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Women in Development

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE		Page
I.	Summary of AID Women in Development Policy ...	1
II.	Introduction	2
III.	Rationale for Women in Development Policy	2
	A. Access to and Control Over Resources:	
	Gender Differences	3
	B. Stakes and Incentives Related to Productivity:	
	Gender Differences	3
IV.	Women in Development Policy Issues	4
	A. Agricultural Development	4
	B. Employment and Income Generation	5
	C. Human Resource and Institutional Development	6
	D. Energy and Natural Resource Conservation.....	8
	E. Water and Health.....	9
V.	Implementation of Women in Development Policy ..	9

Preface

This policy paper demonstrates how LDC women's concerns are to be integrated into AID's program. Other policy papers recognize various roles LDC women play. For example, the Food and Agriculture paper highlights women as agricultural producers, farm laborers and family food providers, and recommends an expansion of their opportunities in the food-related and agriculture fields. The Water and Sanitation paper recognizes women's stake in the provision of clean water and sanitation for the community. The Nutrition paper points out that since women's income is most likely to go toward food for her family, improving nutrition through increased income generation should focus on women. The Private Enterprise paper establishes four priorities for AID's investment (agriculture, agribusiness, small scale industries and private sector service enterprises), all of which are important areas for women's involvement. But, unlike most of AID's policy statements, the Women in Development Policy is cross-sectoral; it is meant to provide the policy framework and overall practical guidance for each sector and for the Agency as a whole in its efforts to incorporate women into the total development process.

I. Summary of AID Women in Development Policy

(1) AID will take into account the actual and potential roles of LDC women in carrying out its development assistance program. This will be done in all AID's country strategies and projects in order to ensure achievement of development goals, through:

- a. overall country programs and individual project designs which reflect the distinct roles and functions of LDC women as they relate to project implementation;
- b. strategies for explicitly benefiting women and girls in all sectors within countries, and in all projects within sectors which are developed and implemented as an integral part of AID's work;
- c. sex-disaggregated data collection, gender-specific social-soundness analysis and economic analysis, monitoring and evaluation.

(2) AID will also, under appropriate conditions, support LDC women's institutions and programs where special efforts are required to reach women because of cultural conditions, where separate programs and facilities are deemed necessary, or where women's groups provide a particularly advantageous vehicle for addressing women's needs.

(3) AID recognizes that the productivity of women is important to personal, family and national well-being. Women's increased productivity depends on their improved access to resources,

e.g. land, improved farming techniques, information, employment; therefore,

a. where lack of education and training constrain women's effective access to more productive work, AID will seek to increase relevant knowledge and skills among women and girls;

b. where inefficient technologies reduce women's overall productivity, AID will support the development of labor-saving and time-saving technologies which are acceptable and accessible to women;

c. where systematic bias exists against females in the labor force, or in certain segments of the labor force, AID will support efforts to alleviate the bias, through policy reform and/or experimental programs which demonstrate ways in which women can enter non-traditional types of work.

(4) AID acknowledges that largely because of their traditional responsibilities for child care and family welfare, women in developing countries have special needs for adequate human resource development programs in the areas of health care, family planning, potable water, nutrition and education. AID will support investments in human resource development which have particular implications for females in society. Effective strategies to secure women's inclusion in such programs will ultimately result in the critical national benefit of a healthy, well-trained, productive workforce.

(5) AID will support the development of institutions and transfer of technology which ensure: (a) the appropriateness and access of improved technology to women (as well as men); and (b) the existence of institutions which include women and effectively reach women (as well as men) and which permit the dissemination of benefits and information to both sexes.

(6) AID acknowledges that there is still much to know about the implications for development of gender differences among target populations. Such knowledge gaps severely reduce the effectiveness of development program planning. Therefore AID will support research in areas where adequate knowledge of gender-roles in relation to development planning is lacking. Such research will include (but not be limited) to:

- a. studies of *intra-household* dynamics regarding division of labor, distribution of resources and decision-making;
- b. income needs and income sources for males and females;
- c. women's contribution to agriculture;
- d. fuel and water needs and sources;
- e. incidence of households which are actually or *de-facto* female-headed.

(7) AID recognizes that most LDC's have endorsed the goal of further integrating women and girls

into the development process through support of international efforts such as those undertaken by the various UN entities (e.g., UN Decade for Women, FAO's WCAKD Plan of Action), and that most countries have established their own programs and plans to address the concern of women in development. Therefore, AID will support reforms which are consistent with these national positions.

(8) AID seeks to increase the knowledge and skills of its staff in planning projects which effectively engage women in the development process and its benefits. The Office of Women in Development and the women in development officers will continue to support the Agency's personnel in their efforts to implement the women-in-development policy. However, *the overall responsibility for implementation of this policy rests with all of AID's offices and bureaus, in all AID programs and projects.*

II. Introduction

Nearly a decade has passed since Congress first introduced the subject of women in development into AID's program. The 1973 "Percy Amendment" to the Foreign Assistance Act required that the U.S. bilateral assistance programs:

"be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, *thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort.*" (emphasis added)

This legislative mandate and the extensive women in development literature make two basic points. The first point ("... thus improving their status...") raises the social or equity issues which derive from women's status relative to men in many countries. It stresses the need for development planners to be sensitive to the ways in which modernization may negatively affect females in society. This approach casts females as beneficiaries of development, and focuses on the need for planners to guard against negative effects of their projects on women.

The second point ("... and assisting the total development effort"), the economic or efficiency issue, focuses on women as active contributors to and agents of economic development, and actively seeks to enhance women's participation in the process. This approach emphasizes women's economic roles. It stresses the need to enhance their productivity, raise their incomes and promote their access to economically productive resources as a means to achieving overall national economic growth. While both arguments are important and both serve to guide AID's interpretation of the women in development policy, AID's primary concern is to fully comprehend that the

pace of development and the quality of its outcome is greatly dependent on the degree to which women and girls fulfill their potential contribution and share in society's gains.

Of course the primary responsibility for ensuring the participation of both women and men in development rests with LDC governments and the people themselves. But it is clear that foreign donors such as AID can play a part in the process. AID must now move beyond its initial activities, and provide leadership in ensuring that women have access to the opportunities and benefits of economic development.

The major challenge for economic development is the need to make more efficient use of scarce resources. Women and girls are resources for development whose contribution to development is already substantial. Yet their contribution would be dramatically enhanced if they were better educated, in better health, and had better access to training, services and jobs. Therefore, to pursue a development planning strategy *without* a women in development focus would be wasteful and self-defeating—wasteful, because of the potential loss of the contribution of vital human resources and self-defeating because development which does not bring its benefits to the whole society has failed. The underlying premise of this paper is that, for AID to undertake an effective strategy that promotes balanced economic development, a focus on the economic participation of women in development is essential.

III. Rationale for Women in Development Policy

One of the premises of AID's women in development policy is that gender-roles constitute a key variable in the socio-economic condition of any country—one that can be decisive in the success or failure of development plans. Research from the last decade portrays a fairly consistent pattern of findings that in most developing countries, females differ from men in their:

- access to and control over productive resources;
- stakes in development outcomes;
- responses to incentives introduced to encourage development

Briefly stated, the constraints which women face in the task of self- and therefore national-development are often different constraints than those men face. The particular ways in which females are constrained function as limitations to the overall development process itself. Some constraints relate to cultural norms of physical mobility, while others derive from the predominant sexual division of labor and the consequent segregation of women in the economy. Time can also act as a constraint when women must fulfill

child care, home production, and market responsibilities.

The implications of these differences for development planners are substantial. The experience of the past ten years tells us that the key issue underlying the women in development concept is ultimately an economic one: *misunderstanding of gender differences, leading to inadequate planning and designing of projects, results in diminished returns on investment*. Gender, therefore, is a critical category of analysis in AID's work, one which has not received sufficient attention to date.

A. Access to and Control Over Resources: Gender Differences

Although there are regional variations, in most countries and within most ethnic groups it is much more difficult for women to: own land; obtain credit; receive training and information; and obtain new technologies. If these constraints are not overcome women's productivity will decrease and their economic independence will decline.

Attempts to raise overall output and to achieve national self-sufficiency will be thwarted.

For example, even though there is now sufficient evidence to prove women's substantial contribution to agriculture in many of the countries of the world, there is equal proof that these women are often farming without benefit of the improved inputs and services required for a more productive and remunerative agriculture. The paradox is most obvious in the African setting, where it is estimated females do 60-80 percent of all agricultural work. Yet these same females are rarely systematically targeted for: training, extension, research, technology, or improved inputs. It is predictable, then, that efforts to improve access to resources and thereby to increase productivity in the agriculture sector will need to be better directed to the female population, if goals for growth are to be achieved.

B. Stakes and Incentives Related to Productivity: Gender Differences

There are also important gender-role differences affecting the way members of the society respond to incentives introduced to encourage development and the degree to which they perceive a stake in the outcome of a development intervention. Gender-roles are strongly associated in most regions with such tasks for daily survival as water-bearing and fuel provision. For example,

- in the numerous areas where water-carrying is traditionally women's work, it is crucial to understand the greater stake women may have in a project designed to improve water availability;
- certain types of environmental degradation (deforestation, soil erosion) also may bear more heavily on the lives of women and girls if, for example, their traditional responsibilities for pro-

viding fuelwood are affected. Where females supply the household with fuel women, not men, may be largely contributory to the fuelwood/deforestation crisis—and at the same time women and girls may have the greatest stake in finding a solution to the problem.

Knowledge of these gender-role patterns will assist project planners to maximize the chance of project success. Introducing incentives for change which are specifically adapted to gender-roles, and are therefore based on a proper assessment of the stake the population feels in the outcome of project, are critical to success.

For this reason, the accuracy and utility of descriptive terms which AID uses to describe target populations are questionable without gender distinctions. Employing aggregated terminology such as "family labor," "hired labor," "farmers," "youth," "children," and others, may mask key sex-linked aspects or social and economic behavior and may contribute to incorrect assumptions about the population in the conceptualization and implementation of projects.

Reliance on the *family* as the level of analysis in social data collection for instance, also contains inherent risks of misinformation. Often *intra-family* dynamics related to distribution of resources and division of labor by sex and age will be overlooked; these intra-household dynamics have critical implications for the successful implementation of projects.

An example is useful here. There is a predominant misperception about disposition of income within poor families which has persisted and given rise to critical miscalculations in project planning. This is the assumption that household incomes are:

- dominated by the contribution of a male "breadwinner,"
- pooled with other supplementary income earners (women and children), and
- redistributed within the family according to need.

This has led project planners to establish such objectives as to "raise family incomes," "improve family living standards," and "increase family resources."

However research findings for Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean and South and Southeast Asia, indicate that the prevailing pattern of household economics is quite different. In fact there is a pattern of separate and distinct income streams and expenditures, where males and females meet financial responsibilities to the family individually with little or no access to each other's cash or other resources. Furthermore, studies indicate that it is often from *women's income*, not men's, that the basic survival needs of the family (food, health care, education,

maintenance of property) are met.

In some cases this type of family dynamic is a carry-over from tradition, one which has been misperceived and misunderstood by generations of outsiders. In others it is a relatively new pattern resulting from socially dislocating factors like migration, leaving women for at least part of the year as heads of households. In either event, income needs and income sources within the family require analysis which goes beyond preconceived and often erroneous assumptions about household behavior. A thorough understanding of the gender-related dynamics of: decision-making, resource allocation, and financial responsibility within the household is imperative if a Women in Development Policy is truly to be implemented by AID. Miscalculations derived from ethnocentric assumptions about women and imprecise social analysis will have negative consequences for project design and implementation.

IV. Women in Development Policy Issues

A. Agricultural Development

Women are the majority of the Third World's rural population. The small farmer producing food in Third World countries is, increasingly, a woman. The worldwide demographic and social changes which have occurred in tandem with Third World development have worked to push women *into* the agricultural sector, rather than out of it as was the case historically in many of the developed countries.

In the Andean region, women engage in agricultural field work, especially planting and weeding, processing of agricultural products, feeding, grazing, milking and shearing of animals and to a great degree in marketing (Deere & Leon de Leal, Bourque & Warren).

In Cameroon, the existence of women's farming systems, separate and distinct from those of their husbands' and fathers', and women's crops, has been described and analyzed (Guyer; Jones).

In Kenya, the productivity of women farmers compares favorably to that of men who receive equivalent farm services (Staudt).

In India, the participation of women in reforestation programs and in milk production schemes has been shown to be an important source of household income, particularly for those with limited resources (Dixon; Jain).

Therefore, steps must be taken to ensure that the new technologies and resources which are part of development assistance in the agriculture sector actually reach women. There has been little evidence in the past decade of "trickle-across;" in fact resources allocated to "the farm household" typically reach men rather than women. Male agricultural extension agents provide information to groups of male farmers; women farmers get the

knowledge of improved technologies second-hand, if at all. Credit is given to those who own land; women in most countries, however, till land which is owned by their husbands, fathers, and brothers. Furthermore, steps must be taken to ensure that control which women may have over resources is not threatened or eliminated by reallocation of such resources to others. Finally, women's participation in agriculture must not be defined solely in terms of their labor; the benefits of that labor should also flow to women.

It is especially important, in the transition from subsistence to commercial agricultural systems, that the traditional concept of reward for labor be retained. In Cameroon, for example, men were allocated the resources (land, water, seeds, information) to enable them to produce rice for sale. Women were expected to carry out the tasks of transplanting and harvesting this rice and, at the same time, to continue their traditional cultivation of sorghum for their family's subsistence. Unavailability of women's labor became an unanticipated constraint to the expansion of commercial rice production and therefore to the desired improvement in standards of living in the area (Jones). Better pre-project analysis as well as implementation monitoring systems which enable women to communicate directly to project management, can help to prevent repetition of such cases. Farming systems approaches to agricultural research—*where researchers get directly in touch with rural women*—offer another avenue for seeking women's inputs into the definition of agricultural problems and possibilities. It should be noted however that experience has shown that this access to women farmers often requires special efforts; these must be planned for in the research design.

Other areas of agricultural and rural development activity which primarily involve women are those of food storage, processing and, often, trade. Women perform storage and processing tasks as part of their household maintenance duties as well as for cash incomes. Women engage in the trade of both processed and unprocessed agricultural commodities (both food and fiber) for profit. For example, Caribbean women higglers and hucksters are the mainstay of inter- and intra-island food trade.

In efforts to reduce postharvest food losses and to increase the amount of private sector activity in the rural areas, it is important to keep the role of women in these activities in mind. Addressing the problem of information transfer in methods of improved storage and processing technology will be part of the solution; training of women extension agents will help in this process. And developing techniques and technologies of postharvest food preservation and storage which are accessible to

women, and which can be maintained by them are equally important.

As efforts get underway in many developing countries to reduce the role of public agencies in food marketing, it is essential that women be given opportunities for greater roles in these markets.

Their participation should be especially encouraged where they can provide marketing services efficiently and effectively at low capital costs.

To summarize, the key elements of AID's policy concerning women in agricultural development are that:

1. The sex- and age-linked division of labor by crop and ethnic group must be fully comprehended as a basis for all project planning.

2. Male and female differentials in access to and control over key productive resources must be understood and planned for in projects. These resources include:

land • capital • labor • credit • information • seeds • tools • fertilizers • water • fuel

3. The specific farming responsibilities which are uniquely and particularly assigned to female members of the household/society must receive an appropriate share of attention in project identification, design and implementation. These may include:

"women's animals" • "women's crops" • weeding • transporting • marketing • preserving • processing • storage

4. Explicit strategies to address gender-role aspects of farming must be built into all projects where outreach to farmers is attempted (extension, training, research, etc.). In particular, integrated services to address females' multiple responsibilities in farm households are required. These would include:

human nutrition/health • animal nutrition/health • farm management • family resource management • time/labor saving technologies

B. Employment and Income Generation

In the past decade, development activities that have targeted women as beneficiaries have been primarily focused on women's reproductive, health and nurturing roles. Projects aimed at directly increasing women's income have typically been small in scale with little attention paid to effective marketing or long-term viability. Such small-scale income generation programs, which effectively stand outside the mainstream of development planning, do little to address the long-term economic needs of low-income women. Furthermore, large-scale development programs often have not accounted for the actual economic roles women play or attempted to enhance these roles. The consequences have been to keep women in the unproductive sectors of the economy,

underutilizing their capacity, and contributing to the failure of programs.

Poor women in developing countries bear major economic responsibilities, yet they are generally less well educated than men and have less access than men to modern productive resources. Thus they often fill jobs which require little skilled work and are among the lowest paying. General trends in Third World countries show that the percentage of women, although low in the formal labor force as a whole, is disproportionately high when one looks at the service sector. In all regions except Africa, where women tend to concentrate in agriculture, more than a third of working women are confined to service occupations. The data from Latin America show quite dramatically how the ranks of women in the labor force are swollen by their entry into service sector, where they fill the menial jobs, primarily as domestics.

Informal labor markets have always existed in developing countries but the increased population and the inability of the formal sector to accommodate the expanding labor force has pushed more people, especially women, into seeking employment in the informal sector. The size of the informal sectors in cities such as Bombay, Jakarta, and Lima varies from 53 percent to 69 percent of the working population of those cities. Female workers are disproportionately represented. In India, between 41 percent and 49 percent of the female labor force participates in the informal sector, while only 15 percent to 17 percent of the male labor force does so. (Mazumdar 1976, ICSSR 1975).

Therefore, in the *formal sector*, AID must encourage attempts to break the pattern of women's relegation to low-productivity occupations with no growth potential. AID can accomplish this by designing into projects the expansion of employment opportunities in sectors where women have not traditionally worked, and in those relatively new sectors of the economy where gender-specific work roles are not yet entrenched. In addition, AID can support and fund occupational training programs for women at two basic levels:

- Technical and industrial skills programs should be used to prepare younger women for entry into profitable employment sectors where there are shortages of skilled workers.

- Management skills programs should be used to prepare women for entry into white collar occupations which require knowledge of basic accounting, and administrative skills.

For the *informal sector*, a variety of programs for small entrepreneurs and micro-enterprises have been successful, and AID can adapt them for women. AID's decision to focus on technical assistance and/or provision of credit through financial intermediaries must depend on the par-

ticular situation. However, in many countries there are substantial numbers of self-employed women, particularly in micro and small industries, who will gain from enhanced managerial, administrative and financial skills, as well as from the formation of cooperative institutions.

Other factors which are relevant to AID's approach to women's employment and income generation are:

1. *Measurement of Women's Economic Activities*

Current information on women's productive activities in their national economies not only masks the contribution women make, it also masks the division of labor and the roles women play. These data collection practices are disadvantageous to women because:

- they exclude activities connected with household production of goods and services which are not actually sold on the market, and
- because women are more likely to be misclassified as economically inactive since the reference period or time frame in which women perform work often does not conform to the standard reference period used in data collection; women's work is more often than men's, home based, seasonal, and therefore elusive to categorize;
- for status reasons both men and women often deny that women "work".

AID's reliance on standard statistical measures of female economic activity must be tempered with knowledge of the substantial limitations of these data. Wherever possible, efforts to supplement national census data with more recent and microlevel surveys and other research data should be undertaken.

2. *Migration*

For several decades increasing population pressure, rural poverty and, more recently, the high wages offered in countries with labor shortages have caused men to emigrate from rural areas in search of wage labor in the city or in another country. As a result, women's roles are changing rapidly in rural areas. Rural women are being called upon to increase their work loads, to take over important decision-making roles, to organize cultivation, and to ensure that the decisions they make in economic matters are implemented. AID's investments in rural areas must be made with full knowledge of these effects of migration and the concomitant increase in number of households which are female-headed.

Though men still predominate among migrants to urban areas, the number of women migrating is increasing, especially in Latin America and a few African and Asian countries. As compared to the men, the women immigrants have a lower educa-

tional level and face a very limited labor market. In Latin America they usually become street vendors or domestics. Whereas long-term male migrants are more likely to achieve upward mobility, the female either remains at the same level or her situation worsens. Special programs of non-formal education and vocational training must be provided to help these women develop skills for employment in the formal sector and increased income earning opportunities in the informal sector.

3. *Displacement of Female Workers by Technology*

The introduction of labor-saving technologies in many developing countries has resulted in the displacement of large numbers of unskilled rural and urban female laborers (e.g., rice milling, grain grinding, food processing, and the mass production of handmade items). In cases where mechanization has resulted in a decline in traditional sources of income for females or in reductions in female employment, mechanization can provide new employment for women only when they are trained and encouraged to enter the industry. The choice of mechanization in the agriculture sector, for example, should be made selectively, where economically justified and where the selected technologies are appropriate to the setting.

4. *Women's Organizations*

Typically, organizations selected to undertake income generating activities for women have had little technical expertise and yet have been selected because they are organizations exclusively of women. The objectives of these programs tend to be welfare-oriented and ill-defined; their activities often fail to provide women with real opportunities for generating income over the long-term. AID should support the upgrading and development of implementing institutions based on their *technical capability* or *potential technical expertise*. AID will support the funding of women-specific organizations only to the extent that they meet this criterion.

C. *Human Resource and Institutional Development*

1. *Education*

The education of women and girls has been called by the World Bank "one of the best investments a country can make in its future growth and welfare" for the following reasons:

- The better educated the mother, the less likely the child is to die in infancy. The children of educated mothers are better nourished and healthier.
- The children of educated mothers are more likely to succeed in school, more so than if only the father is educated. Their daughters are more likely

to attend school, do well and graduate.

- Educated women are more receptive to family planning and tend to have later marriages and fewer children.
- Primary education opens the way to further education or vocational training in agriculture, health services, etc. and, thereby, increases the opportunities to find remunerated employment.

All these facts are increasingly recognized, yet the number of female illiterates grows at a pace faster than males. Two out of three of the world's illiterates today are women. The following table presents literacy rates for selected countries in which AID works; only in Latin America is the skew less severe.

Number of Literates in the Population Over 15 Years (by Percent)*

Country	Year	Male	Female	Total
Africa				
Kenya	1980	64.3	35.1	49.6
Liberia	1980	42.2	9.3	25.4
Somalia	1980	10.0	0.5	5.2
Zaire	1980	77.2	39.4	57.9
Asia				
Bangladesh	1974	37.3	13.2	25.8
India	1971	46.8	18.9	33.4
Nepal	1975	33.4	5.0	19.2
Pakistan	1972	29.6	10.3	20.7
Latin America				
Ecuador	1974	78.2	70.4	74.2
Guatemala	1973	53.9	38.5	46.1
Honduras	1974	58.9	55.1	56.9
Near East				
Egypt	1974	53.6	22.4	38.2

*Source: UNESCO Statistical Handbook 1981.

Third World countries increasingly accept the importance of education for their populations. Yet girls are still impeded in their access to education by:

- competing household and child care tasks and responsibilities. In poor families both boys and girls must work, but girls have the added responsibility of caring for younger siblings.
- parents' negative attitudes toward educating daughters. There is the fear that education will make girls less compliant and, therefore, less marriageable. Educating daughters often is considered a poor investment by the family.
- shortage of schools. In countries where schools

are segregated by sex, there are disproportionately fewer girls' schools.

- distance from schools, especially upper-primary schools. Many village schools are incomplete, offering only the first three or four grades.
- shortage of female teachers who can encourage girl students and provide role models. Housing for female teacher-trainees and teachers is often inadequate in rural areas.
- earlier marriage age for girls keeps them out of school or forces them to leave school at a younger age.
- lack of provision for girls to re-enter school once they have dropped out.

A variety of direct and indirect programs have been established in some countries to overcome obstacles, such as programs to improve attitudes towards female education. Financial rewards and other incentives can be provided to schools and teachers with high female enrollment in their classes. Women must be recruited for teacher training programs and encouraged to teach in rural areas. Alternate child care arrangements will release young girls so they can attend school. However, no significant progress in either raising the levels of education in society as a whole or in increasing upward mobility for women is possible without a major increase in the number of girls successfully completing primary and entering academic secondary schools.

2. Population, Health and Nutrition

Among the most important goals of development are better health, improved nutrition and reduced fertility. In their multiple roles, women play a central part in strategies to improve health, raise nutritional levels and reduce population growth. Investments in these areas and in education are the basis for the development of human capital.

It is not possible to achieve the necessary changes in nutrition, health and population growth without understanding and addressing the roles of women. In places where the norms prescribe for a woman the role of child bearer as the primary means of attaining status, where female children find their educational prospects limited, where early marriage is the rule rather than the exception, daughters are typically condemned to the same conditions which circumscribed their mothers' lives. If fertility is to be reduced through the use of voluntary family planning services, it is necessary to address, through other development efforts, those factors which may militate against women's understanding of and ability to utilize family planning. Of the factors bearing on women's reproductive behavior, their education and their access to and control over resources and income are particularly significant.

3. Institutions

Viable self-sustaining institutions at the local, regional and national levels (both public and private) are critical elements in development. Unions, cooperatives, credit and lending associations, and markets are examples of institutions that greatly benefit from women's active participation, while at the same time benefitting women. To the degree all LDC institutions include and represent women as well as men they will succeed in providing access to key resources and ensuring the full development of human capital.

Women who combine the skills provided by modern education with an understanding of the traditional values and local realities affecting women contribute a great deal to successful development programming. Thus AID must take measures to provide access for women to training programs and higher education, especially in the management and administration of the sectors, to prepare them for positions from which they can influence policy formation.

Additionally, since most countries today have governmental agencies assigned to address the needs of women, AID should regard these entities as channels for both obtaining and disseminating information about women as well as potential vehicles for carrying out projects to enhance women's economic productivity. In countries where, women's issues can *only* be addressed in a segregated context, these women's bureaus can also provide an appropriate institutional contact to inform and advise AID in its women in development efforts. AID recognizes, however, that in most countries it is the functional ministries that bear primary responsibility for integrating women into their programs—and for ensuring the relevance of their programs to the particular needs of women and girls—in order to ensure the success of their overall activities.

D. Energy and Natural Resource Conservation

In the villages of the Third World, women are important providers and consumers of energy. Traditionally, animal and human energy have been used to plant, harvest and prepare food, and to obtain fuel for warmth and cooking. It is usually women and girls who collect the wood, dung and crop residue used for these purposes. In effect these women are caught in a kind of vicious circle. In order to obtain fuel for the household they must expend their own energy. As fuelwood shortages increase their situation is aggravated. More and more human energy is required to travel greater distances to collect fuel or to generate cash income to pay for fuel. In effect, human energy is substituted for another form: woman's labor must increase in proportion to the ever-decreasing supplies of fuel while women's available energy for labor is increasingly being taxed.

If women are to participate effectively in the development process, the energy they expend for such activities as obtaining fuel must be reduced by access to more convenient fuel sources; this frees energy for other productive activities. Any development project which proposes to add to women's workload without commensurate energy savings can be expected to fail.

Women, therefore, have a large stake in the success of AID's reforestation projects which can provide not only fuel, but food, fodder and medicines, as well as a cash return. Rural women have been shown to be very knowledgeable about the attributes of both familiar forest products and new rapid-growing trees for forest plantations. Women, however, cannot be expected to care for the seedlings and young trees if the primary benefits will accrue to others. Only if women share the control of forest product distribution will they have the incentive to participate in reforestation.

Several other cautions are in order. The adaptation of fuel conserving stoves and other energy- and labor-saving technologies to village life has proven to be extremely complex.

- Fuel conserving stoves have been slow to be adopted for a variety of reasons. For example, though the smoke of the old stoves is considered deleterious to the family's and particularly the women's health, it also keeps the insects away.
- Solar cookers are of use only in the heat of the day when many women may prefer not to cook or need to be working away from the house.
- Biogas digesters have proven adaptive for pig-raising since pigs can be penned and fed fairly easily. In a cattle-raising society, however, either fodder for the cattle must be collected or the dung must be collected if they graze. Either activity adds time to a woman's already long day.
- Labor saving technologies have displaced poor women from some of their traditional means of livelihood. The spread of mechanized rice mills in most of Asia, though a boon to the overworked women on the medium and large farms, has left many poor women destitute. Traditionally these poor women derived some income from hand processing rice, but it is now predominately men who own and work the mills.

In one Asian country, Bangladesh, a few rice mills have been set up under the management of women's cooperatives with cooperative members employed to run the mills. And in Egypt, some women in one village have organized to bake bread for the rest of the community using solar ovens which, though very economic in terms of fuel costs, are too time-consuming for individual households. Therefore these new technologies can provide the basis for small-scale enterprises with

long-term viability and economic return for village women when appropriately conceived and implemented.

E. Water and Health

AID recognizes that success of water and sanitation programs depends in large measure on the ability and commitment of people to use, operate and maintain the systems properly. What is not clearly understood by project planners is that the relation between water and health is primarily a women's concern.

As mothers, women are the traditional family health guardians and teachers of hygiene, disease prevention and sanitation. And as mothers they are largely responsible for the care and raising of children. Thus the high prevalence of waterborne and parasitic diseases, health problems due to contaminated water, and consequent high infant mortality rates are critical concerns to women.

Women, therefore, have a strong stake in the establishment of water and sanitation systems and an equally strong incentive to make sure the systems are adequately and continuously maintained.

1. Water Use

Women as primary users and haulers of water can and should play a significant role in promoting community acceptance of improved water supply and sanitation programs. As primary water users the question of access is usually of more importance to women than to men. Will the location of the water source mean an increase or decrease in the time spent fetching and hauling it? Furthermore, numerous social and religious restrictions exist in many regions which may dictate restrictions (as in the case of installation of latrines) which will virtually prohibit men and women, or men and children from using the same facilities. Or the facilities may be situated too far from the home so that women will not or cannot use them. A lack of awareness of these sorts of traditional attitudes can lead to the failure of water and sanitation projects.

2. Water Management

Once a water supply system is brought to a village, a number of questions arise regarding its use. Will it be used primarily for agricultural and irrigation purposes? The need for sufficient available water for domestic use and for women's use in their small home gardens, where much of family's food needs are met, should not be overlooked. Women and men must not be put into competition with each other over limited available water. Involving local women in early management and water-use decisions, in regard to both domestic and agricultural uses, is critical and ultimately will be beneficial to the entire community. Wherever feasible water and sanitation

projects should include a plan to train community workers—women as well as men—in the actual construction, operation and long-term maintenance of systems. Teaching women to maintain the water source can lead to long term cost savings.

3. Time Allocation

The time saved from water collection is especially important to women and to the community. Frequently women use this saved time in expanding or initiating more economically productive activities—like income-generation. AID Impact Evaluation Report Number 32 states that with the installation of piped water systems women in one village in Panama actually *doubled* their monthly output of small home-produced goods.

V. Implementation of the Women in Development Policy

The responsibility for implementing AID's Women in Development Policy rests with all of AID's offices and programs, at all levels of decision-making. Implementation of this policy must be understood to be an important qualitative aspect of AID's overall program, one which is crucial to the achievement of the Agency's goals. It is not a concern which can adequately be addressed in any one sector alone, or by any single office or officer.

Several factors may constrain AID's implementation of the Women in Development Policy. These are:

- inadequate data on women's actual economic roles and a lack of experience in targeting women for other than welfare-type assistance;
- imputed or real sensitivities on the part of some host governments to interventions which explicitly address gender differences in the population;
- the cross-cutting nature of the Agency's women in development policy which precludes convenient compartmentalization of the issue.

In light of these constraints, AID's Women in Development Policy should be implemented through the following approaches:

1. Women in Development Activities in AID's Projects

Effective implementation of AID's Women in Development Policy depends on the policy being reflected throughout AID's portfolio. This shall be done by:

- a. introducing gender distinctions in the terminology employed in all of AID's program and project documents in order to define more precisely the social context and impact of AID's work.
- b. disaggregating by sex data collected for AID's country strategy formulation, project identification, project design and throughout the life of projects. This prepares the way for soundness of pro-

ject implementation and provides a basis for measuring success/failure in gender-related terms.

c. relying on sex-disaggregated social soundness analysis to *inform* (not merely justify) the project development process.

d. requiring AID's country strategy, project identification and planning documents (CDSS's, PID's, PP's) to *explicitly* describe strategies to involve women, benefits and impediments to women and benchmarks to measure women's participation; providing substantive analysis of these statements during the process of their review.

e. requiring AID's consultants to address women in development issues by introducing this requirement in their scopes of work.

f. increasing the number of LDC women involved in AID's participant training programs.

g. evaluating and assessing the impact of AID's programs and projects according to gender differentials—both in relative and absolute terms—with regard to improvements in access to and control over resources and predicted benefits and returns.

WID projects and WID components of projects will continue to constitute a mechanism for the Agency to reach women, in circumstances where:

a. access to females in an integrated setting is constrained by cultural conditions;

b. where segregated institutions or facilities are the norm;

c. where experimental or model activities are being introduced and a controlled sex-specific environment offers the best hope of success.

For definitional purposes in AID, separate "women-only" projects or components of projects which are exclusively designed to directly benefit women *economically*—are differentiated from projects which provide *services* to women such as maternal-child-health, family planning services, etc. The former meet the criteria for a "WID project" in reporting Agency funding levels in women in development. The latter, services to women, do not.

2. AID's Women in Development Office and Women in Development Officers

AID's Office of Women in Development, in the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, will continue to serve as the Agency's focal point for disseminating relevant information, providing technical advice on specific women in development issues, granting supplementary funds to missions and outside groups to support women in development projects, components of projects, and data collection and analysis.

a. The Office will offer technical support to AID missions and bureaus to enhance their capacity to implement the Agency's women in development

policy by participating in CDSS, PID and PP reviews; by consulting with mission and project staff during TDY's, and by contributing a women in development perspective to the Agency's overall policy development and evaluation efforts.

b. The Office will grant additional funds to AID's missions and outside groups primarily to support field projects where women in development concerns are addressed. Additionally, these funds will be used to support new and/or experimental initiatives where direct economic benefit will be achieved.

c. The Office will, together with other PPC offices, fulfill the coordinating function for AID with the other donors, UN agencies and non-governmental organizations which are implementing their own women in development programs.

d. The Office will commission, compile and disseminate written resources on subjects related to women's economic and productive roles in LDC's, to inform and advise the Agency on scholarly findings and practical results from worldwide women in development activities.

e. The Office will seek to systematically collect, bank, assess and exchange experiences in implementing AID's women in development policy in projects and programs.

f. The Office will continue to work in cooperation with Title XII and other universities, the Bureau of the Census, the Department of Agriculture and other public and private institutions to engage their expertise in implementing AID's policy on women in development through activities which provide information exchange, research, training and technical assistance to missions and private groups involved in development.

AID's women in development officers in bureaus and missions will inform and advise Agency staff and others on effective ways to implement the Agency's policy.

a. WID officers will be selected based on their knowledge of the subject of women in development in the setting to which they are assigned, their knowledge of the Agency's women in development policy, and their ability to act as resources to other staff and contractors in effectively translating the policy into operational terms.

b. WID officers will function as resources for the planning and implementation of work AID is undertaking in *every* sector. They should not be restricted to a single sector such as health, family planning or working with PVOs.

c. WID officers should seek out and make contact with groups and individuals who are actively engaged in women in development activities—including host country government of-

officials and leaders, women leaders in the public and private sectors, scholars and researchers, project personnel and community members who have knowledge of women in development issues.

3. AID's Support for Other Donor and Host Government Women in Development Activities

The United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) has been instrumental in focusing international attention on women's issues as well as encouraging specific national measures for women in many countries. The sub-themes of the UN Decade for Women—employment, health and education—have important development implications and serve to guide many national governments in establishing priorities for action in women's programs.

Many LDCs now have women's bureaus within their government structures. These national

machineries for the advancement of women—as they are termed by the United Nations—are important to AID in carrying out its Women in Development Policy. Whenever appropriate, women's bureaus will be encouraged to undertake activities such as collecting information on women to supplement existing macro-data sources, carry out action projects which increase women's economic self-sufficiency and encourage leadership by women leaders and scholars. AID will actively support LDC efforts to strengthen women's organizations and bureaus by granting funds and providing technical assistance as needed.

AID through its missions will support and encourage the work of regional UN organizations such as UNECA, UNESCAP and the U.N. agencies such as FAO, ILO, UNESCO in their efforts to implement their plans of action relating to the goals of the Decade for Women.