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WORKING DRAFT

YOUTH AND WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT:
CURRENT ISSUES RELATED TO WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

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Issues surrounding women in development today are sharpened through 1) discussions and papers such as those presented at the recent Association for Women in Development meeting; 2) reports of scholarly research and reports of practitioners; 3) examination of census-type data; 4) analyses of "women's" projects; and 5) through our own experiences. Sharpened issues are but the beginning, albeit a necessary one. The critical step we must take is to respond to these issues and implement well-designed projects and programs which address the issues.

E. T. York spoke of the gap between precept and practice in WID at the recent AWID meeting. Today I will present my list of issues and outline ways I see to address them, with the aim of some reduction in the precept-to-practice gap.

The first group of issues treats the processes and mechanisms of dealing with women in development issues, as contrasted with the content issues of WID which I will later discuss.

1) WHO SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT?

a) Men or women
b) Third world nationals or U.S. or other donor country counterparts
c) Persons of color or white
d) Production agriculturists or social scientists
e) WID experts or others

I propose that these issues must be considered in the context of the next set of issues.

2) WHAT KIND OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS BENEFIT WOMEN?

a) Integrated or women-specific
b) Productive-market or productive non-market reproductive
c) Education and social-economic change or direct services
d) Trickle down or direct target
e) Macro or micro level
f) Capital accumulation and credit access or education and skill development
g) Modernization or basic needs or equity or productivity

The perceived best "answers" to these issues depend largely on the outlook one takes. My current outlook is rather pragmatic since first, I will not discuss the causes of subordination of women, but rather what is; second, my orientation and background is a capitalistic one and I will not treat Marxist views onthe issues I am raising, and third, as a traditional feminist rather than a radical feminist, I want to emphasize possible approaches and solutions, regardless of the causes. My background is at the micro level in hoursehold economics and family resource management; my interests in today's topic lie particularly with food and agricultural assistance and the role of Title XII institutions in work with AID through BIFAD.

"Who should be involved in the concerns of women in development?" Men or women? Of course you know my bias that I believe women should be involved in all levels of the development process. Papanek states "Where women must be integrated in development is in development

planning -- the process by which many governments seek to advance the growth and distribution of available resources." (Papanek: 15). When women sensitive to the concerns of women are involved in development planning, they can have not only direct input into policies, but they can serve as a continual monitor of the impact of policies and potential policies on women.

Women are critical in projects and programs dealing directly with women -- they should be involved in both the planning and implementation of the projects or program.

Men who are sensitive to the social and economic needs of women and women's actual and potential contributions to the process of development can have a powerful influence on policy makers.

The second issue under "Who should be involved?" is third world nationals or U.S. or other donor-country counterparts. This is really a non-issue, because clearly under our current assistance program approaches, both should be involved. The problem arises when the most appropriate third world national would be a woman, particularly in agriculture. In many cases, there is no woman leader or policy maker in agriculture. The government may have a woman's program in a ministry of social welfare, with no other woman having access to leadership roles. We should know how to deal with this problem since we have all functioned in similar circumstances in our own country.

I think the issue of the involvement of persons of color vs white people is an important one in all of development. The issue is integrally related to the institutional and social legacies of colonialism and it is a particularly important issue in Africa. Rather than simply being a racial issue, the concern also centers on the relationship of the involved person's ethnic background to the development country. In matching language capability, professional strength, availability, personal qualities, racial and ethnic background, and gender preference (insofar as is consistent with equal opportunity!) the pool of professionals becomes rather limited. Thus we often seem to fall short of the most desirable racial and ethnic matching.

Production agriculturalists vs social scientist is an all-too-simplified dichotomy which I hope expresses the issue. For most food and agriculture projects, I submit that men and women production agriculturalists and social scientists are needed. For some projects and programs, I believe that a case can be made for involving anthropologists and home economics professionals with emphases in food, nutrition, household economics, household technology, and education.

The criticisms of past home economics programs in developing countries are sometimes fair, and in some cases, I hope, unjustified. Where programs do not mesh with the needs of women (or any target

group, for that matter), the program should be criticized. One example is from Bangladesh, in which seven months of the year women spend the major portion of their time on tasks related to rice harvest (threshing, drying, cleaning and husking); processing jute; poultry and livestock care; gardening, fishing, and food preservation. Yet the reported effort spent on these topics in the extension program was very limited (Sattar, 1974, cited in Ashby).

Home Economics and agriculture, particularly in extension at the field level, must find effective ways of working together so that women who are available to teach women can have sufficient training in areas related to both household and agricultural production.

A current issue is the involvement of WID experts versus other experts in the concerns of women in development in third world countries. There are persons committed heavily in the past three or four years to strengthening their knowledge and understanding of WID concerns who now find themselves underutilized in projects. Some persons with great interest in WID lack the important requisite of field experience. Jean Weidemann of BIFAD staff is encouraging that inexperienced women be linked with projects involving women with prior field experience. In the long run, the Office of WID has the right idea -- greater recognition of the concerns of women in country strategy papers, project papers and other planning efforts can result in a greater commitment to women's concerns and consequent opportunities for involvement.

In many cases, personnel needs are in specialized areas and the person with a needed specialization plus knowledge and interest in women in development concerns is probably more likely to be sought.

The second major question I posed is "What kind of development projects benefit women?" Generally, projects and programs which benefit women must be compatibly designed within the social and economic context of the country or region. In addition to the wider social and economic context, the projects and programs must take into account women's wide differences according to their tribes, castes, classes, educational levels, geographical regions and national allegiance. In recognition of regional differences, a recommendation is being made to the Executive Committee of the Joint Committee on Agricultural Research and Development (JCARD) that work groups on WID be convened by regional bureaus to isolate regional issues and propose solutions involving Title XII universities and USAID.

I'd like to turn to the issue of integrated or mainstream projects vs women specific or targeted projects. You are well aware that the WID Office in USAID is urging the integration of concerns about women in the project design by requiring AID's country strategy, project identification and planning documents "describe strategies to involve women in project implementation to <u>explicitly</u> project benefits and impediments to women and to measure women's participation in projects and programs.

The ultimate accomplishment of integration of concerns of women into development assistance would eliminate the need for an office for WID in USAID. At the AWID meetings, a panel on WID and Title XII made their major issue. A summary of that discussion includes these points:

1) We need a graduate transition from separate to integrated projects; moving too soon to integrated projects may bury WID concerns

2) Separate, women-specific projects may be needed to provide baseline data for integrated efforts

3) Separate women's projects may delay institutionalization of WID

4) Variability in country needs, cultures, project emphases and staff availability may affect appropriateness of separate versus integrated project designs.

At the same AWID meetings, Ruth Finney noted obstacles to the integrated approach such as decreasing money available for assistance, (thus, very stiff competition for attention in projects), lack of knowledge about WID concerns, and prejudice.

The next issue I noted under the kind of projects and programs to benefit women is that of addressing productive market work vs productive non-market work vs reproductive type activities.

Kate Cloud in a discussion draft of a paper on "Women's Productivity in Agricultural Systems: Considerations for Project Design," suggests a classification of the goods and services provided by the agricultural household as follows: agricultural production; household production; human capital production; self-employment in the informal market sector; and wage labor. Cloud further notes common patterns of women's agricultural responsibilities which differ in the case of separate crops, separate fields, separate tasks, shared tasks, and women-managed farms. (Cloud: 14-16). Project design can be more effective after determining the agricultural production activities of women, the level of resources controlled by women, and the incentive structure for women in a given setting.

Productive market work project emphases, productive non-market work project emphases or reproductive work project emphases can all benefit women. The thrust of a given project aimed at benefiting women often has to depend on the dominant economic and cultural patterns and problems in a particular setting or region, recognizing that wide differences exist among households.

My particular interest is household production viewed as productive non-market work and women's combination of household with agricultural production. In many settings, efforts to improve agricultural production must give attention to household production and to addressing economic and technological changes which can alleviate some of the hard work of women. Technology can improve the quality of life for household members but it's increased use may or may not mean dramatic shifts in the time women spend on traditional tasks.

In a project in Upper Volta, a mechanical grain mill was introduced, since the time spent in grinding and pounding food averaged over 1 3/4 hours per household per day. Instead of reporting a decrease in the time spent in food preparation, the women said they were able to have meals they would not otherwise have had -- thus the change is not in time reduction but in improved nutrition or in productivity of the labor force (McSweeney 1979:382).

The importance of women's productive non-market work was stressed recently by Schultz: "Our official foreign aid agencies and also our foundations have a poor record in their endeavors to improve the economic lot of women in low income countries. There has been no lack of talk and papers with stress on social reforms. . . . what is long overdue is the establishment of organized research centers that would do for household production activities what agricultural research does for the production activities of farmers. There is even a lack of

simple equipment to break and remove the hard husk of sorghum that would eliminate the backbreaking work of so many women throughout Central Africa. Since much of the agricultural work in many African countries is done by women, a part of agricultural research should be oriented to this activity of women." (Schultz:23).

To quote Papanek again, "for studying women's work it is [more] realistic to develop systems of analysis that accommodate the interplay between types of work which occur in different arenas and [which] are differently rewarded. An interactionist approach would also, . . . stress the reciprocal relationships between the work of women and men, usually within the context of household or family. Such an approach ... directly challenges two common assumptions: (1) much of women's work, particularly housework, is a nonoccupation in many societies ... and (2) women's social marginality is based on the marginality of women's work in the home. On the contrary, an interactionist approach fosters the idea that women and their work are central to social and economic events." (Papanek:17).

I like the interactionist approach because it is nearest to a systems view: a change in women's work brings about other system changes. Some suggest a lack of reciprocity between women's work and men's work. Some would suggest in the case of household production that the division of labor is across female age lines, not across gender production, including the care and maintenance of household members.

- high cost
- low returns
- low status
- flop when donor $ is removed

In whatever category (household production for market sale or self-employment in the informal market sector), much discussion has been directed toward income-generating projects for women. The discussion often notes the ineffectiveness of the income-generating projects or that many of the income-generating projects designed for women have slowed women's interaction into the mainstream. Whatever the design of projects -- for men or women -- another prevalent concern has been the lack of an effective marketing plan for the products.

The benefit of projects directed toward social economic educational change [rather than] direct service has long been discussed. Our food aid projects which are directed toward pregnant women, lactating mothers and their young children are now often enlarged to take more of a family approach. Direct assistance seems critical in serious malnutrition cases or when the health and medical services, and sanitary conditions are severely limited. Programs for "reduction in infant mortality, improvement in health and sanitation, and better midwife and paramedic facilities ... cannot be a panacea for the basic problems of extreme poverty and inequality in land holding; ..." (Beneria and Sen: 297).

Another of the issues I noted is that of projects which use the trickle down approach versus those which directly target the intended recipient. Both Finney and Pinstrup-Andersen at AWID noted the lack of

effectiveness of the trickle down theory at the household level. We have read, and many of us have written in our reports, that male extension agents teaching male farmers will likely not reach women who are engaged in many aspects of agricultural production. Belief that the trickle down theory works must persist because that pattern of allocation of society's benefits continues to exist in many countries.

Macro vs micro level approaches in projects: which benefits women? I have already noted examples of micro level questions to be addressed. The WID policy paper noted the need for research in intro-household dynamics; Pinstrup-Anderson also called for a massive set of case studies on intra-household dynamic issues. He suggested that the case studies could be used as a base for policy changes. Overall sector project ~~Projects bridging society's sectors~~, designed with sex-disaggregated data collection and gender-specific analyses (WID Policy Paper:1), can all benefit women.

Capital Accumulation and Credit Access vs Education.

Access to credit and control over resources are emphasized in the AID policy paper as follows: "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." (WID, p. 3).

The WID policy paper further notes: "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." (AID, p.8).

Beneria and Sen criticize Boserup's work on policy which "emphasized women's education as the major mechanism by which modernization would begin to work to women's advantage. Through education, women can compete more successfully in urban labor markets and gain access to improved agricultural techniques in the rural areas. This conclusion ignores two crucial features that an analysis based on the concepts of accumulation and women's role in reproduction would highlight. . . ., it ignores the high incidence of unemployment among educated people in the Third World. Unless the systemic causes of unemployment are removed, women's education by itself is . . . [a narrow] solution; it attempts to alter the characteristics of individual women rather than those of the system of capital accumulation. On the other hand, even if there were dramatic changes, education by itself would not alter women's position, in that education cannot address issues of child care and domestic work." (Beneria and Sen: 297-298).

Of course, efforts toward increasing the opportunities for capital accumulation and credit access for women can be done well only when

combined with education -- it is not a one-versus-the-other situation.

Modernization vs Basic Needs vs Equity vs Productivity

Development has gone through a number of phases which I have characterized by (1) modernization, with a major capital-intensive emphasis; (2) basic needs, in which the poorest of the poor were targeted; (3) equity concerns, especially related to income distribution and women in development (see Blumberg, pp. 24-28); and (4) an emphasis on increasing productivity. A strong case can be made that concerns related to equity exist throughout the world, but the question which must be examined is whether an emphasis on productivity can result in as great or greater benefits for women compared to those to be derived from an equity approach. In some settings, it is likely that projects directed toward increasing productivity of men and women will succeed more effectively than the equity approach.

I have grouped the current development issues related to women around two major questions, "Who should be involved?," and "What projects benefit women?" TRANSPARENCIES

I noted early in my comments that I hoped to suggest ways of closing the precept-to-practice gap. I am certain that many of you have issues in mind which have not been addressed and that many of you have important comments to make. We will welcome those at the conclusion of the commentary by the two panelists.

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