiss in our duties as educators if our curricula do not include methodological training with the other important forms of preparation for involvement in international development.

I guess we will just throw it open to whatever questions, comments or suggestions you may have.

COMMENT:

I liked what you said about working in the field and thought it was very useful and relevant. Some people get out in the field and find that they cannot work in the field. I think they need a clearer understanding of what it is like to work in a developing country -- when you're out there all day long and there is no food or water available and there is no latrine or there is one latrine and it's locked. So, you not only have to locate the latrine but you have to locate the person who has the key.

MS. VENGROFF:

I think that you came in late, but this is what I said, that you must have some prior field work experience or at least know how you can work in the field, because some people can and some people can't and you really don't know until you get out there.

DR. VENGROFF:

I think in terms of the transmission of the methodological skills also, I would emphasize that they shouldn't be just classroom kinds of skills. People can engage in some of these kinds of activities right in their own communities before ever getting out.

COMMENT:

But also trying to impress on people in other countries the importance

of doing research -- that everything be done in the same manner.

DR. VENGROFF:

I had sort of a personal experience with that sort of thing. My very first experience in trying to conduct a survey in the field occurred in Botswana back in 1970 and involved one of the interviewers who I had hired to work with me to do some of the preliminary interviews. I noticed that everyone he was visiting brewed beer. That was the main occupation -- brewing beer. It seemed odd to me that those who had been selected for interviewing were those where he could get some benefits. He was in fact going to people and telling them that they would be given a present for cooperation and all this sort of thing and naturally the beer was brought out for him.

QUESTION:

Do you see any problem with research related to scientific imperialism? Going over and doing a research study -- how do people react and what are their feelings to that? I know that in South America many people are anti toward American scientists because many people have come over and done research and have taken that research out of the country and published it in the United States without crediting these people.

DR. VENGROFF:

Well, I think one has the clear responsibility in this. It is kind of old hat now and I think we realize that we have a clear responsibility to communicate that research to the people involved. This is one of the things that I think is very important in terms of the data processing aspect of it. One could leave the data there in a form that those you have worked with could use for other purposes or for similar kinds of purposes. That is clearly one of the most important, and another important part of that is working with host country individuals and not just in implementation of the research, if research is what you are doing, but in the design of it as well. And in some cases helping train at the same time in the kind of skills used, so that for this particular kind of project you won't be needed next time.

QUESTION.

I am an international ag student very interested in working in Africa. How does a woman find out while she is still in the States what technical field will be marketable once she gets her degree? If I go into agronomy or if I go into animal science, how do I know which one a woman will be accepted in field work -- you know, the roles of men and women over there being different from what we are accustomed to?

DR. BENNETT:

I am not sure you would know it, and that would be a real problem as to just how you would know. We do know, at least, if you can consider the part of Africa just south of the Sahara, that livestock will be involved and that there are nomadic types of people. They are, in the main, depending on their principal crops, millet and grain sorghum. So maybe just a little introduction into animal husbandry, as well as a crop production course that would relate to production of these staples would be good. This would at least give you a little background

on the types of activities that you are apt to be going into. I don't know that you can ever say specifically that these are the exact courses that you should take.

There is also often a problem with the agency that hires people for this purpose. They want a specialist. They want someone who is an expert in one topic and it may not deal with people needs. You may have to reconcile what the government over there says they want with what the agency is looking for.

The country may specify that they want a Ph.D. agronomist to come and do this particular type research work, and too often it is a case that the research activity is not sufficiently sophisticated that the Ph.D. would be required. A person with a B.S. or an M.S. with an appropriate understanding of how to do research would have more than adequate skills to do that job. But the host country will often specify the Ph.D. I know that there has been some discussion about this problem as to how a woman has an opportunity to work into a Niger Cereals Project, such as the one we had in Niger. For example, the AID mission in the home country and the government of Niger basically designed a project and they said, "Here are the six people that we want and we therefore will attempt to fill those positions." I don't recall that they ever said men or women, and it may be that our own thoughts too often turned to men as far as that goes. But I don't know how a person could actually get around that particular thing, because they do make those specifications in most of the contracts and most of the projects are designed in the country.

QUESTION:

How do you go about getting specific field work experience?

DR. BENNETT:

Many, many colleges now are offering practicum type courses. We have a one-hour course in animal science which involves castrating, vaccinating, dehorning, branding and preparing an animal for placing in a feedlot. It is a very practical approach from the standpoint of the kinds of things that you would do with animals. Also, the courses are practically oriented from the standpoint of beef cattle production specifically designed for cattle programs on the range and all of the aspects that would be involved. It would be the same way in crop and soil science -- courses that are being taught, one-hour practicum type courses on how to set a planter, how to set a plow, how to regulate a sprayer, how to determine rates per acre, that sort of thing. Now, I acknowledge that the types of practicum that I just described would still be above the level of technology in some of those types of countries. But you would still have an exposure to the handling of the animals or the cropping system that would need to be followed and these sorts of things when you go into those countries.

There are other colleges -- one which has a home gardening type practicum where the students in the horticultural courses will be given a 50 x 50 plot of ground to actually go in there and grow vegetables, and experience the planting, and the harvesting, and the watering, and the hoeing, and the insects, and any other practices that would be involved. I think

that those types of practicum courses would be very good to get hands-on experience. Many students already have those when they come. But in our own case at Texas Tech University, we are getting a much larger percentage of students with urban backgrounds. About one-half of our students in agriculture now have an urban background with no farm or ranch experience. We are now finding it necessary to offer these types of courses for those who want to go into marketing of products that will go to the farmer or to the rancher -- the seed, feed, fertilizer, those types of things -- because they need to have a little knowledge of that. That would be a place where I would think that a person could get a little bit of a hands-on experience.

MS. VENGROFF:

I would like to add that there are anthropology departments at various universities that offer field work experience. A lot of times it is not necessarily going out into the village by yourself but at least you are out in a village interacting with the people. Also, especially if you are a graduate student, you might be able to hook onto a project that needs someone to go out say, for six months, to collect some data. Also there is VISTA. Now VISTA is a United States program but you can get that, or there is Peace Corps which results in a two-year commitment and you might not want to do that. And there are some problems at times with Peace Corps. But it might be a good idea to hook up with an anthropology department or a sociology department or if you can find out if there are some projects that will need someone to go over for a short-term period of time. Sometimes they need someone and it is difficult to find someone who can go for three months, but if you are a student you might want to take off that semester, go three months, get that experience, come back and decide.

But I definitely feel -- I have seen it too often -- that some people will go out, and they just cannot deal with things out in the field. They can't deal with the bugs in the flour, they can't deal with hauling their water a mile, they can't deal with not having the food that they are used to having, they can't deal with not feeling like they are a part of things. It is culture shock, and you might find that two or three months might not be sufficient. It might take you, say, six months, because the first two months you are getting used to the place and the next four months you are doing the project. I think that that is the problem a lot of times, when people come out for, say, two years. They spend the first 10 months trying to live and then they spend the rest of the time doing the project so you don't even get the two years. If you know ahead of time that you can function in this situation, you are ahead of the game. And I really think that anyone who is going to go out and work overseas has got to have that experience. Now who knows -- federal funds might be drying up and I don't know if you will be able to do that for two or three months. But there might be something that you can do. The first thing would be to contact departments that do overseas work and find out if there would be any possibility of working on a project.

COMMENT:

I went to Central America last year for 10 weeks and I did it through

a campus organization. They have a religious organization on campus which I am not familiar with but I had asked my adviser, "Is there any way for me to get overseas?" And he said, "Not that I know of," then he said, "Oh, wait, this organization does send students and they send one ag student every semester." I went to them and said I wanted to go. They interviewed me and said, "OK, we think it will work." I went down and I got to tromp all over the country and parts of Guatemala and Mexico. I was living with a host family down there and was traveling and staying with other families in the country. They paid my plane fare; I did pay my living expenses, but it is cheaper to live there than it may have been staying home.

COMMENT:

Another way you can go if you just want to ease into the situation without being committed to a project is the Experiment in International Living. It is an excellent program. It is in some of the Third World countries. You are not living in palaces -- you are living with families. You are in a family by yourself and you do what they do all day. If you are really unsure, that's kind of a good way to ease into it for a short period of time. You really get a much different perspective than if you just traveled through a country.

COMMENT:

I guess you can also try for a language tour.

MS. VENGROFF:

Oh yes, it is a good opportunity to find out if what you learned in the classroom is usable out in the field. I think that is really one of the big problems with Americans -- that is, that they don't have the language background. You know when you go overseas to Africa, Europeans speak four or five languages easily, because they start when they are eight or nine years old and we don't have that training. Even if you take, let's say, four years of French in high school and three years in college, you're just barely equipped to go over there and interact in French because you just don't have that emphasis. I cannot emphasize enough how important it is to be able to speak that language, because if you can't speak that language, it is very difficult to get anything done. And I am not even going into being able to write the language. I mean, that would be terrific too; hopefully you can find someone who can translate properly and do the written things, but you will find, for example, that you have to respond to a note in French and there you are looking up how you conjugate the verbs and how you do this and how you do that and you can't do it. And as I said the information that you get when you interview the Minister of Health or someone is not going to always be the accurate information. It is going to be the information that you get when you go into the village and you talk to the local midwife or you talk to this person or that -- that is where the information is going to go. That is how you are going to find out if the population is receiving what is supposed to be receiving -- are they getting those pills, or are they getting that family planning, or are they getting this, are they getting that? And unless you can go out not through an intermediary, but just go out and say, "Yes, I understand what is going on and I am just kind of like you, and I am

interested in you," in their language, you just are not going to be able to be effective in that setting otherwise.

QUESTION:

I have a question for Dr. Vengroff. Suppose you used a curriculum on problem-solving in developing countries that would take little skill to use. I am wondering if there has been such curricula written? Would you cite a couple of details?

DR. VENGROFF:

I am not sure that I understand what your question is.

QUESTION:

I am currently writing a curriculum on problem-solving by using an interdisciplinary approach to teaching of rhetoric, and I was trying to see some parallel, perhaps between what might be of use in developing countries, and what is used here on this campus. There would be a large gap in levelling.

DR. VENGROFF:

Are you talking about methodological skills?

QUESTION:

Yes. I was wondering if you had seen examples of those curricula and where they are used, in what subject areas?

DR. VENGROFF:

I am still not sure if I know what you are talking about.

COMMENT:

You mentioned survey research skills and I think that this is what she is referring to maybe, that people should be able to design a questionnaire.

DR. VENGROFF:

Right before that when I was talking about data analysis and processing, relatively simple modes of processing data. Is that what you were talking about?

I was suggesting that in the teaching of those particular things, they ought to be done in an applied sense instead of in the theoretical sense, because most of the people involved will never be in a situation where the derivation of a particular formula is going to be terribly useful as long as they understand the applications. There are some statistics courses and other specific courses that have that kind of curriculum and I could get some of those to you. Yes.

QUESTION:

I would like to ask Dr. Bennett a question. Do you ever have any programs -- say, two- to three-month programs -- where people from developing countries can come over here and get involved with people who are already working in an agency. Say, in a mid-level capacity they are involved with farm programs. They are not top administrators but they are mid-level people -- career people with management

responsibility -- but can't stay for a two-, three- or four-year program.

DR. BENNETT:

We don't have any programs as such. USDA/OICD has a large number of programs that are offered every summer to individuals from other countries. They may be at all different levels, but some of them are for the mid-management level. We have proposed several such courses but have been unsuccessful in getting funds for them. And your question related to this young lady's back here. I think sometimes we over-train some of these people. You all know that problem. But there are many cases where we could design a two- or three-month course for a specific group of people, whether they are people from the U.S. going into international development, or the other way, and could develop specific skills. I often think of the Peace Corps effort to train their people. For several years, so many of their volunteers were coming from non-ag backgrounds and non-ag degree programs, and so on. They would develop a course, for example, in poultry production or in small cash-grain farming and those kinds of things, just for the volunteers who were going out that year, but those types of courses could be developed by almost any university. Some have a better capability than others, but I think that these types of things could be developed. I know that we do develop anywhere from one- to three-week short courses specifically designed for a certain group that would come to study these types of skills and would be prepared especially for them. So this kind of thing can be done and students can even take a course that we offer that is practically-oriented. In the case of horticulture, they could come for one semester and take about three or four courses if they have some knowledge of chemistry and biology and so forth, and hopefully they would have some knowledge of that and could go on and pick up some skills to go out and apply these types of skills without having to take all of these other courses that we require in a standard degree program. But those types of things can be done. I sometimes wonder why we don't do more of them than we do. Is there a Peace Corps effort still underway along that line? Do they still offer those courses?

COMMENT:

They still do for volunteers going in. I think they have been tailored a little differently. One of the interesting things, for example, if you look at US/AID is that among the top nine executives, four have had experience with the Peace Corps. If you look at the office directors and more importantly country missions, I think that in excess of 30 percent on the staff of US/AID have had a Peace Corps experience -- largely volunteer. One other comment, I couldn't agree more that probably first as you are involved in the transfer of technology, it is the expertise that is important, but the language in order to communicate is tremendous. As you know, we had some problems in the Niger Cereals Project because of language. We require normally, for example, in a French-speaking area, a proficiency at the outset. It is not always met, but verbal communication is essential because it is just impossible to work effectively or to have the respect of the local officials and the people that you are working with in the villages if you cannot communicate.

DR. VENGROFF:

I would like to make a brief comment in relation to that question also. It seems to me that one of the things we don't take advantage of anywhere near as much as we could is providing that kind of short course. But by not providing it in the states -- it makes a lot more sense to me to provide it in the host country, for a number of reasons. One, it gets the instructors closer to the environment in which the people who are being trained are going to be working. It doesn't take them completely out of that. They can start applying some of these things immediately and I think one of the big problems that we confront all the time in projects that involve at least some level of training is the timing. Remember the other day the discussion about the long process to get the project started? Well, the projects that I have seen are rarely, if ever, phased properly. That is often one of the things that is supposed to happen -- the counterpart of the American technician or the American staff is to be trained in the United States, for example. Well, they are being trained in the United States at the same time that the team is in the field. You send someone to the United States for a two-year master's program on a two-year contract in which your team is overseas and they have no counterparts. There has been no interaction between those who are out there doing the work and those who are presumably going to continue that work. That creates a great deal of difficulty, and so the possibility of having the training take place on site or with in-service kind of training activity allows the American personnel or the donor personnel and the host country personnel to actually work together on this thing and not have something that ends when something new starts.

QUESTION:

Do you think women in developed countries or highly technological countries can begin to develop projects to face problems that are unique and specific? What are those problems and how should they address themselves to those problems in advance? How should they prepare themselves for those problems?

MS. VENGROFF:

I think the biggest problem is that quite often the projects, as I said before, are not in the mainstream of the power. In other words, the host officials, the ones in power, are usually male and you go into this traditional culture where woman's status has not always been equal, and so yes, they will accept the donor money because these are countries that need the money. But the project will be relegated to a woman in a ministry at a minor level and you have no recourse to the actual power structure, and so you are frustrated. When you get there you just can't seem to get things going and you can't seem to get things going because the ones in power really aren't that interested in that particular women's project, or when you are talking about bringing money in, the men want the money, but they don't necessarily want the women to get the loans, and therefore the men in the village will stymie it and then the bureaucrats will kind of stymie it, so I think that one of the most important things is that a woman somehow hook into the power structure, somehow get an ear to the people who are in power in order for that project to work.

I think another problem, too, is that a lot of times, or at least it used to be, that when you planned a project, you tended to be kind of ethnocentric. In other words, you felt that the things that women needed overseas were the same kind of things that women needed in the United States and that is not always the case. So you are over there trying to have literacy programs or get women to the educational system in cultures where the women don't really need that, or are not ready for that yet. I am not saying that they are behind, but I'm just saying that you are dealing with a different cultural context and that what you might need is a different kind of project. Or, for example, a family planning project -- a lot of times a woman won't use family planning because you can't assure them that if they have two or three children, that those two or three will survive. When you have infant mortality rates of 50 and 60 percent and you tell those women to have only three children, chances are those three children are not going to survive because you don't have it coordinated with the World Health Organization with inoculations, you don't have the latrine sanitation project coordinated with the family planning and what you have to realize is that all of this has to be coordinated, and all of it has to be coordinated with those in power, and I think that this is why a lot of these women's projects haven't worked.

QUESTION:

I wasn't referring specifically to women's projects as much as to women from highly technological countries taking part in any projects. You answered from probably a bias and it was an excellent answer because the majority of those who do go relate to women's projects in such things as health and nutrition in the family. How about women working in the central agriculture ministry? Women from this country going out as political science advisors? Women in the roles that men usually go into in development? What problems do they face?

MS. VENGROFF:

I think that, at least in the beginning, and maybe it will change -- women are an oddity. In other words, the ministries really don't know what to do with them. They are used to dealing with male Europeans, but they are not quite sure how to deal with female Europeans, especially those who are single and don't have families. They just don't know how to deal with it. Now when you go out in a village, the same thing happens and I don't know what the answer is. I don't know how to change it. I think as more women are working in the ministry, as more women seem to be able to succeed, it will change. But I think that right now it takes a super effort for women because they have to overcome quite a bit more than the male counterpart. That is simply because the males have been there, not because the men have done a better job.

DR. VENGROFF:

It seems to me that the real problem, or the best way for women to potentially deal with that problem, is for women who have had those kinds of experiences to communicate those kinds of experiences to each other in various forms of rap sessions and so on. Because there is this feeling in general of isolation perhaps, in being in a Third World country. And for a woman I think it is even considerably greater,

because of this kind of bias where women are not very often taken seriously. I know this from experience in terms of the project that I served on recently in Upper Volta -- a livestock project. We changed project managers in the course of this and a woman was made project manager. She had been acting as assistant project manager. The Voltaics refused to negotiate with her. They considered her to be a secretary. So when there were important issues on which we needed the project manager to get some decisions made, she had to constantly confront this. In meetings in which a project manager might not need to have the whole team along, she would have to take us along. We would have to waste time and she would have to waste time to go through that type of humiliation in order to make that kind of decision. Really, whether the first thing that she wanted to do was to get this project going along as it should, or whether she in fact wanted to assert herself and get her position recognized for what it actually was supposed to be, I don't know. In this project we purposely built in a woman's component and the response from the other side was "Well, do you really have to have this?" and we insisted that "Yes, we felt that this was an important part of it and this was something, in fact, that AID was mandated to do." They tolerated it. But that was the question -- the woman involved was tolerated rather than accepted in the same light as other members of the team.

MS. VENGROFF:

Because what you are really talking about is somehow trying to change the attitudes of the host country and you cannot do that. You are there at their invitation. Granted, you are there to do something. But it is their perceptions, and what you are really talking about is changing their attitudes and beliefs. You know that you are dealing with mostly traditional cultures and it is just not going to happen like that. There is no curriculum, there is no course that is going to help you deal with that, because you are not talking about something that Americans or even Europeans can really change. They can try to be more effective. They can try to show that yes, women can do the job, but it is a matter of changing perceptions of the host country.

I think there is a model, though, that you probably are neglecting. In this country we have quite a few women from developing countries now who are pursuing higher degrees or who have their higher degrees and are now teaching in our universities. We as American experts tend to, as males and females, host conferences and neglect to use the very talent for women's conferences, and the insights that women nationals may have, to tell us about how women can fit into their own country.

Household Structure in Africa

KATHLEEN STAUDT
Department of Political Science
University of Texas at El Paso
El Paso, Texas

Researchers and project designers must be sensitive to variations in household structure in Africa. There are three important models that diverge from the idealized Western model. First, households are not limited to the nuclear type, but may be large, extended households with complex patterns of work and resource sharing.

Second, households are not always male-headed. In areas with extensive male migration, women may be left behind, thus acting as de facto household heads. These women often face special problems in access to government services, such as agricultural extension. Elsewhere, women head households, even with men present. A most difficult task for researchers is to determine who exactly heads the household. Does a researcher ask who the head is, and perhaps receive an answer reflecting idealized preferences within the society? Does a researcher attribute headship based on an objective assessment of members' contributions to subsistence -- will paid and unpaid contributions both count? -- or on members' predominance in decision-making -- which types of decisions are crucial? Does a question about "the head" bias answers toward an individual response rather than joint or shared household management?

Third, resources are not always shared within the household. Husbands and wives may have separate incomes and separate responsibilities, with no expectation of sharing. In Ghana, husbands and wives borrow each other's money, with interest. In Northern Nigeria, early household income researchers who were not sensitive to this issue only asked men about their incomes. A later researcher found "household" income to be dramatically higher when women's income was added. In Senegal, husbands sell firewood to wives, and in Togo, women sell water to husbands working in fields. These patterns call into question the most fundamental assumptions about household definitions. Clearly, in many societies resources are shared, but that cannot be automatically assumed.

Variations in household structure have important implications for project design. If men are compensated for household labor, in which women are primarily involved, and then do not share this with the household, there is no incentive for women to work and no fair compensation for labor. Besides being poor policy on both economic and fairness grounds, these practices may be quite different from indigenous patterns in which women control the fruits of their labor. Several cooperative schemes in Kenya and Senegal have enrolled men in the cooperative and then paid them for crops on which women had worked. In some cases, women have simply withdrawn their labor, adversely affecting program goals. Women have also withheld the crop to sell in the black market -- outside the cooperative -- also affecting program goals. Elsewhere women may be constrained to continue, but surely resentment will increase, as a Zambia study shows, and productivity will fall.

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The Female Family Business: A Guatemalan Example

TRACY BACHRACH EHLERS
Department of Women's Studies
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

The town of San Pedro Sacatepequez, San Marcos, is a successful and expanding Indian commercial center in the western highlands of Guatemala which has undergone rapid socioeconomic development since World War II. The form development has taken is the elaboration of a regional and national market system which has afforded the town's population a prodigious rise in the standard of living particularly in terms of capital investments and consumer acquisitiveness.

With increasing modernization, women in San Pedro -- Sampedranas -- are undergoing a restructuring of their productive options that is typical of women in situations of dependent development. For example, as the international market network expands, access to a diversity of consumer goods effectively makes traditional female cottage industry obsolete, forcing thousands of previously independent producers to rely upon piecework wage labor as an economic alternative. In the burgeoning San Pedro commercial economy, male access to credit and export networks has permitted capitalization of an increasingly complex commercial transport and trade system, but women have been unable to enter this field which is considered an exclusively male domain. And, as this brief paper discusses, development's disruption of long-standing female productive systems in the home give a new meaning to the value of children who forfeit their contributive roles as laborers, obligating women to become more economically isolated, underemployed, and male dependent.

The women of San Pedro regard employment in some money-making activity as a necessary component in their roles as wives and mothers. Traditionally, husbands have been obligated to supply only corn and firewood -- domestic staples -- while the wife must meet the remaining household expenses from her business profits. Accordingly, among local women there exists a fierce pride of their reputations as hard workers who can juggle domestic obligations with two or three other productive activities.

The commercial activity of the town has historically afforded women a certain freedom to develop several traditional skills and activities in order to have a reliable total income from sources that may individually vary with market fluctuation or season.

Home industry is a particularly popular and efficient method for women to earn money in San Pedro. Hardly a house in town or near aldea is without a woman -- a mother or daughter -- who weaves, sews, embroiders or otherwise busies herself in the home production of salable items. Involvement in work in the home allows women to attend to their regular domestic duties and does little to disrupt the normal household routine. Daughters who literally grow up with the traditional skills of their mothers are apprenticed early enough to be valuable workers at 10 or 11 years of age. The location of cottage industry in the home permits women to further augment their incomes by investment in small tiendas in the front room or window of their houses -- stores left unattended until a customer enters to buy a cigarette or a soda and calls a woman away from her work. In brief, investment in cottage industry affords women a working situation that maximizes their utility in the family productive unit by allowing for the production of cash items, maintenance of domestic routine and the mobilization of additional labor from among the female children. Furthermore, traditional cottage industry has allowed women to control the earnings and expenses of production, to contract their labor or goods if they wish, and have the freedom to trade where they please.

The organization of female labor into a potent working force is best expressed in the female family business: trades, shops, services, and cottage industries that are owned and run by related women for the family's financial betterment. There are many kinds of female family businesses, but all are alike in that they maintain a certain stability or financial solvency only on the basis of the exploitable family labor used for the day-to-day running of things. Very few of these businesses can afford hired help. Clearly, what has sustained the female family business has been the production of daughters as workers, which has been one important way for women to satisfy their roles as both housekeepers and domestic or extra-domestic businesswomen. Daughters act to free mothers of the sole responsibility of cooking, cleaning, and child-care, thus opening the way for mothers to concentrate on developing market relations and connections. Also, daughters are socialized to the income-producing work their mothers do and are useful in incrementing production. This may be done at first by their taking over the monotonous or preparatory work, which permits the mother to emphasize the more skilled production, and later on daughters may work alongside their mothers to increase salable output through parallel production. Similarly, trade opportunities grow as daughters are brought into the business to diversify goods or expand markets. Moreover, since women must mobilize their available resources and capital in order to fulfill the family's domestic needs, the more workers in the home -- particularly female workers -- the greater the financial security during the lifetime of the mother. In addition, the daughters will have a functioning enterprise to take over upon their mother's death or retirement.

What makes family labor attractive is that related women do not pay themselves for their labors; most are essentially working free. Women stopping to analyze the dollars and cents of their enterprises never speak of money earned by the hour or day, nor do they figure the value of their time in the price they charge. Female family business is seen by Sampedranas as "women's work" -- just another non-paying responsibility which, like domestic housekeeping falls to women as part of family caretaking. Those family businesses which do take on non-related apprentices or wage laborers are the rare, well-capitalized ones. The majority are minimally financed. Profit margins are very small and income just approaches and rarely exceeds the average per capita income of a dollar a day. Many female family businesses are too small to function on a daily basis and they also suffer from seasonal fluctuations that cause them to be periodically abandoned at a loss. Thus, over a year's time, the majority of entrepreneurial women cannot be assured of more than a small return on their labor. Nonetheless, female productive systems help to sustain the family and, importantly, solely through the efforts of women.

The value of daughters becomes even more evident in families which have only sons. Women without daughters are forced to attend to all household chores themselves, since neither sons nor husbands ever help around the home. Total responsibility for housework prohibits such a woman from investing adequate time in the development of business, and without a woman's income, families are forced to depend largely upon male subsistence efforts and unreliable wage labor to satisfy domestic needs. Furthermore, relegation to the domestic domain on a full-time basis not only encroaches on female options for autonomous money-making activities, but isolates women from the companionship and support of other women and girls. Sometimes women without daughters circumvent this female labor shortage by inviting their widowed mothers to live with them. The problem may also be overcome by "borrowing" nieces or cousins, ostensibly to teach them housework, or by apprenticing unrelated teenagers who can help around the house while learning to sew or weave. A case in point is doña Tomasina from La Grandesa, a near aldea, who had the misfortune to only have three sons. For years she was forced to do all the food preparation, water-carrying, and laundry herself. Opportunities existed for wage labor in town, but she could only extricate herself from household demands on two or three mornings, netting perhaps \$2.00 for the entire week. One of her responsibilities that seemed to regularly recur was the caring for one of her sons or for her husband when he became ill. Chronically malnourished, the family members were constantly coming down with fevers and colds serious enough to force them to stay in bed. Even when male family members were unemployed and idle, it fell to doña Tomasina to tend the sick one, further limiting the already minimal earning capacity of the family by relegating the one steadily employable worker to the home. At last, the situation changed when the wife of her eldest son bore a girl who was sickly and fragile. The young mother never cared for the child nor for the expenses of her illness, and exasperated by her crying and complaining, gave the baby to the grandmother. The child is now five and can already wash dishes. Her grandmother's burden has not been significantly lightened yet, but it certainly will

be in the very near future. Quite soon the child will be old enough to do simple but critical work like carrying hot lunch to the male family members in the fields, thus freeing her grandmother to earn some money preparing and serving lunch at a house in town.

Monetary contributions from daughters who are working must also be considered for a complete picture of female resources, but while remittances from Guatemala City jobs or donations from local employment are often important in maintaining the family's domestic budget, they do not serve the same purpose as does income from cooperative work in a female productive system. Child labor is much more important to female entrepreneurs than the monetary contributions of children primarily because adequate and available helpers and apprentices guarantee the smooth management of domestic tasks and at the same time give promise of a certain flexibility and continuity in the functioning of female business. The small amounts of money sent home cannot hire women to efficiently replace daughters who help their mothers in domestic and extra-domestic work, nor can it perpetuate traditional women's businesses when daughters leave the traditional sector to enter modern employment. Consequently, as women lose their daughters to job opportunities in the developing economy, they may be forced to abandon their independent businesses and may themselves become employees of more modern and mechanized industries. As this happens in greater numbers it effectively dooms traditional female family businesses.

Indeed, with the town's development, women's emphasis on traditional female family skills and businesses seems to be changing. Analysis of Smith and Wilson's 1973 research on San Pedro (Smith and Wilson, n.d.) shows that within the last generation women in town and its nearby hamlets have moved away from traditional cooperative women's work and toward modern solitary employment. Their figures show an increase of nearly 35 percent in jobs daughters elect outside family enterprises. At the same time, the figures indicate an overall rise in income-producing work for women with far fewer married women stipulating "housewife" as their primary occupation. These figures support Smith's later (1977) contention that socioeconomic development since 1945 has resulted in more employment, but the trend seems to be for the female population to be occupied outside the home and apart from the traditional female family businesses.

Doubtless, the women of San Pedro accrue many benefits -- both monetary and social -- from modern employment. This short paper cannot begin to compare the costs and rewards of women-based cottage industry with salaried jobs (Ehlers, 1980). For our purposes in examining the traditional female family businesses, Smith and Wilson's data indicates a restructuring of the worker-product relationship so as to deprive women of the control of their own labor which was a critical element in traditional work. The problems of diminished female economic independence are further exacerbated by the relocation of business and small industry to sites outside the home away from traditional family productive systems. The shift from female family systems to factories, shops, or classrooms implies a re-evaluation of children in terms of their monetary contribution rather than their cooperative labor efforts.

As women lose their daughters to the jobs or schooling of a developing economy they may be forced to abandon their independent businesses and may themselves become employees of more modern enterprises.

To sum up, female family businesses can be characterized as labor intensive, often financially marginal businesses which nonetheless may persist for years as the typical work of female family members. The routine and the economic connections of the enterprise are passed on from mothers to daughters in the hope that the business which sustained one family will continue to support another. Despite the tradition and the perseverance of these businesses and industries, indications are that the female family business may be dying out. Independent female entrepreneurs are losing the labor of their daughters to modern employment, education, and solitary contract labor. One critical side effect of development in San Pedro is that as production moves out of the home, the value of child labor is minimized, effectively destroying the mother's power base and transforming the nature of work and family.

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NEMOW: A Project that Stumbled and Why

EVELYN I. MONTGOMERY
Professor Emeritus of Anthropology
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

PHILIP A. DENNIS
Associate Professor of Anthropology
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

DR. MONTGOMERY:

I will introduce our topic and then turn the discussion over to Dr. Dennis. Afterward, perhaps I will want to come in again before we open the discussion to all of you. For those of you who don't know, NEMOW is "women" spelled backwards; however, there is apparently an actual Nemow River. Because it is a rice and fishing community we think it is probably somewhere in Malaysia. The NEMOW Report is an amalgamation of two actual development programs and is a working paper prepared by Dr. Ingrid Palmer, who is an economist. The program was put into motion in 1971-72, which was before the Agency for International Development and other agencies decreed, in 1975, that there must be social soundness in the preparation of programs. I think Phil is going to speak in more detail on this aspect of program planning.

The Nemow Valley includes highlands, a middle slope and a very broad, almost sea-level area. The terrain is red soil and black soil with black predominating on the valley floor. Prior to the NEMOW Project, apparently the greatest concentration of people was in the highlands where the black soil was used for rice cultivation and the red soil was used by the women to grow vegetables. It occurred to the government that if the people were moved down to the valley floor and the black soil was irrigated, the rice production could be increased by as much as 70 percent. Some fishing was being done from sailboats and the women took the catch and helped prepare it for market, also taking some of the fish home for food. It was thought that fishing from motorized boats would increase the quantity of fish caught. These changes were effected and with the expected results: The rice production increased

dramatically, the catch of fish increased enormously.

To me, the most significant aspect of this paper, which contains 87 working pages, is that if you are going to write 87 pages you may as well write 100 pages; so I don't know why some topics were left out. I don't know whether the omissions were intentional, were indifference or were omissions from ignorance. But to me the most significant entry in the entire paper occurs on page 16:

During preparatory discussions of the project it had been recommended that data collection should be undertaken on household welfare and time budgets before the project was finally appraised. It was quickly agreed that it would take too much time and effort to undertake these surveys.

The report goes on to say that along with the above decision there seems to have been no attempt to review socioeconomic articles about the area, the sexual division of labor, decision-making in the household, sources of food for the household, or the pattern of expenditure of household cash earnings. As I look out into the room I see several of you who are probably thinking there are a number of other things they apparently didn't know about: kinship structure and social values, for example. There is nothing, as Brooke mentioned this morning, about how to recognize cultural barriers and underlying structures and how the organizers might have recognized what these were. My own reaction to this report, particularly as I listened to Marilyn Hoskins this morning, and to Kate Cloud and others, is that these two projects are the archetype of far too many projects that are undertaken and the primary goals are even achieved. But we must always remember that in any development project you are always going to have three results: along with the primary results will be secondary and also tertiary ones.

What happened in the NEMOW case is that the primary goals, or some of the primary goals, were achieved. Rice production was increased. The harvest of fish was increased. Schools were established. Then the project directors were taken aback to find that the boys went to school but the girls did not. They were taken aback to discover -- as some of our speakers mentioned this morning and as Dr. Thomas cautioned yesterday -- that women's work load increased drastically. Another thing that happened, and Phil can speak to this point better than I can, was the failure to follow Moslem law under which women inherit land, just as men do. In the project situation no provision was made for women to be granted land, and suddenly all women were landless. This morning a question was asked concerning sexual abuse. Consider that a woman without a husband had no means of support, and I would say that a tertiary expectation of this would be that a wife would feel helpless, not daring to divorce her husband no matter how improvident or cruel he might be, and it could -- I'm not saying that it did, for no mention is made of it -- it could lead to exploitation. It also led to disaster for widows and single women. And there were other new problems.

The irrigation ditches were dug and it took three weeks for the water to flow from the catchment down to the delta. When the first clinic

was established, some diseases were modified, some were eliminated, whereas some ailments increased. Instances of dysentery increased, for example, because the water was contaminated. Moreover, the entire economic picture had changed.

When the fish were caught and taken to a processing plant, instead of being processed by hand, then fish for home consumption had to be bought in the market, not carried home as day's wages. There was more rice; but but now that it was sent to the central market reciprocity was replaced by a market economy. Certainly the men were making more money and living costs were sharply increased. Also, who got the money? The men got the money. And how did they spend it? For food, clothing, medicine? Some of it, yes, but primarily for bicycles, transistor radios and similar items.

Now this monetary expenditure isn't limited to the Nemow Valley. It is a phenomenon happening everywhere in the world, including our own culture. The Nemow women not only said they had less money for food, and fewer sources of food, but now that they no longer lived on the highlands they could not gather firewood, purchasing it instead. Expenses had increased more rapidly than the increase in income. What had happened in Nemow was that two quite different cultures had come into contact. You may refer to them as the donor and the recipient cultures, or you can call them the developed and the to-be-developed cultures. The crucial point here -- and it seems to me this has been coming out again and again in the conference -- is that the objectives of the two cultures are often quite different. To illustrate this I am going to digress from Nemow for a moment. I have missionary friends who are working among the Yanomamo in the Brazilian Amazon. They went there, of course, to evangelize the Indians and are supported financially in this work by friends and churches across the United States. Naturally the achievement these friends and churches are expecting is the Christianization of the aborigines and they keep asking, "How many converts do you have now?" Well, you and I know that it is unwise to Christianize individuals. It is far better to convert groups. Otherwise Tixofi, who comes to Christ, finds himself spiritually alienated from his group. To make a long story short, the Brazilian government has decided these Stone Age Indians are in the way: It is taking too long to acculturate them and the government wants their land for mining, for raising cattle, for lumber. In fact, the government has seemingly deliberately set out to exterminate the Yanomamo. The missionaries, who genuinely care about their Indians, are having to make an abrupt change of focus to teach the Indians how to survive in a Western culture, like Brazilian white men. Yet they don't dare write home and say that is what they are doing for to say this would dry up their financial support in a hurry. Funding institutions reserve the right to determine what projects they will support. So what are the goals of perhaps too many development projects?

Let's say I, for example, decide that I want to direct a certain development project and I write out a proposal stating that I am going to accomplish this and this and this. The money is forthcoming and with all the best intentions in the world I undertake the program. What the

funding agency, or whoever supports me, does not want to hear is that I do not do a good job. And what it does want to hear is that I completed the mission in "X" block of time. So on the one hand I am under this sort of pressure, and on the other hand, as a young friend once wrote me from her Peace Corps assignment, "Darn it, I'm here to help these people. Why don't they want my help?" That cry of frustration is not unusual from the lips of development workers, "Why don't they want my help?" Why? I think that Marilyn Hoskins brought this out beautifully this morning, and Dr. Urdaneta and Mrs. Clements answered it equally eloquently yesterday: because the people frequently know what they want and we not only don't bother to ask them but insist on giving them something else. Here I am going to illustrate with an analogy that may seem, on the surface, to be a bit facetious.

In the summer of 1946, right after World War II when, supposedly, the Pan American Highway had been completed from Laredo, Texas, to Panama, friends of mine took off for Central America in two cars and had reached a small village south of Oaxaca when one of the cars broke down. Betty, who spoke a little Spanish, managed to get lodging in two village houses, appropriating for her parents and herself the house with a bathroom. It was a gorgeous bathroom with ceramic tile walls and colored fixtures and Betty, having been the one to bargain for the room, exercised the option of having the first bath after a hot and dusty day. Bounding into the bathroom, she turned on the bathtub faucets and no water came forth. She turned on the lavatory faucets and no water trickled out. When, assuming there was no water because there was perhaps a drought or perhaps merely because the water had not been turned on in the bathroom, she confronted the head of the house, "There's no water in the bathroom." He smiled at her joyfully and said, "No. No water. But isn't it a beautiful bathroom?" Obviously there can be two totally different values, creating two entirely different functions for a bathroom. Therefore, in terms of social soundness, if you don't know who these people are, you are whipped before your project even opens. As Dr. Thomas told us yesterday, "Let's be careful that we don't diminish instead of augment."

Phil, let's hear from you now.

DR. DENNIS:

The NEMOW case is a put-together document. It supposedly takes information from two different development projects in Southeast Asia and puts them together in a document for planners to read and learn from. I think there is good reason to be suspicious about the data itself because it is impossible to know how it was changed and sifted in the process of creating a document put together to show what the people from AID really want it to show.

I will mention a few of the highlights and go on to say a few general things about development projects. About 70,000 people were resettled into an area of lowland villages. The main goal of the project was to increase the rice production on these lowland areas, which the project did accomplish. Land was given out. There was a complete land

reform in the bottomlands, where the previous landlords were dispossessed and land was given to each new household head. Land reform was accomplished through a local organization of farmers. This farmers' association turned out to be fairly effective and quite powerful.

The black bottomland, used to grow rice, was distributed to male household heads. There were also red clay soils on the lower slopes that were to be used to grow some subsistence crops, vegetables, and so on. Women were going to be doing this type of work because women had traditionally raised subsistence kinds of crops in the hill country which had been their home. Title to the red soil lands was not given to the women, however; instead, they were simply loaned these lands for their own use. With the black soil lots the title was actually given to the male household head, while the wife was expected to be using the red soil.

The results of the project were various. Rice production did increase dramatically but it went into the national market economy. This was, in fact, a major goal of the project: to increase rice production for the national market. There were also lots of side effects, some of which were clearly detrimental to the people's welfare. For example, apparently the main point of the case study is that a new kind of patriarchy was created. Women lost out in terms of their access to important resources. It was their husbands who owned the black soil lands. Women who had no husbands and women-headed families were not allotted land and had to look for day labor. So, it made women completely dependent on husbands. Women also complained that if their husbands divorced them or if their husbands died, they were in serious trouble because they had no land of their own. The income from the rice raised on the black soil plots went to the men, not the women, and the women did not get any additional income except what they could manage to raise from selling some of their subsistence crops. Since men controlled the income they tended to spend it on things that they wanted, such as consumer goods, and not on things that the women considered very important. There were a lot of complaints by the women who were interviewed. Women said things like, "We want some rice land of our own" and "We want the title to the red soil plots that we are farming." There were two kinds of organizations created: the residence organization and the farmers' organization. These two organizations apparently functioned well, but they again tended to respond to the concerns of the men, not to the concerns of the women. There was no effective women's organization.

One of the main concerns of the women turned out to be health matters. The report points out, I think correctly, that health programs tend to have a greater impact on women than they do on men, because of the fact that the women are so involved in childbearing, child-raising, and also nursing the sick and dealing with illness in general. Women were concerned about some of the health developments which did not concern the men: for example, dysentery among children. Dysentery increased dramatically, especially at the lower end of the project. The development interviewers were told that lots more children were getting diarrhea and dying of dysentery than previously. There is good reason to believe that this was, in fact, the case, because the water was clearly polluted

as it came down through the irrigation system and by the time that it reached the lower villages it was badly polluted. It was the only available source of drinking water. Women were concerned with the sources of public drinking water, but there had been no provisions made by the planners for potable water. Neither the resident association nor the farmer's association paid any attention to women's complaints in this regard. Instead, the kind of health activities that were planned were the typical sort of thing: health centers and facilities that were easily accessible by roads, inoculations for children, and so on. In some ways health did improve. The incidence of tuberculosis and a couple of other contagious diseases was lowered, for example.

The writers point out an ironic fact, and that is that at the end of the project, health was better at the upper end of the project, at the beginning of the irrigation system, than it was at the bottom, although most of the money had been spent down at the bottom. For example, the extension workers all concentrated at the lower ends. Rice yields were higher down there, household income was higher, and yet the health was worse than it was at the upper end.

A major thing that happened in terms of labor was that some new kinds of technology were introduced on this black soil land. There was double-cropping of rice, for example, and a lot of push to get the maximum production out of this black soil land. So, it pushed farmers, too. The incentives were clearly economic, because you could get money on the market for your rice. Farmers started double-cropping rice, spending a lot of time weeding, fertilizing, harvesting to get the maximum production. But it turns out that the women were expected to work on the rice fields, as well as on their own subsistence plots, as well as doing all the child-raising. Women wound up working much harder than before the land reform and before the whole project was instituted. In effect, they were expected to contribute a large part of the labor on the rice plots for which the men received the income, plus do all their other work. The women wound up much more badly off than they had been.

There was some kind of vocal concern with community meetings, with education for women and so on. The writer points out that the women just simply did not have time to attend these meetings, since every single hour of the day was taken up with work. It was simply wishful thinking that women would have any time at all to "better themselves."

Let me end with just a few comments about development projects in general. The most striking thing to me, the major point that I would make about the whole thing, was the lack of consultation with local people before the project was begun. Although there was some lip service given to some general welfare questions, such as the people's health and welfare, it is clear to me that the goal of the project from the beginning was to increase rice production. That is what the planners were concerned about. On page 11 of the report it is stated that at no stage of the planning process were the future residents of either sex incorporated into the planning staff or consulted. From the anthropologist's point of view that is a very damning statement. The choice seems clear:

between imposing values that the planners had and getting local people to serve someone else's benefit versus trying to work on goals and projects that interest local people. It raises the whole question of "What is development?"

On the question of missionaries mentioned earlier, I would like to suggest that the really important missionaries today are the development kinds of people. These are our new missionaries and they have a new gospel to spread, which is the gospel of material welfare.

The NEMOW Project does not represent development in terms of responding to people's felt needs. The motivations for participation in these kinds of projects are curious to me. They seem to tend toward self-interest, and they bring out greed, shrewdness, and the kinds of characteristics that make one a success in this kind of system. They underemphasize community service and cooperation. I would like to suggest that it is only socialist countries where the idea of community service and creating some sort of group solidarity through communal effort has really been attempted.

One point which struck me was the importance of consumer goods. Men got the increased income from their rice fields, and what they wanted to do was buy tape recorders and bicycles and consumer goods of various kinds. I think that this is a powerful motivation with people around the world. I also think it is one that development people tend to underestimate. Ironically, I think it is one that our Marxist friends in the socialist countries also underestimate. Many of the people recently flooding into the United States from Cuba seemed to be "consumer refugees." Their motivation was to buy all of the things available in Miami that you cannot buy in Havana, in spite of the fact that in Cuba there is free health care, no unemployment, a fairly good diet and all kinds of general welfare advantages in Cuba. Still, you cannot buy Target games and hair dryers and people want those things. To me it is a disturbing fact about human nature, but I think that it is a true one, that people around the world want these things.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

I want to pick up right there where Phil left off because we know that we, too, like to have these things so we must not be too surprised when the rest of the world wants them, too. I'm not so sure, either, that their reasons for wanting these things are always so different from our own: they are fun to have and they are status symbols. You may say, "Well, they are very minor status symbols." Yes, they are very minor status symbols when compared to the third car in the garage or to the vacation cottage, but symbols nevertheless. Moreover, they often have significance we from a different culture cannot even imagine. When I was working in southeastern Peru the Indians wanted window panes, store-bought shoes and transistor radios. As Cleto, one of my Aymara informants, told me, "Of course we want radios. When the schools are so bad, how else can we educate our children?" I encountered a similar situation in Appalachia when I defended the right of a West Virginia family to have a television. They were paying for it very

slowly but they were paying for it. They probably bought it for their almost only form of recreation. The bonus is that back there in those hills if the kids were ever going to come out into wider America they needed the television to give them some inkling of how the rest of the country lives. Often the sacrifice to acquire such consumer goods is not for self-indulgence but instead is for quite pragmatic, even if misguided, reasons. You and I know that it is a good income and knowing how to handle money which makes it possible to have these things. By contrast, the Peruvian Indians, sacrificing to get window panes and store-bought shoes, were doing so because they thought that the possession of these things would make them able to progress. They have misinterpreted the data and put their cart before their horse.

QUESTION:

I am a little confused. On the one hand you recommend that you ask these people what their needs are because you want to provide for appropriate development; and on the other hand you find they have problems in accurately disposing of income that may be generated. Doesn't this seem inconsistent? That is an open question I am sure.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

I am going to ask Phil to respond to this, too, for as Dr. Staudt emphasized this morning, certainly you have to ask people what they want. You do have to be very gentle about this and also very objective. This is where you do some educational preparation. If they want something and that something is totally impractical, or seems to be, but it is what they think they want -- and I am going to ask you a question, here, and not let you answer it for about three minutes because I am going to go on talking -- if they want something totally impractical, by whose standards is that totally impractical if it is what they think they want? And how quick are you to say, "Oh, that won't work"? Because if they want it, maybe it will work and maybe it is a step in getting them to cooperate in acquiring something more practical. For if they can get something they have wanted but have never expected to have, it boosts both their morale and their confidence in you. It teaches them to work with you as a team and you can go forward in achieving additional goals. Let me give you one example of how this can work.

When Dr. Oscar Núñez del Prado took his team out to Kuyo Chico, an impoverished community of thatched-roof houses where the people had only one-tenth of an acre per person on which to eke out a living, almost the first thing he did was to take some of the men to town with him to help load the materials for a house for the development team. He made certain to drive past a small factory where roof tiles were being made. The men looked at the tiles and said, "Those wouldn't leak, would they?" "No." "They last a long time, don't they?" "Yes." "Could we make roof tiles?" "I don't see why not."

Making roof tiles requires water and the water was on the top of the mountain. Clearly it made more sense to bring the water down the mountain than to bring the roof tiles down. However, it was unwise to bring the water straight down the mountain and risk washing the side of the mountain away. The solution was to wind the ditches down the

mountain. As the men did this it occurred to them that water could be siphoned off here and there, making it possible to irrigate new patches of grain, thus increasing their quantity of farm land. Note that when the first thing the men of Kuyo Chico wanted was roof tiles, Dr. Núñez didn't say, "Oh no, you want to increase your grain crops," nor did he say, "You want to improve your breed of cattle." By giving them their roof tiles he also gave them, in addition to better homes, increased crop production as well as a willingness to heed the team's advice on how to improve their livestock.

QUESTION:

It seems possible, then, the concern over transistor radios and so on as sort of the first line of expenditures may be a little bit premature in terms of understanding what the impact is of that development scheme over a period of time. That's one paradox I am seeing and maybe you can help me with it.

DR. DENNIS:

I guess, just personally, I find it ironic that people want these kinds of things; but apparently also the women in this area were unhappy with their husbands' pattern of expenditures, because they had family-types of expenditures they would have liked to have made but they didn't have access to income, whereas the men did. I think that is the point.

QUESTION:

What was the situation before these people were moved down there? Did the women get to manage the money then? Did they have any input?

DR. DENNIS:

I don't know. I really don't. Again, I am not an expert.

QUESTION:

Surely some assessment was made before the move was made.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

Well, as Phil and I are both pointing out, this report is almost as significant for what it omits as for what it contains. The only thing we can do is try to analyze why these things were left out; and we have to assume that if you are going to write an 87-page paper that whatever you left out you omitted either because you didn't consider it important or you didn't know the answer. Apparently these pre-move assessments were not made, but we aren't told whether they were. One thing we are told is that on the Nemow highlands most of the women did, under Moslem law, have black soil; and they did have the red soil that was all theirs. And at that time there was apparently very little cash. Inasmuch as the women were raising the vegetables they would automatically have the major control of the family's subsistence. All of that changed.

COMMENT:

But if these people were asked what they wanted before they left, they probably felt they shouldn't give suggestions because they were going to have improved conditions. Both men and women thought they were all going to be better off.

COMMENT:

What bothers me is the somewhat naive assumption that a really good-quality discussion with individuals would yield a target or goal that would somehow result in a better outcome. And that is possible. But it is certainly not one you could lay two to one on, because you just know so little about the outcome of these kinds of projects that you might build a whole new system of problems.

DR. DENNIS:

It is interesting that once the thing was started there was a good deal of input from local people. The residence association seemingly worked really well for men. Women didn't get to attend. But I think the obvious point here is that the planners had an agenda of their own, and it was to increase rice production. They were willing to trade off a lot of other welfare concerns as long as the project succeeded in those terms and it did; they turned a lot of rice into the national market.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

Phil raised a point there that is crucially important. As a member of the planning committee for this conference, in my role of writing to and calling to resource persons across the country, I reached a point where I didn't want to pick up the phone. I was afraid of hearing again, "Is this conference just to salve consciences or is something positive going to come out of it?" Often the callee laughed at me, and one man, after he had laughed into the phone, asked, "Don't you know that AID and those other agencies don't care about those people? That what they are doing is upping income so those people can have money to buy American-manufactured goods?" Now whether he is right or whether he is wrong I don't know. I just know that was his opinion and I can't just kick it out the window, because there is too much evidence that a great many funding agencies are indeed self-serving under the umbrella rubric of helping other people. The more that China, Malaysia, Peru, and Jamaica can buy from us the better off we are. And they can't buy from us unless we up their standards of living.

QUESTION:

Is it possible to predict from pre-project analysis how a people will react once the program is under way?

COMMENT:

Perhaps the economic factors emerging completely change the culture.

COMMENT:

It's just according to the resiliency of the society and the sensitivity of the project staff.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

What has to be taken into account, here, is that development programs around the world are very uneven and very spotty. We start something and we don't necessarily finish it. Moreover, we can help just so many people. As Phil pointed out, 70,000 persons were relocated, separated from family, separated from friends and put into a greater population density. We are told what problems separation from family and friends

raised, but not the reactions to greater density. All right, so you move 70,000 persons. How do you pick those 70,000? Because they happen to live in the area you want to depopulate. But how do you justify helping a portion of the population and not for all? Now, going back to your question...

QUESTION:

The reason I asked you about this is that I have a strengthening grant down at Texas A&M where we are talking about planners' goals. I have a goal of supposedly strengthening the ability of the agriculturists on campus to write contracts with AID that are more in line with social service guidelines in tune with the concerns of women in development. What I am having trouble with, in this case, is drawing from it what I need to tell them. I don't have much confidence in the caveat of "consult the people" except that yes, it should be done. I don't know how much confidence I could get generated that could result in a better project. I am really addressing anyone in the room as to how we could get some evidence in this case and could give some guidelines about what kinds of things could be done.

COMMENT:

I read the short form, which is what you sent out, and the major thing that struck me is that a project that would be horrendously complicated if done in the United States is attempted, God knows where, with terrible, unexpected results. In other words, why the surprise? I mean you have got to move 70,000 people; you have got to dam rivers; you are going to change the whole thing. Why the surprise that these unexpected things happened? If it happened here and you got unexpected results then you would know the culture limit because we are the culture. You have people with all kinds of technical abilities and all kinds of adaptation abilities and everything else. This to me sounds psychotic; it makes no sense at all.

DR. DENNIS:

It worked. They got a lot of rice and that's what they wanted.

QUESTION:

According to the NEMOW Report, did they do anything for the women, or did they include the women? Or what happened, or what hasn't happened?

DR. DENNIS:

It didn't mention specific programs involving women as far as I can remember. There are some vague kinds of roles that went along with the program such as improving the general level of health and welfare for people.

QUESTION:

I mean that you said that the women complained that the working hours are longer and food money isn't there. Is that what happened?

DR. DENNIS:

They don't have the money.

QUESTION:

Nothing happened concerning women?

DR. DENNIS:

They weren't built into the land-allocation process in the first place and, according to the paper, now that they don't have title there is not much that can be done.

QUESTION:

If women work the vegetable plots, why don't they have that money to buy food and clothing?

DR. DENNIS:

Because men control it.

QUESTION:

Well, I understand that, but couldn't women be given land for their own use?

DR. DENNIS:

Yes, if you could convince the planners that they needed to take land away from the men.

QUESTION:

Don't they have to buy clothing and household utensils? Where does all the money come from to buy bicycles and radios? There will be exchange of land with time. It is going to happen and I am sure that someone supplies the money. That either men or women can get money to do that.

DR. DENNIS:

Men have major access to resource income; women don't. They sell their rice and the rice is worth a lot of money; they sell their fish and their fish is worth a lot of money.

QUESTION:

One application is that contracts should be written such that there is sort of a formative evaluation system that runs through the contract to monitor the social-soundness issues and that the obvious goal was accomplished. As you begin to accomplish that goal, you begin to monitor that social-soundness impact and take care of these problems as they come up. I don't know how to do this, though.

COMMENT:

I would say that even in the United States we don't have social evaluation. In dealing with the other countries it is so much easier to evaluate materials and to seemingly isolate problems. You select a problem and you may say that is your goal, but you don't actually go out and try to see how well it's working.

DR. DENNIS:

But, on the other hand, I think social scientists who give societal implications of a project can predict in pretty broad terms some of the things that are going to happen. If you create a residence association

of male households -- to which women don't have access -- it's easy to see that women won't have a share in the decision-making. So you can sort of see how that is headed, see how women will live if you create that sort of thing in the first place. So maybe that is one of the implications: that you have to look carefully at the predicted results of any particular thing that you are going to do. I do know that it isn't terribly difficult to see where things are going.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

Once we are trained, and hopefully some of us are trained, to direct development programs, we tend to be, and too often are, impatient people. We want to short-circuit the preparation period and get on with the program. To illustrate this with a simplistic analogy: I don't believe you would set out to build a 12-room house for \$125,000, but you could attempt it for \$175,000. Now you might build a little three-room house, perhaps a vacation house, by simply laying in the supplies and going at it. Even so, I don't believe you would start until you had the minimum quantity lumber, nails, etc. Likewise, surely you would not attempt to construct that 12-room house without an architect, blueprints, a contractor and knowing that all of the necessary materials are available. Yet we will wade willy-nilly into programs like the NEMOW Project, which one of you a few minutes ago termed horrendously complicated, and do this with only a minimum of preplanning, pre-questioning, prethinking it through. They thought the project would take four years from start to finish. To have done this properly would have taken four years to think it through, to talk to the people, to think ahead to what would be the primary, secondary and tertiary results, to get the project approved and the equipment in place. You say, "But that is too long. The culture will have changed in the meantime." Perhaps. That is one of the pitfalls. Yet a successful project requires far more problem identification, more planning and preparation than most planners ever put into it, which is one reason so many of them stumble so badly and some of them totally fail. And the track record of development programs, assessed on a macro time scale, is not anything that we can brag about.

QUESTION:

Are there some long-range pluses for Nemow? Do the pluses outweigh the minuses?

DR. DENNIS:

Per capita income rose about double, so that has improved in some ways. And it got rid of some contagious diseases they could treat at those health centers.

QUESTION:

One thing I was sitting here wondering about is that I don't think -- do you really think the women don't have any say-so, and all that? If they had some of the power of ownership would they be better off? Do they have the right to say, "Here we are with no say-so in the sale of the rice and the fish"? That they complain about the way the money is spent, well, obviously they have an input or we wouldn't know they are unhappy. Do you really think that's true?

DR. DENNIS:

Well, all I know is what is in this paper, but there is no association of women; there is no formal opportunity for women to do things other than to voice their discontent to deaf ears.

QUESTION:

How do women's work loads and responsibilities compare with the men's?

DR. DENNIS:

I get the impression that the women are working a lot harder than the men. Curiously enough one of the things the project did was to make it easier with polygynous households where there was more than one wife, because it shared the women's workloads. From reading this report I get the feeling the women's situation was much less desirable than before they were moved. They certainly complained about it in this little two-week, three-week evaluation the report came out of.

DR. MONGTOMERY:

I don't in the least doubt that the women had some authority, of course, because it tends to be both an individual matter and a very personal matter that men and women -- and I don't think that women more than men -- have psychological, manipulative techniques for getting one's own way. Men have ways of manipulating women and likewise women have ways of manipulating men, obviously, and I don't think those disappeared at all. At the same time, the men may have been helpless to help their women because they were expected to participate in the project and to do this in specified ways. They walked into the situation and were caught in it.

COMMENT:

One point of why the women are now working in the cash crop as well as in the subsistence crops is probably not an oppressive move on the part of the men but simply a survival movement in a change to a cash economy. They were required to bring in the cash flow and it probably was a cooperative effort that resulted in a drastic increase in the work load for the women.

DR. DENNIS:

That is right. They tried to run things by cutting down on wage labor and they found that the families were intensifying their own labor in the fields. In fact, families were exchanging labor more after the project began than they had done before. One of the things that did was to make it tougher for landless people who had previously worked as wage laborers, especially for landless women and for single women.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

I am sitting here thinking, sir, that we have not helped you a bit toward using your strengthening grant, because you're in a time capsule and we have said, "No, you can't do that in the allotted time" and we haven't helped you a bit.

COMMENT:

We are apparently saying that if we ask all the target people, regardless of less appropriate goals that might come out of this, at least there

won't be as much guessing. We know that for sure.

DR. DENNIS:

Well, that is a negative way of putting it. When you look at this from the point of view of the People's Republic of China, the people are actively involved in supporting development projects and feel that it is their project when they have completed it. It is a much more positive way of approaching a program.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

And, of course, when you do ask the target group they usually are more knowledgeable than we think they are. The mestizos used to ask me, disparagingly, "Why are you talking to those Indians? They don't know what they think." Well, I needed to know what the Indians thought they thought, you see. Turning to another important point: If you are a competent social scientist, and I am not weeding out other disciplines, you know that a culture is a network, an interlocking network, so that you can't change any part of it without taking the rest with you in some fashion. This means that not one of us can work in one of these projects efficiently without being multifaceted. This means that you have to be part social scientist in addition to being an agronomist, a doctor, a teacher, or whatever else. It also means that you have to go and get your feet wet in that culture beforehand and find out what makes these people tick, even if they themselves don't understand the reasons why they tick as they do. But without this you are going to be in trouble.

COMMENT:

I would like to make a question on whether or not to ask them what they want. It's how to ask them. I think you have to be very aware of the way we question people to take into account our biases of the way we want to ask them because of what we want to hear. We may ask questions that elicit answers that are not even in the realm of what we asked, and without our realizing this because of our not knowing the culture and not knowing the language well enough not to use an interpreter. We need to recognize individualistic communities from those that are more community-oriented. I think this is a very crucial problem.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

That is why, ideally, you move into and live in a community where you not only engage the people in conversation but are in a position to overhear when they talk to each other. We had a rather sad situation here in Lubbock in which one of the churches was sponsoring a Vietnamese family and the congregation kept asking, "Is everything all right? Do you need anything?" The answer was always, "No, thank you. Yes, everything is fine." Finally it was discovered that the furnace had broken down and also the refrigerator was not functioning. Clearly, when you have been given shelter, food and clothing you must not seem to be ungrateful, must not complain. This being the case, the donor must find a way to get inside the home and find out whether everything is all right -- something not easily accomplished.

QUESTION:

About the donor personnel in the NEMOW Project: who were they and how did they carry out the development process?

DR. MONTGOMERY:

That is one of the unfortunate omissions. We are not told who they were. We are not told where they lived in the target country. We are not told any of this and to me this is terribly unsettling. Why was such vital information omitted? Before we run out of time, is there a last crucial point that needs to be made?

COMMENT:

I am not sure if it is crucial, but I would like to make the point that it seems to me that when we talk about 70,000 people that we need to be vitally aware of what we are doing to so many lives. It seems to me that the failures were indicated very early and steps could, and should, have been taken to correct them.

DR. MONTGOMERY:

Sometimes you do get in too deep at the very start and there is almost no way to reverse this. That's why pre-project problem identification and constant evaluation are so essential. For those of you who would like to go out and make some spot in the world a more comfortable place to live, or a happier place to live, I hope we have suggested some things here that you can do to make your endeavors a success. Most of all, I guess, you have to genuinely care about the people you work with. There is no place in these projects for do-gooders.

Thank you for coming.

How Your Organization Can Participate

ARTHUR A. PREISINGER
Department of Biblical Literature
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

(Editor's note: Rev. Preisinger briefly summarized the discussion of this session because the tape was partially unintelligible in some areas. His opening statements and selected comments from the discussion follow his summary.)

SUMMARY BY REV. PREISINGER:

Most of the participants in this discussion were from universities and extension departments of universities. Some worked with international students in very direct ways. Others were involved in overseas programs. Most expressed varying degrees of frustration in their work. Women are not, to a great extent, included in leadership roles in international programs.

There is a tendency to foist American values on Third World nations -- a kind of cultural imperialism. Even the value of women's liberation, as much as it has achieved in our country, can be detrimental in other areas of the world if it is promoted in the same way as it is in America. We must consider the cultural context of a particular country and the effect that changes in women's self-consciousness will have on all aspects of a society. Are we inculcating too many of our own values on foreign students who come to study here, so much so that many students have been captivated by American "success" and don't wish to go back? Are we promoting too many of our own programmatic ideas, while not really listening to the needs of the Third World?

International development programs often "bite off more than they can chew." With the distinct possibility, under the new administration, of a cutback in foreign aid programs, we are going to have to plan programs admittedly less extensive, but more realistic -- with more hope of accomplishment. Programs should be designed to meet the needs of the particular society. Thus, more study of the society is necessary -- social,

economic, and political factors; marriage practices; child-rearing factors, women's present and potential future roles in the society, etc.

One of the vital things that women can do is to raise the consciousness of their male peers who are leaders in international development, and who were not at this conference, on women's roles in these matters. Various ways of doing this were discussed. And those who work with foreign students can raise the consciousness of those students as to the role that women can play in the development of their countries.

In sum, much of the discussion expressed the problems that various organizations faced in getting women to participate meaningfully in international development. In that sense, the hour was cathartic. A few concrete ideas emerged. But the frustration of the overwhelming nature of the problem remained.

REV. PREISINGER:

Several people have asked, "What are you doing at this particular conference?" I am not a sociologist, an agronomist or anthropologist or anything like that. The story is that I profess an interest in world hunger, which I suppose every minister must share. I don't claim any expertise. I am the Lubbock representative of Bread for the World. Do any of you know of that organization? It is a lobbying organization in Washington which is very concerned about hunger issues.

I teach religion courses at Texas Tech and I will tell you a little story. Sometimes it happens that a student gets a bad grade on a test and will come up to me and say, "I go to church and I'm very moral and I'm very interested and couldn't you do something about that grade?" And my reply is that piety is no substitute for competence. I know the reverse of that statement today. In this case, piety is the substitute for competency, because I am not competent.

I see my role here as a kind of facilitator for a discussion on what can be done from your point of view, not from mine. I think that at most of this conference you are getting a lot of input and a lot of information. I think that it is very consciousness-raising -- that is the impression that I get. You're hearing things you may not have thought of before. Am I right or wrong? Here is a chance, perhaps, to get your own input going.

COMMENT:

I might bring up a point of why I came to this session. July 1 I took up a new role as coordinator of International Programs. I have had many home economists throughout the state -- home economists who have an interest in international programs and active participation -- who are always asking me how they can participate. And so I came to this conference hoping that I could go back and share with them, "Here are some starting points, here is what we need to do, here are some contacts," and so forth, to help guide them in women's involvement. We have men at the present time in ag programs. We do not have home economists and they want to work overseas.

QUESTION:

Is there any way that your women can be incorporated into these programs overseas? Could they write their programs?

ANSWER:

The thing that I am seeing has not been addressed at all. I am an international students' adviser. I have 1,600 foreign students. Every day I hear their side, so it is fun for me to hear the American viewpoint, because I am hearing theirs and what they think they need and what they want and what they are hoping this education is going to do for them that they can take back. And yet no one has addressed the needs of the people on the other side. I think that my impression today has been more how we as Americans can change other people, which is not what I am looking for at all. I am not looking for someone to say that this is the way for someone to do something, because that isn't necessarily what is relevant to them.

REV. PREISINGER:

No, it is not a women's liberation movement. It is the feeling of what we have to do for our country, and that women have to be more concerned about their country. It seems to me that a lot of American people in women's liberation are all the chiefs and not enough Indians. The impression that I get from some of the women overseas is that they are saying we are all very much in this together and that they are very nationalistic. They want to see their nation improve, and I think that is what I am hearing.

COMMENT:

The woman from Botswana is the only woman, if I understand correctly, who has any agricultural training. She can be influential in her country. So her experience here in the United States as a foreign student is extremely valuable in the way she interprets her experience when she is home -- how she will assist women in agriculture in that country. And so I see the role that she plays as invaluable.

COMMENT:

Most of my foreign women students are in agriculture or engineering and they will have high positions when they go home. Most of them are already graduate students. Almost always, until my graduate students have received a degree, they are not considered someone you would send overseas to the United States. A lot of these women have jobs lined up with the government or with some company. So they will be very influential. But I wonder what sort of impression they are getting while they are here. They are hearing from women's groups. They think that we are sort of the model because we have a high standard of living compared to what they have had. Then they hear that all of our women are complaining that they are not involved and not being paid an equal amount. So they are getting all sorts of impressions.

COMMENT:

I was going to comment on one of the things that I have noticed, and I feel that I am the only person old enough to remember this. American women in my generation had the very same experiences as some women

overseas. We were poor during the Depression. Education was available and we competed for scholarships and we took advantage of them and went ahead. So we are not that distant from the very same experiences in the sense that there are cultural biases against us in certain things.

COMMENT:

Some students from foreign countries feel that everyone is trying to make them more American; they are trying to Americanize them. Some of them like the idea and some of them don't. As far as I am concerned, that is not our purpose at all, but this is their impression -- that they are being Americanized. They are looking at all the women who are complaining now and all the people who are complaining and all the bad things in our society, and they are wondering, "Is this what I am going to take home?" I have plenty of students who are already on programs and most of them come knowing that they are going to do sorghum breeding or cattle breeding or that they will have a degree in electrical engineering. They know what they are studying and they will be an expert in their field. It is their perception of America and American society that I am concerned about.

QUESTION:

It seems to me that we need to address a fundamental question that no one has ever answered. Why are we, as Americans, doing whatever it is that we are doing? What is the underlying motivational factor of AID? It is the cost-benefit thing; we are certainly not doing it because we're so altruistic. I think we need to look at that first of all. Why are we doing it?

COMMENT:

I have no idea who, but a person told me that if AID has a \$5 million project, \$4 million of that goes to our professors or universities, so the money is really staying within America.

QUESTION:

Why are we doing it? Why do we feel as though we want to or should go into developing countries to do things? Well, you were talking about being afraid of what they are taking back. People have not even touched upon that. So much has been in terms of when you go over to these countries, what we do, the ramifications of it, the social systems that get disrupted, etc. And it is almost like, "Why are we doing all these things?" I think we should start with why we are doing it -- what benefit is it to us? We get into the cost-benefit ratio which will give an answer to your graduate students. They are coming over here for something that they want from us and we want something from their country but we never even talk about it.

COMMENT:

I think most of us at a very deep level have values that, whether we admit it or not, we think are important enough that we would like to expose others to them. A first-rate teacher says, "I think it is more important for them to read than not learn to read." That is not scientifically justifiable, but there is something in the very core of us that says so. A lot of us are in the social sciences or whatever

because we think that it is important that people do not starve. I think in a way almost everyone is a missionary of some sort. There is something that they are willing to bootleg along. And I don't mean that badly at all, as long as we are aware that is the case.

COMMENT:

Altruism -- we hope to define what that is. We are in foreign assistance because we believe in it and that is what we want to do. But when we look at it from the other countries, are they seeing it that same way? No, they are not, and that is what I hear from so many people who are working in developing countries. They are over there and they are caught short, when the people are taking what we have but at the same time hating our guts for it and are upset about it and running down our country.

COMMENT:

I have been teaching, and I think that the same thing is true.

REV. PREISINGER:

But it was touched on and then just brushed aside. Nadia Youssef said something about the problem of cultural imperialism. It was brought up as a problem and immediately dropped. What about the problem of imperialism? How do you deal with that? Why are the motivations so mixed -- altruism, imperialism, money, economics, whatever? How do you sort through them? Would the first step be in admitting the mixed bag? Well, given the admission of mixed motivation, now the cure -- what are the things that you can do, understanding and having some awareness of that which will not be taken as imperialistic and that really can be helpful? It can be a start.

QUESTION:

How does the Colombian woman fit in here? She kept saying to go through the country, sit down, ask them what they want, ask them what their solutions are, and how they would solve the problems. That is where you begin -- not by writing the program before you come and imposing it on them.

QUESTION:

Don't we have strong overlaid values right there? For instance, right now there is a big push as far as women being oppressed and women doing all the work and all these kinds of things, which is a stem off of the women's movement of 10 years ago. If we were to go into a country and ask them, "What is it that you want?" and what they really wanted would be to get a foot into a better standard of living that would reinforce the same patterns that they have been successful with so far -- which we would see in some way as perpetuating the oppression of women -- would we go and do that? Now this is what I am saying: we have been over there and we have the luxury of worrying about the women's movement because we have moved and evolved and solved other problems that have brought these problems into being.

COMMENT:

So that is a different level in the hierarchy of needs -- food being most

important. Until the technology things came along and people had enough to eat, we didn't have time to worry about our status. I think you are right. I think we are at different points.

COMMENT:

Well, I think that we mouth these words by saying that we are going to go in there and saying we are going to do that. But I really think that we are coming into this with a baggage full of values that we are going to collectively enforce on some of them. Even if they say, "This is what we want," we would not even think of it.

COMMENT:

I think there has to be some tension. Even if the people's point of view is different than the outsider's point of view, I think there is always a tendency to give direction. For example, I wouldn't go to first graders and say, "What do you want?" because they would say, "We want to go play in the playground." I believe it is better that they learn to read. So I try to do part of what they want and part of the things that I want. I think that is the same thing that happens in development projects. Here most of the women have been talking about getting rid of certain kinds of oppression, no matter what the other women say. We will do part of that and we are still going to work with our ideas. I feel that always happens and maybe that is a healthy tension, because otherwise, if it is truly asking what they want, then I should simply write a letter saying, "I represent Bread for the World and I have \$3 million coming -- how do you want to use it?" And that is not what we are doing and I don't think that is what anybody wants to do.

REV: PREISINGER:

Besides, when you ask the question, "What do you want to do?" you may get an answer that you want to hear. But you are interpreting the answer and they are interpreting the question in different ways. That is really a problem in communications. What do you do, for example, when some of your international students who have been tempered by Americanization are asked, "What do you want?" They are likely to parrot all kinds of American values, when in their heart of hearts they may know that the good of their country is otherwise. But they may have to play the game in order to get the help. Do you see what I am saying? We have a translation problem.

COMMENT:

I think the young person today is listening to many voices to hear alternatives.

COMMENT:

I knew a man who had been working in agricultural development in small farms in Bangladesh for a number of years. They had spent months and months asking questions and nobody had decided what to do. Finally, he walked off and started a small garden farm like he had wanted to do, because they could not envision at the moment the process of this very good food. So he just started growing it, and then he called me back and said, "We have millions of options. The only thing that I know to do

is this right now. Would you like to do this?" And that worked. I think that is what we do, except when you're with a big program you're more powerful. You say, "I am from New Mexico State. Here is what I know how to do. Do this."

COMMENT:

To add on to what you are saying, aren't a lot of stories we hear -- in terms of people reporting on the programs -- fiascos as well as successes? Success is a very lucky thing and it has occurred to me that the ramifications from whatever has been done have either undergirded the values of the society or have gone smack against them. When you are in there and you introduced sophisticated technology and at the same time you may have undone some status systems -- you have been unwilling to accept the status -- the whole social organization goes down the tube. You know and I think we say that we should be able to predict what the ramifications of change are going to be, but I doubt that we really can.

COMMENT:

That is one thing that I think we as anthropologists should be much stronger in, not only to try to predict, which I think is hard for anthropologists to do, but to really give a holistic view that a culture in a society is integrated, from the ideology to the economic system. Their marriage practices, etc., are all in tune with each other. And so when you change one area, it will have an effect in all the other areas. Probably people would still want what we have to offer, and maybe in the wanting of it, they are setting up their own slow self-destruction because they are going to lose some things in the process. You know, someone mentioned yesterday about coming in with a kind of advanced technology and displacing a group of women who had been doing the same thing by hand. Someone in the audience said that what we needed then was to compensate these women with money because their livelihood had been taken away. I was also thinking that there is a lot more that has been taken away from those women if they have been doing that for a long time. That could be the criteria that we were talking about in the beginning -- that we don't have many of the technological tools to access the criteria in rural areas like we do in urban areas.

REV. PREISINGER:

Anthropology is saying that you can be instrumental in raising the issue, particularly in the integration and wholeness of other cultures for American students. So you are raising their awareness to the problem. You are not predicting futures or answering problems, but you are raising the problems, raising that question, and that is important. New Mexico State is involved in programs and can hear that word as they send people overseas. You have got to take into consideration that the culture is a whole culture here and to dissect it, to dichotomize it, might be very dangerous for that culture.

COMMENT:

I would like to bring this up for discussion. The main objective of this program is production -- increased production to feed the growing population. Yesterday morning we went into the processes of AID -- the PIDs, the PPs, and so forth -- which as they mentioned, was quite

complicated, taking something like 2.7 years from initiation to implementation. Let's say that we go into all the social change and we get more involvement in this production, plus all these other dimensions of women in agriculture in Egypt and so forth. We get this thing so tied up that it takes five years to get a program. If I am making sense here in what I am saying, let's put other dimensions to it and go through the complete process. It may be best after it is all analyzed to throw the whole thing out, but still let's say that we are going to have a complete package. Will it work?

COMMENT:

If we did what your president suggested in his speech about all the things we ought to look at, we are talking about a \$50 million billion project. I don't think that anyone is going to implement that -- that is too big. So maybe it is true that agriculture schools go in where they can and anthropologists go in and try to clean up their business.

COMMENT:

Did you know at the same time, I've said something about these women's motivational factors? It seems to me, given that program in terms of progression and the process and the 2.7 years and all the things that are being built in now so that you are being careful about every single thing, it looks like it is going to take longer. So that you have all of these guidelines or constraints. Maybe what we are going to have to look at is a selection process so that the people who go through that whole thing are willing to accomplish something when they are over there, having been programmed to recognize the need and to be motivated to do something about it. In the planning process they can say, "All right, here are your guidelines," and you use them only because if you don't and something goes wrong, people will call you out on the carpet -- because this is what they are said to do. Then when you go on your project, you go over there and throw all of the guidelines away and be innovative and take a risk. If you are successful, they won't call you on the carpet about it, because success is its own reward. And if it is not successful, then you can go back again. I really think that we are going to have to have people like that, because it is such a problem.

COMMENT:

By the time the program was accepted, you would need to change the program already, because of all that has happened.

COMMENT:

Speaking of organizations, since I am familiar with Bread for the World, it seems to me that some small organizations can see a need and target in on that need to mobilize people for them, and are sometimes very important. You may see one thing that needs to be done, instead of a complete package, and if you can mobilize something that can work for that and some integrity to do it, perhaps that is also useful.

REV. PREISINGER:

I wanted to ask, in evaluations, is it possible to ask questions about women in development? Is that what this conference is saying? You can

say, "I came across an evaluation and it didn't consider this at all." Maybe it is the kind of thing that didn't need to be considered, but chances are it did. Are we asking those questions? I hope that you are now, or will be.

COMMENT:

The people who are writing these programs in our international office are not here. These are the men who are writing these programs and they are specialists in sorghum or cattle or whatever and . . .

REV. PREISINGER:

I feel the same way about church; there are not many people that should be there. OK, the men writing the programs are not here at this conference. How can you make them be here? How can you get the information back to them? Is it done formally? Or does one say, "Hey, let's have a cup of coffee. I've got something that I want to tell you that is important"? How do we face that situation?

COMMENT:

Well, again, the basic thing that I would like to share is that I think it comes down to having good relationships with your colleagues, having a sense of camaraderie, because based upon that, you can really have good sharing. But if there are departmental barriers that impede anything if you want to share something of value, it is seen that you are telling them what to do. If you have got a good relationship, what they will hear from you is that you are trying to help them succeed in what is important to them, which is what I guess we're saying in terms of foreign countries.

REV. PREISINGER:

What would you do on the basis of this conference back at your place?

ANSWER:

I would like to know that some big universities are willing to shave off a little piece of the pie. We don't have extra faculty that we could share but I'd rather see more students coming and sharing the problems of a smaller university.

COMMENT:

I think that one problem is that most of the projects AID funds are through agriculture schools and there are not a lot of women in ag schools, and there are no social scientists. I think that there is a barrier in getting them to speak to one another.

COMMENT:

I would like to have more courses relevant to students from developing areas.

COMMENT:

Well, I am trying to prepare a proposal for a special topic next year on women in cross-cultural perspectives and I think that that would be helpful.

COMMENT:

There are a lot of things that we are teaching our foreign students that are irrelevant to what is going on in their countries. It is on a level such that when they go back, they can't implement it. They don't have that machinery because they have not progressed that far and I have had some of them come back and say, "Well, I am right back where I was when I graduated from high school with the work that I am doing. I have the knowledge, but I don't have the technology that is in my country." So I think that some of our programs should be designed a little more specifically for where those countries are.

COMMENT:

One of the things that they are sensitive about at this conference is, "Are we doing the same things when we are making this issue as far as women in Third World countries? Are we really looking at where they are, or are we going in and really trying to foster some change, not realizing the ramifications of that change with regard to other social institutions that have not been developed yet -- to take care of the elderly, reduced numbers of children and those kinds of things that go along with this? Could we be setting up something that we would later very much regret?" And I see the same thing in an opposite view of what you are saying these students think. You know we are going in there with sophisticated technology, so to speak -- they are not really there. Maybe we ought to be looking at some other kinds of things.

COMMENT:

Well, we don't make quite all of the choices. These countries have chosen to send their students here. Some of it has been a government choice -- a decision that they need people in agriculture and also the petroleum industry. Nigeria at one time was completely self-sufficient in food and now is not. So they have decided they will send all these students over here to learn about agriculture. So it was not our decision; we are not imposing this on them. Some of them have made the choices themselves, so we don't have to take all the responsibility.

REV. PREISINGER:

Just as an aside, do you have a feel of how many students who come here -- for the best of reasons or perhaps because they have been pushed by the governments -- have been so captivated by American values that they don't want to go back?

COMMENT:

You would think that I would see this all the time. There are a few, but most of mine go home.

COMMENT:

They are not sure what the job situation would be, and I have heard them say, "I don't fit there anymore, but I really don't feel comfortable here, either." We have a graduate student right now who is working on a dissertation on re-entry problems -- where they are now and where they will be after five years. They are getting this information from different universities and getting different names and writing to them. So they are trying to help because there has not been enough study done on it to know what we're doing. But I do know that some students here will have re-entry difficulties.

Practicalities of Participation

DELORES MACK
Counseling Psychologist
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

HELEN CLEMENTS
Assistant Archivist
Southwest Collection
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

FRED DOOLEY
Educational Psychology
Texas Tech University
Lubbock, Texas

DR. MACK:

On this afternoon's panel we have three participants with quite varied backgrounds and experiences in the international arena. Helen Clements is interested in various aspects of design and weaving, particularly in third world crafts and arts. She spent four months in Mexico studying weaving. Today she will focus on the kinds of problems you might encounter as a parent in a developing country, and also on relationships with other women. A second panelist will be Fred Dooley. Fred is a graduate student who is just finishing up his doctorate in Educational Psychology. From 1970 to 1973, he and his wife Linda taught in West Africa as Peace Corps volunteers. Fred taught agriculture and worked with model farm projects, while his wife taught home economics, nutrition and child care to young mothers. As a secondary project, they worked with local and international agencies in construction projects such as a maternity hospital, school buildings, and grain silos. Fred will discuss the problems of married couples. I will be the third panelist. My name is Delores Mack and I spent five years in Nigeria at the University of Lagos. Lagos is a large city with a population of about 4 million people. I was a lecturer at the university and also was involved in setting up a counseling center there. After the establishment of the counseling center, I was the administrator for several years. While in Nigeria I was interested in conducting research and completed a survey on husbands

and wives. The survey was carried out in five different geographic locations in both rural and urban settings.

I am going to begin and focus on what I consider to be the key to my experiences in Nigeria, i.e., the key to any kind of success I was able to obtain as a lecturer or as a researcher had to be personal relationships. The key to getting a job done, to even buying goods and services, was the kinds of relationships that I was able to establish with Nigerians. I don't think you will find this kind of information in books but it is very important as to how you function in developing societies.

Now I think you all are aware that in the United States we have a "buddy system" because as you go up the economic ladder, you will find that your competence becomes less and less important, while your relationships with people take on an added significance. Well, in Nigeria, they call this kind of "buddy system" or influence "long legs"; if you have influence, if you have power, you have "long legs." I don't know exactly how important this is in traditional society but I do know that in modern Nigerian society, especially in Lagos, long legs are very important. Some of the importance of long legs, or influence, has to do with scarcities. If there are 10 lecturers who need a desk and only five available, then the five that have the best relationship with the department head or dispensing agency are likely to get the desks. If there are a limited number of cars that can be imported into a country and there are more people, as in the case of Nigeria, who have money for those cars than there are cars available, then those people who have long legs are likely to get the cars. Hence, establishing the right tone in relationships is quite important.

These personal relationships can act very much as a kind of double-edged sword. If you offend people who are important, they can make it very difficult for you to get your projects through, to get something approved, etc. On the other hand, if you establish a pleasant kind of relationship with people who are influential, they can do things for you and can facilitate your projects in a way that Americans are very unlikely to. I will give you an example from my own project. As I said, I wanted to carry it out in five different areas of Nigeria. I must say that I was dreaming, and it could have turned into a nightmare. I wanted a stratified sample according to income and I wanted all this nice statistical data on income, location, etc. Naturally if I had attempted to do something similar in the United States, I'd just go to the census bureau and get census data. However, census data was not readily available in Nigeria, because this data is quite political and obtaining it can be a very delicate matter. I went to the Nigerian census bureau, was able to establish pleasant relations with two men there and because of that they provided me with the census data that I needed. Then I said, well, I want to stratify my sample by income, but the Nigerian census data did not have income listed, i.e., because of resistance to taxation, income is another delicate matter. My friends then provided me with a consumer survey, which gave me the income data I needed. Then I said, well, I want to go into the rural areas; they provided me with an agricultural survey of rural areas that I could use for my sampling base, and so on. My friends even

helped with one of the most pressing problems -- interviewers. In Nigeria, there was not a pool of trained interviewers that I could rely on. Here in the United States, when we need interviewers we can go out, advertise for interviewers, and we will get people who might be able to do the job; or we can train them because of their level of education. In Nigeria, because of the low level of education and lack of sophistication about certain kinds of work, competent interviewers are difficult to find. My friends at the census bureau said, "Use our people for this." They even made time available for me, at a previously arranged conference, to meet the heads of the census sections in various parts of the country, to explain my needs and establish the personal relationships that would be necessary when I went to different parts of the country to carry out the survey. All of this came about through the personal relationships that I was able to establish with some people at the census bureau. If I hadn't done that, there is no doubt in my mind I would not have been able to carry out my rather complicated project, with the limited resources that I had available. Because as I said, it can be a two-edged sword; if you establish friendly personal relationships you will facilitate whatever it is that you want to do. If you don't, you are in hot water.

The second point about personal relationships that I would like to make concerns status. What I found in Nigeria was that status, a person's position in society, or his job at the university is much more important than it is here in the United States. It was more important for me to bow to whatever kinds of "perks" a person in authority was supposed to have. It was also extremely important to observe the lines of authority. You could not go outside the lines of authority unless you had long legs; to do so would invite problems not only from the person bypassed but from the person you appealed to as well -- they were probably friends. I also found that not only did I have to observe the importance of status in my relationships with people who were above me in the status hierarchy, but I had to be very careful with people who were below me like typists or secretaries. I learned from my colleagues that I was simply too friendly with the "help." By friendly, I mean that when I first came to Nigeria, I was curious about a lot of things so I talked with typists -- not about personal matters, just about Nigeria -- and my work took a long time to get done. Typists, who in this case were primarily male, were also sometimes rude. At first I didn't realize what was happening. I acted the same way I did in the United States and treated everybody about the same -- wrong for Nigeria! Because I was "too friendly" I didn't deserve respect -- so my work did not get done as quickly as the work of others who remained fairly distant from the secretaries. So I found that one of the practical things you must consider when working in a developing country is to determine who are the influential, the important people in the society, and to carefully establish, if you can, close relationships with these people -- and perhaps, more distant, fairly authoritarian relationships with individuals below you in the status hierarchy.

Another observation I would make is that for me as a female it was very important to have a female friend, who could be an informant, who could give me inside information on how to go about functioning in the

society -- just to get small things done, to get housework done, to get the men to work with me or to tell me how to talk to the ladies that I had to deal with. It was really helpful when I had someone from the society to say to me, "Hey, that is not the way to go about doing it." Female friends made my stay both more enjoyable and less difficult.

Something else I found in developing countries is whatever your expectations are before you go there, expect that you will get one-third or maybe one-half of what you planned done. I had expected to complete perhaps three projects. I finished two, and of the two, one got lost in the computer center. That's why I say, expect to do less than whatever you plan or think you can do here in the United States -- sitting in your air-conditioned houses, with your home computers, etc. I found that I simply had to go slower, especially initially. And if you try to hurry people up and expect them to work at your pace, even if they are your subordinates, then what happens is that they tend to go slower, not faster. You cannot go in and expect people to do it your way or to get things done the way you want them to be done. You have to make adjustments to the way things are done in the country. And trying to push people simply creates blocks, even at the subordinate level.

I would now like to touch very briefly on the male-female relationship and how I think it can have an effect on your projects in a developing country. As a single female I found that there was a lot of interest in me simply because I was a foreigner, and that included sexual advances. I felt that these advances had to be handled very carefully because they could affect my work -- and legal or moral sanctions against such advances were not available. Hence, this is one of the things that you have to consider if you are going to a developing country, i.e., how you handle advances here in the United States and how you might have to handle them differently in another culture. I found it best for me to remain relatively distant from males. I learned that in Nigeria it was not that common for men and women to be friends. And so even with my male colleagues at the university, the kinds of touching or affectionate relationships that we have here in the United States could sometimes be misleading and cause problems.

I would like to also point out another aspect concerning the status of women, i.e., women, as the film we showed last night revealed, generally have a lower status than men and this lower status is more pronounced in developing countries. Women may have some economic value, their status may vary from country to country, and they may have certain kinds of powers in the family, but generally they have a lower status than men. This low status will be quite a different experience from what you have had in the United States. I found that I had difficulty in even dealing with laborers, or men who were just coming to fix plumbing or to do maintenance work -- because they resented having to take orders from a woman. Because of this the job might not get done as well, or I would have to do a lot more talking, or make a lot more effort. Eventually, what I learned to do was get a man to talk to them in order to simplify getting the job done. Female status not only affected dealing with service people or the general public but also had impact in professional areas, e.g., in training male interviewers.

I felt that the low status of women in Nigeria very definitely affected my professional efforts.

Again, the status of women can be a double-edged sword, in that in some ways being a woman could be an advantage. I personally did not view Nigerian women, at least the ones I met, as being weak and helpless. But sometimes Nigerian men liked to act as if they were -- and if you played your role appropriately, you were able to get more things or to get more done because they would say, "I'll give in to you because you're a woman." For example, as administrator for the counseling center, I needed to get some furniture for the center that the university had ordered, and when I went to pick up the furniture, which was being bought on credit, the clerk refused to give it to me saying that the university had failed to pay its bills, so they were not going to let me have this furniture. I went and talked to the manager and played the helpless female role, i.e., I really needed this, I had to have this, poor me, etc. -- and I got the furniture. That's what I mean when I say it is a double-edged sword. Sometimes it was very annoying and irritating to be treated in a condescending way, and at other times it was useful to me in getting what I wanted. I bring this up because I feel that it is important for you to consider this if you are going to work in a developing country -- and to make peace with yourself as to how you want to handle these different kinds of relationships. I don't think you can go as an American woman into other countries and expect people to adjust to the way that you want to be treated as a woman. Not that I tolerated these kinds of attitudes in close relationships, but in dealing with people on a day-to-day basis I did experience sexism, a sense of lowered status, and I didn't try to change it in Nigeria. I didn't think it was feasible, nor was it my right or responsibility.

I'd just like to say a word in closing about what makes a good worker in a developing country, based on my observations in Nigeria and also the work I've done with the Peace Corps in assessment and training. First, it is important to be culturally sensitive. Cultural sensitivity means not only being aware of other cultures and different norms and values, but also being aware of your own values and how they impact on your perceptions of another culture. Moreover, it is important not just to be able to say, "Well, I am culturally sensitive, I am aware of these differences, I accept them" -- all at the intellectual level -- but can you make the appropriate adjustments to a difference in living standards, and what is often much more difficult, an adjustment to different cultural norms and expectations about your behavior? For example, with the secretaries, I did not like having to be very distant. It was quite different from the way I related to secretaries here in the United States, but if that is what it took to get the job done, then that was an adjustment that I was willing and able to make. It is something that you might question yourself about. Are you willing to make these kinds of adjustments in order to get your job done or in order to get your projects through?

Second, how willing are you to just sit back and listen? Before you rush in and try to get your project done, how observant are you? Are

you the kind of person who has to interrupt with your point of view before the other person finishes his sentence, or can you listen and are you willing to take in what other people are telling you, both indirectly and directly? Much of what you observe that will be helpful to you in adjusting is going to be indirect. My experiences in Nigeria and Kenya indicated to me that in these cultures, generally, people tend to be more indirect than people in the United States. They may not tell you verbally that they don't like what you're doing. You just have to figure it out for yourself -- why your typing takes such a long time to get done; you have to pick up on subtle verbal and non-verbal signs. How much are you in tune to these kinds of things? How sensitive are you to these types of cues?

Finally, something that I found really helpful to me was a sense of humor. For me, Nigeria was a totally exciting place. The excitement was not always pleasant, however, so I had to have a very good sense of humor -- to laugh when the electricity went off, or when the water came on suddenly, or when a soldier jumped into my car, or whatever. You have to be able to see the absurdity not only of other people's behavior but of your own -- to develop some sense of perspective about your whole experience, which will make it easier for you to put in perspective the projects or goals that you are working on.

I know you're saying to yourself, "Well, how can I know these things? How can I know if I have these abilities or these kinds of qualities?" Ask yourself about your experiences right here in the United States. This country is a mixture of a lot of different cultures. What contact have you had with different kinds of people here? What things did you find unpleasant? Did you get anything out of cross-cultural contact, or was it all confusing or frustrating? Because if that is the way that you react here, there is a good chance that you will find the same kind of frustrating experiences when you go abroad.

All right, we now have Helen Clements.

MS. CLEMENTS:

I'll have to say "Amen" to a lot of the things Delores just said. When I went to southern Mexico to do my field work, I went into a small village of about 600 people, so I had different scales of problems than she did. But I also took a four-year-old boy with me. That created some special problems with the town. There were three or four things that the two of us had to cope with and that everybody we were around had to cope with. I think that I will just share a couple of those things with you and make some suggestions, to do it like I did it, or don't do it like I did it. Find your own level.

One of the things that I basically did wrong was that my little boy did not know any Spanish when we went into the village. It was a bilingual situation, primarily, in Spanish and Zapotec. I didn't have too many problems coping, but he didn't know very much and had resisted learning before we entered the village. He had trouble communicating with anybody. He could talk to me and I could translate and explain to him what was

going on, but I was not always around because I was running around doing my field work. So here we had a little guy who was taken away from his father and thrown into the situation. He had to do a tremendous amount of adjusting, plus adjusting to the language. But, by the time we'd been there a couple of months, his Spanish started to pick up, and by the time we left after four months, he was on his way to becoming monolingual in Spanish. I think it would have taken two or three more months. Kids learn very rapidly at his age, and he was becoming more and more fluent as he went along. It was fantastic to see how much change there was in that short time. But language is a problem you run into with a family member. The problem can also apply to a spouse, even if a person is basically pretty much bilingual. During our trip to Mexico, we had a couple of problems because my husband, who went down with us, knew just enough Spanish, at that point, not to understand a lot of what went on. So he got irritated sometimes.

I think, too, that separation from a parent, especially for a very young child, is especially difficult. You have to watch out for the ways that the kid expresses that. When mine goes through an adjustment problem he becomes totally obnoxious -- you know, kicks, screams, that type of thing. Maybe yours reacts a little bit differently. But you are going to see some "I don't like this situation, get me out of it" behavior. Usually it's some kind of thing you wouldn't tolerate in the normal situation. And if you're in a culture where it isn't okay to spank kids, you may get disapproval when you're ready to murder the brat. Incidentally, I learned a bit about child rearing. The technique of distraction is marvelous.

You will also run into various and sundry health problems, and things that you could cope with at your adult level, things that you can pop a pill for, are more troublesome with kids. You have to be careful with the medicines because the dosages are for adults and not for kids. We ran into that. We had stomach disorders. We had falls and sprains. My son had a couple of severe allergic reactions to something I had no idea what it was. There was a malaria scare in the village the third week we were there. Fortunately, nothing came of it. But you're always a little preoccupied about what's going to happen next. As an example, one night about 11:30 I decided the kid had polio, and roused out the lady I was staying with and the health service person -- the promotora, for those of you who know that role. I had forgotten that the kid had sprained a knee or something about three days before that. He was overreacting and I was overreacting. The people came to the house and took one look at him, and I could see they were saying to themselves, "Uh-huh, he's doing this to you again." They took one look at the knee, and yes, it was indeed a sprain, and it wasn't a tragedy, after all. But you're going to see things that a younger child, especially, either doesn't or won't explain to you. And if the two of you start to become uptight it can become a rather hair-raising situation. We had problems with everything from skin sores from not enough baths and too much dirt to head lice after we got back. And some of these are almost inevitable when you're in the situation where either you're not bathing daily, or the kid is around other kids who have the same problem. These types of things are a problem here in the United States, so you just

sort of look for them and after the first couple of times you get a little more blasé about them. Things like keeping house -- I tried to do a minimum of it. I rented a room from somebody, and I didn't do very much of the cooking. For one thing, I'm not too good at cooking over wood fires, which was the common mode there. I didn't want to use up all the firewood in the village just to heat coffee. So we did without a few things. Now, this is okay for you, but when you have a child who decides that he does not like beans, does not like tortillas, and that's what the basic menu is, you spend a lot of time finding peanut butter. Many of the basic conveniences of modern life like peanut butter are also available, but sometimes you have to look a little harder for them. Fortunately, we were not very far from a large city, Oaxaca, and so we could get on the bus and go into town and find peanut butter. But if you don't really want to spare the three hours at that point, it can become a problem.

I think a lot of things I'm telling you, now that I know what to expect, and what can come up, I can avoid next time, but at this time I was very naive and kind of distracted about the whole thing, because I was making some of the same adjustments my little one was. So you just have to learn from experience and you have to be ready to face a new kind of little distraction every day.

There were several problems that did come up, not so much that they were insurmountable, but just things that you're going to have to take into account. Two of the reasons that I picked the village that I did to do a study in were: a) it had been recommended to me; b) it was also right beside a major highway, which had bus service all during the day, so that in the cases where we did have health problems we could get to the doctor. There was one in the village for a while, but he was only there for about a month and then left. These kinds of shifting things seem to happen. So you have to be ready to go a little farther.

We didn't have a car with us; I thought that many things like cars were things I simply didn't want to have to cope with. I could get transportation anyway, so I elected to do that rather than having the extra mobility. Now what this means is that by not being able to run off whenever I wanted to, I didn't get some research done that I probably should have for comparative purposes in traveling to other places.

I would recommend, especially the first time you send somebody out or that you go out, two things. Spend a short visit first, so that whichever country or whichever area you're going to, you have some idea of the lay of the land. You are simply a lot easier with yourself if you've at least had some experience in the area before. The thing that made it possible for me to go was that I'd taken a field trip the year before that, before I went to do the field work. And knowing that there were roads and things like that made it much easier for me the second time. Another thing that I think I would recommend the first time is, if you can, go with some other person -- another adult; you can get a lot more out of your own research if you have someone else that you can talk to. A thing that helped me was that about midway through my fieldwork another large project, a team, came into the village to do an economic survey.

And just talking to them and getting some ideas from what they were doing kind of gave me a push to get me started better and to ask a few more questions than I probably would have under the circumstances.

As far as having women as informants, you can run into some problems. The way that I perceive that I fit into this village was more or less with the same status as another man, in many ways. I was an outsider; I could talk pretty easily with the men and particularly to younger people. I honestly did have trouble understanding older people because of slurred speech or their patterns were not what I was used to. But many times what the conversation with the women would degenerate to would be babies, and that's okay if that's what you're working at, but I was trying to learn a little bit more about weaving systems. I think on the whole the men had a better grasp, to me, on what kinds of processes they'd been through and what changes had come, and so in many cases they proved to be better informants than the women. It could be that I simply didn't know all the questions, or know the approach, but this is something that you're learning, and if this helps you design your studies a little better, I'm all for it. I think again, as Delores said, your own personality and the way you relate to other people is probably the key to all of these things. You have to be able to go with yourself and learn what your limits are, and learn what you can do, and what kinds of things don't work for you. And I think that's what I had to say.

MR. DOOLEY:

My name is Fred Dooley. I worked with a UNICEF project in the Republic of Bènin, which used to be called Dahomey. I was offered this opportunity, or I should say this soapbox, so what I would like to do first is give Fred's opinions of some differences between those effective foreign service workers and those ineffectual foreign service workers.

Today we have heard from a couple of what we used to call "students." We made a big joke within the Peace Corps and UNICEF about students -- you know, the anthropologists or sociologists, the people who come over and look at things with their hands folded, versus the meddlers, those people who jump in and try to stir things or change things. It turns out that I consider the best meddlers to be the best students. Those people who have learned something about the culture, who have learned something about the people, something about the wants and the needs of the local folk, seem to be the best meddlers; that is, those people who are most capable and the most effective in their tasks.

One of the other differences that I consider to be very important between those effectual and ineffectual people is that the effectual people took care of their health. They learned something about the local parasites, learned something about the local diseases, learned about the local ponds or pools where it was safe to swim and distinguished them from those local ponds that had schistosomiasis or other parasites that would terminate one's service within a few months. So those people who had read up, those students, again, who learned something about the differences in health care within the host country, those people who took their

anti-malarial drugs religiously every Sunday, seemed also to be those most effective in their service.

I would like to talk about learning from the local people, about local customs and morés. A wonderful quotation which comes from Nigeria but made it over to the Republic of Bènin goes, "Only the rabid dog and the white person go out in the noonday sun." Those people who didn't take heed of this or tried to work during the heat of the day to show their toughness often came down with a heat stroke. Not just the local knowledge of health precautions concerning parasites and diseases is sufficient. Taking care of living in a new place involves other things such as making a habit of wearing a big, floppy hat, for it will help when you are working out in the sun.

Those people who seemed most effective, in Fred's opinion again, seemed to be those who took vacations away from their sites. They didn't spend all of their time every day, all week long, all month long, all year long for two or three years working on some fabulous, most important project. Those people who worked a 40- or 50-hour work week, then went out a few evenings a week, had some parties and some fun projects and some other things going on, seemed to be those who accomplished the most and seemed to be those people who hung on for a couple to three years to get some of those larger construction projects done. This brings up something else. Those people who came into the service, let's call it "newly married" -- and I'm not talking about just the American Peace Corps, but for the Dutch, the Israeli, the Mexican, the Spanish, the Italian, all those other peoples who had volunteers within the same kind of job as me -- the new marriages usually didn't seem to work. Foreign service is very rough on a relationship, very rough on a marriage. Those marriages that had been going for at least two, three or five years seemed to produce those people who were most effective on the jobs. Those people who had just married before getting on the boat or the plane often spent a lot of time on "non-project tasks" trying to get their relationship together or trying to get away from the spouse.

Another thing was those people who went over as couples seemed to be most happy if both worked outside the home. If there was a househusband or a housewife who was only going to take care of the kids while the spouse was out doing the job, it seemed to produce a lot of strife and unhappiness and took time away from the project. Those couples who had carefully selected their sites with a job for him and a job for her, and were well settled in their relationship before they actually moved to the site, seemed to last in that site and in the relationship.

I would like to emphasize that, riding in on Delores' coattail, it seemed that I got most of my projects -- the big things, the maternity hospitals, the schools and wells -- constructed that third year. The first three months I tried to get it all done myself rather than going to the secretary of the assistant to the country superintendent of schools or on to who we would call county commissioner in American terms. I crossed a lot of people at first and that hurt me. If I'd hung around more at first, talked to more people, hung around the local

canteen or whatever, learned something more about the local hierarchies, something about the power distribution, about who has the power over whom in a project, who has the gasoline for the trucks, who has the cement to distribute and so forth, I would have got a lot more done those first and second years. When I did finally learn something about the local hierarchies of power, I became much more effective. I believe those people who spend a lot of time at first with their host country colleagues or students to learn local morés or customs and the local lines of power are effective much sooner and are much more effective in getting their jobs done, rather than to blithely begin a job "the American way."

Another thing from my personal experience, and supported by several other people, was when I went over to West Africa I took a stack of Boy Scout merit badge pamphlets which I think are a wonderful source of practical information, such as how to cook on a wood fire, how to butcher, how to plant a garden -- in fact, how to do most everything necessary for survival. When my wife and I first got to our site we were going to do our own cooking and our own marketing. There's a Fõn expression predominant in the tribe we worked with which goes, "The mark of a good woman is that she will barter all day long for one penny's difference in price." It took an awful lot of time to buy a tomato, it took an awful lot of time to buy a bolt of cloth or whatever else was needed. When we finally broke down after a couple of weeks and got a cook, we paid this fine young man \$40 a month, which is about the same as a local school principal, to cook for us, to market for us, to buy things, to chop the wood, to do the butchering, to cut up the meat and have it ready for us to cook when we got home. This, I honestly believe, gave us another two or three days a week to work on our projects.

As I mentioned before, boredom seems to be a big deal for Americans overseas. If you are going overseas to work, forget about taking a lot of clothing, unless you take some fancy or fun clothing, like a western hat or some boots, for example, that will make some friends and get some conversation started. Buying clothing "over there" gives room to bring important things. Carry games, things to play with, Frisbees, cassette tape recorders, dominoes, a basketball or a softball and bat, or whatever, for those kinds of things make a lot of friends and start a lot of relationships and make a lot of fun out of spare time. Don't worry about bringing everything such as food or luxuries, except the luxuries of toys and games. Good cheap food and clothing will be available locally. Another very important thing is to buy your radio locally. The radio that you buy here in the States probably won't be easily repaired over there. The radios available in the local market will probably be repairable to the guy down the street who has a charcoal soldering iron and proper schematic diagrams so that he can work on your locally bought radio.

Shoot a few rolls of film of your people and your area before you go overseas. I think that this is a wonderful icebreaker. People all the time asked us, "What does your dad look like? What does your mom look like? What does your town look like? What were the most important industries?" The more you can tell your hosts about yourself with picturebooks or photos of or about your area, the better. I think these

are wonderful icebreakers and friend-makers.

Something else that I think is a clear distinguisher between those effective and ineffective people is what the French called the mentalite missionnaire, or what we would call the "missionary mentality." This affects those people who come overseas and are going to "save the heathen." Not all missionaries are afflicted by this, and not all non-missionaries are free of it. Those afflicted are going to bring the blessings of technology or enlightenment or whatever to the poor, dumb natives. Those people tend to be insulting and condescending and wash out very rapidly. They don't get very much accomplished and they don't have a very good time overseas either. Those people who go overseas with the idea, "I'd like to work in an interesting place, on an interesting, worthwhile job, with interesting, worthwhile people," seem to be those who accomplish the most, and of course, have the best time doing it.

To end this, the most effective overseas workers, in Fred's opinion, seemed also to be those people who were best able to enjoy, not only tolerate but to enjoy, the widest range of customs, social morés, foods, fashions, dances, music, clothing, and religions.

Thank you.

Conference Recommendations

NANCY L. GRANOVSKY
Extension Family Resource Management Specialist
Texas Agricultural Extension Service
Texas A&M University System
College Station, Texas

As we attempted to undertake our task, our ad hoc group focused on recommendations that have bearing on us as we return to our respective campuses. The conference/workshop approach is an effective method by which we can heighten our awareness of issues and concerns, establish new linkages, initiate dialogue with others, and thus develop insights into our own potential as well as the resources represented by the talents of others. This workshop has been no exception. Conferences help put our thinking into high gear and our intentions as well. But when the conference is over, then what? What will happen to our new insights and our intentions as our momentum is diluted by the demands of daily routine?

What course of action do we plan as individual participants as a follow-up to this conference? Realistically, what can and will we commit ourselves to doing? If we were to gather together in one or six or 12 months, would we be able to describe positive actions undertaken to produce change within our own institutions? Surely, part of the problem is the normal loss of momentum for those of us who do not have the luxury of 100 percent time immersion in women in development activities. But part of the problem is also knowing what steps we can take. Our recommendations take the form of action steps you may wish to consider.

- I. To begin with, get to know what is happening on your own campus. We need to learn as much as possible about international programs and activities at our institutions through "systemic immersion."
 - A. Who is the Title XII officer?
 - B. What is the program focus of Title XII at your institution?
 - C. What women in development activities exist on your campus?
 - D. What is the overall international program thrust on your campus?

- II. Become involved in women in development activities on your own campus. This may require initiating activities if none exist. Some campuses have a women in development coordinator. Others have used a committee approach.
- III. Enter into dialogue with those involved in technical assistance efforts. The ultimate goal should be to help assess the impact of on-going projects on women. We must convince others that women in development concerns are relevant and that their inclusion can contribute to project success.
- IV. Get to know your colleagues from other disciplines. Only through a team effort and an interdisciplinary approach can we develop an idea of "the big picture." Every discipline has something to offer. Find out who people are and what their particular talents are. Do not permit the polarization of issues concerning women's condition. It is not an either/or matter: women as producers of economic goods versus women as reproducers and educators. Instead, as Kate Cloud has suggested to us, we must encourage ways to systematically examine the trade-offs women make in their decisions to implement their dual roles.
- V. Get yourself listed on existing rosters of expertise on your campus. Those with women in development responsibilities have a special responsibility to disseminate information about rosters and rostering procedures.
 - A. Every Title XII institution has a Registry of Institutional Capability. Are you listed? Should you be listed if you are not?
 - B. Other rosters include:
 - 1. CID Network
 - 2. Women and Food Network
 - 3. New Trans-Century Center
 - 4. International Center for Research on Women
 - 5. AID also develops IQCs (Indefinite Quantity Contractors) of those available for short- and mid-term consulting

Besides rostering your expertise, develop additional skills, such as language.
- VI. Use existing networks effectively. For example, the CID Network may wish to include a women in development component in their newsletter to announce conferences, share information resources, and highlight specific women in development activities.
- VII. Try to arrange an in-service, observational field experience for a

team of women to observe one AID mission each year, perhaps with financial support from strengthening grants. The purpose of the field experience would be to expose those with limited or no international experience with AID operations in-country. Conversely, AID direct-hire personnel could be routed through our universities during state-side leave periods. That would serve to expose AID staff to the women in development talent pool on-campus, and also to orient university faculty and staff with country-specific mission concerns.

- VIII. This next recommendation is a goal for our consideration: How can we successfully move women into positions of authority in the administration of Title XII? Thus far there are no female Title XII officers.
- IX. Learn about the Title XII Strengthening Grants on your campus. How are funds being used? How are funds allocated? How are decisions made? Women in development efforts need to be able to rely on some Title XII Strengthening Grant money for funding special projects. Make sure the Title XII officer understands the underlying purpose and philosophy of strengthening grants. Use this as leverage in justifying project proposals. Likewise, on campuses with women in development coordinators, make sure that the person is familiar with strengthening grant guidelines.
- X. Explore internship opportunities for women to gain experience in developing countries. Let's create opportunities for women to "case the joint" as a previous speaker has suggested, something that has long been overlooked in traditional development circles.
- XI. This workshop, out of necessity, has focused on a broad spectrum of issues, concerns, constraints and options. As we are able to conduct additional women in development workshops, perhaps we can structure them around specific issues to meet specific implementation needs. Examples are: project evaluation, cost-benefit analysis, etc. It will permit us an opportunity to further strengthen our professional capabilities. On the other hand, we must also assure that general issues workshops continue so that young professionals and those new to women in development can experience the benefits we have gained from workshops of this nature. We need depth to strengthen our capacities, and breadth to attract, orient, and sensitize young professionals.
- XII. Utilize your notes and workshop proceedings. These are useful resource materials. Develop a plan for sharing information and insights from this conference with people on your campus. Newsletter articles, news releases, and interviews can all help focus attention on women in development. We each need to develop a strategy for action that will help move women's concerns onto the international development agenda of our respective institutions.