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Integrating Women in Development Issues  
into ISTC's Programs

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Research has increasingly demonstrated that development and aid activity often have differential impacts on women, as distinct from men or developing societies in general. With this recognition has grown a specialty known as women in development (WID) which seeks to integrate women and women's concerns into all phases of development programming.

The WID movement was given added impetus by the Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 and subsequent legislation. In its present form, the Percy Amendment requires that all US aid expenditures be reviewed to ensure that women are integrated into the economies of their countries. Despite the implication that women have somehow not been part of their economies in the past, the meaning of the amendment is clear--that women as a group have been ignored as participants in the economic activities of their countries and as beneficiaries of foreign aid, and that future programs should correct past errors. Since 1974, all the major U.N. agencies--UNESCO, UNDP, ILO, WHO--have also passed resolutions requiring that future programs respond to the needs of women as well as men. ISTC is to be commended for seeking ways to institutionalize the concerns of women in its program from the outset.

This paper is divided into four sections: a brief overview of several issues relating to the integration of women into development programming; a discussion of the tradeoffs involved in certain institutional choices open to ISTC regarding women in development; a review of the responses of other major development and scientific organizations to the programmatic needs of women; and an outline of a management approach that the authors believe would be appropriate for ISTC.

## I. Women in Development

Until recently, women's contribution to the economies of developing countries has been undervalued or ignored and their special concerns overlooked. In part, this was because early development planning focussed on the monetized sectors of the economy, where women are badly underrepresented. Although there are increasing numbers of well-educated and well-trained women in developing countries, the special development problems of women relate more heavily to the great majority in the poorest, largely subsistence, sectors. With the present development emphasis on reaching these segments of society, the role of women has been brought into sharper relief. When food, shelter, clothing and health become the focus of development effort, it becomes clear that these basic needs are usually met by families and that developing societies have given women, more than men, the responsibility of providing them.

Women everywhere contribute to family support through productive activities. Not only do women grow at least half the world's food; they process over 80% of it and cook almost all of it. Nurturing children and caring for the sick and elderly are tasks assigned to women throughout the world. In developing countries, women continue to grow and/or collect firewood for domestic uses. They spend many hours of the day fetching water or pounding grain and, even today, make many of the artifacts used in farm and home production.

Development technology can--and does--help these women by relieving some of the drudgery of subsistence living. Technology can also hurt these women--and often has--by inadvertently undermining their ways of supporting their families without offering them any income-producing alternatives. Development can help women by providing education and training; it

can also hurt them by confining them to increasingly outmoded sectors of the economy.

It is not often recognized that one-third of the households in developing countries are headed by women--widows, women left behind when men migrate to the cities or to other countries looking for work, women who have been divorced, women who have migrated on their own or with their children. These women, heavily concentrated on the lowest rungs of developing societies, will have to be reached if the goals of development planners are to be realized.

ISTC program areas as they relate to women

The projected ISTC program, as outlined in the ISTC presentation to Congress, is shot through with research elements that could have important impacts on the way women in developing countries live and work. A brief sketch of some interests of women in the clusters of chief interest to ISTC makes this evident:

1.  Agricultural productivity and rural income

Improving traditional food crops is a major strategy of ISTC for increasing food production. Women dominate the cultivation of food crops in most developing countries--though there is wide regional variation--but kitchen gardens are almost universally the purview of women. Greater productivity for traditional as well as adapted fruits, vegetables and herbs will not only add essential nutrients to the basic diets of the growers, but may well provide income-earning capabilities. Improved methods for storage, handling, or preserving these foods will help reduce the appalling waste encountered in post-harvest food losses.

2.  Infectious diseases and medical services

It has long been recognized that social systems are as important as medical technology in controlling infectious diseases. Women, as

conservators of home and children, play a crucial role in disease control. Yet environmental sanitation programs have usually failed to consider whether the technology selected is adapted to work demands of the users, generally women, or whether it is affordable and repairable.

Furthermore, improved water supply and a clean home latrine will not reduce the incidence of infant diarrhea, for example, as long as the farmers, male or female, continue to use the fields during the day and so recontaminate the home. Where large amounts of water are available, showers or other facilities for washing might be added to irrigation projects to improve the situation. Greater emphasis on quantity rather than quality of water leads to different technological solutions which may in turn require alternative methods for treating water for drinking.

The development of lower cost treatments and more effective health delivery services will need to involve women as village practitioners and pharmacists. Indeed women have traditionally dominated local systems for health care and midwifery, and continue to utilize local herbs and leaves as supplements to or replacements for expensive modern drugs. As ISTC encourages exploring these traditional medicines, special approaches may be needed to tap the expertise of these women.

### 3. Population programs

Population is predominantly a women's issue, yet most programs have been and continue to be run by men. Some failures in the past can be attributed to biases which such dominance implies:

- health delivery services which are insensitive to women's dignity and cultural values;
- clinic hours that do not take into account the long working days of most women;

- research focussed on female contraception, ignoring male contraception, which has been identified by the National Academy of Sciences as a priority subject for research;
- failure of programs to get men to accept their own responsibility for birth control. Note that while vasectomies for men are easily and safely given, promoting them brought down a government in India. Today 80% of sterilization in India is performed--less safely--on women, and the political furor has died down. Evidently, there is less concern for what is done to women's bodies;
- an emphasis on medical approaches to population control, as distinct from sociocultural programs, such as income-producing activities for women outside the home or education for women, that could help raise the status of women, concurrently with reducing the birth rate.

#### 4. Technological education

Access by women to technological education is imperative if the pool of women for employment in development programs and scientific research is to be enlarged. In some countries, notably the US, sociological assumptions that women cannot do math have become self-fulfilling prophecies and need corrective teaching. Non-formal education programs need to be designed for women and men which convey science literacy and teach basic numeracy. The elementary science program taught by India via satellite can be considered a model effort.

The existence of so large a percentage of women-headed households, to say nothing of the demands of equity, suggests that women need technical

education quite as much as men do. Yet men are overwhelmingly the beneficiaries of such technical education as exists in developing countries. Women are too often confined to less productive "pink collar" activities like dressmaking and hairdressing that are themselves fields badly in need of technological innovation.

#### 5. Non-agricultural employment

Development programs have often tended to reduce agricultural employment, especially in the subsistence sector. Women have been particularly hard-hit by the introduction of mechanized harvesting and the like, both because they lose employment in commercial agriculture and because they often find their traditional rights to the harvest gleanings made meaningless by the efficiency of the new machines. Traditional non-agricultural employment, such as home-weaving, brewing and sale of millet beer, and primary food processing, are among the first to be displaced by early industrialization. As a result, and at the same time, more goods need to be bought with money, but family income--especially in women-headed households--is reduced. Much of this loss of income has not been recognized because national statistics rarely count women's traditional activities. Five-year plans based on erroneous statistics further exacerbate the problem. ISTC activities relating to non-agricultural employment should address these special concerns of women, taking into account their relative lack of mobility and the constraints on their time. Above all, it must be recognized that women continue to bear predominant responsibility for feeding themselves and their children. Where women head their households, or where men do not consider household costs their responsibilities (as in much of Africa), women's income is the family's sole support; among poor families everywhere the women's income may make the difference between healthy children or sick ones.

6. ~~Environmental~~ management and energy supply.

Expressed as global issues, energy and environment may have little meaning to poor women who bear the brunt of diminishing fuel supplies and receding water tables. Yet household and related energy account for up to half of all energy used in many developing countries. Women's ever-lengthening search for fuel and water adds greatly to the pressures on their environment. They, along with the environment, would benefit greatly from improved tree farming and greater energy efficiency for fuelwoods. Both efforts need greater attention. In the first area of concern are needs for: rapid growing bushes for biomass, multiple varieties to encourage woodlot maintenance, increased research on local bush and tree varieties, more study of wild animal herding. On the energy side of the equation, the recognition of the multiple household needs will suggest a variety of technological responses, not merely the championing of one solution such as improved stoves, or solar water heaters.

This outline is not meant to be exhaustive. Rather, it is meant to suggest some of the ways in which ISTC's mandate is likely to impinge on women's interests and some of the ways in which helping women through science and technology for development would foster achievement of ISTC's goals.

## II. Some Administrative Choices

Recognizing that women may have special development concerns and needs is an essential first step. But it is by no means sufficient to ensure that development programming takes adequate account of those concerns.

Since the early 1970s, development institutions have begun to seek ways to institutionalize a concern for women in their programs. Scientific institutions whose programs impact on women have tended to lag further behind, but they, too, have begun to move beyond token rhetoric. The experience of these institutions has relevance for ISTC, in that it helps to clarify the tradeoffs involved in various administrative choices.

### Formal vs. informal mechanisms

One choice facing ISTC is whether to seek formal mechanisms relating to women or to rely instead on less formal means of influencing the program. Formal mechanisms - for example, appointment of a women in development (WID) officer, or requiring project proposals to include a section on women - have the virtue to making visible the organization's interest in the question, but they do not necessarily promote genuine sensitivity to women's needs throughout the organization's staff. Insofar as they tend to "ghetto-ize" women and women's concerns, formal mechanisms may even be counterproductive. A competent WID officer can do much to bring out program implications for women that might otherwise be overlooked, but the very existence of a WID officer may lead other programmers to feel that women are someone else's "turf", to be ignored with impunity. Required statements force programmers to pay at least lip service to a concern for women, but they easily degenerate into "boilerplate."

On the other hand, generalized exhortations issued by top management, while useful, may never get translated into concrete action without some method for focusing on specific issues in individual projects and countries. Advisory groups of outsiders also tend to operate at hortatory levels and are likely to be too far out of agency programming lines to have any real influence on specific programs.

Of the organizations surveyed for this paper, those that have opted for some kind of formal approach appear to have made the most progress in addressing women's needs in their general program, although it should be noted that these institutions--AID, Ford Foundation, UNFPA--are also the ones which have focussed their programs most heavily on basic human needs, where women's concerns are most obvious.

If it is decided to appoint a separate WID officer or committee on women, still other choices must be made. Should they have staff or line responsibility? Where should they be placed in the bureaucratic table of organization? Should programmatic responsibility be combined with responsibility for promoting equal employment for women?

In the absence of major programs specifically directed to women or affecting primarily women, most organizations with broad mandates will opt for making WID input a staff function. Placement in the table of organization appears to be key, however. Women's input that is too far removed from programming and budget functions tends to be marginal and ineffective, even if, as was the case in AID some years ago, the staff function is attached to the office of the director.

There is general agreement, too, that equal employment functions cannot be successfully combined with programmatic functions in the same office. Different kinds of expertise are involved and different constituencies affected. Equal employment is a full-time function, and

all the organizations surveyed, except for AID during a brief period have seen affirmative action as a separate responsibility.

Women vs. women professionals

At the same time, however, it is important to note that the presence of adequate numbers of professional women throughout the staff has a clear relation to the sensitivity of general programming to women's needs. Indeed, a strong affirmative action program regarding women may well be the single most important action that an agency can take to increase the impact of its programs on women.

Even here, however, agencies face choices in the kinds of experience and expertise they will seek among their employees. Development-oriented institutions have too often seen WID as a field for amateurs, requiring no special knowledge, thus suggesting, however inadvertently, that WID is somehow less important than other specialties, and depriving themselves of the effectiveness that women with solid, relevant field experience could bring to their programs. Scientifically-oriented institutions, on the other hand, have generally insisted on the highest scientific and technical credentials for their women professionals, without reference to--even hostility to--their "feminist" sensibilities and programmatic interests.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, neither of these approaches is appropriate or necessary today. There is a growing pool of female scientists and social scientists, in the US and in developing countries, with both excellent professional credentials and heightened sensitivity to women's concerns.

Programs vs. women's programs

Another institutional choice that must be made is whether to emphasize special projects for women or whether to concentrate on looking

for the implications for women of regular programming. As has been pointed out, in many areas women have special needs, distinct from those of the general population, or even the general poor population in developing countries. They may require special, intensive programs for what one WID officer calls "capacitation" before they can participate fully in general development. Furthermore, much research remains to be done in what is, still, a relatively new field.

On the other hand, devising and implementing good projects for women takes a great deal of time, to say nothing of money. Those that have been mounted so far have usually been small, impacting on relatively few women. Typically, they have been devised and organized outside the governmental bureaucracy, thus negating any wider impact such programming might have on regional administrative planning officers. To them the programs are perceived as marginal, easily cut in a time of short funds, and thought of, too often, as a sop to the women's organizations. While there is a growing realization that non-governmental organizations can often run more sensitive and innovative programs than can many governments, it is extremely important that NGOs also interrelate, if they do not integrate, with agency programs for women and for men.

Clearly there are still many questions regarding how WID considerations should affect project design. The organizations most heavily involved in development programming have attempted to strike a balance between the women-specific and the mainstreaming approaches.

A related choice is whether or not to establish a separate budget line relating to women. Since women's concerns are likely to be only one among many competing elements in the overall program, a separate budget is likely to be small, perhaps too small to permit effective

programming. On the other hand, without some special funds, women's advocates may have little or no leverage within the institution.

The consensus of the most experienced people surveyed for this report appears to be that some set-aside funds are essential, especially for financing research into women's needs in specific situations and for adding a women's component to specific programs where appropriate.

### III. The Experience of Other Agencies

A review of the techniques and mechanisms other institutions have used will give a sense of the variety of ways that women's concerns can be built into ongoing programming. None is wholly satisfactory, either in terms of effectiveness within the institution in question or as a potential model for ISTC. Nonetheless, each offers some insights and guidance. The best choices for any given organization depend on its size, style, and perhaps above all, the depth of its commitment on this issue.

The following are among the most commonly used methods for serving women's programmatic needs:

#### Intra-agency committee

In the early 1970s, large institutions like AID and Ford Foundation responded to new concerns regarding women by setting up task forces that included representatives from all or several major divisions. In the case of AID, an intra-agency task force was set up to plan the agency response to the Percy Amendment. Many of the issues referred to above were debated before the present separate WID office was initiated.

The staff committee appointed at Ford Foundation appears to have concentrated on developing programs that would "promote equality of opportunity for women." This committee was disbanded in 1977, by which time the various divisions of the foundation had spent more than \$20 million on women's programs. Today, Ford has no continuing mechanism to follow women's concerns in its regular program or to focus on specific women's concerns that do not fit neatly into one or another of its operating

divisions, although foundation officials recognize that its women's work is by no means done. Given Ford's new leadership, which appears to be taking a strong interest in programs for women and minorities, there is some possibility that the staff committee or some other mechanism will be revived.

The international division of Ford has its own intra-agency advisory committee which includes representatives from each of its regional desks as well as central personnel. This committee attempts to identify women's interests that might have been overlooked in general programming and to support field-office interest in funding appropriate programs. The committee derives some added clout from its control of small grant funds to finance travel and consultant studies. Through its international division, Ford claims to have supported some \$3.5 million worth of activities relating to women, primarily in developing countries and primarily in the fields of agricultural productivity, population, and education. UNDP maintains a similar intra-agency group to review operational activities from the point of view of women's interests and "promote" women's interests within the regional bureaus. The group's suggestions are presented to regional UNDP bureaus for implementation, and designated regional staff monitor progress made in involving women in the UNDP program.

#### Women's program office

A natural outgrowth of task-force activity is the designation of a special officer for women's affairs, usually to provide staff assistance to some part of the central hierarchy. Such an office can function as a built-in lobby, gadfly, conscience, or what have you. It can be useful as a source of expertise on women's concerns, a source of support for

development of new knowledge in the field, and a focus for the interest of non-governmental groups concerned with women's issues.

AID, as might be expected, has the most elaborate setup. A central Women in Development (WID) office is one of four within AID's Division of Program, Policy, and Coordination (PPC). In addition, each regional bureau of AID has appointed a WID officer to provide staff assistance and each overseas mission has designated one officer (usually "the" woman) to handle women's affairs, primarily reporting, along with his or her other functions. Relations between the central WID office and the regional bureaus are only "informal" and have sometimes been tense, a reflection of the staff-line, center-region-country tensions that have long pervaded US aid agencies.

The central WID office was originally attached to the Office of the AID Administrator. The first WID Director was also the Equal Employment Officer, a fact which exacerbated the confusion between programmatic changes and affirmative action. Further, the office was too far removed from programming and budgetary processes to have much impact on mainstream AID programs. The move to PPC in 1977 was an attempt to rectify this problem, although some women's groups interpreted the move as downgrading of the office.

The present WID office has a program budget of more than \$1 million. It tries to strike a balance among 1) reviewing general AID programming with an eye to its impact on women in developing countries; 2) promoting and/or funding research and pilot projects directed specifically to women and their needs; and 3) sensitizing AID staff. It also promotes international networking on women's concerns by supporting international conferences, international policy statements by various U.N. bodies, and grants to the U.N. secretariat for the International Decade on Women.

WID officers in the regional bureaus try to encourage planners to include women's components in their projects and, by means of reporting requirements and the like, to promote higher visibility for women's concerns in field missions. By now, a good number of field missions have women-specific projects in their portfolios.

Theoretically, either central or regional WID officers review AID project proposals before they are finally approved to see if they should be adjusted or strengthened to take better account of women's needs. In practice, proposals arrive on WID desks in too great a volume for thorough review and, in any event, too late to make any major changes. An additional problem is that WID staff often lack the substantive experience that would permit them to review sectoral projects knowledgeably.

In most other institutions, the women's officer has far less staff and far fewer resources than at AID. The international division of Ford Foundation, for example, has only one project officer (attached to the Vice-President's office) working full time on women's programmatic concerns. UNFPA has an officer for "special programs," including women, youth, etc,

The World Bank appointed an adviser on women in development in 1976 to help identify the implications for women of Bank activity and to help sensitize the largely male operating staff. Like other Bank advisers on environment, science and technology, etc. --who are grouped in a project advisory staff of the Central Projects Division--she acts as an in-house lobbyist for her speciality, generating ideas, organizing staff seminars and workshops, and looking for opportunities to affect upcoming Bank projects. She has some consultant funds to dispose but, unlike the advisers on environment and science and technology, she has no staff of her own other

than some part-time research assistance. The adviser's job has been described as "entrepreneurial," requiring a knack for selling new ideas. This has proved easier in a relatively concrete field like environment than in the fuzzier areas of social development, and the WID officer is clearly moving cautiously. Results to date seem to be marginal. Bank officials point to a perceptible increase in staff interest in women's concerns, and frequent references to the issue in President McNamara's speeches, but to date there seems to be little concrete change in the way projects are developed. Some go as far as to say that management pressure for addressing women's programmatic needs has diminished since the heyday of the International Women's Year Conference in 1975.

WID concerns are beginning to be raised more effectively at the highest policy levels, however, in the wake of new Bank interest in basic human needs. As a result of initiatives taken within the policy planning office by one of President McNamara's most trusted advisers (a male who has been the object of considerable consciousness-raising by WID supporters, including his wife), a two-day workshop was convened in 1979, during which leading academics were able to communicate directly with top policy planning officials. The organizers seem to have surprised themselves with the relevance and usefulness of the discussion for general Bank business. One member of the policy staff (male) has been assigned responsibility for follow-up. Significantly, this initiative came from top management; perhaps, as time goes on, WID specialists will become more closely involved and its effect on Bank programming will become clearer.

#### Guidelines and checkpoints

Rather than establish a separate women's office, the UNFPA, a relatively small U.N. bureaucracy, has developed special guidelines on

"women, population, and development." These were developed in 1976 by a group of interested UNFPA employees and were sent to all field offices by the agency director. The guidelines emphasize the use of women in managing and implementing programs and seek to sensitize programmers to considerations that might otherwise be overlooked. They are not field directives, although the director of UNFPA has made it clear that he supports them. While no funds seem to be specifically set aside for women's projects or to provide technical assistance on women's concerns, the general mandate of the agency means that most of its programs involve women one way or another and an informal group of headquarters staff continues to "watchdog" programmatic interests at UNFPA. Similar guidelines have been issued by UNDP, FAO, and the World Food Programme, and UNDP has even developed an S-unit set of training materials to help planners increase and upgrade involvement of women in development.

AID has also sent guideline cables to its field missions regarding the impact of development on women, and women are included in a larger list of elements to be taken into account by programmers. The central WID office sends out a steady stream of supporting material. AID has also gone further than most agencies in hiring anthropologists as resource persons; male or female, these anthropologists tend to operate as one more checkpoint on questions relevant to women's needs.

#### Impact statements

Required impact statements have become a fixture of US government programming. They relate primarily to environmental impact, but the mechanisms can be adapted to many other areas.

In AID, project statements are required to comment on a variety of topics, women among them. The AID/WID office is skeptical of the value of this mechanism, since statements easily become pro forma "boilerplate."

Furthermore, each additional requirement tends to further clog an already slow-moving bureaucratic process. Nonetheless, some AID officials defend the use of required statements as forcibly reminding project planners of important elements to be considered.

AID has lately begun elaborating requirements for a "social soundness statement," with the aim of forcing programmers to address the impact of projects on family structure and other elements, many of which are of particular concern to women. This mechanism was developed in an attempt to provide an overall framework for assessing the many sociopolitical elements that affect the success or failure of AID programs. The social soundness statement has not been in use at AID long enough for an assessment of its value, but AID officials seem satisfied that it will help make US aid efforts more relevant to the needs of the poorest sectors of developing societies.

#### Outside committees or panels

Government and quasi-government institutions make frequent use of committees of nonofficials to gain a broad range of advice and to improve their relations with the public. They are especially prevalent in scientifically oriented institutions like NSF, NIH, and the National Academies of Science and Engineering. The power and influence of these committees varies with the interest of individual agencies and officials, the amount of staff support they receive, and the forcefulness of individual members.

Agencies surveyed for this report use outside advisers in 1) peer review groups, which evaluate fellowship and research grant applications; 2) specialist advisory bodies on matters of public policy; and 3) citizen advisory groups. Membership of public advisory bodies is drawn primarily from the ranks of senior academic, research, and industry personnel. Peer

regularly  
meetings

review groups are apt to include younger and less well-established researchers. Citizen groups usually comprise Establishment figures and "representatives" of relevant interest groups.

Recently, NIH has begun to experiment with a hybrid committee form that it calls "consensus development," to evaluate selected medical practices and technologies. Consensus panels include consumers, lawyers, and other non-scientists as well as physicians and researchers. They take testimony at open conferences prior to making recommendations. Interestingly, several of the earliest consensus conferences related specifically to women's concerns--mammagraphy, mastectomies, estrogens, and amniocentesis. The consensus recommendations are guidelines, not regulations, but they are likely to be influential. The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment apparently expects to use a similar technique for gaining public input into its work.

Women have recently begun to serve on some of these panels in more than token numbers, although not yet in percentages that match their availability. Furthermore, women are often the last to be selected, to fill a "soft" laymen's or social science slot (or, alternatively, a narrow field of specialization) thus putting them at a double disadvantage vis-a-vis male "hard science" colleagues.

More purposeful inclusion of women on outside committees would doubtless broaden the perspectives brought to bear on policy, both generally and with regard to issues of particular concern to women. A recent National Research Council report concluded: "...it is at least possible that their fuller participation...would lead to policy recommendations which are both sound and more acceptable to the public." Committees with specific women's mandates can affect program content, give exposure to qualified women, and hook into wider networks of women with relevant competencies.

On the other hand, outside committees are sometimes little more than window-dressing, more useful for public relations than for genuine input into program policy. Women-specific committees run the risk of isolating women's concerns from broader policy issues. In any event, it is difficult--indeed improper--for outside committees to affect day-to-day matters of programming that may impact heavily on women's needs and concerns.

#### Affirmative action

Women's programmatic concerns cannot be separated from the problem of equal employment for women, even though the two are conceptually and administratively distinct. Time after time, development professionals consulted for this report underlined the connection between employment of a critical mass of women in responsible field and headquarters jobs and programmatic sensitivity to women's needs.

Rosters or talent banks have often been advocated as a means of uncovering women qualified as regular employees, contractors, and research grantees who might be overlooked under more informal procedures dominated by men. The NIH has made perhaps the most elaborate effort in this regard. It has collected and computerized the names, qualifications and specialties of more than 5,000 women and minority scientists for use by interested program managers. The WID office of AID has financed development of two rosters--one of women development professionals in the US, the other of their counterparts in developing countries. Other rosters are maintained by the Association of Women in Science, the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women, and some professional societies, among others.

Rosters have severe limitations, however. They are expensive to compile, difficult to work with, and tend to become out of date quickly. Government regulations on protection of privacy appear to preclude the exchange of relevant rosters between agencies. Some agencies, including AID, have even taken the position that rosters of women, unless they are all-inclusive, violate equal employment regulations.

In any event, most posts in practice continue to be filled by more informal means. In this connection, "old girls' networks" that parallel the "old boys' networks" in common use are increasingly available to administrators seeking female job candidates. Senior women in the natural and social sciences are usually able and willing to suggest younger colleagues. Many professional societies have women's committees or caucuses that could help, some of which maintain rosters or reference services. Several major professional organizations have a designated staff position to reflect women's concerns, both in employment and in substantive areas. A leader in this effort has been the Office of Opportunities in Science at the American Association for the Advancement of Science whose mandate includes women, minorities and the handicapped. The Society for International Development sponsors a working group on WID issues that has over 100 members on its lists, about three-quarters of whom are women. This group and others have informal links with organizations of professional women in the Third World.

#### Trusting to luck and good will

Of the ten or more institutions surveyed for this report, the majority have no formal system for searching out women's needs as distinct from those of the general population. This is surprising at development institutions like Appropriate Technology International and

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the Inter-American Development Bank. It is perhaps even more surprising at agencies like the Office of Technology Assessment, which has a priority mandate to assess the impact of technology on society. Although some of these agencies have general policy statements acknowledging women's concerns, they amount, as one woman put it, to "pro forma platitudes" in the absence of purposeful follow-up.

As more women get hired at professional levels, and as citizen interest groups gain more experience in manipulating bureaucracies, more attention is likely to be paid to social issues generally at these institutions. WID, along with other cross-cutting issues like environmental protection, will benefit from this trend. Experience indicates, however, that it is often difficult to translate general interest into meaningful development proposals at the operating level. It is here that most work needs to be done. But this is the level least likely to be tackled by "trusting to luck."

#### IV. Elements of a Management Approach

Each of the mechanisms discussed above has its advantages and disadvantages, and some are more appropriate for a larger bureaucracy than ISTC intends to create. None, however, is a substitute for a management approach that is conducive to involving women and women's concerns throughout the regular business of the institution. The most important elements of such an approach are:

##### Commitment of top management

Bureaucrats, like anyone else, work harder if they feel the boss really cares. Time after time, women interviewed for this paper commented on the difference a committed management makes. The director who insists on progress reports regarding women, the senior staff meeting that keeps women on its agenda, the vice-president who comments on an analytical report all communicate a sense of priority all the way down the line and legitimize the efforts of more junior staff members interested in integrating women's needs into the program.

A first step in communicating management commitment should be a formal statement on ISTC's concern for and approach to women's issues. Such a statement is particularly important in an organization devoted to scientific and technological matters, for these are areas in which women's needs have historically been overlooked, perhaps more than elsewhere. Scientists and engineers, as a group, are not noted for sensitivity to women's concerns. Without a specific policy statement, WID issues could well be lost in the press of other business.

Selection and support of the Advisory Council is another point at which ISTC management can make clear its commitment to women's concerns. The Council's final composition will communicate much about the priority ISTC management gives to WID concerns. Will the Council, for example,

include only one or two token women, or will it have a critical mass of women members? Will it include women from both natural and social sciences? Third World women as well as Americans? Will the director take leadership in putting WID issues on the Council's agenda? Will its staff support provide adequate information for assessing the program's impact on women in developing countries?

The choice of research emphases will also be significant. Will ISTC's forestry research program focus on commercial varieties or village woodlots, for example? It is not, of course, possible, or necessary to seek a women's component in everything ISTC does, but management should be aware of the implications that its major program and budget choices will have for women as well as other groups in developing countries.

Some small steps would also make management concern palpable. For example, ISTC's recordkeeping system should be set up to ensure that program elements with a particular relevance to women are identified and reviewed periodically. This is a job that requires considerable substantive expertise, since these elements are not always obvious. Reports and analyses should not only reach top management; they should be read and reacted to.

Another practical step would be to negotiate with university recipients of ISTC funds so that non-tenure faculty (a disproportionate number of whom are women) could initiate and develop independently funded research programs. Regulations at many universities now preclude this, and their continuation could deprive ISTC of some interesting research possibilities, especially in the field of women in development.

#### WID is integrated into project design

One particularly important aspect of commitment is to insist that programmers raise relevant issues and develop appropriate responses to

women's needs at the project or research design stage. While WID will not be relevant to everything ISTC undertakes, it is likely to be relevant more often than many development programmers have assumed in the past. By the time a project has been elaborated and is well along the clearance process, it is generally too late to change its thrust if the project appears to be ignoring or, worse, damaging to women's interests. Even if later reviewers can keep up with all project proposals--which is unlikely in the extreme--program officers will have developed vested interests by that time. Time becomes pressing. Changes may involve complicated renegotiation with others.

If program managers know--through such means as those outlined above--that top management is committed to integrating WID into ISTC activities, and if sensitivity to WID concerns is one of the criteria explicitly sought in hiring female and male staff (see below), there may be no need for a separate mechanism beyond including WID on whatever guidelines are issued for the project stage. This option is distinctly preferable.

If management is passive, however, some other mechanism must be sought to fill the gap. One possibility is a strong social analysis capability that would include WID as a high priority. Another is a staff WID officer closely involved in programming and budgeting processes. Yet another is a special advisory committee on WID that is given staff support and some funds to ensure that its work will be meaningful.

In any case, it would be useful to establish a modest budget line to permit funding of appropriate WID activity; a requirement that WID funds be used only to broaden or top off regular programs would help avoid the trap of ghetto-ization. In addition, the possible relevance of WID

*Must be at least a small amount available to assist on this sum*

concerns should be included as a matter of course in all negotiations with contractors and research grantees.

Women in responsible positions

The women consulted for this study unanimously underlined the importance of employing women throughout the organization, in responsible line jobs in the field as well as at headquarters. Employment of women may provide the best assurance that ISTC's program will be sensitive to women's concerns; conversely, it will provide the best assurance that those concerned with women in development understand the operational constraints to implementing WID activity. As has been noted earlier, translating general concern for women's needs into actual development programming is presently the weakest link in the WID chain; it can be strengthened with practical experience.

Appointment of women to high-level positions is especially important. Women at the top make visible management's commitment to equity, provide a focus for informal networking, and make it more difficult for lower-level staff to ignore women's concerns. One woman went so far as to say, "If the highest level woman in the place is a GS-15, forget it."

It is no longer possible to assume (though many still do) that qualified women can be found only with extreme difficulty for programs involving science and technology. The National Research Council study cited earlier points out that "there are literally many hundreds of women scientists fully fitted by experience and achievement to serve," and their numbers are increasing rapidly. This comment related to women's participation in scientific advisory groups and peer reviews; it is applicable to staff and consultant appointments as well, although the pool of both men and women scientists and engineers with development experience is naturally much smaller.

Existing rosters and talent banks may be useful in helping to identify qualified women. It is more likely, however, that specific nominations solicited for specific purposes will produce viable candidates. ISTC could easily develop a relatively short list of senior professional women, starting with the women members of its own Advisory Council, who could be called on for suggestions and recommendations. Evidence that their recommendations are taken seriously would also provide an incentive for these women to encourage younger colleagues to interest themselves in international development, an important goal in itself.

Having women on the staff does not, of course, guarantee that they will be sensitive to women's needs in developing countries. However, it is entirely possible for ISTC, without sacrificing its professional standards in other areas, to deliberately seek out women with knowledge and experience in this area and to include a demonstrated interest in WID as a preferred qualification for employment.

#### Internal and external networking on WID issues

A critical mass of women on the staff will make possible informal linkages among those especially interested in WID issues, and linkages between them and larger networks in the US and abroad. A good number of these support systems have grown up with the increasing recognition that WID is a legitimate field of research and policy interest. As in other fields, networking is especially useful for pooling information and experience, keeping up with the latest research findings, generating new program ideas, and spotlighting qualified individuals.

One such network, comprised mainly of scholars and administrators, has already been mentioned: the Society for International Development's Committee on Women and Development, which meets regularly in Washington;

its program will focus on women and technology in 1979-80. Other networks have grown on university campuses and elsewhere in the US and abroad. The Ford Foundation, writing in 1974, noted: "There is no exact counterpart in other countries of the women's movement in the United States, but in many different cultural settings there is increased interest in women's roles, rights, and opportunities. Over the past few years, organizations have formed to deal with these questions, foreign scholars are beginning to do more research on the needs of women in their countries, and international conferences are examining the issues." This movement has greatly accelerated in developing countries since the onset of the International Decade for Women in 1975.

Much of the impetus for study of WID issues has come from these informal networks of women supporting and communicating with one another. They offer support for programmatic changes that no one institution is likely to manage alone. ISTC would do well to encourage its staff, both male and female, to link into these networks, indeed to help strengthen them.

Summary Recommendations

1. Issue a statement of ISTC concern for, and approach to, women's issues.
2. Include US and Third World women, from both the natural and social sciences, on the ISTC Advisory Council.
3. Make one criterion for choosing research emphases the potential impact on women in developing countries.
4. Ensure that women-in-development issues are raised at the project or research design stage. (Among potential mechanisms suggested are: guidelines, a social analysis capability, a WID program officer, a special advisory committee).
5. Identify WID impacts in the ISTC coding and reporting system.
6. Establish a modest budget line for including specific WID activity in regular ISTC programs.
7. Employ women at all levels.
8. Use selected senior women as advisers on candidates for employment.
9. Make demonstrated interest in WID issues a preferred qualification for hiring.
10. Encourage ISTC staff to participate in WID networks,
11. Raise WID concerns in negotiations with ISTC contractors and research grantees.
12. Fund research programs of non-tenured university faculty,

Persons and Papers Consulted

Agency for International Development

Arvonne Fraser, WID Officer, PPC  
Roma Knee, WID Officer, Latin America Bureau  
Alex Shakow, Director, PPC  
Jonathan Silverstone, Office of Public Participation

Appropriate Technology International

Katherine Shreedhar, Staff Associate

American Association for the Advancement of Science

Shirley Malcolm, Director, Office of Opportunities in Science

Ford Foundation

Miriam Chamberlain, Program Officer (national)  
Adrienne Germain, Program Officer (international)  
See also, That 51%: Ford Foundation Activities Related to Opportunities for Women (April 1974) and That 51%...Plus (Feb. 1979)

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Mahbub ul Haq, Policy Planning  
Winston King, Policy Planning  
Turid Sato, Desk Officer, Asia Division  
Pushpa N. Schwartz, Public Affairs Officer  
Gloria Scott, WID Adviser  
Herman van der Tak, Director, Central Project Staff

Inter-American Development Bank

Frank Meissner, Project Officer

National Academy of Sciences

Nancy Ahern, Exec. Secretary, Committee on Education and Employment of Women in Science and Engineering  
See also, NRC Climbing the Academic Ladder: Doctoral Women Scientists in Academe, A Report to the Office of Science and Technology Policy (National Academy of Sciences, 1979)

National Institutes of Health

Suzanne Freneau, Committee Management Officer  
Fann Harding, NHLBI  
See also, Helene N. Guttman, Office of Program Planning and Evaluation, NHLBI, "Three Reviews to Assist You in Understanding Grants and Contracts" (mimeo.)

National Science Foundation

Joan Callanan, Program Manager, Women in Science  
Manfred Cziesla, Director, Office of International Affairs  
Carol Gans, Office of International Affairs

Office of Technology Assessment

Gretchen Kolsrud, Project Leader, Genetics and Population

UN Development Programme

See "Report by the Administrator: Integration of Women in Development,"  
UN Document DP/319/Add.3, 12 May, 1978

UN Fund for Population Activities

Margaret Snyder, Voluntary Fund for Women's Activities  
Mallica Vajrathon, Staff Associate

Miscellaneous

Curt Farrar, ICDA  
Barbara Good, Department of State, IO  
Alice Ilchman, International Communications Agency  
Nira Long, ex-AID



## EQUITY POLICY CENTER

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### GOALS

The Equity Policy Center (EPOC) was founded in 1978 as a non-profit research, communications and educational group to study and promote means toward more equitable distribution of income and resources at home and abroad.

The equity revolution of the past two decades has reaffirmed the basic rights of each individual, whether black or white, male or female, young or old. EPOC's goal is to ensure that the impact of national and international programs on the individual is equitable regardless of sex, age, health, ethnic background, nationality or place of residence, while recognizing that the different needs of individuals may require different regulations, delivery systems, funding, or even different laws.

To accomplish this, EPOC will assist policymaking institutions in studying the administration of pertinent legislation, analyzing the intent of the laws, reviewing the actual impact, and writing and distributing policy statements on these issues. EPOC will also work with agencies and organizations involved in social change in the design of pilot projects, data collection, program evaluation and program review.

### FIRST YEAR ACTIVITIES

During its first year, EPOC's investigations have been concentrated in two areas:

- the impact of development assistance on women in developing countries; and
- the roles, attitudes, and positions of women in the US administration and in women's policy organizations.

EPOC sees the issue of equity for women in generic terms, as symptomatic of the problems of any group treated as outside

the mainstream. Thus, individual projects undertaken by EPOC have identified specific concerns of women within the larger movement toward equity worldwide. For example, EPOC has studied:

- ways to alleviate drudgery of women's work in subsistence societies (general concern: appropriate technology);
- ways to meet household energy demands in developing countries (general concern: rural fuel shortage);
- women's role in the food production and distribution system (general concern: world food crisis);
- policy responsibilities for women and women's organizations (general concern: administrative change).

In addition to these areas of concentration, a series of policy notes has been issued in response to requests or in anticipation of future projects. EPOC staff have also participated in meetings preparatory to the World Conference on Agricultural Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD) and to the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD). Irene Tinker, EPOC Director, testified before the President's Commission on World Hunger, was part of the NGO delegation for the State Department review of the WCARRD policy paper, and attended a study session at Solar Energy Research Institute (SERI) for private organization leaders.

### FUTURE ACTIVITIES

Many of EPOC's activities in 1980 will focus on planning and implementation of projects in connection with the World Conference for the UN Decade for Women, which will be held in Copenhagen in July 1980:

- an international conference on women and their health;
- rural and household energy as it impacts on women;
- village woodlots;
- food processing as an income-producing activity.

EPOC staff will also design the cultural sensitivity component for a major project on water, health, and sanitation.

## EPOC Officers

Irene Tinker, Director; former Director, Office of International Science, AAAS.

Julia Lear, Secretary-Treasurer; Deputy Director, Community Hospital Program, Georgetown Medical School.

## Board of Trustees

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## Associates of the Center

Frances Adams, former Director of International Programs, Amer. Assn. of State Colleges and Universities; overseas experience in Asia and Latin America.

Noelle Blackmer Beatty, editor of works on international education, the 1956 Suez crisis, and Congressional staff operations.

Barbara Bergmann, Professor of Economics, University of Maryland; publications on women and minorities in the US labor market; former member, National Commission on the Observance of IWY.

Patricia Blair, development economist; publications relating to US science and technology policy, development strategy, crop storage.

Rae Lesser Blumberg, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of California, San Diego; publications on comparative social, economic and sexual inequality.

Marie Cassidy, Professor of Physiology, George Washington Medical School; former president, Federation of Organizations for Professional Women; major interest in health-related issues for women in the EEC.

Ruth Dixon, Assoc. Professor of Sociology, University of California, Davis; publications on family planning, rural women at work, equality between the sexes.

Mary Lindsay Elmendorf, development anthropologist; consultant, Research Institute for the Study of Man, Appropriate Technology International, World Bank, Ford Foundation.

Beverly Heckart Hackenberg, demographer, Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado; Davao Action Information Center, Philippines.

Marilyn Hoskins, forestry in the Sahel; women's organizations and change in Upper Volta.

Suzanne Howard, Assistant Director, Program for Education, American Association of University Women; educational policy issues at home and abroad.

Barbara C. Lewis, Associate Professor of Political Science, Livingston College; ethnicity, population and marketing problems in West Africa.

Astri Suhrke, Assoc. Professor, School of International Service, American University; currently working on rural health delivery services in Thailand; former consultant to the World Bank on its World Development Report.

Ilene Wolcott, Executive Director, Women and Health Roundtable; consultant with Abt Associates.

## Policy Studies

"An Equity Strategy for USAID"--ways to restructure or redirect AID programs to enhance the roles of women in development.

Report of Recommendations: AAAS Workshop on Women in Development--to the State Department for the UNCSTD Conference.

"New Technologies for Food Chain Activities: An Equity Strategy"--in The Impact of Technological Change on Women, AAAS Symposium Volume, 1979.

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## Policy Notes

"International Language Corps"

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"Women and Development Strategy for the '80s"

"Rural Equity for Social Programs"

"Technology, Poverty and Women: Some Special Issues"

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