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W O M E N I N D E V E L O P M E N T

Civic Participation Division Notes

Shortly after enactment of the Percy Amendment, we prepared a background paper which reviewed the subject of women in development and provided suggestions for AID follow up. It was used in subsequent AID planning and in the work of the AID Task Force assembled to recommend policy and organizational arrangements.

Since that time, working in collaboration with the Coordinator for Women in Development, we provided briefings on the subject, and we regularly include information on various aspects of it as part of our periodic Civic Participation Division reports.

This is a collection of pertinent excerpts from our reports issued between March 1974 and April 1976.

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Civic Participation Division Notes
Pertinent to the Subject of Women
in Development

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Wind Up Toys--Sex, Class, and Measured Progress

World Education is a private, voluntary organization which supports education programs in the United States, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Its people stress literacy, food production, and family planning. With financial support from AID and other sources, they apply on a worldwide basis the experience gained by its founder, Welty Fisher, at Literacy House in Lucknow, India, where it was demonstrated that effective village literacy and education programs should and can be linked to local needs as seen by the intended beneficiaries.

Ms. Fisher's successors do not stop there. They see each activity as a learning program for themselves. For this purpose, they are encouraged to reflect critically on each experience and to share the results widely. One means they use to communicate these observations is a publication called World Education Reports, which is available from their U.S. headquarters at 1414 Sixth Avenue, New York City 10019.

What follows is an excerpt from a report sent in from Indonesia by Nancy Piet which appears in the April 1976 issue.

The problem of women cannot and should not be separated from the whole development process. Development is a human problem not just a woman's problem. In Indonesia, for every oppressed rural woman there is an equally oppressed village man--poor, scantily educated, anticipating a future for his sons that looks bleaker than his own. As population pressures swallow up land, resources, and opportunities, he will find it increasingly difficult to control and improve his life.

Problems of development do not divide along sexual lines but rather along the line between haves and have-nots. Upper class women, urban women, and, to some extent, the more liberated traditional women are developing and growing because they have access to education or family planning and health care. Major revisions need therefore to be made in the present family planning program and in certain areas of education, so



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that the daily lives of Indonesian women may be affected.

Currently, the average new family planning acceptor is a 29-year old, semi-literate Moslem with three living children. A 29-year old woman has generally been married 15 years or more. It seems the program has so far failed to make an appeal to the just married group, or to the woman with one child who could wait for a few years before deciding to have another. Family planning in Indonesia seems to be accepted by women with completed families, making it not a program geared toward population control, but only a program which gives another option besides abstinence to people who have achieved their desired family size.

Also the family planning program has a "numbers" approach apparent in clinics and clinic services. Women seem more important as targets than they are as people. As elsewhere, Indonesian planners of family planning programs must show statistics of acceptor curves within target populations to prove their programs are successful. Thus, there is a "hunt for acceptors" which is manifested in a variety of ways. Emphasis on the benefits and opportunities afforded to the family which plans the births of children is too often forgotten in the acceptor hunt. Like many rapidly expanding programs, the Indonesian family planning program has lost some of the human concern on which it was founded.

Those of us concerned with family planning in Indonesia catch ourselves sometimes treating women like wind-up toys and forgetting that women are people, human beings.

Innovation and Skepticism--Women in Development

The U.S. Government has been responsible for the major innovations in development assistance during the past generation.

One of these innovations was the idea that technical assistance should be offered to countries that are not colonial dependents of the donor.

Another was that technical assistance is of little value unless enough economic resources are available to provide jobs and permit local people to take advantage of the new knowledge and skills which the technical assistance is supposed to provide.

A third was that technical and capital assistance will not help many people in a country unless conscious attention is given to the quantity and quality of popular participation in development.

These ideas, which came up in the context of our bilateral assistance program, have had significant effects on the doctrine and practice of other national assistance agencies and of the multilateral organizations. And, although the U.S. bilateral development assistance program is less important in terms of expenditures and operations than it was some years ago, the American role in generating ideas and techniques for the development community as a whole appears to be undiminished. There is evidence, for example, that the evaluation and programming techniques developed in AID under PPC leadership are now being applied by other agencies and by developing countries.

Concern about women's participation in development and, more important about means for carrying this concern forward into economic analysis and development programs also appears to be a matter in which American leadership will have an effect elsewhere.

Last week AID sponsored a four-day conference on the subject of women in development. There was active participation from representatives of the IBRD and UN agencies who see major problems in carrying this concern forward in their work. A number of AID officers came in from

field missions to join with the people from other agencies, from voluntary organizations, and from the Washington staff in workshops that surveyed the current situation and needs in five functional sectors--agriculture, nutrition (and health), population (and health), education, and rural development.

Given the emphasis on rural development by AID and other donors and by voluntary organizations, the report of the workshop on rural development may be of special interest. It was presented orally to an open session of the Conference by Ms. Alem-Tschai, of the program office of our Ethiopia mission. She outlined a number of points to be considered by agencies interested in rural development whose concern for female participation goes beyond rhetoric.

I have taken the liberty of putting the major points, as I understood them, into the form of a question and answer check-list for such agencies. It is set out below.

	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>not interested</u>
1. For the localities with which you are concerned, do you know (or are you trying to find out)--			
(a) the amount of time and effort spent on various kinds of work by men and women? *(b)	---	---	---
2. Have you reviewed the roles which women have in--			
(a) the staff of your agency?	---	---	---
(b) the staffs of development and planning agencies with which you deal?	---	---	---
(c) the staffs of other national or local bureaucracies which work in or affect the localities in which you are interested?	---	---	---
and the effects which these roles may have on programming, implementation, and evaluation?	---	---	---
3. Have you identified the roles which local people, including women, play in the planning of rural programs?	---	---	---
*(b) what decisions are made by men, women, and both together?	---	---	---

	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>not interested</u>
4. Have you identified the cultural and other local factors which affect family size?	---	---	---
5. Are efforts being made to promote training opportunities for women in management and accounting and opportunities to use those skills?	---	---	---
6. Are there effective arrangements for finding out what local women want?	---	---	---

Turning the tables a bit, the Education workshop suggested a new "target group" for education efforts. Speaking through Jim Chandler, they said that greater efforts must be made to educate donor agency officials, especially with regard to the subject of the status and roles of women and their participation in economic and social change. They also urged that the social science capabilities of donor agencies be improved. When it comes to research, they asked for greater support for leadership on the part of LDC researchers, who, under past patterns, have been left in an "adjutant role" to institutions and scholars based in the developed countries.

The Education workshop warned that emphasis on women, and on men, and on modernity, may be leading us to overlook the family--which remains an important economic unit in most places, and may also be the most significant institution there is for lifelong education and for adaptation of individuals to change.

Two weeks ago, American and local-hire AID field personnel participating in a midcareer training program at the Maxwell School expressed skepticism about AID and other donor agencies' commitment to the effort to improve the quality of development as it relates to women. Perhaps the news about this conference and, more important, the follow-up will make a difference for them as well as for people outside AID.

Conference results may also provide food for thought on the part of State and Land Grant Universities--troubled by Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972--as they try to define their own objectives and set up programs under the new (pending) Title XII of the Foreign Assistance Act.

Land Reform and Women's Status

During the colonial period, and even since, land reforms have been carried forward in Africa which impose individual ownership based on British and French Law without taking customary arrangements into account.

Irene Tinker, who heads the AID supported International Office of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, argues that whatever else they did, one of the most significant effects of these reforms was to undermine the status of women. Her paper ("The Adverse Impact of Development on Women") will be published in January by the Overseas Development Council but is now available in mimeographed form from AAAS.

Under the customary arrangements, wives frequently had rights in the income from and the use of land by virtue of their membership in the communal and family groups which controlled it. As a practical matter, this was snatched away and no substitute provided.

On the other hand, Ms. Tinker does not argue that socialist ownership and control is necessarily better for women than alternatives. The socialist solution is generally characterized by the growth of bureaucracies which are biased against women. As a matter of fact, new bureaucracies are displacing important private sector activities, including marketing, in which women have traditionally played an important role in many places.

What We Need to Know About Women

The external agencies working in Africa may have been ignorant of the possible impacts of their activities on the social ecology, but our Yemen Desk has taken steps to assure that we know something about the roles which women play in that country and the impacts which different kinds of program might have on them.

The Desk is circulating a brief discussion of "The Role of Women in the Yemen Arab Republic" (2 September 1975) which they asked a student intern, Rebecca L. Swanson, to prepare.

Ms. Swanson describes how customs and economic roles of women vary in different parts of Yemen and among different classes. In one village, for example, women move about freely, unveiled, working in close contact with men. In another, only a short distance away, women are confined to the compounds.

In some areas, women carry goods from the villages to the roads, while men take it from there to do the buying and selling. In other places, women are allowed to purchase personal goods in markets, but men generally buy the food. There are locales where women sell bread and woven goods, but other home products, such as pottery, are the domain of men.

As a general rule, however, women perform most of the physical labor in rural areas. They seed, weed, harvest, and winnow the crops. In addition, country women are generally responsible for fetching and carrying water and for rearing, tending,

selling, and trading livestock. Poultry raising is generally the exclusive province of women.

When the Peoples Republic of China built a textile factory in Yemen, they insisted that at least 40% of the employees be women. Today, the workforce is almost exclusively female, and many workers are veiled. In this circumstance, the veil may be beneficial, Ms. Swanson says, because it prevents textile dust from entering the lungs.

The situation in Yemen is far from static, and one major cause of change is migration. Many men are leaving to work in Saudi Arabia for periods of up to three years. Frequently, all males between the ages of 15 and 40 will migrate from a village, leaving the women behind to take over responsibilities (except plowing) normally performed by men.

Ms. Swanson gives particular attention to roles and to social circumstances of women which should be relevant for people interested in funding, designing, appraising, implementing, or evaluating health, education, nutrition, and population activities, as well as agriculture and rural development. In passing, she comments on UN and Swedish efforts to wipe out breast feeding in Yemen, despite growing awareness elsewhere that this approach to modernity does not necessarily serve the best interests of the family.

Although Ms. Swanson, who lived in several Yemeni households during her research, shows disdain for men, who "wallow away the time chewing gat" while their women work and provide heirs, her paper appears to be a thorough, concise, and very readable study which should be of great help to anyone who is concerned with development activities in Yemen.

Papers like this one could help make development programs more effective by providing responsible people with an opportunity to become aware of the different economic functions and social circumstances of men and women that are relevant. They can help well-intentioned agencies to avoid doing the kinds of damage described by Irene Tinker.

Moreover, American State and Land Grant university people might well be encouraged to give particular thought to the problems raised by Dorner and Tinker and the type of analysis suggested by Swanson as the schools gear up to help developing countries under the new Title XII.

More About Women--New Mandates and Old

Interest in local women's associations may become more relevant for AID than it now is if the pending "International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975" becomes law. As reported out of the House International Relations Committee, it calls, among other things, for research on the interrelationship among technology, institutions, and economic, social, and cultural factors affecting small farm agriculture. It also requires that "greatest emphasis" be placed on activities which effectively involve the poor in development and provide opportunities for the poor to better their lives through their own effort. Further, the pending bill will modify the legal authority for our health and population and education assistance activities in ways that reinforce the need to give attention to local groups that may have indigenous roots. Ever since 1967, of course, section 281(b) of the Foreign Assistance Law has said AID should "encourage the development of indigenous institutions that meet developing countries' particular requirements for sustained economic and social progress", but the new language in the specific sector authorizations may give this mandate new visibility and encourage the use of functional sector appropriation accounts to implement it.

Women's associations exist in traditional societies around the world, according to Jean O'Barr. They take the form of age-sets, initiation groups, secret societies, marketing groups, work groups, and cults of many varieties. And there are newer kinds of women's groups brought together by modernizing agents (churches, education bodies, governments, political parties) for some particular purpose. New and old groups have been formed or transformed by local women who are affected by development and seek to regulate trade, promote social services, promote the local economy, and so on. These groups are often training grounds for female leaders and they can have direct influence on the community-wide social system, Ms. O'Barr observes in a new essay on "The Changing Roles of Women in Developing Societies".

Referring to a not yet published article by Judith Van Allen ("'Aba Riots' or Igbo 'Women's War'?--Ideology, Stratification and the Invisibility of Women"), she suggests two reasons why foreign development people do not know or understand much about local women's associations. One is the attitudes of the outsiders, which make them unable to understand. Second is the reluctance of the communities to let them know.

Among the Ibo people in the late 1920's, at least, there were strong multi-purpose women's groups which made rules about crops, markets, livestock, and other matters. They caused the menfolk to conform to their decisions through what O'Barr calls "collective discipline", a term which she does not explain.

Ms. O'Barr is the Director of Continuing Education at Duke University and a member of the political science faculty there. Her essay is part of a packet of materials she assembled for college level courses on women in development with financial help from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The O'Barr course packet also includes three papers about women in traditional societies and about the impact of development on women by other authors. In addition, there are well annotated bibliographies of relevant printed and movie materials.

Women's influence in a society depends in large part on their ability to withhold or dispose of economic resources, the authors seem to agree. On the other hand, where women are made fully dependent on others for their own economic welfare and sustenance, they have little real influence.

There are situations where development programs inadvertently, or otherwise, undermine women's economic position and control over resources. Development programs can also improve women's status, but this is by no means automatic.

Surveys of more than 185 societies show wide differences among the jobs which are done by men and by women. Weaving, for example, is exclusively man's work among the Navaho people; but for the Pueblos, only women do it. In Nigeria's home building trades, according to another example given in the course packet, men do carpentry and thatching, while women make the floors.

While all this is of general interest, it probably would be helpful for AID missions and Bureaus to have short papers available to them on the status of women in the countries with which they deal. These could be based on the existing literature and could focus on the economic and social sectors that are of particular relevance for the programs in which AID is interested. So far as I am aware, no office in AID is responsible for getting that guidance together and out to the people who should have it.

The Swedish Way--A New Fashion in Diplomacy

The Development Assistance Committee will meet at the Chateau de la Murette on 10 October to discuss "women in development". Initiative and enthusiasm for the session appears to be confined to the American and Swedish delegations, which are submitting papers and background documents for consideration.

One of these submissions has already been distributed. It is a report from the Swedish International Development Authority on "The Woman in the World", which includes interviews, findings, and comments related to twelve countries--Kenya, Bangladesh, Ecuador, Brazil, Colombia, Zambia, South Vietnam, Cuba, China, USSR, USA, and Sweden. The Swedish report may be unique for a document put out by a national aid donor agency and circulated for consideration in DAC. For one thing, it suggests the existence of serious problems created by their own government within its territory. It also purports to describe conditions within another member state.

Two articles in the report show how the political and economic status of women in Lapland are being undermined by Swedish administrators and Swedish laws, one of which was enacted as recently as 1971.

Aside from Sweden, the United States is the only DAC member covered by the report. The U.S. section provides an unrelievedly grim picture of racist persecution and fringe group idocy, including organizations called SCUM ("The Society for Cutting Up Men"), WITCH ("Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell"), and "Red Stockings".

Of particular interest for many countries, and perhaps for our Office of Science and Technology, is this suggestion from Ms. L. Libedinskaya, of the Soviet Union: "Why couldn't we set up a new ministry: The United Ministry of Household Chores? And appoint a woman as minister--someone who has herself been obliged to bear the responsibility for heavy housework. Give her substantial powers. Let her take the initiative. Ensure that her every proposal is not subject to consideration and approval by several different bodies". "Believe me," Ms. Libedinskaya comments, "the new minister would find hundreds of ways to ease the burden of daily chores for her fellow women citizens."

Ms. Libedinskaya made a point--which is repeated throughout the report--that active participation in the modern economy has added to the load women have to carry. "I know a family where both are scientists and directors of large laboratories. They present papers at international congresses and publish scientific works. They both have equally large salaries. But in addition to this, the wife must think about the upbringing of their daughter, that the husband has freshly starched collars, and that the table is set when they have a party. Is it necessary to free a woman from working in a laboratory so that she is able to devote more time to housework?"

The Swedish Government is preparing another paper for the DAC meeting. It is to tell how the concerns of women are integrated into Swedish aid programs and will include a case study and specific recommendations. The U.S. is also expected to address that subject and to present AID's "action plan" for implementing the Percy Amendment.

Another new SEADAG publication available from the same sources reports on a meeting held at Pattaya, Thailand during April. It was on women in the Thai economy, and most of the participants were men and women from that country.

In Thailand, modernization, especially in the form of Western law codes, has tended to undermine the status of women. The codes are particularly hard on married women. They contain some ameliorating features, including steps that a prospective bride might take to retain control over her property after marriage. But few women learn about these provisions in time to benefit from them.

Otherwise, women's status and role problems in Thailand may be more a function of economic class and physical location than of their sex, alone. Women and men both suffer ill effects from the government's development policies, including industrialization strategies that do little to stress employment creation and which concentrate the benefits of development in Bangkok and its environs.

Government emphasis on tourism may have a greater adverse impact on women than on men, however. Bars, massage parlors, and prostitution are an essential part of this foreign currency earning strategy, as they were in the "hot-house urbanization" that developed to service the U.S. military bases. While prostitution may have offered some poor women a chance for social mobility and economic advancement, there is a lot of involuntary prostitution, and this is a major social ill, aggravated by the failure of government policy to encourage alternate forms of employment.

A recent law which calls for the promotion of day-care centers by the government lies unimplemented, and no one is responsible to see it carried out. A suggestion that factories be required to provide such centers was actively debated at the Pattaya meeting. Some participants believe a measure of that kind, along with others intended to provide special protections or benefits for female workers, could make the situation worse as a practical matter because employers may tend to avoid the bother and expense by not hiring women. In fact, it was suggested, equal pay laws deny women the opportunity to offset possible employer biases by offering to work for less.

At present, men and women workers suffer because most labor laws which are intended to benefit or protect workers, including those related to health and safety, are not enforced, and the workers are seldom aware of their rights.

There appears to be an active interest in women's participation in the Thai economy, although there is a wide range of opinion about women's actual status and roles--past and present--and about the future. There was no consensus on details among the people who attended the Pattaya conference. They seemed to agree, however, that the measures which could benefit women the most are not the kind which might generally be classified as women's programs in the West. Better information about legal rights and help in obtaining them seems to be recognized as an important need, along with policies and administration that give a better economic break to the poor and the people in the provinces.

Aside from its value for Thailand, the report should be useful for comparative purposes in other countries.

When Women Organize -- in Korea, Colombia, and the Philippines

"'Tis hard, you know, for women to get out.
One has to mind her husband: one, to rouse
Her servant: one, to put the child to sleep:
One, has to wash him: one, to give him pap."

The average rural woman in Korea, according to a Seoul National University survey, spends about eight hours a day working in the home, and about 5½ hours more in the fields, for a total 13½ hour workday. Nevertheless, in many villages rural Korean women customarily also find time to organize for economic and social objectives.

Encouraged by outside aid donors, the national government is trying to harness this tradition in order to carry out its family planning, nutrition, health, capital accumulation, rural development, and other programs. While some local groups are able to manipulate the diverse government interests for the benefit of their communities and themselves, despite the plans and orders coming from the capital, there is considerable discontent with the large number of officials to whom they are supposed to report and from whom they are supposed to take orders. "Meetings tend to multiply inefficiently, in spite of village efforts at consolidation, wasting time and probably losing members", according to Marion Misch and Joseph Margolin, of the George Washington University Program of Policy Studies in Science and Technology, who gave a briefing here this week.

The effect of this central government interest in local women's groups, many of which have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, is to undermine local initiative and motivation. Mixing modern administration with Confucian tradition, the practice is for civil servants in Seoul to draw up guidelines to govern village womens' activities, which are transmitted to provincial government offices, whose staffs discuss and elaborate the guidelines. The elaborated instructions are then passed down the line, and eventually the women are told what the government wants them to do. There is little, if any, communication back up the line, nor is there much interest in



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the perceptions and desires of the village women, for that matter. What may save them, Misch and Margolin suggest, is "the traditional self-reliance, even independence, of the Korean village...Women's groups have refused government programs. One very successful one categorically turned down new tile roofs for the village--they want a better village water supply first. When help with this was not forthcoming, the women went ahead on their own and without accepting the new roofs or contributing to the work needed to put them up."

Misch and Margolin also studied women's groups in Colombia, which are not so well rooted in tradition. These groups are sponsored by a coffee growers' cooperative and a family planning organization, and there is anxiety about a possible government take-over in the future.

The study was sponsored by our Technical Assistance Bureau under its small grant feasibility studies program. The purpose was to make a preliminary assessment of rural womens' groups as change agents for development, particularly in the areas of family planning, nutrition, public health, and family income or capital accumulation and to suggest further necessary research or pilot projects.

In addition to the conflict between local initiative and central or outside planning and administration, Misch and Margolin also point up and illustrate the significance of social, economic, and physical circumstances for any programs of this kind and emphasize the importance of combining economic activities (cottage industry in Colombia, and cooperative banks in Korea) with social and education objectives. They give particular attention to family planning objectives, including motivation and the distribution of information and commodities, which have been the basis of much outside interest in the local women's groups.

Misch and Margolin's 120 page printed report includes a brief discussion of women's activities in the Philippines, where urban clubwomen's efforts to work among their rural sisters have not been marked by success. The verbatim transcript of a conversation on family planning between President Marcos and his cabinet members is also in the report, which starts out with a succinct fifteen page "Executive Summary". The report is available from our Office of Education and Human Resources. They can also provide the Executive Summary as a separate document.

In addition to people in the countries specifically covered, the report may be pertinent for people elsewhere who are interested in the exchange of experiences and ideas on rural development, local organization, and family planning.

Women's Associations--The Misch-Margolin Report

Two weeks ago, I mentioned the Misch-Margolin report on "Rural Women's Groups as Potential Change Agents: A Study of Colombia, Korea, and the Philippines". I stressed one aspect of their findings--the danger that local action and initiative will be suffocated by central governments. The report, which is available in a short Executive Summary form and in the complete version from the Office of Education and Human Resources, says a good deal more, of course. Most important, in the view of the researchers, is their conclusion that local women's groups can make significant contributions to family planning and other social and economic objectives under the proper conditions. Misch and Margolin are enthusiastic about relationships which have been established between schools of public health, especially Seoul National University, and local groups in Korea. They do not believe that government takeover of privately supported women's groups in Colombia is the possibility or the problem some of the fears expressed to them might indicate if taken out of context.

Having delivered their report, Misch and Margolin are now in the difficult position of trying to find someone in AID who is responsible for follow-up.

Canadian Interest in Women

Colombia's Association for the Study of Population is making "a two-year study of the status and role of Colombian and Latin American women in a transitional society". A \$60,000 grant from the International Development Research Center is being used for this purpose, according to the March issue of CIDA Contact, which also tells about a new special commission to study the status of women in Pakistan established by that country's national assembly.

The same official Canadian aid agency publication notes the June IWY Conference will be a bargain for the UN, costing only \$250,000, compared with \$3.5 million for the population and \$750,000 for the food conferences. And, in a roundup of women in development matters, the Canadians report the elevation in the Central African Republic of Elizabeth Domitien as Africa's first woman prime minister. She is vice-president of the country's only political party.

IFIs Discover Women

The government of an African country asked the World Bank for help to expand a program of farmer training centers. These centers offer short, practical courses in improved agriculture techniques.

Bank experts quickly found a big gap between the capacity of the existing facilities and the number of people actually taking courses. Obviously, the facilities were underutilized, and there was no sense entertaining the proposal any further.

But a young loan officer suspected there might be more to the case than met the experts' more experienced eyes, and with some effort, she persuaded the management to indulge her desire to look behind the figures. This study quickly turned up a peculiar pattern.

During thirty-nine weeks of the forty-two week school year, enrollments were, indeed, far below capacity. But in the remaining weeks, the schools were full up. In fact, there were many more applicants than they could handle.

Why was the three-week period so different from the rest of the year? Weather, farm schedules, holidays, and other factors tied to the calendar did not explain it.

Some questioning revealed that this was the only time when women were allowed to attend. Perhaps the gals just wanted to use the opportunity to get a holiday from their menfolk and family chores!

It turned out, however, that most of the men aren't around much, anyhow. They go away to work in the mines. In fact, about 85% of the farm work is done by women, who need the training and are ready, willing, and anxious to get it.

With that information in hand, the Bank asked the government if it would have any objection to increasing the opportunity for women to attend during the rest of the year. That seemed like a sensible idea to the Government officials, and the Bank decided to proceed--cautiously--toward a more realistic examination of project needs.

A new loan officer at the Inter-American Development Bank refused to accept the assumption that women in one Central American country would have little interest in attending a school where people were to be trained for management positions in the construction industry. Like her World Bank counterpart, she also pushed her colleagues to a point where they allowed her to test the assumption. Again, the accepted wisdom turned out to be wrong. The school is now functioning with a significant number of women enrolled.

These cases and others were noted in a forum at American University last Friday which featured Turid Sato, of the World Bank, Margaret Hagen, of IDB, and AID's Nira Long. The subject was "Women in the Development Process".

The need, all panelists agreed, is for greater sensitivity to local social patterns on the part of people who design, appraise, finance, and implement development and investment projects.

In response to a challenge, the panelists disclaimed any interest in trying to impose some idealized view of women's rights and roles on all societies and cultures. On the other hand, they argued, we must face these questions:

- (1) How can development proceed in a manner which does not worsen the situation of women?
- (2) How can costly errors be avoided which are caused by ignorance of the economic and social roles played by men and women?
- (3) What options are or can be provided to women/^{in places} where status or a feeling of social participation depends on child bearing and rearing?

The session was part of a series on International Development sponsored by the Washington Chapter of SID and American University. Pushpa Schwartz, of the National Academy of Sciences, presided.

Glynn Cochrane is scheduled to discuss "People in Development Agencies as a Factor in Program Effectiveness" on 11 April. Mahbub ul Haq is to talk about "The Third World Forum" on 18 April. Ronald Muller, co-author with Richard Barnett of the Global Reach, a book about multinational firms, will deal with that subject on 2 May. All meetings start at 4:15 in the A.U. School for International Studies' lounge.

Meeting Women in Twelve Lands

Sweden's International Development Authority has reported on its project to find out how development affects women in India, North Vietnam, East Africa (Kenya and Tanzania), Tunisia, and Chile. The studies appear to be entirely, or almost entirely, by Scandanavian authors.

The report begins with a paradox.

In India, it suggests, female participation in the economic life of a geographic region declines as the region becomes more developed; rural women tend to be more politically active than city women; and caste system values are stronger in city than rural environments. In South India, women are more tradition minded than men, whereas the situation may be reversed in the North.

Poorer and lower caste women have a stronger position vis a vis men in rural areas and in more traditional environments than in the cities and the modern sector, although they assume a submissive role outside the household. And even though India has many educated and professionally active women, the relative position of women is weaker among the higher castes and the well-to-do. Moreover, the breakdown of extended family households reduces the influence which women have. (The Swedish report does not go into the relative advantages of different types of household structure for daughters-in-law.)

Back in the fifteenth Century, women in the north of Vietnam had legal rights which gave them a status almost equal with men. Their legal status declined under the influence of China and the Confucian tradition, however, reaching a low point under nineteenth Century legislation. Since the mid 1940's, however, new laws have helped to correct the situation, and the long continuing war necessity has propelled women into active roles in the work force and local administration, even though the annual birth rate is up around 3.5%, according to the Swedish report.

Since 1967, a law has been in effect, the report says, which provides that if 40 percent of the labor force in an enterprise or cooperative consists of women, a woman must sit on the board. If the number of women is 50%, the Assistant Manager must be a woman. And if the number is 70%, the Manager must be a woman. While the proportion of women members in provincial, district, and municipal people's assemblies is rising, there are no female cabinet ministers or politbureau members in North Vietnam, according to this study.

In East Africa, the character of women's social relationships has depended in large part on their role in the productive system, where different jobs were traditionally allocated to women and to men. The shift from subsistence to cash crops and the decline of communal rights in land has undermined their position.

Despite the different official development ideologies of Kenya and Tanzania, the Swedish researchers believe that the development programs being carried out in both places are making women more dependent and less influential in economic and social life than they have been.

In Tunisia, law and official policy favor equality, and, in practice, Tunisia may be closer to that goal than any other Muslim country. But undereducated women are discriminated against in the labor market. Wealthy city women enjoy greater social and economic freedom than their sisters. And in the traditional, patriarchal families, the relations between men and women have not been changed significantly by the legal reforms.

In Chile, also, class distinctions are much more important for the well-being of an individual than sex difference, the Swedish report says. But, under the law, the act of marriage deprives a woman of equal legal status and subjects wives to the control of their husbands, although all women have the same political rights as men.

AID has its own "Seven Country Study of the Roles of Women in Rural Development" which reports on a quick review in Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Nigeria, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Peru.

It was prepared by Development Alternatives Inc. (DAI) within a two-month period allowed by the Technical Assistance Bureau and is based on information supplied by American and local in-country researchers who are engaged in a long term study of small farmer participation in development projects.

This December 1974 report warns that what is true for one area of a country may not necessarily hold for another. The researchers say that proposition particularly holds for Ghana, Nigeria, Bolivia, and Peru.

The one country the Swedish and DAI surveys both cover is Kenya, and they do not seem to be in conflict. DAI stresses the economic and social consequences for Kenyan women of changes in family, inheritance, and land law.

DAI has a brief piece on Bolivia, where the AID mission recently commissioned a local group to make a fuller study. In the meantime, June Turner, an official of the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, in a separate report, told us to think of Bolivian women as "an underprivileged and underdeveloped sector" (recognizing class distinctions that exist among them) as distinguished from, and in competition for resources with, "the landless, the urban poor, and the peasant."

Ms. Turner applies a "war of the sexes" model to Bolivia, which she visited for three weeks and where the USAID understands that rural people have successfully kept outsiders, including Inca, Spanish, and central government rulers, from learning about their institutions and culture.

Her approach differs from that of the Swedes, DAI, and Truong Thandom, who, in an issue of the UNDP publication Comment (1974, No. 4) devoted to International Women's Year, warns that "the world is not a homogeneous place--and although the problems of inequality may appear alike everywhere, this seeming resemblance is deceptive." Moreover, "not all women have the same attitude towards equality." "Some, in fact, still live behind 'veils' so thick that they screen out the very concept. Policymakers who proclaim the need to change, expand, and elevate women's roles must take into consideration the outlooks of such women, and the needs of their societies as well." In Truong Thandom's view, "the real inequity that overshadows most others is the economic one." And "artificially created equality, and its handmaiden 'tokenism'," she writes, "can be merely cosmetic gestures of appeasement to an uneasy social conscience, rather than real contributions to an effective development effort," although "genuine leadership roles can be positive models for others."

The Swedish and DAI reports both provide information about projects specifically focussed on women. The Swedes suggest, however, that "special women's projects often have only a limited effect." Although such projects may be appropriate "in the short run and in certain circumstances", one must bear in mind that "the status of women can only be improved if the situation of all neglected groups is improved." In any case, "it is essential to make sure" that development projects "do not lead to a worsening of the situation of women."

The Swedish and DAI reports may be of particular interest to people concerned with the countries they cover. I understand the Swedish report, Women in Developing Countries (SIDA, Stockholm, 1974) is available from

their Embassy in Washington. Jerry French, TA/DA, has copies of the DAI report. The Turner paper is available from Cathy Rogers, in the office of AID's Coordinator for Women in Development. A report commissioned by AID on the People's Republic of China can be obtained from Jim Singletary, TA/EHR. Some other early studies are also cited in our now out-of-date February 1974 report on "Participation of Women in Development", of which we still have some copies.

Modernization and Woman's Role: A Canadian Viewpoint--Quotation for the Week

"With the introduction of technological advances and material objects which make life easier, the woman has become less important. In the old days, the man and the woman were equally necessary to each other and to the family; The man hunted and without him, the woman would starve; the woman sewed and without her, the man would freeze. Men often died before the women because their lives were more often in danger. The oldest and the most respected persons were the old women. There were no formal councils and women had equal influence over camp matters. The white men who brought with them modern material objects also brought a different sexual attitude toward women...One of our greatest losses is that our young Inuit men are copying the white people in their attitude. Where a white woman can walk without fear an Inuit woman is harassed and propositioned...Although I am young and a woman, I feel that I cannot remain silent and see my people manipulated and put down."

From the statement of Jeela Alikatuttuk, an Inuit eskimo, provided by Mark Ward from the February, 1974 issue of Ms.

Economic Woman--The Percy Amendment

Our 11 February 1974 paper on "Participation of Women in Development" is being reviewed by the new AID/Washington committee which was created by the Administrator to advise on implementation of the recently enacted Foreign Assistance Act provision--section 113--the Percy Amendment--titled "Integrating Women Into National Economies".

The Committee started its deliberations this week. Its members include Hira Long (A/AID), Curt Farrar (AA/TA), Frances Johnson (ASIA/NE), Ian Frederick (AFR/CJK), Rachel Nason (consultant to PHA/POP), and Frank Kimball and John Eriksson. Clara Byer, a consultant to the Office of Labor Affairs, sits with the Committee. Barbara Herz and Mary Louise Becker have been designated advisors to the Committee.

In addition to our report, the panel has before it the written comments submitted by various AID officers who reviewed it.

The Committee is to prepare an "action plan" for more effective integration of women into the development process. At the first meeting, its members identified a number of points which it hopes to cover by the end of April. These include establishment of a general policy approach; suggestions for specific programs, projects, and guidelines for the immediate future; recommended procedures for continuing implementation; and a proposal for organizational assignments of responsibility. The Committee also expects to assemble information on current and past AID activities that are relevant.

There are two basic approaches to the Percy Amendment which AID might take.

One is to develop programs and projects which are specifically labelled as women's activities and which have as their objective the improvement of the status of women. Another is to focus on the role of women and the consequences for women of all development assistance activities, whether or not they have purposes that are specifically identified with women.

The first approach is relatively easy, in concept at least, but it may miss the primary emphasis of the legislation, which stresses participation in economic life.

The second approach is much more difficult. The major problem with it is the general lack of experience of most development donors in recognizing and taking cultural differences and social environments into consideration in program and project development and appraisal. (For more on this, see our 1 March 1974 weekly report.) LDC's have a similar difficulty, required as they are to follow standards set by the donors and to rely on the same sources for advice and training that the donor agencies use.

Of course, donors and countries have had experience with the social aspects of economic development programs and projects and a great deal is known about the roles of women in most places where development and disaster relief assistance activities are underway. But this experience and information is not generally in the hands or minds of the people who need it, and few are trained to ask the questions, make the evaluations, and do the social analyses which are required.

Deficiencies in social analysis have become apparent in two respects with regard to women's participation in economic life. These can be identified as the socio-cultural preconditions for program or project success and the social and economic implications of specific programs or projects. (See our 28 June 1971 paper on "Social Criteria for Project and Sector Lending".)

In the first category are the cases where the actual division of labor between men and women is overlooked by project planners and implementers. In Africa, for example, there are cases where foreign assistance agencies have sponsored education and agricultural extension programs aimed at increasing the output of crops which were unsuccessful because the training and information was given to men, although farm management and labor was the province of women.

An example in the second (implications) category is the undermining of women's status which has taken place as the result of educational programs that encourage men to become "modern" and exclude women. This and other aspects of the implications problem are described in the April 1971 issue of the Development Digest.

The role of women in African agriculture is receiving increased attention. There is also a growing awareness of the active participation of women in private trade in many places in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, and concern over the possible prejudicial effects of development programs whose planners and financiers do not take this fact into consideration.

Failure to recognize the extent to which women are the family breadwinners in many places and also undervaluation of work performed within household or family units may prejudice women and lead to economic miscalculations.

The Percy Amendment does not call for an American crusade on behalf of women; it does not aim to replace male chauvinism with a form of cultural imperialism. It merely reflects language already in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade, which the UN General Assembly adopted in 1970 after extended debate in the Economic and Social Commission and the U.D.P. Governing Council.

A very active program of analysis and research is being undertaken by the Economic Commission for Africa, and it is expected that other UN regional commissions will also pursue the subject.

A Committee on Women in Development was formed in the Society for International Development after the Society's February 1973 world conference at San Jose, Costa Rica. The SID Committee issued a bibliography last December, and some of its members played a role in securing enactment of the Percy Amendment.

AID has not been unconcerned with the subject in the past. Our people have been particularly active in education, labor, and population programs aimed at support for improvements in the quality of life for women. In the population field, however, there has been a concern that we may not have paid enough attention to motivation and to status considerations and the availability of alternative roles for women who do not devote the major portion of their time to child bearing and rearing.

AID joined with the United Nations in sponsoring a major conference on the status of women in late February and early March which met in New York and in Warrenton, Virginia. The Latin America Bureau's Office of Social and Civic Development supports a program of the League of Women Voters' Overseas Education Fund and has been giving special attention to the status of women in the Alliance. The Technical Assistance Bureau and the Africa Bureau have set up committees which are working on the subject.

Some attention may need to be given to the examples set by donor agencies, and even multinational companies, in recruitment, placement, compensation, and fringe benefit policies and practices. These groups have been staffed largely on the basis of the social custom and practice of leading Western nations and a concept which, as a practical matter, stresses women's role as a dependent and her place in the home and in menial and in clerical work. The United Nations only recently appointed a woman at the

Assistant Secretary General level, and a survey of that organization and associated groups by its own Institute for Training and Research indicates a serious gap between declared policy and actual personnel practice, according to a Washington Post article of 3 March 1974.

A recent study by outside consultants engaged by the World Bank suggests that the example set there suffers from what are said to be inequities in personnel policies, procedures, and programs, as well as commonly held negative attitudes on women by the Bank's management.

AID, whose technical assistance activity was headed by a woman in the past, may well be a better model in this respect than any of the other major international or donor agencies. Harriet Crowley testified on AID's personnel practice last October before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee chaired by Donald Fraser.

Articles on the subject of women in economic development are available in the April 1971 issue of the Development Digest, mentioned above; the World Bank and IMF's journal Finance and Development, dated December 1971; and the International Development Review, number 1972/3. The pertinent comments made at the SID 1973 conference are reported at pages 52-53 and 120 of the published proceedings, which were distributed widely in AID. The SID bibliography is available for one dollar from the organization's headquarters in Washington. A report on economic roles of women in Asia, with particular emphasis on the People's Republic of China, is available from the AID Office of Education and Human Resources. Some discussion of the subject, with specific regard for the Ho-China area, is available in the report of the January 1974 SEADAG panel on Vietnam, Laos, and the Khmer Republic and in an East Asia Research Program report on "Credit and Commercial Control in South Vietnam", both of which are available through the Supporting Assistance Bureau's Office of Regional Development.