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REPORT OF THE
PERCY AMENDMENT WORKING COMMITTEE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I. Foreword
- II. Report of the Percy Amendment Working Committee
- III. Sub-Committee Reports
- IV. Appendix

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PART I

FOREWORD

On March 12, 1974, the Percy Amendment Working Committee was named by the Administrator to formulate a comprehensive Agency plan of action for carrying out Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973.

The Committee immediately agreed that to review the broader scope of the Amendment as it applies to Sections 103-107 of the F.A.A., commonly referred to as the "new directions", there would be need to be (a) a breakdown of the task areas for review and (b) a general call for professional and technical input from throughout the USG to identify programs which lend themselves to the integration of women in the development processes. The Committee thus established a forum and procedures for reaching agreement on a plan of action to be presented as a preliminary consensus on an AID approach to the implementation of the Percy Amendment.

More than fifty people participated in this exercise, including development planning officers and specialists from each regional bureau and a number of offices in AID, as well as consultants from the Departments of State; Agriculture; Health, Education and Welfare; and the U.S. Information Agency. The originally designated Committee members included John Eriksson, PPC/PDA; Curtis Farrar, AA/TA; Nan Frederick, AFR/CWR; Frances Johnson, ASIA/NE; Frank Kimball, PPC/PDA; Rachel Nason, PHA/POP; and the Coordinator, Nira Long, A/AID/EO. Three additional members joined the main Committee by virtue of their expertise and experience: Clara Beyer and Morag Simchak, O/LAB; and Jonathan Silverstone, PPC/PDA. The Committee was ably assisted by Sallie Barr as Administrative Assistant.

The attached report is a condensed version of the specialized reports produced by the various sub-committees, which in themselves are condensations of the many-faceted reporting and special research papers produced by individual sub-committees. The report is organized so as to illustrate the process of reaching agreement by the Committee, and to make pertinent recommendations for initial implementation of the Percy Amendment. The sub-committee reports are provided in Part II of the report, in order to give an indication of directions for AID action.

I would like to thank the Administrator on behalf of the Working Committee and the many AID and non-AID personnel who have contributed to this "bank" of formulative ideas and recommendations. The Administrator's creation of this Working Group afforded Agency-wide multidisciplinary participation, and therefore a unique opportunity for all those interested in helping make development assistance more responsive to the realistic needs of developing societies. It was indeed a stimulating and encouraging first step in a "new direction".

Nira Hardon Long

REPORT OF THE
PERCY AMENDMENT WORKING COMMITTEE

. . . An Action Plan for the Integration of
Women in the Development Process

PART I

PROBLEM

To assure adequate implementation of Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 (Percy Amendment), which requires that the U.S. bilateral development assistance programs called for in "Sections 103-107 of the Act be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort."

DISCUSSION

Section 113 of the F.A.A., sponsored by Senator Charles A. Percy of Illinois and enacted by the Congress in December, 1973, is interpreted by the Working Committee as a mandate to pursue the aim of the Amendment in a manner that is consistent with the current priorities, policies, and requirements stated elsewhere in the law. However, the Amendment refers specifically to Sections 103-107 of the Foreign Assistance Act. The first three call for concentrating AID resources on critical development problems, especially in functional sectors that affect the lives of the majority of the people. These sectors are titled food and nutrition; population planning and health; and education and human resource development. The Amendment applies also to AID's administration of activities that are meant to help solve selected economic and social development problems in fields such as transportation, power, industry, urban development, and export development. In addition, the Amendment covers assistance made available in support of the general economy of selected recipient countries, and to AID support given for development programs conducted by private and international organizations.

In introducing the Amendment in the Senate last October, Senator Percy offered several suggestions for AID to consider as it reviews its programs and incorporates the Amendment into its policies and

planning activities. The analyses of the Working Committee, and especially of the sub-committees, have in fact incorporated these suggestions, most of which are included in the recommendations. Several of Senator Percy's suggestions are listed below in order to give an idea of some of the dimensions of the problem he had in mind in introducing the Amendment:

- . Establishment of organizations that would teach baby care, home nursing, basic nutrition, family planning, options for women, and the importance of education.
- . Encouragement of measures to increase respect and justice for working women, including equal education and employment opportunities, as well as equal pay for equal work.
- . Establishment of day-care centers for the children of working mothers.
- . More job-oriented training programs for women.
- . Greater emphasis on literacy programs for girls and women.
- . Courses for planners on how to integrate women into national development programs.

The Working Committee quickly realized that the Amendment ramifications are far too broad to be covered in depth for submission of a complete and comprehensive Plan of Action within a few weeks. It was also clear that certain areas affected by the Percy Amendment were already receiving attention in AID and the international community. The approach, while sectoral for purposes of investigation, was nevertheless interdisciplinary and included review of international as well as AID programs.

The Percy Amendment calls upon AID to assume a certain leadership role. To date, the majority of accomplishments have been mainly to set the stage for equal rights. The United Nations established a Commission on the Status of Women in 1946 as a recognition that women must be treated equally, and supplemented this subsequently with various Conventions and Recommendations spread to and by U. N. specialized agencies and Commissions. The Percy Amendment makes

it abundantly clear that statements and laws can be a long way from practice in the real world, and that AID can and should play a significant role in assisting developing countries to recognize and utilize more fully the talents of their populations -- particularly women -- in the acceleration of development. In short, the Percy Amendment announces a U. S. position of providing assistance to the improvement of the functional capacity of women in development.

After reviewing the sub-committees' papers, the Working Committee agreed that certain thrusts of program action need immediate attention and that certain AID structural and programmatic processes must be set in motion if AID is to comply with the Congressional mandate.

An AID program focused on improving the quality of life for the poorest majority will not necessarily accomplish the aims of the Percy Amendment. Benefits to women and the steps taken to integrate women further into development processes must be explicit. This does not mean that the Committee recommends exclusively "women only" programs/projects. It is the intent of the Committee to recommend and stress activities that will enable participation by and be of benefit to both sexes.

The Committee concluded that there is, after all, a universality in the role of women in development, irrespective of the different cultures and countries in which they live. Women constitute 50 per cent of the human resources (more in some areas) available for development. Aside from ethical and moral considerations, a waste of that resource retards development and negates the concept of broad popular participation in the development process.

But it is now obvious that women are currently, to some extent, invisible in the development processes -- in some cases because current economic and social indicators are insufficiently detailed, in others because data is not readily available, and in others because women are not counted as part of the process.

For example, some of the "hard data" turned up in the sub-committees' reviews illustrate a side to the development picture that has not been fully taken into account. The reports also demonstrate that such data as are available are the outcome of special studies about the role of women in development and not of any general statistical compilations. Illustrations include the report of the Economic Commission for Africa,

showing that African women may be producing up to 50 per cent of the food, providing 60 to 80 per cent of the agricultural labor, and managing about 40 per cent of the marketing.

U. N. and other documents report a wide variance in women's illiteracy rates -- up to 80 per cent in some countries -- and not that, to the extent they show up in employment statistics at all, women tend to be concentrated in relatively low-wage occupations (domestic service in Latin America, unskilled construction labor in Asia).

From the limited information available on the role of women in development and from examination of AID programs and projects, professional and technical experiences, and generalized information, the sub-committees could see a number of specific and interrelated pictures emerging which strongly substantiate the need for the Percy Amendment. This does not mean that all themes and recommendations reported by the Committee and sub-committees will be readily accepted by the Agency. Cultural sensitivities and attitudes regarding the role and status of women in any society are rooted deep in history and are held by women as well as men. That some of these sensitivities and attitudes are born of superstition rather than fact and have no place in modern times does not dispel the controversies they provoke. It is hoped that the Committee and sub-committees have at least illuminated some of the opportunities as well as pitfalls for future implementation of the Percy Amendment.

Needless to say, the Amendment itself has generated a good deal of attention from many sources. In the few weeks that the Committee has been in operation, there have been a number of inquiries on the Percy Amendment from outside AID. These include phone calls, visits, speaking and conference requests, and letters of inquiry. AID has been deluged with applications for funding of "Percy Amendment activities". One Foundation has asked advice on how their funds could be used to carry out the intent of the Amendment.

Much action has been self-generating. Some action has already been taken, independent of, but stimulated by, the mandate itself and Committee members and consultants in their course of regular work. For example, the Africa Bureau circulated an airgram to all missions and area development offices in Africa on April 19, spelling out the specifics of how implementation of the Percy Amendment fits with policies and programs and presenting ideas for further actions. The Latin America Bureau is planning a similar message and has proposed

that Women in Development be the topic for the Spring Review. The FY 1976 Annual Program Guidance Message contains instructions for missions on taking into account the contribution of and consequences for women in developing and submitting projects and programs. The Percy Amendment has been put forward as a topic for consideration by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and the World Food Conference. It was also highlighted at the recent World-Wide Population Conference sponsored by AID and the U. N. AID's mandate has been brought informally to the attention of specialized U. N. agencies and Commissions. Voluntary agencies are aware of its existence and have begun generating their own form of reviews about the implications of women in development. U. N. organizations and voluntary agencies have provided such data and experiences as useful for the Working Committee deliberations; these are part of the "library" being formed. (See Appendix Section G for a partial bibliography.)

Finally, there were 42 cable mission replies to the AID/W request for identification of programs which tend to include women in the development process. The majority reported in a positive, forthright, thoughtful manner, and several gave very careful consideration to the subject. Some missions were invited by the host governments to give advice and counsel to write national guidelines and policies on the integration of women into the economy.

Of particular note in the field responses was training. This was underscored and considered basic. The small percentage of women in AID's participant training program was noted. Training facilities offered women, in and out of country, followed traditional lines in sub-professional and professional fields of nursing, nutrition, health, teaching, librarians, social work, and secretarial. Customs and conservatism prevailed, although women are being drawn into income-producing sectors, principally agriculture and marketing, to support themselves and their families. Some required training, at the sub-professional levels, as auxiliary teachers, paramedics, and hand-craft workers (embroidery, weaving, bead and leather work).

The missions pointed out the importance to women of Family Planning (FP) which some discovered through the MCH, health, and nutrition programs. FP information stimulated women's self-awareness and their thinking about their roles and responsibilities towards their families and communities. Also, new jobs opened up for women in the technical, administrative, and management areas of FP programs, which provided both pre- and professional training.

Two missions reported how, in the negotiation of two loans, direct and indirect benefits to women were considered. One such loan was for building several small markets, normally run by women, and the other was for a study of rural education.

Some missions noted that voluntary agency programs were an effective way of keeping in touch with women's thinking and initiative. One such program involved rural housewives who, on their own, had organized themselves to improve their income and influence the way of life in their community. Several missions referred to the League of Women Voters' (LWV) Overseas Education Fund (OEF) and its work with women to assist them to understand, study, and articulate local problems.

I. PROGRAM CONSIDERATIONS

A. International Coordination

Percy Amendment concerns both affect and are influenced by the international community. AID inputs often complement or are implemented in conjunction with U. N. and other donor and international assistance programs. In its Second Development Decade, the United Nations has called for a series of new and dramatic initiatives within the U. N. system to establish equality of access and opportunity for all women in all areas, particularly in human rights and development. Nineteen seventy-five has been declared International Women's Year, and the U. S. proposal in the U. N. for its celebration carried with enthusiastic support from the developing countries.

Discussion

1. In its normal association with other donors through Washington multilateral relations offices, AID representatives, and field missions, AID can encourage the attention of other donors to the functional role of women in development.
2. In its contributions to the inter-agency formulation of U. S. position papers and instructions provided to U. S. representatives to international development and financial organizations and to U. S. delegations to international meetings and conferences, AID could also draw specific attention to the role of women in development and their participation in assistance programs.

3. Through the above channels AID could pursue opportunities for collaborative implementation with other donors of programs which focus on the role of women in development.

4. The Development Coordinating Committee, under the chairmanship of the Administrator, could enlist the support of other U. S. agencies, as appropriate, in support of international action on the integration of women in development. AID could prepare instructions for all its delegates and representatives to international bodies to insure that the issue of women in development is considered priority business.

Conclusion

That AID should utilize the above-mentioned mechanisms of exchange and cooperation with other donors on the implementation of the Percy Amendment, and that AID should endeavor to keep its staff informed of significant programs of other donors in this area.

B. Program and Country Priorities and Relationships

Consistent with the Agency's areas of concentration and responsiveness to country priorities, it is suggested that AID field missions and AID/W can generate actions which will lead to host government recognition of the need to integrate women. This will permit increased AID input to activities for this purpose.

Discussion

Many countries already have national voluntary organizations and governmental bureaus which provide a focal point for generation of policies and programs to enhance the role and status of women in development. In addition, many voluntary agencies are engaged in local activities which demonstrate women's capacity to make a greatly increased contribution to development with only minor assistance. AID's own programs in various sectors provide technical and capital resources for activities which could easily incorporate a new focus providing attention to women. There are a number of specific opportunities of this sort within countries which AID missions could spot and pursue as they present themselves.

1. AID can prepare itself to take advantage of country situations providing opportunities for assistance directly and indirectly to

11

activities providing a demonstration of women's need and contributions.

2. AID can seek to develop a conscious concern for equal opportunities being provided women within the context of on-going and planned technical and capital assistance programs.

3. AID can communicate with and seek opportunities to assist national commissions, women's organizations, bureaus and agencies, in their formulative stages and when established in their respective programs.

Conclusion

That AID promote and encourage the courses of action presented above, particularly to eventually affect the host government planning.

C. Program-Sector Emphases

The Percy Working Committee's sub-committee reports provide several main thrusts for AID program emphasis. Some of these are immediately applicable, others provide directional guides for future activities. Key elements in all sub-committee reports are: education and training (all forms) as a critical problem area; data development to provide more accurate information on the role and status of women in developing societies; programing activities to generate understanding of women's needs, dispel myths and superstitions concerning women in traditional settings, and to stimulate action through host government recognition of the need for women's contributions to accelerate development. The last element involves focal points in and outside governments which influence the attitudes and policies affecting women and tend to involve women themselves in the decision-making process.

Conclusions

1. That AID respond to the establishment of women's commissions, bureaus, and other focal point organizations in the host country and encourage their work as they relate to legal, economic, and social development activities. AID/W can assist in this by supporting international entities which are helping establish such in-country focal points; through assistance as opportunity presents, such as holding conferences, working seminars, and providing consultative services

and leadership training equally to women and men leaders in the establishment of equal rights and opportunities for women in development.

2. That AID review all programs involving assistance to educational institutions (including institutions specializing in such fields as public administration and national planning) and education/training programs (such as U. S. participant training, in-country and third-country training) to see that such programs provide equal opportunity for women. (For example, the current proportion of 4.5 per cent women as participant trainees is clearly against the interests of the U. S. in establishing equal opportunity for women and inhibits the development of women for political and developmental leaderships in their home countries.)

3. Further, that as AID stimulates non-formal educational programs in various sectors, that these programs should specifically provide for women's needs for special training. AID might also seek enlargement of pre-vocational and vocational training to involve women more directly in learning skills which can enhance their income and status in the community.

4. That AID encourage the development and placement of LDC women as decision-makers in development programs, particularly those programs designed to increase the role of women as producers of goods and services, and otherwise to improve women's welfare (i. e., national credit and finance programs, national health and family planning programs, educational and vocational training schemes).

5. That AID give priority to obtaining information which can be used to illuminate the role, status, and contributions of women in developing countries. To this end, AID should coordinate with other U. S. agencies and propose that the U. N. and specialized agencies establish definite compatible concepts, standards and guidelines on data requirements on women in development. Pending establishment of international information and evaluation systems, AID would encourage LDC's to create and employ national data and analysis systems for use in development programming, starting with information on hand.

6. That AID emphasize applied research to illuminate the role, status, and contributions of women, beginning with some short-term country studies which the missions may use for information and reference. Country studies would provide a basis for fruitful talks with LDC leaders and people and for mission programming.

7. That AID continue and integrate its Health and Family Planning programs with educational and other opportunities in order that women may learn of alternate roles to childbearing.
8. That AID encourage, where requested, women's active participation in the labor movement in order to promote equal pay for equal work, equal benefits, and equal opportunities. This can be done (and is being done to a certain extent) through the efforts of AFL-CIO-sponsored Institutes for Asia, Africa, and Latin America (AAFLI, AALC, and AIFLD) and the ILO and other members of the U.N. family and other appropriate governmental development agencies.
9. That AID work with host governments to develop ways to improve the productivity of women and reduce the burden currently upon women (particularly in the rural sector) to be food producer, processor, and small entrepreneur, as well as water-hauler, baby-raiser, and family health and welfare agent. Opportunities may occur in formation of credit, marketing, transport and storage agencies fostering the exchange of goods and services produced by women; youth programs incorporating girls as leaders and participants; community building projects; and health clinics. AID's advisory contributions can be direct and indirect, by facilitating communications with and organization of women and men to increase participation in community improvement and the understanding of women's home functions and her positive role in the pulse of the economy and society.

D. Women in AID

If AID is to encourage developing countries and other donor agencies to utilize women more effectively in development, AID should be able to set an example. In a recent session with Senator Percy's aide, the Senator's interest in seeing that AID improves its own record was made quite clear.

Discussion

At the present time, women are under-represented in AID, particularly in professional jobs dealing directly with programs. Women in AID total 35 per cent of the work force; yet they total only 6.4 per cent of this particular group of program positions, according to April 1974 staffing pattern. Set forth below, by way of illustration, is a break out of professional women in program fields in the bureaus.

- . Latin America Bureau - Of the 23 Latin American missions,

only four, plus the Regional Office in Mexico, employ one woman each; Brazil employs two. In AID/W, twelve out of 110 program slots in the LA Bureau are occupied by women (10 per cent).

- . Asia Bureau - In the Asia Bureau, with twelve overseas missions, only Turkey and Afghanistan have women in the program area; six out of 64 program slots are filled by women in AID/W (9.3 per cent).
- . Africa Bureau - Of Africa Bureau's sixteen missions, four use one woman each, and Ghana has four women in program positions; of the 81 slots in AID/W, eleven are filled by women (13 per cent).
- . Supporting Assistance Bureau - Out of seven missions, three missions employ women in professional program work: Laos has five, Thailand has one, and Vietnam has eleven. In AID/W, there are 72 program positions of which four are held by women (5.5 per cent).
- . Technical Assistance Bureau - Out of a total 87 program positions, three are occupied by women (3.4 per cent).
- . Program and Policy Coordination - Out of a total 54 program positions, six are occupied by women (11.1 per cent).
- . Population and Humanitarian Assistance - There are two women in PHA in high positions, one the Deputy AA, the other, Chief of Program Review; in the Population Office itself, there are no women in the top three levels: the Director, three associate or assistant directors, and all ten division chiefs are men. In the program divisions, all in AID/W, nine of 30 officers are women.

Conclusion

AID should do a lot better job of utilizing women in foreign assistance, as in doing so, AID will be providing an example both to developing countries (which, in some cases, is not so much an example as a necessity, such as in areas where tradition inhibits women's communication with men) and to donor agencies where the picture is currently rather similar to that in AID. AID should also appoint more women

as participants to internal committees, national and international conferences, and donor meetings. Where feasible and natural, AID should encourage the U. S. delegates to international meetings to seek out and establish continuing communications with LDC and other donor women leaders, delegates, and professionals and their organizations in attendance at such meetings.

II. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Committee is equally concerned that the continued focus in AID for Percy Amendment implementation serves several masters: the public/Congressional interest; the developing countries' interests; and AID's administration/management interests. The focal point for continuing both liaison and functional assistance to Percy Amendment implementation needs high profile, as well as institutionalization, the latter primarily to make maximum use of the AID programming/budgeting processes, as well as stimulation of what the Committee realizes to be a broad, if sporadic, interest on the part of countries and AID bureaus and offices to engage in Percy Amendment-related activities. The Committee sub-groups surfaced a good many programs and projects underway which could use AID support as soon as possible; also innovative ideas, suggestions, and proposals for future action. The sub-group reviews in themselves created and generated actions throughout the Agency which have resulted in drawing AID's, other agencies', and the international communities' attention to the issues and problems of women in development.

It was therefore agreed that the Committee would need to recommend a continuance of a focal point in AID for liaison, program stimulation and analysis, and consultative assistance as requested by AID and related development assistance programs, and support for other activities, such as IWY in 1975. The Committee considered several options: (1) establishment of a Special Assistant to the Administrator with staff, having direct responsibility to the Administrator for recommending AID actions; (2) establishment of a special office within a bureau, perhaps, which could monitor and generate intra-Agency exchange and provide consultative services on request; (3) establish a continuing Working Committee which would generate the kinds of proposals set forth in this document and keep tabs on developments.

Option (1) has the advantage of high profile, but the disadvantage of no operational or functional value to the Agency per se. Option (2) has the advantage of partially institutionalizing the Percy Amendment

concerns, but places certain constraints on the office to influence other bureaus and offices within AID and has limited visibility. Option (3) has the advantage of stimulating free-flow exchange, but is limited by the fact of volunteerism and no authority to assist bureaus and offices in making changes beyond the functions of individual members in their own jobs.

None of the options comes close enough to a functional purpose and authority to influence both policy and programming in AID which is necessary for full institutionalization of the concepts and actions as indicated by the Percy Amendment.

Conclusion

The Committee therefore recommends an interim approach, combining elements of all three options, i. e., the special assistant under the Administrator, and specific responsibilities in each bureau.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That AID policy with regard to the Percy Amendment rest on the following principles:
 - A. Inclusion of women in development must be a conscious concern. It cannot be assumed. Equal opportunity is basic to the developmental process of any country.
 - B. Under the Percy Amendment, AID has the mandate to provide for programs which tend to integrate women in the development process. This mandate affects all sectors of developmental practice and all levels of activity within those sectors.
 - C. Women are a vital human resource in the improvement of life conditions in the developing world. Their influence is considerable. In the home and community and as producers of goods and services, they contribute directly to national social and economic progress. As mothers and child-raisers, they have a direct influence upon children in their formative years and therefore a direct and indirect influence upon the building of essential human resources for national and international development conduct. AID's implementation of the Percy Amendment, therefore, will provide a new dimension

to the resolution of critical problems in development. Sufficient scope and depth of AID's approach to this implementation will:

reveal the actual role and status of women and their contributions to development;

assist women and girls in self-improvement programs stressing both reduction of daily burdens and increased attention to their practical education in order to allow them a choice in how they will contribute to and benefit from development programs; and

provide for review of AID and other donor programs which impact upon women and seek means of helping increase the understanding of and assistance for women in all development areas.

2. That AID proceed forthwith to implement the Amendment as intended. It is understood that programs and activities pursuant to the Percy Amendment, and in accord with the basic policy concepts stated above, must proceed as a responsibility resting not only with field missions, but also with all offices and bureaus in AID/Washington.

3. That the Administrator appoint a Coordinator for Women in Development, providing adequate professional staff (two to three professionals, one secretarial) reporting directly to the Administrator. The purpose will be to deal with the initial stages of the intended AID institutionalization of the above-mentioned policy concepts and suggested implementation. The Coordinator will have the authority to obligate funds (up to \$500,000 initially) to plan and execute supportive activities, such as special studies, support for the International Women's Year 1975, conferences, field reviews, and other small investments to promote the understanding of women in development and provide a visible responsive unit for field and AID/W information and guidance requirements.

4. That the Administrator instruct Assistant Administrators and Office Directors to appoint one or more persons to assist them on the discharge of their responsibility for implementation of the Amendment. This person or persons also would serve as liaison with the Coordinator's office.

5. That the Administrator direct PPC and other programming offices to institutionalize the conscious concern for women's role in development throughout the Agency programming processes from concept and design through implementation and final evaluation by whatever effective mechanisms are at their disposal.
6. The United States should encourage international groups with which it is associated to give specific attention to the role of women in development and their participation in assistance programs. This should be emphasized in the instructions received by U. S. delegations and others participating in the work of specialized development and financial agencies which the U. S. supports through direct and indirect contributions, subscriptions, or assessments. Further, the collection of basic data regarding women should be pressed through international channels; and women should be given a more active role in such international exchanges. AID should use its best efforts to see this is carried out.
7. That particular attention be paid by AID to inviting private voluntary organizations, foundations, grantees, contractors, and other intermediary groups to take the Percy Amendment into consideration in their program development and utilize available opportunities for AID assistance to this end.
8. That AID respond to the establishment of women's commissions, bureaus, and other focal point organizations in the host countries and encourage their work as it relates to legal, economic, and social development activities. AID/W can assist in this by supporting the international entities helping to establish such focal points, as well as bilaterally through assistance as opportunity presents. For example, AID can co-sponsor conferences and working seminars and provide consultative services and leadership training.
9. That AID place priority on the improvement of information which can be used to illuminate the role, status, and contributions of women in developing countries for support of AID, international organizations, and other cooperating entities' programs.
10. That AID show measurable improvement in employing women, particularly in professional positions, as a continuing policy and practice. Increasing the number of professional women in AID/W and overseas not only serves as a model for others, but such utilization of women brings valuable insights to the problems of disadvantaged groups in developing societies, and provides opportunities for linkages to women in developing countries.

PART II
SUB-COMMITTEE REPORTS

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE

ON

EDUCATION

PROBLEM

The amount and type of education people have has a strong influence on how much they can contribute to the development process and gain from it. Women are the primary trainers of children in their formative years and have a real and potential productive role in the economies. Yet women's opportunities for education and training are often highly restricted; the substance of their education and training are frequently differential; and their role in operating education and training systems is sometimes underestimated. Correction of these imbalances would increase the development effectiveness of education expenditures.

DISCUSSION

In spite of a doubling of elementary and quadrupling of secondary and higher education enrollments in the developing countries, half the populations never enter school. Further, UNESCO figures suggest that developing country school populations are roughly one-third female, and the female share of enrollments declines at higher levels of education. The one-third enrollment reflects a gradual increase over several years. U.N. studies in Africa indicate girls tend to leave school at the third grade because of pressing duties at home. Women who continue through school often stop at the secondary level.

Such broad statistical aggregation merely confirms, numerically, that the problem exists and reveals little of the nature of differences among countries or within any one country. However, the pattern indicates a high level of illiteracy among women in particular; a preparation for gainful employment which is far less than optimum; and a host of related problems regarding the women's own productivity and security, her ability to provide incentive to the young, and her contribution to the community and national development. For example, a third grade level does not confer lasting literacy on students who may have nothing to read outside the classroom. Pre-vocational and vocational training programs usually require basic literacy. This and the fact that

vocational programs (perhaps because of a development focus on industrial and agricultural/mechanics) tend to exclude women, means reinforcement of the cycle of too little education, lack of skills for employment, lack of motivation to the young to acquire education and skills, and ultimate lack of skilled manpower for development.

The issues of women's opportunity for, substance of and participation in, education and training programs must be considered in the context of the effect of such programs on women's role in economic development and vice versa. To grasp the variations in these issues, the following vignettes from various countries in which AID Missions are located may be helpful.

In one country in Asia, feudal attitudes toward women have only begun to change. Eighty-seven per cent of the primary and secondary schools remain "Male Only." Less than twenty years ago women were first admitted to the national university; now the medical school reserves 20 per cent of its places for women. In another Asian country, aside from a weekly radio broadcast for women and use of slightly increased numbers of women in formal education and family planning programs, little is actually being done on behalf of women. In one African nation, the current development program totally focuses on the agricultural sector and thus is thought to "provide minimal scope for attention to women in development."

In one of the large Asian countries, it is now planned to increase girls' enrollment in primary classes from 38 per cent to 41 per cent of total enrollment at this level. At American University of Beirut, 133 of a total of 474 students are women, slightly better than one in four (although the women students from three countries now outnumber the men). In most countries, two-thirds or more of all women in the professions are teachers, but in one Asian country there are only 2,130 women teachers out of a total teaching staff of 8,325 in primary and secondary schools, or one in four.

In one African nation, the training of 1,200 female maternal and child health aides over the next six years will be the first national effort to help women during the childbearing period and will introduce preventive health and medical practices taken for granted in western societies. One Caribbean country is starting to train women as agricultural extension agents specializing in family management, child care,

nutrition, health and sanitation. In a Latin American country grants for graduate study abroad in agriculture have been limited to males. It is now planned to send two women, one in soil fertility and one in basic grain price stabilization. In another Latin American nation, women constitute approximately 40 per cent of student enrollment in the medical school and over 50 per cent in the dental school. Egypt has increased its enrollment of girls in the agricultural colleges by 400 per cent in the past decade; by 1970 one in every six students was a girl.

The wide disparities in female access to schooling clearly reflect cultural factors. In many Latin American countries, "only at the University level, i. e., in the age group 20-24, do the boys outnumber the girls, but even at this level the difference is slight in some of the Latin American countries. This, then, is the sex pattern of education in a cultural setting where a positive attitude is taken to the education of girls, although there are reservations about employing married women." ¹

At the other extreme, "Among the towns and countries of the Far East. . . only in Hong Kong and the Philippines does the girl student population compare with that of Latin American countries. The fact that girls account for such a high proportion of the students in the Philippines is highly significant, for it alone among the former colonies in the Far East was under American and not European dominance. The student population of the Philippines (in higher education) ranks first in size (7 per cent of the age group), and, barring Hong Kong, it is the only Asian country to have nearly as many girl students as boys." ²

There are three issues to be considered with respect to the effect of education programs on women's roles in economic development and vice versa. They include: woman's opportunity to obtain education, the substance of education, and participation of women in education systems.

1. Roserup, Ester, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*. St. Martin's Press: New York. 1970. p. 121. Ms. Boserup's worldwide research was carried out under a grant from the Danish Board of Technical Co-operation with Developing Countries.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

A. OPPORTUNITY

A growing number of studies point to unplanned consequences of inadequate opportunity for women and girls to obtain education and training. They fall into two categories.

First, are the cases where failure to make adequate arrangements to include women and girls as pupils, trainees, or information recipients, means that specific development objectives are not accomplished as efficiently or economically as desired. For example, attention has been called to a number of cases in Africa where formal and informal training activities were undertaken to improve agricultural production; but, the instruction was offered primarily to men. Production objectives were not attained, and only then did the donors become aware that the key agricultural managers and workers for the crops and localities involved are women, who were not reached.

Second, we have the cases where differential educational opportunities for males and females create new social and economic tensions and obstacles.

The UNDP International Labor Organization Kenya Employment Mission report and the World Bank's Zaire Agricultural Sector Survey (Report No. PA 118) show that extension programs usually are not directed toward women, although women contribute a major part of agricultural labor in these countries and make important farming decisions. Similar findings were made in a 1974 Bank review of French technical assistance programs in Cameroon.

Dualism, in economic development literature, refers to the side-by-side existence of modern and traditional economies or societies. A purpose of education and other programs in developing countries has been to eliminate dualism, which is considered by many to be an obstacle to development. If education is a modernizing influence, and if it carries the prestige of modernization and progress, then differential access to education based on sex promotes a new form of dualism, where men constitute the new modern sector and women make up the backward, traditional sector.

On the other hand, the Women's Program Unit of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa warns of increasing discrepancies among women which can result from a narrow, elitist approach to education

and employment. In its paper, "Women and National Development in African Countries: Some Profound Contradictions," this group says that while development trends supported by foreign aid are depressing the economic and social status of women in agriculture and while women are being pushed out of traditional marketing, women at the high end of the economic and social spectrum may benefit because they can afford and have access to specialized professional training.

At the same time there is a danger that, after achieving the necessary specialized training, women may not be permitted and encouraged to assume jobs within their profession.

B. SUBSTANCE

Notions of what is modern, and therefore good, may be taught explicitly in curriculum or they may be subtly implied. Children may be taught, for example, that only men run tractors, only women take care of the young, and women have tea parties while men manage public affairs.

To the extent that these role models put before children are consistent with the mores of the country and the needs and aspirations of its people, this is no problem. There is, however, prima facie evidence that this is often not the case.

Explicit communication of models and roles may not be the most important means of training. A substantial amount of information and meaningful example is communicated implicitly, through the forms of organization, attitudes, and behavior of the foreign institutions and individuals who are involved in development assistance work.

For example, there is such a wide variety of traditional role assignments and of patterns of cultural change throughout the developing world that what is taught in foreign-inspired education programs may be inappropriate to local needs, desires, and capacities. There is evidence that in some parts of Africa, European administrations have degraded African women's status, especially through the land reforms introduced and by the "domestic activities" curricula of the colonial period schools for girls.

The very subjects which are, and are not, offered to women and girls will affect their ability to perform economically and socially useful roles. In considering subject matter which is offered to women and

girls, one should bear in mind that (1) economic roles they perform or might perform, (2) their personal needs to cope with and participate in the rapidly changing societies in which they exist, and (3) the requirements put upon them to raise children and grandchildren who must survive and contribute to development.

C. PARTICIPATION

Women participate in education systems -- other than as students or recipients -- in two ways. They may be part of formal structures for teaching, administration, and decision-making. They may also be significant actors in traditional and in non-formal education, both with respect to the training and socialization of the young and in transmitting information and instruction to other adults.

In some places, the formal school system is a major source of employment for women. Seventy-seven per cent of the primary teachers in the Philippines are women. Nearly all the primary teachers in Brazil are. In Dahomey, the figure is 70 per cent. The participation of women at higher grade levels and in other education system jobs varies widely among countries, however.

Since formal education systems rely on teachers to reach pupils, these women must be taken into consideration by people who wish to promote effective programs. At the same time, in reorganizing formal education structures, or shifting the emphasis to non-formal systems, one will have to consider the probable effects of the proposals on the employment and status of women and also how women educators believe their security and opportunities will be affected by the reforms.

Traditional and non-formal education functions of women are now getting increased attention in AID and development agencies, especially in the health and family planning fields. The need for this interest is obvious and the requirement to extend it to other fields is hardly less serious.

AID PROGRAMS

A review of AID education assistance programs of the past two decades shows that they arose from and were responsive to the perceived needs of the times. Generally speaking, they focused on the push

toward universal primary education through many activities in teacher training, curriculum improvement, and school building; creation of a middle-level work force through secondary level vocational agriculture and technical training; and strengthening/diversifying the top government/professional/entrepreneurial cadres through university development and scholarships for foreign study, mainly at the graduate level in the U. S.

In 1969, AID undertook, with advisory assistance, to shape the Agency's education strategy for the 1970's. This was not a change of perception of the requirements, out rather a change in the perception of how best to meet the overwhelming problem of need versus resources. One of the eight "key problem areas" cited was "women in development". The list was narrowed to four areas: non-formal education; educational technology; finance to expand the resource base; and higher education as it related directly to development needs. For the past three years, AID has been organizing various approaches and initiating field activities. Women were considered to be a part of any target group in this strategy.

The shift of emphasis within the education sector was simultaneous with the decline in focus on GNP criteria of development toward goals reflecting the quality-of-life, particularly for the poor. For the education sector, some implications of this new emphasis are: (1) supporting educational activities directed specifically to the rural and urban poor; (2) bringing into the development mainstream the "female" occupations centering on the home and the nurture of the young; and (3) specific learning activities arising from people's needs as they relate to sectors of the economy.

The focus on quality-of-life and non-formal education opens the door to a broadly diversified education program dealing with subjects of immediate and practical use to the learner and can include literacy training. Such programs may use the teachers, the school buildings, the processes and types of learning materials considered educational, but the substantive content will be integrated with the manpower requirements and will deal with people of various ages.

We examined some recent and planned AID education activities which include women or focus primarily on them. Not all are within the education sector, organizationally speaking. Some relate primarily to job placements of women. Such programs are prima facie evidence of some measure of concern for educational opportunity and recognition of women's abilities in assessing the economic value and develop-

27

ment utility of the education itself.

Ethiopia: A recent small grant to the YWCA in Asmara enabled them to expand social and skills training for non-member urban poor women. The consulate reported that the training had an important impact on the women's self-respect and status in the community far beyond the immediate trainees. A Ministry of Education/USAID experimental effort in work-oriented adult education will give equal attention to all productive age members of rural families. In some rural villages, where up to 90 per cent of the males have migrated to urban centers, females will be the target learner audience. In others, females will be taught gardening, nutrition, health, rural skills and basic development concepts necessary to mitigate constraints and optimize the impact of agriculture production programs. If this is successful, and the national program of expanded rural relevant training is undertaken, it will undoubtedly have the most appreciable impact on the role of women in Ethiopia since education started there.

Turkey: Women who have recently studied abroad under AID-financed study programs are returning to key positions as: Marketing specialist, Turkish Petroleum Company; Economic analyst, State Investment Bank; Assistant Section Chief, Ministry of Finance; Plant Pathologist, Agricultural Research and Production Center.

Peru: Special efforts are being made to include the greatest possible number of women in medical and related professions in programs and seminars relating to health and demography. One woman physician is to receive advanced training at Johns Hopkins, another is to study at the University of Connecticut.

Philippines: All of the 500 paramedics to be trained in the family planning program in FY 1975 will be women.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Agency Sector Paper on Education needs to be supplemented by adding discussion of the interaction of programs in the four concentration areas (finance, technology, non-formal, and higher) with women's roles in development. This supplement should take account of girls' and women's opportunity for education, the substance of educational programs concerning women's roles, and the participation of women in the system for providing education. This supplement should

be prepared concurrently with the other actions listed below.

2. Because so many girls and women in the developing world have been bypassed by the formal educational structure, an immediate expansion of non-formal education systems appear as a means of enabling women to develop literacy and skills allowing greater involvement in the developing process. The non-formal approach is clearly an option which suits women's needs in many circumstances.
3. A sustained effort needs to be made to sensitize those in AID dealing with education programs to the importance of the role of women throughout the process of program development and implementation. As one step, this subject should be included in the series of orientation programs being undertaken to inform the Agency about the implications of the new sector strategy for education.
4. AID should undertake a review of continuing education programs to identify those of particular impact on women, actually or potentially. Special attention should be paid to research and development and other experimental programs, to education planning and sector analysis, to education sector loans, and to non-formal education. Projects within one or two years of completion would generally be omitted from this review. Where the review indicates a need, AID should initiate joint consideration with host governments to identify desirable changes which can be undertaken by mutual agreement.
5. Proposals for new projects and programs in education, whether funded under Section 105 of the F. A. A. or not, should all address specifically the opportunity, substance, and participation aspects of the involvement of women, as defined earlier in this report. No specific criteria for approval or non-approval on this ground can now be suggested. Obviously, activities would be welcome that otherwise fit our priorities and seek specifically to improve the integration of women in development. We would reject activities that are clearly harmful. Most proposals will fall in the large intermediate area where judgments must be made involving the particular culture and social attitudes, and the direction of the broad development program. Projects that do not take account of the roles actually, or potentially, played by women in the host country are badly designed and need revision. The purpose of the program process outlined is to make the host government aware of the issues involved, so that they are explicitly taken into consideration; and to make ourselves sensitive to the explicit

and implicit implications of proposed projects with regard to women. We should also endeavor to make certain that the views of female participants and beneficiaries in proposed projects are considered.

6. In order to conduct the analysis of projects and programs, AID will need additional capacity to explore the interaction of education with women's roles. This capacity should come from outside contract and FASA groups with close involvement of LDC resources. This capacity should be built into existing intermediaries and international structures to the extent possible, and new intermediaries found where necessary.

7. The United States should encourage international groups with which it is associated to give specific attention to the role of women in development, with particular regard for the access of girls and women to formal and non-formal education of all kinds, the substance of what is taught and communicated that has a bearing on this subject, and their participation in education systems and programs. This policy should be emphasized in the instructions received by U. S. delegations and others participating in the work of specialized, development, and financial agencies which the U. S. supports through direct or indirect contributions, subscriptions, or assessments. Further, the collection of basic data regarding women and education should be pressed through international channels. To these ends, AID should make use of its channels, with the Executive Board, as fully as possible.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE
ON
HEALTH, POPULATION, AND FAMILY PLANNING

PROBLEM

Health and population are two areas of AID activity which relate directly with women and are recognized as offering benefits to them. Yet women seldom find opportunity to influence population or health policies in any country.

Substantial numbers of LDC women make use of the health centers AID has helped support, particularly for maternal and child health services. Nevertheless, in most LDC's only a relatively small percentage of women is actually reached by health services.

Family planning programs have so far had time and opportunity to reach only a small proportion of women, and those chiefly in cities where large families are no longer practicable. Even so, the estimated dropout rate over a two-year period is 50 per cent.

The inability to reach and sustain interest among non-urban populations -- the vast majority in most LDC's -- persists. The many more women who must become involved if these programs are to be effective are in villages and rural areas where attitudes are stubborn and where large-family traditions are still strong.

There are few women in AID in a position to open up natural channels of communications with LDC women leaders and organizations which could provide useful suggestions. This means that AID Missions may be missing vital input, and may not be equipped to carry out local initiatives or to clarify misunderstandings that may arise at local levels.

DISCUSSION

On the health side, there is no question that LDC women are benefiting by health services AID has had a part in establishing and are thus better able to contribute to national development in line with the objectives of the Percy Amendment. In addition to their gain from preventive and curative programs, in which men also share, women benefit from maternal and child health services. The new health activities AID now plans as the result of increased health

funds will have further impact, especially expansion of health education efforts in which women are also finding new opportunities for training and employment.

In our concern to expand education and employment opportunities for women -- the fields where women have long been denied equal chance -- little has been said of childbearing as in itself a unique and essential contribution women bring to development. If these children begin as healthy, sturdy babies, spaced to prevent maternal exhaustion, nourished through prenatal and early months to provide for mental development, encouraged into education and effective performance, then they are an asset. Neglected, undernourished, they become a drag on the family and on the national economy.

It is the mother's knowledge and determination that largely affects the welfare of her children; it has been a major Maternal and Child Health Services (MCH) aim to equip her for motherhood. With the new knowledge available on contraception and especially on the critical values in child nourishment, she can do more. However, there is not yet enough health coverage in LDC's; in many rural areas women must walk long distances to a clinic; often the distance is too great, and locally help is seldom adequate. One reason for unlimited childbearing has been to allow for the death of some of the offspring and still have sons (hopefully) left to support the parents in old age. A first step in winning confidence for a planned, smaller family is healthy children who have good prospects of adulthood.

The population/family planning programs are also making a great difference for women. Because family planning decisions demand conscious cooperation from wife and husband alike, many women are discovering their capacity for active participation for the first time, with wide implications for further questions they may explore. It has been assumed that the small family would be attractive to women because it would open the way for alternative roles to childbearing, improved health, and greater participation in public and economic life.

However, as the programs have moved further into the rural areas, it is becoming evident that for most women the idea of alternatives to childbearing hardly exists. For instance, on the "Why" of drop-outs, LDC women have quick answers. "She wanted to please her mother-in-law," they say, or "She wants a son; all her children are girls," or "They need security for their old age."

These comments seem superficial but reflect the threat many women feel in any limitation on motherhood, and alternatively, especially in the LDC's, the honor and economic value attached to a large family.

While population planners have always been aware of inherent conflicts, early experience with family planning programs tended to push them aside. The first consideration in the AID family planning program, necessarily, was dependable contraceptives and services to assure user safety. Once these breakthroughs were achieved, elite groups in LDC's proved ready takers. As in the developed countries, many of these acceptors were from educated families where women shared professional opportunities along with their husbands or looked forward to civic and public service as one measure of life fulfillment. The news of contraceptives spread in city and other densely populated areas where smaller families were proving an advantage. Also, women and health leaders welcomed contraception as a new means to space pregnancies. Only lately, as family planning programs reached out to villages and other more isolated surroundings did underlying traditions become apparent as obstacles to women's understanding and cooperation with national fertility objectives.

The situation was reflected last February in the great international women's forum convened by the United Nations to discuss population and family planning in anticipation of the World Population Conference next August. Participants came from 115 countries, many of them members of parliament, judges, and other high officials. They were unanimous in support of family planning. They considered it as the way to improve family life, to benefit the health of the mother, and to build a stronger nation. This was in itself a gain, for some of the women came from countries where family planning has not been widely acceptable. However, they did not relate this endorsement to the further objective of reduced fertility. Changes in family size, they felt, would be one aspect of the improved quality living which might be achieved through family planning, and it was in this context such changes should be considered.

It is the thesis of this paper that effective services for women, both in health and family planning, can attain their goals only when directed to the woman as a whole person, with concern not only for her physical welfare but also for the self-confidence and the resources she will need to carry through the recommended program. For example, to compensate for the fewer children she is producing,

she needs to feel added capability to do more for the children she has; to compensate for the lessened attention and prestige she will receive as the result of fewer childbirths, she needs to express her own potentials more broadly, directed to more productive employment or public service. In other words, a woman who accepts her fertility -- as most LDC women do -- will not change to the small-family life style until she sees, and is willing to seek, alternate sources of satisfaction, security, and prestige. To put it in still wider terms, integration of women into LDC economies, in line with the Percy Amendment, may at the same time be a key to improved family health and slowing population growth.

Some observers feel that AID's approach to population has centered so vigorously on reducing fertility that broader concerns of family planning are often lost. This view has been expressed by occasional LDC women leaders, as well as by AID staff close to field operations. They point out that the attention focused on the woman's sex behavior crowds her back even more firmly into the motherhood role. Granted, such problems may exist. But there should be no question of AID's broad intent; our programs in health, education, employment, nutrition, and freedom from hunger -- to mention only a few -- are far older than those in population and deserve to be taken into account in any description of AID's hopes and intentions. Because misunderstanding on this point can become a serious obstacle, our first recommendation calls for a restatement of AID's population objectives to integrate the goal of reduced fertility with AID's many other goals for development and human welfare.

How can we implement this wider objective? Later recommendations deal with the all-important need to offer women wider opportunities as an alternative to traditional childbearing, with more woman-channels for communication, with support possible through association and companionship, with the nature of the services offered in family planning centers, and with possibilities for research.

First, on wider opportunities as the basis for alternate roles, the woman's basic need is education, probably in short-term classes, organization activities, and learning-by-doing projects. A large proportion of LDC women are illiterate; yet in Japan, a child learns to read and write at home before he goes to school with his mother as the teacher. What a help it would be to overall development were this possible in LDC's! The training offered should be on matters the woman can use -- goal-oriented to improve her skills and if possible to establish her in a better productive position. To be effective in maintaining the woman's interest in keeping her family small, these new opportunities should be kept in context as being within the woman's capacity now that she will have fewer children and more time for activities outside the home.

AID should set up consultant teams to help Missions review their own programs in the light of the Percy Amendment, and particularly with regard to provision of these wider opportunities for women. The needed turn-around can be achieved in various ways, but these will differ from country to country. In addition to qualified women from the United States, these teams should include LDC women -- the mere invitation to such women can be expected to set new direction and open new channels of communication.

Thus far AID has taken little advantage of the woman-to-woman type of communication which readily develops in women's organizations, particularly on family and sex matters. Most of the AID staff, including those in the health/population and family planning programs, have been men. The same is true of intermediaries working in the field. While there is no reason for sex distinctions so far as the work is concerned -- in general, wisdom and effectiveness are a matter of qualifications -- experience shows that women usually find it easier to talk family planning with other women, particularly in LDC areas where women have traditionally been veiled. They also feel more confidence in a family planning program where a woman sits with men at top policy or operation levels, feeling, with some reason, that a woman's family experience offers a different and valuable resource for wise decisions. AID women in overseas posts can readily be invited to share in women's gatherings; discussion and communication ensues. AID's intake from this source has been minimal. It has almost no women in overseas Missions who can listen in on women's meetings or make authoritative statements to counter misunderstanding. This lack is even more regrettable as LDC health and family planning programs expand and bring in more women. The danger is that these new recruits may be frozen at lower technical levels. AID women in high posts would serve as a useful example.

Another essential in building a woman's confidence to undertake new direction, such as family planning, is access to a supporting group within her own community. In its simplest form, this group might be composed of women utilizing health center services and be supervised by the local health/family planning worker, with program suggestions coming from some central women's bureau or commission. Preferably, however, such a group should be a women's organization set up along broader lines, to which women of all ages might belong. In most LDC voluntary organizations of this type already are active at the national level, and can set up branches in interested communities,

with help from government or outside funds as needed.

Group discussion can also help a woman understand and share comfortably in decisions. One appropriate vehicle to surface such discussion may be a local level system similar to that now being stimulated in the Philippines. Under this plan, the local Mayor convenes a selected group of citizens to discuss a particular problem -- for example, health -- using an outline prepared at the national level. The meeting is open, and later sessions consist of all interested citizens, men and women alike. Family planning becomes a natural part of such discussion, along with how best to organize local services. Few LDC women now have the opportunity to share in such organized meetings.

Another possibility for increasing understanding and confidence is the first personal experience a woman has to discuss family planning. After careful consideration, Pakistan is now setting up man-woman motivation teams to visit families, village by village, thus assuring talk with both husband and wife. Father Kane, whose AID-supported family planning clinic in Jamaica is known for its high continuation rate, credits success to a friendly, unhurried interview at the start and continuing personal-interest follow-up. Indeed, without such consultation, renewed as questions arise, the woman may readily feel herself a target rather than a cooperator and come to resent the effort in which she finds herself involved.

Again, while it is clear that a woman equipped through education and employment experience will find it easier to adjust to small-family expectations, it would help if we knew more about the actual relation of such variables to family size. Studies in Turkey showed that women with four grades or more of education tend to have fewer children. Experience in Egypt during clearing operations for the Aswan Dam suggested that women actively employed outside the home reduce fertility. Women working in agriculture, however, tended to continue high birth rates despite their heavy toil. Similar findings come from research elsewhere, such as the U. N. recent study of "The Status of Women and Family Planning," which continued over four years, with contributions from over 100 countries. To be effective, such findings need to be explored and confirmed in the local context, preferably by an LDC institution or agency which can take account of local conditions and the practical opportunities which can be offered to women ready to expand their activities beyond traditional childbearing.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That AID continue and expand its present health and family planning programs, since they are of prime importance to women, but restate objectives so as to emphasize Agency concern for the woman as a whole person, i. e., the goal to reduce fertility and improve health should be considered along with the need for improved education, family nutrition and home hygiene, better agricultural and other skills, as well as opportunities for increasing income and employment possibilities. In this vein, it is suggested that AID:
 - a) continue the trend to provide family planning services in association with health services as one way to show total concern, and
 - b) use MCH systems and services to alert women to new educational and other possibilities for advancement.
2. Plan immediately for review of Agency health and family planning programs (and other programs, as appropriate) at the Mission level to make certain such programs reflect concern for the woman as a person, and also that the context in which they operate includes concern for educational opportunities (especially non-formal), employment, skill training, cultural and other activities which will offer alternate sources of personal security and life satisfaction to mothers of small families.
3. As indicated in the overall report recommendations, it is particularly important in areas involving health and family planning that at least one senior, substantive post in each Mission be filled by a woman, in order to establish confidence, set an example, and provide a natural channel to relate to women leaders and organizations.
4. Encourage the present trend to expand the use of women in the new paramedical, health, and information posts opening up as LDC family planning programs grow; help in training them, and also current health/family planning personnel, to ensure that services accord with the woman's dignity, welfare, and convenience.
5. For the purpose of preventing family planning dropouts, make certain that the woman has access to the companionship, encouragement, and reassurance of other women in continuing with her small-family objective. This support might be provided through a local women's activity club (existing or new) which should offer some informal training for development of literacy, home improvement, and

production skills that will increase self-confidence and capabilities for quality family and national development goals. Among resources for such clubs are the voluntary organizations already existing in the area -- especially if affiliated with a national woman's organization -- churches, and/or similar institutions, as well as government personnel such as local health/family planning officers, the school teacher, agricultural extension agent, and others as available.

6. A discussion process at the village/community level should also be encouraged, in which women can share with men in public decision-making on development, health/population policies, and related matters. This might be organized by the Mayor or other local officials. AID should take account of these discussions and encourage government agencies and external donors to do likewise.

7. Expand applied research on the relation between a woman's education, employment, old-age security expectations, and similar variables to family size. This should be done preferably in IDDC institutions that can make use of existing sources and local experience. Among matters that should be explored is how family life and similar teaching in primary-secondary schools can provide a sound basis for family-size decisions and avoid perpetuating traditional attitudes opposed to wider opportunities for women.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE

ON

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, AND NUTRITION

PROBLEM

It is estimated that there are approximately 523 million rural women in developing countries today (excluding mainland China). The extent to which these women have long played a major role as developers in their own right has seldom been recognized.

Rural women comprise about 38 per cent of Asia's total population, 34 per cent of Africa's, and 21 per cent of Latin America's, but international programs tend to leave them out of economic training programs. For example, AID brought some 660 agricultural participants to the United States for training in FY 1973, only 18 of whom were women.

In predominantly rural countries women are frequently left behind in subsistence agriculture, while men are trained in factories or taught to grow export crops.

Rural women usually sell their produce in the markets, but national credit policies frequently ignore women. (In Thailand, Burma, all of West Africa, and in much of Central America, women control village markets.)

In rural Indonesia, ice cream, soda pop, and textiles were all women's businesses until bigness and role stereotypes undermined their role. In Managua, Nicaragua, the U.S.-style supermarket was built and staffed by male personnel. This put the local market, run by women to feed their families, completely out of business. There is a real danger that many more women will lose their traditional livelihoods and be replaced by men in entrepreneurship.

Lack of information about women in the developing countries retards policy formulation efforts. Women have generally been left out of the data-gathering process and tend to be overlooked in national estimates for development. When statistics are collected, they are seldom broken out by age and sex.

Approaches have yet to be developed to help LDC's select and implement a feasible rural development strategy that gives equal weight to women, measures women's contribution to socio-economic improvement, estimates potential improvement through skills-training for women, or designs and manages product and service-oriented training programs.

DISCUSSION

The Agency has a mandate from the Congress to concern itself with the poorest majority of the population in the developing countries and is focusing its effort on the rural poor. The Percy Amendment reinforces the injunction to the Agency to emphasize programs that provide opportunities to the rural poor and to do so in a way that ensures that women play a full role in the process, both contributing to and sharing fairly in the benefits.

Because of widespread poverty in rural areas, it will be difficult to advance the status of rural women unless greater efforts are made to raise the standard of living for the family as a whole. Nevertheless, because of the major role played by women in rural economies, efforts to raise the family's standard of living are not likely to be successful unless women are involved in every stage of the development process.

Rural women generally grow much of the food (over half of the food in Africa) and frequently handle traditional marketing in LDC's, as well as the whole range of home management functions. In addition to cooking and housework, women also have to spend hours each day hauling fuel and water for the household and processing the staple foods, i.e., grinding, pounding, and scraping.

Education is a key factor in the development process. It appears clear from available information that rural women (and girls) are even more educationally disadvantaged than men and boys. Such lack of opportunity for education and/or training seriously hampers the development process. For rural women in particular, non-formal learning systems would probably provide the most practical means of satisfying basic needs and enhance opportunities for integration into national economies.

In order to carry out the requirements of the Percy Amendment on a long-range basis, more information is needed about the kinds of work rural women are doing, as well as the quantity and quality of their production; how their work relates to community and national development priorities; what their working conditions are, such as health, hours of work, safety, family problems, level of working technology, need for training and conditions under which training is feasible and potentially productive. There is also need to determine the constraints that already have or may preclude rural women from obtaining and utilizing improved knowledge and work skills in their daily activities. (A 1974 U.S. position paper for the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women points out that an obstacle to development of programs to improve participation by rural women has been the lack of pertinent information about the role of women in subsistence production, as well as in income-earning activities related to the rural/agricultural sector.)

Because food and nutrition problems in developing countries are becoming increasingly serious, particularly for nutritionally vulnerable segments of the population, such as low-income groups, including pregnant women and children, effective means of carrying out the Congressional mandate promptly will not be easy to develop. But it may be possible to begin by selecting a limited number of high priority impact projects dealing specifically with the problems of rural women, and by assisting countries to design and implement comprehensive rural development programs which, by intent, fully incorporate women throughout the entire process. Such projects should concentrate on the rural disadvantaged and their productive employment.

Analytical systems are a useful approach to foster the integration of rural women and girls into socio-economic development. The analysis should identify policy and institutional changes that will be required as pre-requisites to the participation of women in any given project. To this end, a study on proposed AID strategy has been prepared on the subject of integrating LDC women into national economies.¹ This paper, (1) presents a framework for analyzing the problems of rural women, and (2) makes recommendations on how to develop an analytical

1. "A Strategy Paper for Integrating LDC Rural Women Into Their National Economies." R.K. van Haeften (USDA) and D. C. Caton (AID), May, 1974. See Appendix Section D.

system for effectively integrating women into national economies.

In summary, the paper concludes that developing countries can act at once to screen and evaluate technology and training to improve the productivity of women within the existing climate and can also review the existing climate with a view toward adjusting key factors which would open new opportunities to women.

Beginning with the lowest education levels, as compared to men and boys in rural areas, women and girls lack training in many respects. For instance, LDC technicians could introduce improvements sought by rural women that would allow them to:

- (a) use labor-saving devices for grinding, winnowing, weeding, water portage, storage, food preservation, and food transport;
- (b) exploit potential markets for small-scale industries, food preservation, and handicrafts;
- (c) benefit from consolidation of farm holdings;
- (d) gain access to credit for crops that they produce and market;
- (e) engage in community associations transformed into economic agencies.

International authorities estimate that approximately 60 per cent of LDC populations receive inadequate diets and that more than two-thirds of the children will encounter sickness or disabling diseases either brought on or aggravated by protein-calorie malnutrition. Because of the scarcity of cereals, the main staple of low-income families, and the consequent increase in food prices, these categories have been sharply affected. Unless concerted efforts are made to increase the supply of food, much of which is produced, preserved, stored, and marketed by women, the problem of malnutrition in the LDC's will constitute a serious impediment to further socio-economic development.

Women are particularly vulnerable to poor diets, especially in periods of high nutritional need, such as during pregnancy and lactation. Due to the frequency of births in the LDC's,

this generally means that women are subject to poor diets for most of the childbearing years. Deficiency of iron and folate is widespread during pregnancy, for example. These anemias affect women's resistance to disease and capacity for work.

The health and nutritional status of pregnant and nursing mothers has a direct bearing on the health and development of their offspring and, in turn, on the health of the next generation. Birth weights of children in LDC's borne by women whose diets are inadequate are usually lower than those of children whose mothers have adequate diets. This puts many newborns in LDC's at a disadvantage for growth.

Measures to improve sanitation and reduce infection must go hand-in-hand with nutrition programs. The synergy between nutrition and infection poses a serious problem for LDC women who are primarily responsible for the health and safety of children in the family. These women commonly find that their children under two years of age are ill about 30 per cent of the time. When metabolism quickens to combat illness, nutritional deficiencies increase.

AID has designated nutrition as a priority area and has assigned two professional nutritionists to this area in the Office of Nutrition. In addition, one nutritionist in the Office of Research and Institutional Grants deals with nutrition, but has other responsibilities. AID retains nutrition consultants and receives advice from the Committee on International Nutrition Programs of the National Academy of Sciences.

AID's 1973 Nutrition Strategy provides mechanisms for assisting LDC's to address the problem of malnutrition through multifaceted but coordinated efforts, with the emphasis on analysis and national nutrition planning. To address problems at the community and family level, however, AID must encourage LDC's to expand self-help activities at the local level which the people themselves carry out. The new programs should have special relevance to women and girls as providers and consumers, so that malnutrition does not hamper their contribution (and that of future generations) to the total development effort. Matters

that deserve particular attention include;

- (a) Family Food and Nutrition Planning: Training family members to select food crops with due attention to family nutritional needs. Kitchen gardens, small animals, poultry and fish ponds tended by women should be included in the training;
- (b) Food Preservation for Home and Community Use: Teaching new preservation methods for use in the home and the community;
- (c) Home and Community Preparation of Weaning Foods: Using local produced foods -- introduction of new and improvement of conventional weaning foods or those used in the past and now considered outmoded;
- (d) Home Preparation of High Protein Blends: Preparing blends for home use and sale;
- (e) Family Food Storage Utensils and Facilities: Developing models and producing them for home use and sale. (Food loss through spoilage and infestation is a major problem in LDC's.);
- (f) Training of women and girls for food service positions and programs: e.g., school feeding, nursery schools, hospitals.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That AID's new Working Group on the Rural Poor be expanded to include women and undertake formal consideration of the establishment of an organization and staff which would:

A. organize advisory teams to assist developing countries in relating micro-dynamic programs to general national systems, in particular to help establish or upgrade LDC capability for determining ways and means by which rural women and girls may be brought into national economies;

B. develop with LDC's strategies and programs to select and provide rural women and girls with appropriate technology and training (especially non-formal training) designed to accelerate their integration into the development process;

C. include one or two technical staff with expertise and leadership in the field of nutrition, with international experience, to integrate concerns in this field with overall rural development plans for women. In particular, it is recommended that such personnel help provide liaison with and encouragement of nutrition-related programs of AID, host countries, and international, professional, and voluntary groups and institutions as they may be related to assisting the participation of women in such programs.

2. AID should ascertain the extent to which men or women will be the ultimate users and beneficiaries of outreach activities in rural areas so as to communicate and disseminate information about improved technologies and exchange it between communities. When women in developing countries are involved, they should take part in both the planning and execution of such outreach activities.

3. AID's Nutrition Strategy target group is women and children. In carrying out this strategy, it is recommended that AID explore with LDC's, private and public institutions, and voluntary agencies the potential for national nutrition programs that involve most rural people -- particularly women and girls -- in improved selection, preservation, storage, and handling of locally produced foods to meet family nutritional needs, and to accelerate such programs wherever possible.

4. In the fields of nutrition and agricultural planning, production, and marketing, AID should emphasize appropriate and necessary training for women and girls to prepare them for leadership roles, so that they may participate more fully in the development process.

45

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE

ON

EMPLOYMENT AND NATIONAL PLANNING

PROBLEM

The role of women in economic development has been given little attention. Few women participate at high levels in national governments or in the formation of national, regional, or international policies related to employment and to the development process as a whole. Generally, women have no input in the development planning process or in the selection of priority development projects that may or may not be of benefit to them.

Attitudes, traditions, and legal barriers have a serious effect on efforts to advance the status of women in employment. These attitudes exist in societies as a whole and in the minds of women as well as men.

Periods of economic recession in developing countries threaten women's integration in the industrial workforce. Women have particular difficulty obtaining equal rights to employment and equal treatment on the job in a framework of chronic and growing unemployment and under-employment. Women are frequently the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

Although equal rights and treatment for women are stipulated by law in many countries, discrimination against working women continues in practice. The gap between law and reality is wide.

Certain labor standards legislation applying only to women, however well intentioned, has served to deny women equal job opportunity and equal pay, e. g. , burdens upon employers to make undue exceptions on behalf of women create a reluctance to hire women.

High fertility limits education and job opportunities for men as well as women, but the vicious circle of low educational and employment status and high fertility is particularly damaging to women.

Lack of equal access with men to formal and non-formal training is a formidable barrier to the advancement of women in the workforce.

Women comprise the major percentage of international illiteracy rates. In the developing countries, among adult women, 27.3 per cent in Latin America are illiterate, 56.2 per cent in Asia, over 80 per cent in Africa.

Millions of women in LDC's toil from morning to night as unpaid subsistence farm or domestic workers. Their work is not recognized as employment or included in employment statistics.

Societal lethargy, combined with a reluctance to face realistically the complex and difficult issues involved in achieving equality of opportunity and treatment for women, is a key barrier to resolution of these and other problems.

DISCUSSION

Women's problems differ from one region and country to another according to patterns of economic life and attitudes, traditions, and legal barriers relating to women's status. But there are many common factors. Those cited above illustrate the factors that must be considered by everyone responsible for carrying out the requirements of the Percy Amendment.

Women's employment and opportunity for employment have increasingly become matters of concern both for women's own security and security of the family, as well as the need for more and better economic development.

Urban migrations and out-country migrations caused by economic modernization and foreign investment have exacerbated the problem of abandoned families, and adequate account has not been taken of economic responsibilities which women automatically assume in the process. The significant numbers of women who are "bread-winners" for themselves as well as their families need special attention.

Women teach the children, but their own lack of relevant, practical training makes them incapable of passing on to children the capacity for self-improvement and adaptation to rapidly changing economic and social circumstances.

As members of voluntary and professional organizations, women who have elite status may have some influence on national planning, but in most LDC's they are few in number and may not themselves fully understand the difficulties faced by other women in their countries.

Women are involved in the economic life of every country, and they contribute to economic processes, but economic indicators currently used as the basis for national planning efforts do not show the actual extent of their participation. This deficiency may skew national planning to suit only a fraction of the available human resources.

Attitudes exist in societies as a whole that inhibit participation of women in the total development effort. Some are rooted in history, although not always in the history of the developing country itself. Women's maternity function appears to be a major reason for acceptance of the generally associated roles of women as food producers, child rearers, keepers of family health and welfare, and concentration in subordinate positions in the labor market in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, such as domestic service in Latin America and construction work in Asia. This condition is partly also the outcome of inferior education and training, but even when women are qualified for higher level work, they are frequently discouraged from applying for better jobs and are not given equal consideration in the hiring process.

Girls tend to be conditioned from their earliest childhood towards the traditionally female role of service to the family, of assisting men, and of working in "feminine" occupations when employed.

Traditionally, such training and education as has been available to girls and women has been less technical in character than that for boys and men. Women are seldom given the same opportunities as men for apprenticeship and on-the-job training. Women tend to be trained for teaching, nursing, social and clerical work -- occupations that are traditionally not given high development priority and which are often highly dependent upon national budget outlays. Furthermore, because of conditioning throughout their formative years, women tend to seek out, and are counseled to seek, training for so-called women's jobs, or for narrower, lower levels of work, seldom for positions requiring leadership.

It is interesting to note that insofar as participation in training for future leadership roles is concerned, opportunities for women to receive such training in the United States appear to have decreased in recent years. In 1965, for example, 12.2 per cent of people in the U.S. under the AID International Training Program were women. This figure dropped in 1971 to 10.8 per cent. In 1972, it was 6.4 per cent, and in 1973, it had decreased still further to 4.5 per cent.

More women are illiterate than men. In some developing countries, up to 80 per cent of adult women are illiterate. Many girls drop out of school after three years which, according to UNESCO, means too little education for retained literacy and ability to deal with simple mathematics. Pre-vocational and vocational training for women and girls depends on basic literacy.

Women tend to be heavily concentrated in traditional sectors of agricultural work. Much of this is non-paid, or receives in-kind remuneration. In Africa, women control about 40 per cent of the marketing systems. They produce about half of the continent's food and contribute to the production of cash crops for export. Many women are heads of households and are therefore dependent upon these traditional sources of income/trade to sustain themselves, children, and the elderly.

Displacement of women from the sectors they occupy creates social problems within the family as well as in the community. Such displacement is occurring, and unless it is immediately remedied by providing acceptable alternative economic opportunities, the loss of female resources in traditional sectors will adversely affect the general economy.

In spite of the international and national instruments adopted over the years to require equal pay and equal opportunity for wage earners, women are still not receiving equal treatment. When equal pay requirements are not observed, women tend to constitute a cheap alternative to male labor -- which is as undesirable as the devices that reduce female opportunity.

Existing standards developed for women in employment tend to reflect conditions in the more industrialized countries and have been given little consideration in occupations where women are heavily concentrated, e. g. , agriculture, education, health, and the type of family employment already discussed.

On the other hand, it is now becoming recognized that standards promulgated by the Industrial Labor Organization (ILO) for industrial employment have tended as much to work to the disadvantage as to the protection of women. For example, stringent standards for maternity leave and benefits have in some instances created financial burdens that employers are unable to meet and have denied job opportunities to women in their childbearing years.

In rural areas, the traditional and cultural inhibitions to women's advancement and employment, whether self-employed or wage-earner, may be based as much on the fact that women do not constitute a definable labor sector as that they are prohibited from taking part in the work force. Little girls assume mother-image roles of combining agricultural work with household duties and child-raising, leaving little time or energy for the pursuit of self-development if, indeed, the opportunity is present, which it frequently is not. A village woman generally does not see herself in any other role.

When their problems are recognized and a program for assistance is developed -- even on an informal basis, as experiments by the ECA in Africa have shown -- women want to change the pattern and will do so with very little help. A national declaration in behalf of equality for women, if insisted upon by the country concerned, brings dramatic change, such as Egyptian reforms elevating the status of women in development, which have resulted, among other things, in the enrollment of several hundred women in agricultural training.

Equal opportunity for jobs carries with it the implication that there must be equal training for the jobs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. AID should increase its support of the program underway in O/LAB to develop and strengthen national commissions (non-government or quasi-government) and women's bureaus (government), in response to LDC requests. See Appendix Section A.
2. AID should further explore the potential of professional and non-governmental associations which impact on national planning, and provide assistance to and form better communication channels with such organizations, e.g., sponsoring conferences, training sessions, and special training to assist programs for the integration of women into national economies.

3. AID should encourage the development of information indicators which can be used to illuminate the role and status of women in sectors and in the general society, e. g. , breakdowns in production and returns, breakdowns by sex in employment/income, formal and non-formal education, vocational training, etc. , opportunities (paid and unpaid), and pay-for-jobs.
4. AID should include specific standards in its criteria for mission selection of participant trainees, emphasizing the need to focus on potential women leaders in all fields. Women candidates for training should be sought and considered, especially as they may influence development planning. It is recommended that surveys be undertaken to provide information about the availability of women as respondents with particular attention to the fields of agriculture, nutrition, and home economics, so as to provide better sources for staffing in LDC institutions and agencies.
5. AID should give explicit consideration to the roles of women in the development programs it finances. Women can provide special insight and understanding in programs involving women as well as men and should be included in the decision-making process.
6. AID should stimulate women's active participation in the labor movement through AFL-CIO-sponsored Institutes for Asia, Africa, and Latin America (AAFLI, AALC, and AIFLD), the ILO, and other members of the U. N. family to which AID provides financial support, as well as in programs sponsored by other appropriate governmental development agencies. This would include promoting labor exchange programs for the study of women's status, compilation of data and statistics about working women and their status in labor movements, and training for trade union women on labor education, union organization, collective bargaining, and civic participation.
7. AID should encourage and respond positively to requests for assistance to improve the administration of, or establish measures requiring equal rights for women, equal job opportunity, equal remuneration for women, and for modernization of labor standards.
8. AID should encourage developing countries (particularly those where government is the chief employer) to provide more assistance

to small business, cooperatives, credit formations, and other mechanisms in which women are working and are an intrinsic part.

9. AID should encourage and support existing programs of the U.N. and other organizations (such as the ECA) to focus on women's organizations in LDC's and assist such organizations to recognize and take advantage of non-formal and vocational training opportunities as they are developed at local levels.

10. AID should encourage countries to provide more education, guidance, and vocational and technical training for women and men so as to open up better employment opportunities to both sexes.

11. AID should seek information about the participation of women in traditional sectors of national economies and should use such information in pre-feasibility study stages of AID LDC program planning. These data may help reveal the extent and types of training necessary for pre-vocational and vocational training and the mechanisms for increased participation in such training.

021

APPENDIX

- A. National Commissions on Women and Women's Bureaus
prepared by Morag Simchak, O/LAB
and Kay Wallace, Department of Labor
- B. International Organizations
prepared by Clara Beyer, O/LAB
and Mary L. Becker, PPC/IA
- C. Proclamation: International Women's Year
- D. A Strategy Paper for Integrating LDC Rural Women Into
Their National Economies
prepared by: Douglas D. Caton, TA/AGR
and
Roberta K. van Haeften, USDA
- E. Excerpt from Background Paper on the New Foreign
Assistance Act Provision (Percy Amendment) Entitled:
"Participation of Women in Development"
prepared by Jonathan Silverstone, PPC/PDA
- F. Contacts and Resources
- G. Partial Bibliography

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMISSIONS ON WOMEN
AND
WOMEN'S BUREAUS

prepared by:
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Department of Labor

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMISSIONS ON WOMEN AND WOMEN'S BUREAUS

Establishment of National Commissions on Women and of Women's Bureaus has been recommended and supported over a period of several years by the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Organization of American States (OAS), the International Labor Office (ILO), Conference of Labor Ministers, and by a substantial number of other organizations in both the public and private sectors.

Many countries, including LDC's, have National Commissions or Women's Bureaus, or both, already functioning as ongoing entities. Although official designations may vary, Commissions, Women's Bureaus, or the like are established for the same basic purpose, i. e., to provide a central governmental focal point for coordination of all matters related to the role of women in their respective countries.

Administrative arrangements for setting up such organizations differ from country to country depending on administrative structure. It is of major importance that they be located in the government structure at the highest level, in an area where they are most likely to influence decisions and programs that affect the participation of women in all sectors of the development process, both urban and rural. They should be fully recognized as the advisory and coordinating unit within the government on all matters pertaining to women.

In situations where a country has, or may choose to have, both a National Commission on Women and a Women's Bureau, Commission members are generally appointed by the nation's chief executive and consist of leading women and men with a background of varied experiences. Meetings are usually held at regular intervals throughout the year. Members are non-salaried but may receive a per diem and travel allowance while attending meetings. Such a Commission acts as a top-level advisory body to the Government, proposing policies for the advancement of women and their integration into national economies. It also encourages and persuades the Government and its agencies to take needed action by proposing specific measures that can lead to or ensure equal treatment for women.

If a National Commission of this kind is established, it needs a technical secretariat to provide background information and to

develop ways and means of putting into effect decisions, policies, and recommendations made by the Commission. A Women's Bureau may serve this purpose.

However, a Women's Bureau may be established where there is no Commission. Some countries have preferred to establish both, but in most instances where only one unit exists, individual governments have chosen to set up a Women's Bureau, either attached to the Office of the Chief Executive or located at the highest level within a Ministry or Governmental Department. In such circumstances, the Women's Bureau carries the functions and responsibilities for initiating and implementing policies and programs.

National Commissions

A National Commission on Women and Development may be established by Executive Order or Legislative Act. Its powers, numbers of members, length of service, type of representation, method of operation, and responsibilities to the Chief Executive of Government are specified in the instrument that established it.

To ensure continuity, it is desirable that the Commission be permanent or established on a long-term basis.

To be most effective, the Commission's membership should be composed of leading women and men with experience in government service, education, agriculture, family planning, nutrition, employment, and other aspects of public life.

It should be the central point for setting policy, development of plans and recommendations for improving the position of women in the respective countries, and for the integration of women into national economies. Each National Commission would have specific areas of need with which it would concern itself, in accordance with national priorities.

Functions of national commissions may include:

1. The examination and evaluation of the present contribution of women to the various sectors of development in the light of national needs and priorities.
2. The study of specific areas where women's participation should be initiated and strengthened.

3. The development and promotion of action programs to integrate women in all sectors of national development.
4. Assistance to governments in formulating requests for international technical assistance available through the United Nations system of organizations and foreign governments.
5. Working in partnership with government authorities at all levels and in close cooperation with non-governmental agencies, especially women's organizations.

Other specific areas of concern may be:

1. Examination of laws in relation to the legal status of women; recommending change in accordance with the desires of women.
2. Examination of the provision of services to women in rural areas, such as adequate water supplies at convenient distances, transportation, food preservation facilities, training in modern farming and marketing techniques, relevant literacy programs, and services to rural communities as a whole which promote the health and welfare of rural families.
3. Assistance to governments in developing national plans which give adequate attention to the incorporation of beneficial programs for women where they do not exist.
4. Advice concerning development projects that would be more productive through the training and utilization of women.
5. Other services in accordance with the long- and short-term goals of individual countries.

Women's Bureaus

A Women's Bureau should be a permanent unit of government, with personnel assigned as full-time employees in accordance with prevailing public service regulations.

A Bureau may be established by legislation, executive order by the head of government, or by ministerial decree. Whether serving



jointly with a National Commission or as an independent unit within the executive branch of government, it should have a considerable degree of autonomy and a flexible budget.

Many existing Women's Bureaus are located in Departments or Ministries of Labor which administer programs concerned with supportive services preparing men and women for productive employment. In some instances, because of national circumstances, a Government may prefer to locate a Bureau in some other area, but regardless of its location, the Women's Bureau should be generally recognized as the focal point for all areas that concern women and are of concern to women.

Where no National Commission exists, a Women's Bureau should bear responsibility for functions a Commission would otherwise perform (see pages 2 and 3), as well as for the following:

Functions and Services of a Women's Bureau

1. Encourages fact-finding and research, including statistical reporting, related to the characteristics of available human resources and the potential of women as contributors to economic development.
2. Assists governments in planning short- and long-term programs and priorities which contribute to greater resourcefulness of men and women, produce higher levels of skill and productivity, and ensure the full utilization of women.
2. Assists governments in evaluating existing urban and rural technical assistance and community development programs, and in determining their value in terms of continuity and/or need for further government support.
4. Ensures that national and local programs are relevant to the needs of women in rural and urban areas, and that they have access to facilities for technical and vocational training.
5. Assists in the development of government policies as they relate to employment, general educational opportunities, community and social programs, and facilities essential to family life and well-being.
6. Reviews current legislation and recommends amendments and/or the consideration of new legislation related to the legal status of women.

7. Serves as a central source of information about women by providing facts and figures for speeches, newspaper articles, TV and radio programs, government officials, and the general public.

8. Initiates and encourages educational and information programs designed to develop an informed approach to the role of women and a favorable climate of opinion for the evolution of policy and action.

Recommendation

In light of the recommendations and strong support already given to the establishment of National Commissions on Women and Women's Bureaus, and the fact that several are already in existence or in the planning stages, this Task Force recommends that where such focal points for women's concerns already exist, governments be urged to strengthen them and enlarge their scope so as to provide maximum support for requirements of the Percy Amendment. Where no such units have been established to date, LDC's governments should be urged to establish them as soon as feasible.

B

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

prepared by:
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TAB B

61

THE UN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM
AND
THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

International Actions

The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1946 to bring about equality between the sexes in economic, social, and political development. Its effects have met with considerable success insofar as the legal position of women in these fields is concerned; however, the gap between the law and the actual position of women in society is still wide. Women in most developing countries are educationally disadvantaged at all levels. Lack of educational opportunities and training has touched off a chain reaction and perpetuated discrimination against women in other fields, especially employment, to the serious detriment of the whole development process.

Despite the efforts of the Commission on the Status of Women and voluntary agencies to point up the effects of discrimination on development, little governmental action to correct the inequities have resulted.

Data on sex differentials in education, training, and employment are rarely gathered or analyzed. Lacking such data, consideration of the issues involved are are passed over or given low priority. Few women are included on planning bodies or as members of delegations to international conferences where the special problems of women in development should be raised.

It was not until the early seventies that the General Assembly of the United Nations recognized the seriousness of this situation. It recommended to its specialized agencies and member states concerted international action to bring about "the full integration of women into the total development effort." It urged that adequate staff and resources be provided for this purpose.

It established clear targets for women in education, literacy, vocational training, and economic opportunities. It called for a substantial increase in opportunities for the involvement of women in all facets of agricultural development and agricultural services. It also called for a substantial increase in the participation of women in public and government life at all levels, particularly in executive and policy-making decisions.

These recommendations are bringing to the fore serious national and international consideration of the effects of discrimination against women and the need for action to alleviate them. A major catalyst for action on this subject has been the UN designation of 1975 as International Women's Year (IWY), with the integration of women in the development effort as one of its major objectives. AID's inputs into the U. S. Recommendations to the UN for the IWY in August, 1973, stressed this recognition of the importance of encouraging the full integration of women in the development effort, and highlighted the tie-in of the IWY with the mid-term review of the Second Development Decade.

The Percy Amendment, passed in October, 1973, represents Congressional affirmation of the United Nations position that the integration of women in the development process is essential to progress. AID's response to the Amendment will be an integral element in our observance of IWY, as well as a continuing example of our support for this world-wide objective of the Second Development Decade.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

Concurrently with the scrutiny of our bilateral efforts in this regard, and in keeping with our support of the objectives of the Second Development Decade and the IWY, we are conducting studies to determine the progress being made on this subject in the UN development system, and in particular, by the UNDP and the executing agencies. Following this stock-taking, we shall be in a position to formulate appropriate action proposals for the UN and the UN development system.

Technical Assistance Projects

A survey of the current and recently completed UNDP-funded technical assistance country projects indicates that while there are only a dozen or so which appear to be geared exclusively to women, many other projects have an impact on women in varying degrees. Projects for the improvement of maternal and child health, and assistance to social work activities are among the most obvious in the first category. There are also a few projects concerned specifically with women's education, home economics, nursing, and the employment of women and youths. However, many more UNDP projects in such areas as education planning and development, adult education, vocational and teacher training, production and marketing, labor legislation, development planning, and others could have a far-reaching impact on the lives, roles, and goals of women in developing countries if properly planned and implemented with a view to the advancement of women.

Framework for Future Implementation

Since AID offices concerned with UNDP matters regularly monitor the progress of UNDP program and administrative reforms in a variety of areas including program planning, project evaluation, and financial management, the integration of women in development is a further important factor toward which we should direct specific suggestions and encouragement for further progress in the future. We are supported in these efforts by the existing UN initiatives on the subject, including the following, which refers directly to the UNDP:

The Twenty-Fifth Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, in January, 1974, approved a draft resolution (attached) to be submitted to the Economic and Social Council on the Implementation of a program of concerted international action to promote the advancement of women and their integration in development. This Resolution calls for special efforts toward the integration of women in development in the context of the mid-term review and appraisal of progress during the Second Development Decade, authorizes the Commission to be represented in the Committee for Development Planning and the Committee for Review and Appraisal, and specifically requests the UNDP, the specialized agencies, and others to take into account, in connection with the Decade's mid-term review and appraisal, the extent to which programs endorsed by them include projects aimed at the integration of women in the total development effort and to report on this to the twenty-sixth session of the Commission and to the Committee on Review and Appraisal in time for the mid-term review in 1975.

Recommendations

1. AID should be constantly alert to and supportive of the UN's own initiatives for the integration of women in the development effort.
2. AID should also utilize fully its avenues for making specific inputs to the UN development system on this subject, including, as appropriate, inputs to U.S. position papers, representations through the U. S. Mission to the UN, and informal contacts with counterparts.
3. AID should encourage organization by the UN, in collaboration with bilateral organizations, of training courses on integrated approaches to women's participation in development for development planners.

4. With regard to UNDP country programming, AID should collaborate in efforts to increase the relevance of country programs in this regard, including sectoral objectives and priorities and project goals.
5. AID also should encourage personnel studies and the compilation and updating of statistical data on the integration of women in the development process, as well as efforts to include more women in decision-making positions.
6. AID should monitor UNDP activities and reports relating to the Program's response to the International Development Strategy, and should seek to ensure that due consideration is given to the objective of integrating women in development.
7. AID also should continue to encourage the strong developmental thrust in the objectives and programs for the International Women's Year and participation by the UNDP in the programs of the IWY.
8. AID should work for increased coordination of the myriad of activities relating to the integration of women in development, and should provide the necessary interface concerning the important domestic and international initiatives being taken on this subject on a continuing basis.

International conference to be held during
the International Women's Year 3/

The Economic and Social Council,

Recalling that General Assembly resolution 3010 (XXVII) of 18 December 1972 proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year in recognition of the beneficial work done by the Commission on the Status of Women in the 25 years since its establishment and the important contributions which women have made to the social, political, economic and cultural life of their countries,

Emphasizing that, in accordance with the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, 4/ activities undertaken in connexion with the International Women's Year should recognize the importance of women's effective contribution to the struggle against racism and racial discrimination,

Noting that the General Assembly in its resolution 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, whereby it adopted the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, included among the goals and objectives of the Decade the encouragement of the full integration of women in the total development effort,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to convene in 1975, in consultation with States Members of the United Nations, specialized agencies and interested non-governmental organizations, an international conference during the International Women's Year to examine to what extent the organizations of the United Nations system have implemented the recommendations for the elimination of discrimination against women made by the Commission on the Status of Women since its establishment "to launch an international action program including short and long term measures aimed at achieving the integration of women as full and equal partners with men in the total development effort and at eliminating discrimination on the grounds of sex, and at achieving the widest involvement of women in strengthening international peace and eliminating racism and racial discrimination."

2. Further requests the Secretary General, in drawing up the agenda for the conference, to focus attention on (a) the evaluation of current trends and changes in the roles of women and men in political, social, economic, family and cultural life, including sharing of responsibilities and decision-making and (b) the examination of the major obstacles which hinder the contribution of women and men as full partners in the total development effort and in sharing its benefits in both rural and urban areas;

3/ See paragraphs 54-62

4/ For the text of the Programme, see General Assembly Resolution 3057 (XXVIII) annex,

106

3. Accepts with appreciation, the invitation of Colombia to host the international conference on women during International Women's Year in 1975.

4. Recommends that States Members of the United Nations should provide equitable representation for women and men in their delegations to the conference as well as in the preparation for and follow-up of the conference;

5. Calls on the Secretary General to provide all necessary substantive support for the conference from within available resources, as indicated in the note by the Secretary General (E/5487)

6. Further recommends that a separate item entitled "International Women's Year", including the proposals and recommendations of the conference be examined at the 30th Session of the General Assembly in 1975.

**PROCLAMATION:
INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR**

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR 1975

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

There is a growing awareness today of the significant contributions that American women have made to our country's development, its culture, and its social and economic life. Women have enriched our society as homemakers and mothers and our community life through dedicated service as volunteers. Their entry into the labor force in increasing numbers has strengthened and expanded our economy. Despite these important contributions, women continue to face inequities as they seek a broader role in the life of our Nation.

In recent years, we have made significant progress toward remedying this situation, not only by striking down barriers to the employment and advancement of women in Government, but by ending discriminatory practices in other fields through legislation, Executive order, and judicial decree. Even when legal equality is achieved, however, traditional discriminatory attitudes, beliefs and practices may persist, preventing women from enjoying the full and equal rights that they deserve.

This Administration is committed to providing an opportunity for women to participate on an equal basis with men in our national life. We support the Equal Rights Amendment, we are moving vigorously to ensure full equal employment opportunity for women in the Federal service, and we are enforcing the law requiring similar efforts in business and institutions which receive Federal contracts or assistance.

The United Nations General Assembly, by adoption of Resolution 3010 of December 18, 1972, designated 1975 as International Women's Year. This resolution offers an exceptional opportunity to intensify the national effort already underway in the United States to further advance the status of women.

In observing International Women's Year, we should emphasize the role of women in the economy, their accomplishments in the professions, in Government, in the arts and humanities, and in their roles as wives and mothers.

The Congress approved the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution in 1972. It would be a fitting tribute to America's women to complete the ratification of this amendment by 1975.

more

69

Let us begin now to work together, men and women, to make 1975 an outstanding year for women in the United States, and lend our support to the advancement of women around the world.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RICHARD NIXON, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the year 1975 as International Women's Year in the United States. I call upon the Congress and the people of the United States, interested groups and organizations, officials of the Federal Government and of State and local governments, educational institutions, and all others who can be of help, to begin now to provide for the observance of International Women's Year with practical and constructive measures for the advancement of the status of women, and also to cooperate with the activities and observances to be arranged under the auspices of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of January in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-eighth.

RICHARD NIXON

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76

A STRATEGY PAPER FOR INTEGRATING LDC RURAL WOMEN
INTO THEIR NATIONAL ECONOMIES

prepared by: Douglas D. Caton, TA/AGR
and
Roberta K. van Haefen,
USDA

TAB D 11

A STRATEGY PAPER FOR
INTEGRATING LDC RURAL WOMEN
INTO THEIR NATIONAL ECONOMIES

Roberta K. van Haften - Douglas D. Caton
USDA AID

Prepared for the AID Percy Amendment Subcommittee on
Agriculture, Nutrition and Rural Development

A STRATEGY PAPER FOR INTEGRATING
LDC RURAL WOMEN INTO THEIR
NATIONAL ECONOMIES

Roberta K. van Haefen
U.S. Department of Agriculture

and

Douglas D. Caton
Agency for International Development

Department of State
Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20523

May 13, 1974

73

Foreign Assistance Act of 1973*

Percy Amendment

"SEC. 113. INTEGRATING WOMEN INTO NATIONAL ECONOMIES.--Sections 103 through 107 of this Act shall be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort.

Sections 103-107

"SEC. 103. FOOD AND NUTRITION.--In order to alleviate starvation, hunger, and malnutrition, and to provide basic services to poor people, enhancing their capacity for self help, the President is authorized to furnish assistance, on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for agriculture, rural development, and nutrition. There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the purposes of this section, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, \$291,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975, which amounts are authorized to remain available until expended.

"SEC. 104. POPULATION PLANNING AND HEALTH.--In order to increase the opportunities and motivation for family planning, to reduce the rate of population growth, to prevent and combat disease, and to help provide health services for the great majority, the President is authorized to furnish assistance on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for population planning and health. There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the purposes of this section, in addition to the funds otherwise available for such purposes, \$145,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975, which amounts are authorized to remain available until expended.

"SEC. 105. EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT.--In order to reduce illiteracy, to extend basic education and to increase manpower training in skills related to development, the President is authorized to furnish assistance on such terms and conditions as he may determine, for education, public administration, and human resource development. There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the purposes of this section, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, \$90,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975, which amounts are authorized to remain available until expended.

"SEC. 106. SELECTED DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS.--The President is authorized to furnish assistance on such terms and conditions as he may determine, to help solve economic and social development problems in fields such as transportation, power, industry, urban development, and export development. There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the purposes of this section, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, \$53,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975, which amounts are authorized to remain available until expended.

"SEC. 107. SELECTED COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS.--The President is authorized to furnish assistance on such terms and conditions as he may determine, in support of the general economy of recipient countries or for development programs conducted by private or international organizations. There are authorized to be appropriated to the President for the purposes of this section, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purposes, \$39,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1974 and 1975, which amounts are authorized to remain available until expended.

*Public Law 93-189, 93rd Congress, S.1443, December 17, 1973.

The contents of this paper represent the thoughts of the authors alone and do not necessarily represent the views of their respective agencies.

74

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Summary	1
Introduction	4
Target Group - Rural Women	4
Multiple Roles of Rural Women	6
Lack of Integration	6
Improving the Welfare of Rural Women - The Goal Defined	8
Assumptions About the Target Group	12
Alternative Ways and Means of Reaching Rural Women	14
Increasing the Social Services Directed to Rural Women	14
Increasing the Productivity of Women's Labor	16
Increasing the Productivity of the Entire Rural Community	18
AID Strategies	28
Past Experience	28
Redesigning AID Strategies.....	30
Convert Existing or Proposed Rural Development Projects.....	30
Select a Limited Number of High Priority, Immediate Impact Projects	30
Help Countries Design and Implement Comprehensive Rural Development Programs	31

SUMMARY

Rural women are a significant force in the developing countries representing 38 percent of Asia's total population, 34 percent of Africa's and 21 percent of Latin America's. Most of these women participate in a wide spectrum of activities in their homes (as wife and mother), on the family farm (as producer of agricultural products), and in the rural economy (as farm or cottage industry labor for hire or as petty retailers or wholesalers). Yet their participation tends to be confined to the low skilled and low paid jobs which is both a consequence of and a contributor to their low status. To this vicious circle must be added a description of their physical well-being. Rural women have poor nutrition, poor health, high mortality rates, bear too many children, and work long hours at back-breaking tasks. These are their problems--poor physical well-being, unequal participation in the economy, and low status. The overall poverty of the rural community is the cause of the first, the existing socio-economic structure of the second and third. (See Figure 5).

There are three basic strategies for dealing with these problems: (1) increase the social services directed to rural women, (2) increase the productivity of women's labor, and (3) increase the productivity of the entire rural community. The first is token and the second partial; only through the third is a complete and equitable solution possible.

Strategy One. Providing more social services for women in rural areas (health, nutrition, family planning, child care, education) can improve their level of physical well-being. However many of these activities fail or have less than the planned effect because the overall poverty of the rural community limits the extent to which women can take advantage of the services.

Strategy Two. Increasing the productivity of women's labor responds to all three problems--physical well-being, unequal participation in the economy, and low status. If women are more productive, they will have more food, more money to spend on health or education, or more time to spend with their families or getting a better education. Programs would require combinations of training and investment to increase the productivity of women's labor and legal and institutional changes to insure that women would be the major beneficiaries of their increased productivity. Investment programs present a particular problem; they can be concentrated in areas where women workers predominate, but there is no assurance that women will have control over the increased returns to their labor (the family may decide otherwise); nor is there any automatic assurance that as the returns to labor rise, men will not displace women in these activities.

Strategy Three. The poor physical well-being of rural women is a direct consequence of rural poverty. And programs/projects to enable rural women to participate more fully in the economy will find limited acceptance unless sufficient productive opportunities are provided for all men and women desiring them. In many countries at least one-third of the rural population is unemployed and 60 to 70 percent of the remainder is underemployed. Often these levels of unemployment and underemployment exist side by side with increases in agricultural output. Here the real problem is to integrate all rural people--men and women--into their national economies. And the only rational and enduring means to accomplish this is by providing everyone with the opportunity to participate in a growing rural economy in whatever activities and level of decision making that their inherent intelligence and skills suit them for--strategy three.

Once the emphasis on material growth is altered to include people and their productive employment as a goal, the development profession is less useful. Conventional theories, which emphasize material growth over employment, productivity and the returns to the factors of production (i.e. labor), are inadequate. And conventional programs which focus on commodities or functions (research, extension, etc.) rather than people and jobs are also inadequate. Instead, complex systems of well co-ordinated programs, policies and resource inputs will be required. These programs will have to be designed specifically to reach significant numbers of rural men and women. For example, technologies and mixes of technologies will have to be designed which can be used by a broader spectrum of farmers, i.e. technologies which are appropriate for them, considering their resource base, management and technical skills and possibilities for improvement, and attitudes toward risk. Systems for distributing fertilizer, seeds, tools, knowledge, and credit will have to be designed so that many more rural people have access to the means of increasing their productivity. And alternative types of employment will have to be created for rural people who are landless or whose land base is so small that there is no way to provide them with a decent income level through raising the productivity of their land.

Throughout the development process special attention should be paid to the roles of rural women to insure that they are not displaced from activities in which they are already effective, or that the degree of their participation, the level of skills which they exercise, etc., is not downgraded. The ultimate goal is for women to be able to participate in the rural community in a broad spectrum of activities and at whatever level of decision making their inherent intelligence and skills suit them for. If this does not occur, society itself will lose, both in an output sense due to the misallocation of resources and in a social sense because it would be preventing a large segment of its population from developing their full human potential.

AID's alternatives are to (1) convert existing or proposed rural development projects, (2) to select a limited number of high priority impact projects dealing specifically with the problems of rural women and (3) help countries design and implement comprehensive rural development programs which concentrate on the rural disadvantaged and their productive employment. Alternatives two and three are recommended.

Convert existing or proposed rural development projects. Attempts to graft so called women's components onto existing projects will not represent a sufficient response to the Percy Amendment. Projects not designed with women in mind in the first place are not likely to incorporate the necessary policies, incentives, and safeguards which are necessary to insure that significant numbers of women will be integrated into the development process.

Select a limited number of high priority immediate impact projects. Projects which concentrate on women in their roles as producers of goods and services may be the most suitable type of limited impact project for AID. The advantages of such an approach are several: (1) it is innovative, (2) other development agencies, FAO, U.N., etc., will probably continue to finance the more traditional, social service projects, (3) this approach responds to all three aspects of women's welfare-- physical well-being, participation and status and (4) by maintaining and/or improving women's participation in the economy, this approach would more effectively integrate women into the development process. Even these projects will have limited impact, however, unless designed as part of an overall planning and implementation framework (see Figure 7) which takes as its starting point the alleviation of rural poverty.

Help countries design and implement comprehensive rural development programs. For this reason AID should at the same time staff up to help countries design and implement multi-goal, multi-sector, integrated rural development programs which concentrate on the disadvantaged and their productive employment. Conventional theories and programs are both inadequate. The dimensions of the new program are outlined in Figures 5 and 7. AID does not have the staff needed to do this job, however; nor is one in the wings. Consequently, the starting place is to develop a core staff in AID/Washington with appropriate talent, authority, and responsibility to help interested countries plan and organize such rural development programs.

INTRODUCTION

If the real purpose of development is to make people better off, countries cannot afford to ignore the welfare of half or more of their populations. Improving women's physical well-being is important but only one step in the process of improving women's welfare. Human welfare includes much more than being healthy, well-fed and even educated, as women in the developed countries are learning. Participating in a broad range of activities and decisions and being recognized for ones participation are equally important components of welfare. Only if women are fully utilized will they be able to develop their full human potential or make their maximum contribution to society.

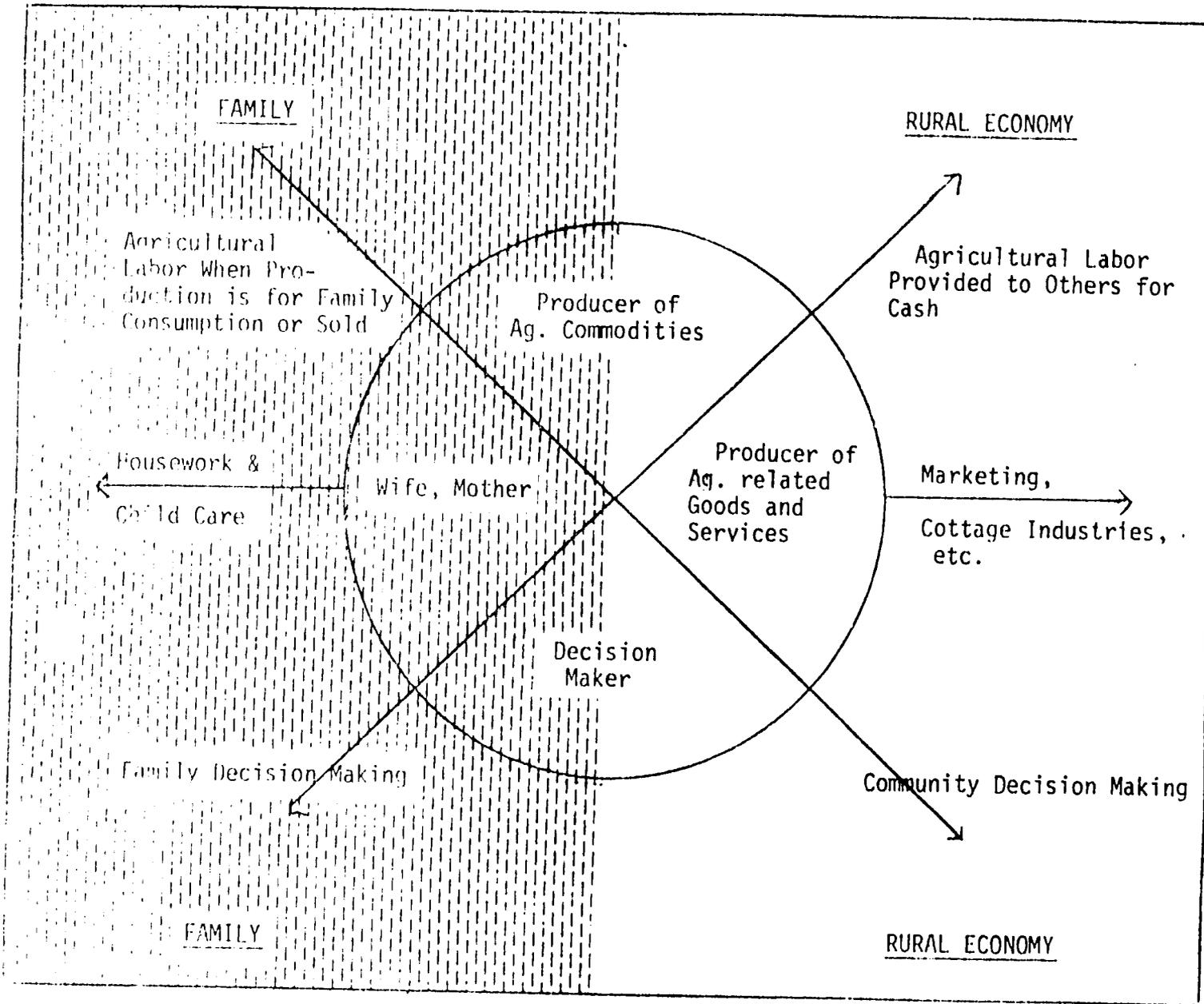
The purpose of this paper is to (1) present a framework for analyzing the problems of Less Developed Country (LDC) rural women and (2) suggest a methodology for integrating LDC rural women into their national economies by including them in the development process as both participants and beneficiaries. Our arguments are based on personal observations, data from case studies and economic theory. Statistics on rural women are generally unavailable so there is no documentation of the type expected from economists. Statistics are a priority need, but their absence here should not diminish the importance of our arguments or the need to take positive action.

Because rural women are an integral part of rural society, attempts to alleviate their problems must cope with the causes of their problems--the social and economic structure of the rural community and the poverty of all its members. Success depends on nations' abilities to (1) conceive and implement multi-goal, multi-sector, multi-discipline approaches to rural development and (2) apply far more will and imagination and mobilize more and better resources than heretofore.

TARGET GROUP - RURAL WOMEN

There are approximately 532 million rural women in the developing countries (excluding mainland China). Rural women account for 38 percent of Asia's total population, 34 percent of Africa's, and 21 percent of Latin America's. By providing 60-80 percent of farm labor, women contribute significantly to the output of their country's food and fiber. Rural women also bear primary responsibility for maintaining the rural family--the cornerstone of rural society. Important as these roles are, women are prevented from full utilization of their potential at great cost to society.

Figure 1--The Multiple Roles of Rural Women



Multiple Roles of Rural Women

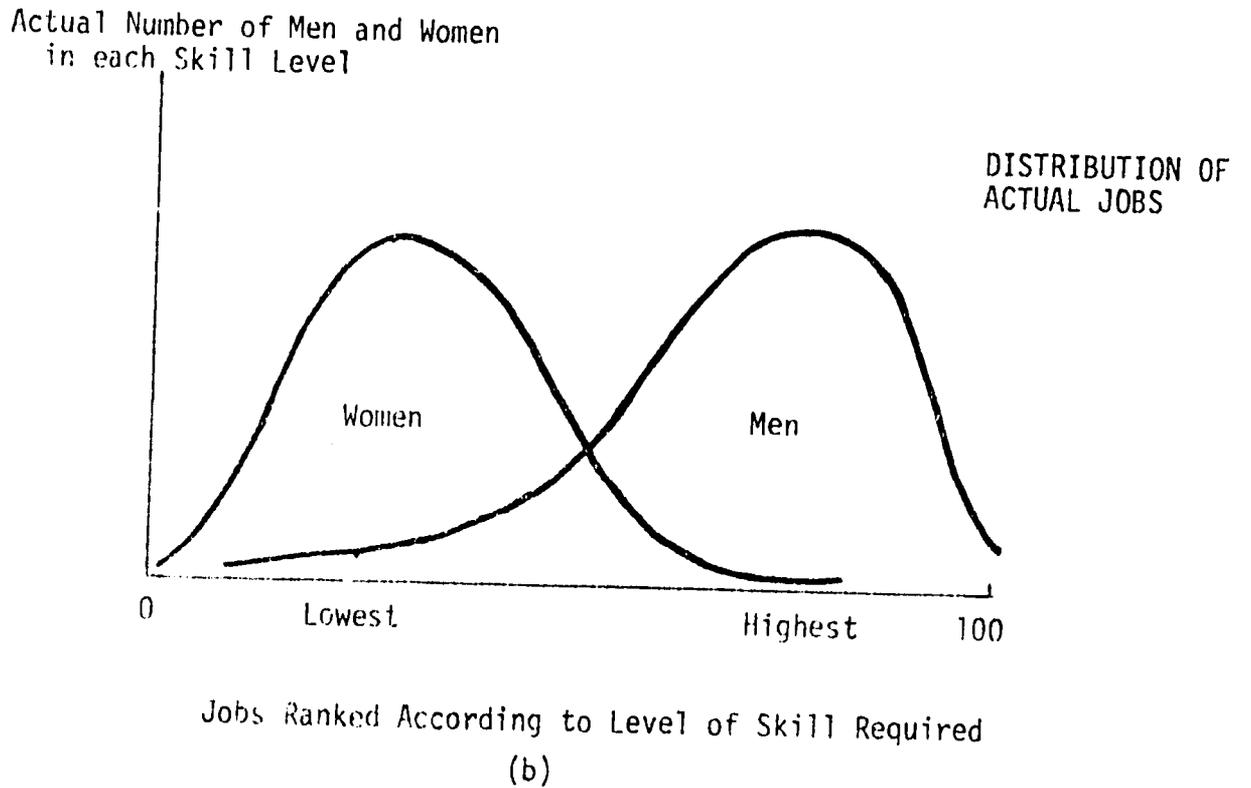
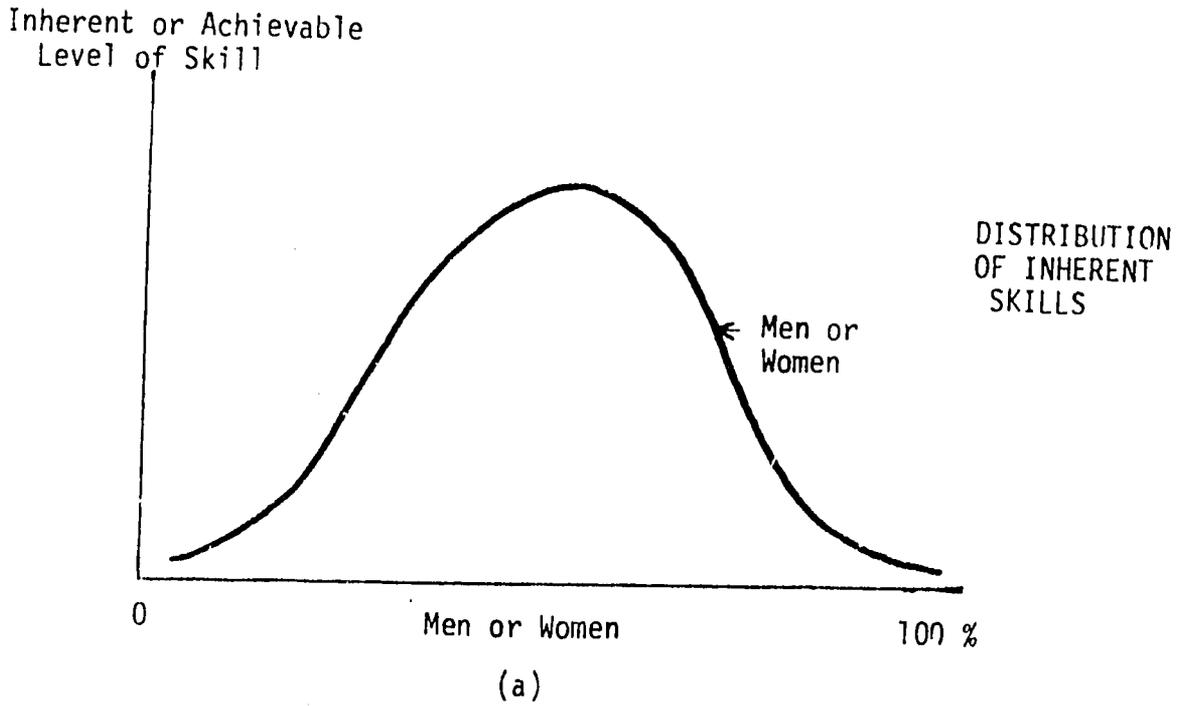
Most rural women participate in a wide spectrum of activities in their homes (as wife and mother), on the family farm (as producer of agricultural products), and in the rural economy (as farm or cottage industry labor for hire or as petty retailers or wholesalers). Women, of course, are responsible for the entire range of home management functions--food preparation and preservation, household maintenance, health and sanitation, bearing many children, and child care. Yet lack of general education and technical training have prevented rural women from improving the performance of their household tasks--maintaining their homes and the health of themselves and their families.

Women are an important source of agricultural labor. In subsistence agriculture they are often the major source of labor. Tasks performed by women include soil preparation, planting, weeding, harvesting, and the selling of produce in the market. Despite their importance, agricultural modernization has not treated women well. Where subsistence agriculture was modernized by the introduction of more intensive methods of production and greater yields, the share of agricultural labor provided by women has actually increased. Yet little was done, in many of these cases, to teach women modern methods of agriculture or the use of modern equipment. In cases where such shortsightedness prevailed, agricultural productivity and consequently rural incomes have not risen to their fullest extent. In other cases, women have been displaced from the fields, but not provided with alternative productive employment. Rural women also participate actively outside their families, but their participation tends to be confined to the low skilled, low paid jobs, with few represented in the higher paying and higher status jobs such as skilled agricultural laborers, agribusiness and marketing professionals, agricultural technicians, and rural politicians.

Lack of Integration

While rural women in the LDC's participate in a wide spectrum of activities in their homes, on the family farm, and in the rural economy, the majority of these jobs are physical in nature and do not make full use of their inherent intelligence or skills. Although inherent intelligence and skill potential are randomly distributed within a population (see Figure 2a), rural women are concentrated in the jobs which require fewer skills (see Figure 2b), pay less, and which have less status. Although often permitted to participate in family decision making, rural women seldom participate as decision makers outside their families, or in their communities. This is an indicator of and a consequence of their low status. Women's lack of educational opportunity is also an

Figure 2.--Theoretical Distribution Between Men and Women



indicator of their low status in the rural community, and is a major reason why they are unable to participate in the higher status, higher paying jobs. Rural women also have poor nutrition, poor health, high mortality rates, bear too many children, and work long hours at back-breaking tasks.

Improving the Welfare of Rural Women - The Goal Defined

These are the problems of rural women--poor physical well-being, unequal participation in the rural economy, and low status. The overall poverty of the rural community is the cause of the first, the existing socio-economic structure of the second and third. These categories of problems can also be used to help define the goal (see Table 1). As goals, improving the welfare of rural women, or making rural women better off, are too general. Statements of goals are needed which can be made operational, i.e. they can be used as a basis for specific programs and progress toward them can be measured. In this paper, improving the welfare of rural women has been defined to mean--improving their physical well-being, increasing the extent and level of their participation in the economy, and improving their status. The next step in specificity will have to be taken by countries themselves.

Countries should begin this process by developing profiles of their own rural women. Such profiles, by describing the problems of rural women, can provide a basis for defining goals and designing and implementing programs to improve the welfare of rural women, once the goals are defined.

Measuring the physical well-being of women should be easy. Levels of health and nutrition, mortality rates, access to health care and family planning services, amount of backbreaking labor performed would seem to be relatively straightforward indicators. Goals could be set by comparing indicators for LDC women with some ideal (what women eat compared to what they should eat for good nutrition, for example), or with indicators for developed country women. However, the type of data needed to make these comparisons is not available in developing countries nor, in many cases, in developed countries. One of the first priorities then is to develop relevant data. Special studies will also be needed in order to define the extent to which women participate in the rural economy and society. Such studies would identify the types of activities in which rural women are involved and the degree of intelligence and skill required by each job. Goals could be set by comparing the extent and level of women's participation with the totality of activities and decision making levels available. Status, a more complex component of welfare, can be measured by comparing the

Table 1--Defining the Goal

Categories of Concern	How Measure?-- (indicators)	How Women Score?	What Are the Goals?
Physical Wellbeing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nutrition 2. Housing 3. Health & Health Care 4. Family Planning 5. Arduousness of Labor 	Poor	Improvement--Improve nutrition, health care, housing, family planning.
Participation In the Economy	Descriptive comparative analysis of functions performed by women including the spectrum of activities in which women are involved and the degree of intelligence and skill required.	Skewed toward low skilled, low paying, and low status jobs.	Involvement--Maintain or widen spectrum of activities in which women participate and increase their degree of participation in areas which require greater levels of skill and intelligence.
Status	Descriptive comparative analysis of <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Degree to which women participate in decision making by type and level. 2. Degree to which benefit by their participation in the economy in terms of income, education. 	Low	Equality--Increase women's participation in decision making at all levels. Increase the extent to which women benefit from their participation in society.
			=IMPROVEMENT IN WOMEN'S WELFARE

15

9

degree to which women vs. men participate in the decision making process at all levels. Another way is to evaluate the extent to which women vs. men benefit from their participation in the economy in terms of health, access to services like education and health care, income, etc.^{1/}. Although statistics are not available to substantiate it, some would argue that Figure 3a accurately describes the status of LDC rural women. A series of individual country profiles will be needed to support or contradict this assertion.

Once such profiles are completed, countries can begin their discourse on goals. Although it may be preferable for countries to reach a consensus on goals (see Figure 3b, for example), they may have to be content with an agreement that change is necessary and on the general direction of that change.

Why should a society improve the welfare of its women?

1. To improve individual welfare

The real purpose of development is to make people better off. Since women represent 50 percent or more of the population of most societies, improving their physical well-being, widening their participation in society, and improving their status should be major goals of development.

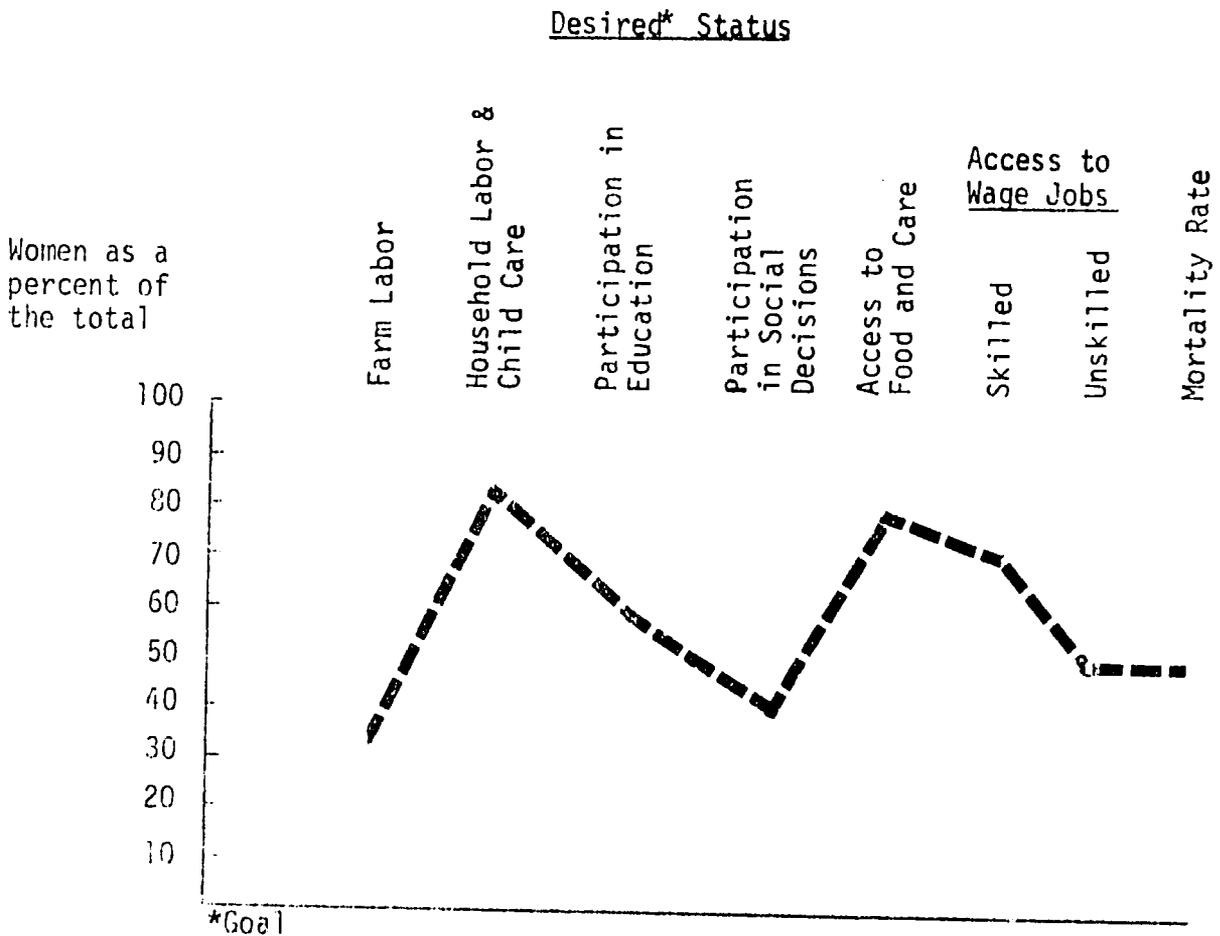
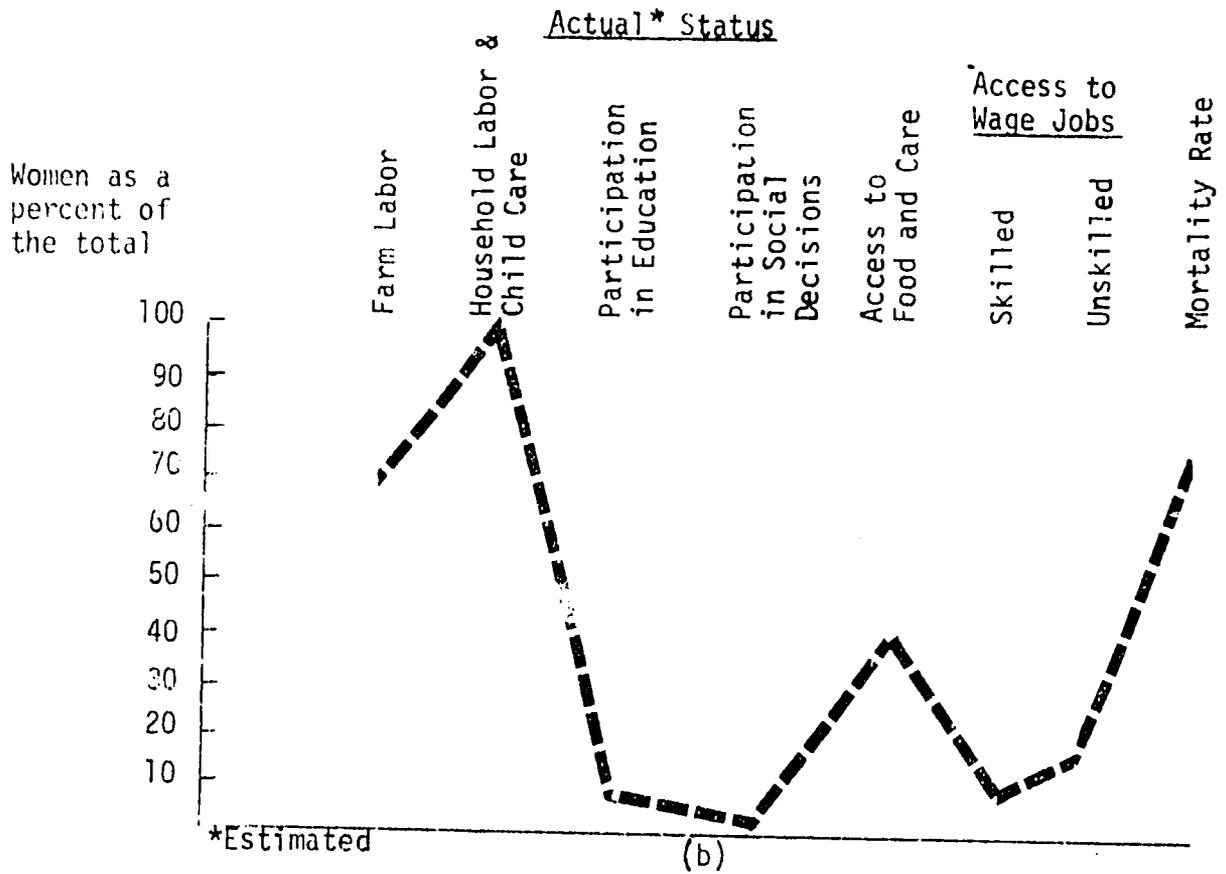
2. To improve social welfare

Considering that intelligence is randomly distributed throughout a population, a society cannot afford to ignore half or more of the brain power available to it. Women are an important resource and their improper utilization can retard both the level and rate of growth of an economy.

In other words, women's welfare is a necessary means to an end--national growth and development--as well as an end in itself.

^{1/} Rural women have the status of residual claimants on economic benefits, e.g., $a + bx = 1$ (where a = others, b = a multiplier, x = women). If members of the "a" group are primary claimants, and if their claim is greater than zero, the "b" coefficient of x (women) will vary from less than 100 to zero. Empirical evidence indicates that the beta coefficient is near zero in the LDC's. Technically, however, a pre-determined, non-arbitrary, non-zero solution is not possible in a system in which at least one member is a residual claimant. Therefore, it cannot be safely contended that women benefit if the primary claimant benefits. The above equation can, however, be expressed in equality terms by a simple conversion and setting the conversion equal to one: $a/bx = 1$.

Figure 3--Profile of LDC Rural Women



One objective of this paper is to explore the ways and means available to each society (with or without the help of AID) to improve the ranking and welfare of its rural women. Another is to propose a strategy whereby AID can assist countries in this vital process.

Assumptions About the Target Group

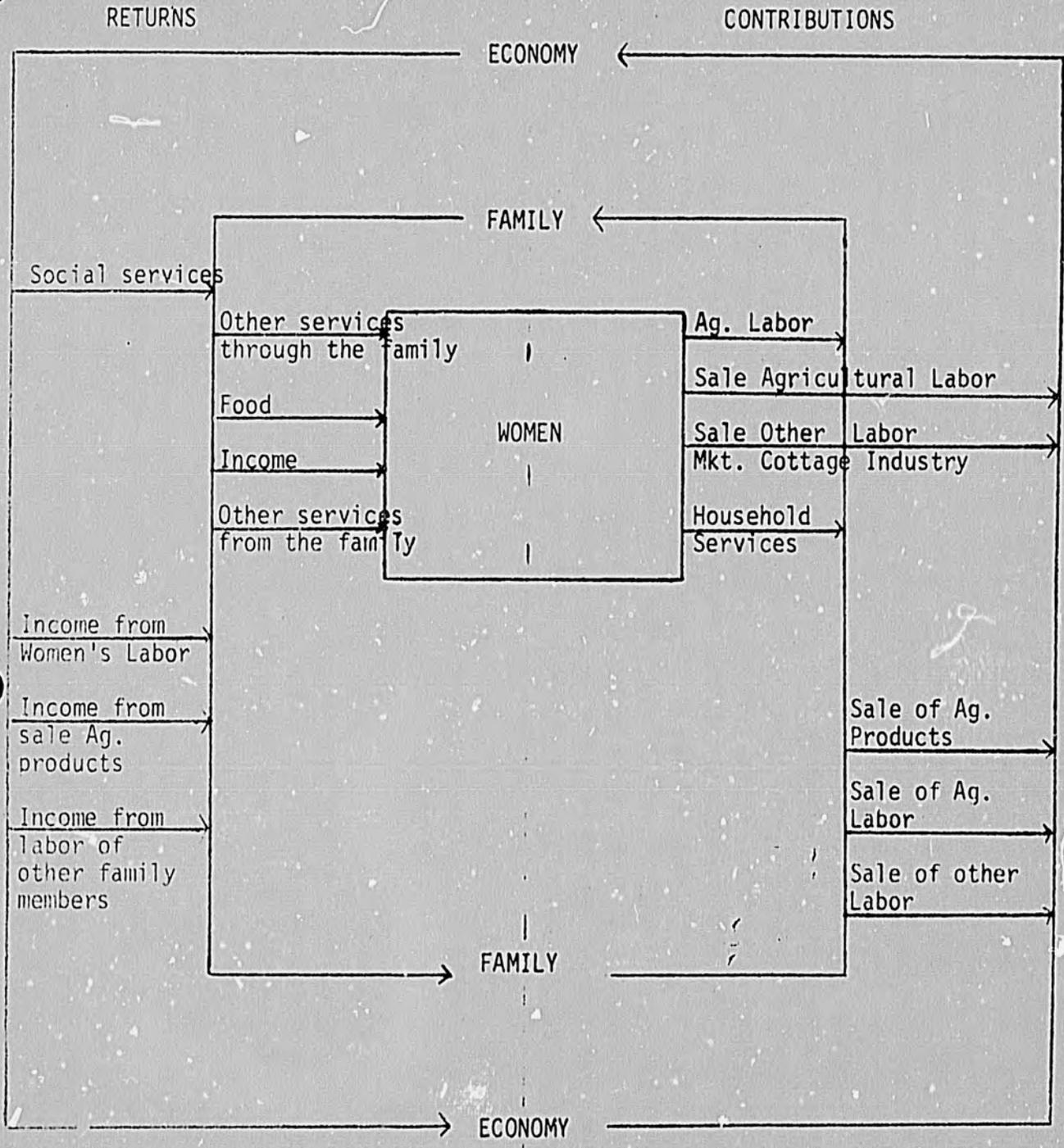
We do not mean to argue that women are more equal in their effect on economic development than men, but that they can contribute equally with men and therefore should be given the same opportunities. An increase in the options available to women will not be sufficient, however. Programs must be designed to increase women's abilities to exploit these options. Existing barriers to equal exploitation of opportunity may include lack of money, time, knowledge, and social acceptance. These barriers will have to be dealt with directly.

We also recognize that most rural women are an integral part of some rural family (see Figure 4). Their participation in rural society, their status, and their physical well-being is directly affected by the role and status given to them by their families. Strategies designed to improve women's welfare will not succeed unless these linkages are recognized and explicitly dealt with. Nor will these strategies succeed if their net effect is to minimize the role of women in the rural family.

Improvements can be made in women's welfare in the short-run. Programs to provide women with more general education can make them more upwardly mobile. Health, nutrition, and family planning programs can improve their physical well-being. Technical training programs to increase their skills or programs to provide them with alternative employment can provide them with additional income. These programs are inadequate as a long-term strategy, however. Integrating women fully into the development process will require countries to deal with causes--not effects. Rural poverty, the cause of women's lack of physical well-being, must be diminished and socio-economic structures will have to be changed to enable women to participate more equally in society and the economy and to increase their status.

Our final assumption is that rural women are representative of all women. The problems of rural women as workers, wives, and mothers and their lack of status are representative of all women. Accordingly, solutions to their problems should indicate what can be done for all women.

Figure 4--Rural Women: Linkages to their family and the community



55

ALTERNATIVE WAYS AND MEANS OF REACHING RURAL WOMEN

Once a country decides to improve the welfare of its rural women, it faces another set of questions:

1. How many women can or should be reached?
2. How much can be done and over what time period?
3. What changes in the structure of rural society are needed to achieve maximum women's benefits? (The problem differs from culture to culture.)
4. What changes in women's roles are necessary? For example, to increase their level of education may require a decrease in the amount of time spent in the field or on household chores.
5. What changes in national policies, laws, social attitudes, etc., are necessary both to increase the opportunities available to women to improve their welfare and to make sure that significant numbers of women can take advantage of these increased opportunities?

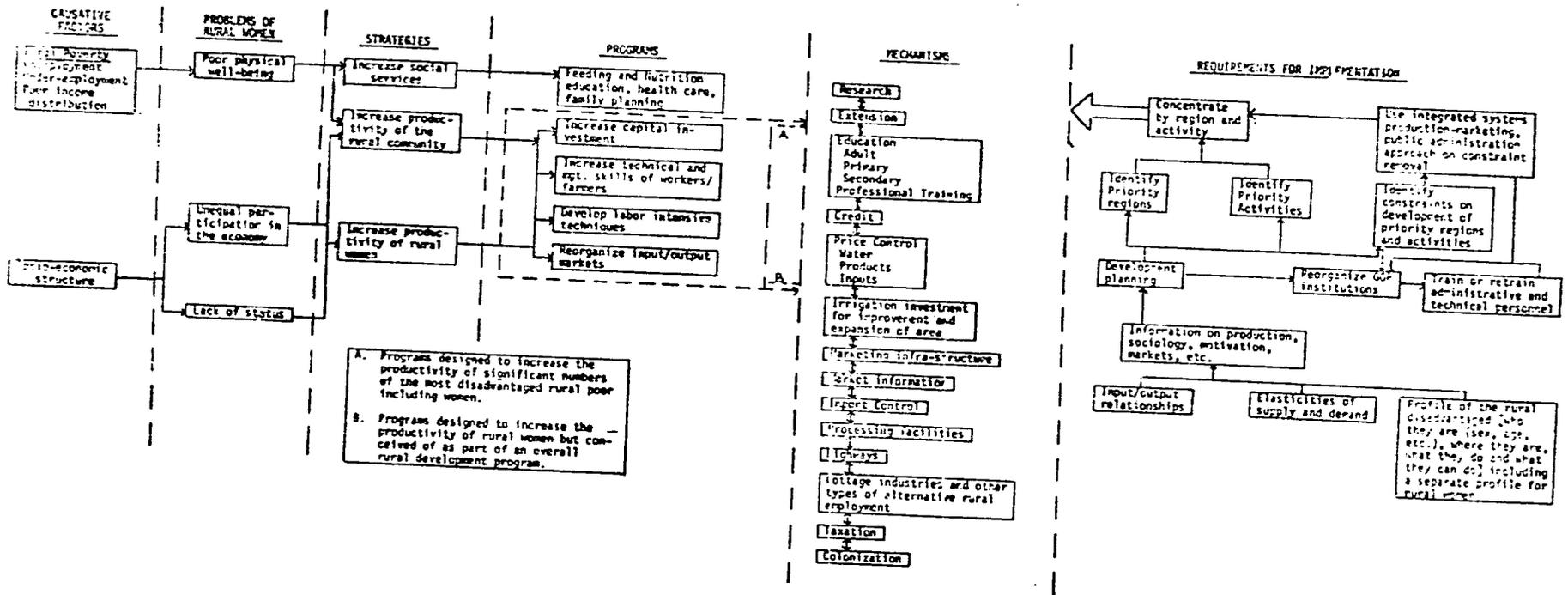
Answers to these questions, to be adequate, must be based on a thorough analysis of the status of rural women, the extent and level of their participation in the rural society and economy, and their physical well-being. Answers, of course, will differ from country to country, depending on how each culture has defined the status and role of its rural women.

This paper identifies three alternative ways of reaching rural women (see Figure 5).

Increasing the Social Services Directed to Rural Women

First there is the direct approach--an increase in the social services provided for women in rural areas: health, nutrition, family planning, child care, education. Such programs deal directly with some of the problems affecting women, especially their level of physical well-being. These activities are usually provided by the central government and paid for by taxes on other activities in the economy. However, many of these activities fail or have less than the planned impact because women are unable to take full advantage of these opportunities due to the overall poverty of the rural community. Education programs may fail because women cannot be released from the field without a decline in production and men are unable or unwilling to take their place. Nutrition programs may fail because the food destined for women and children is consumed by men whose health and stamina may be viewed as more vital to the survival of the rural family.

Figure 5--Strategies for Integrating Rural Women Into National Economies



90

In the longer run, providing more women with more general education, including high school and university training, will have the greater impact on increasing their status and their level of participation in the rural economy and rural society. With more and better education women may be able to increase their physical well-being by improving their own and their family's nutrition, for example. Since the level of one's education is also a measure of one's status in many societies, increasing the level to which women are educated can have a direct impact on their status as well as enabling them to participate in the rural economy and society at higher skill and decision making levels. Education may also have a direct impact on women's well-being in the sense of enabling them to more fully develop their potential as thinking reasoning human beings.

Increasing the Productivity of Women's Labor (see Table 2)

The second direct approach is to increase the productivity of women's labor. A woman producing food for family consumption and sale could, by learning new production and management techniques, for example, substantially increase the food available for family consumption and/or increase the amount of food sold, increasing family income. To the extent that this woman, through the family decision making process, is able to use the benefits of her own labor to improve her own nutrition, health, etc., increasing her productivity will have a direct impact on improving her physical well-being. Or to the extent that a woman can use her extra time and money to increase her education, for example, increasing her productivity can have a direct impact on her status and the nature of her future participation in the rural economy. Similar arguments can be made for the need to increase the productivity of women workers in cottage industries and other agricultural and related jobs where women work for hire. As Sir Arthur Lewis put it in The Theory of Economic Growth: "To create more paid jobs for women is the surest way simultaneously to raise their status, to reduce their drudgery, and to raise the national output."

Because rural women have such low educational levels, designing and implementing training programs to increase their technical skills will have the most immediate impact on increasing their productivity. These programs can be directed specifically toward women. Productivity increases can also be achieved by adding complementary inputs to women's labor (fertilizer, seeds, new tools, etc.). However, programs designed to supply these additional inputs, either directly or by providing credit to purchase them, will have to be directed toward financially independent units. In cases where women are not financially independent, governments will have only limited control over the extent to which women will participate in and benefit from such investment programs. These programs can be concentrated in areas where women workers predominate, but there is no assurance that women will have control over the increased

Table 2--Strategy II: Increase the Productivity of Rural Women

26

Types of Labor	Mechanisms for Reaching Women		Impact on Women and Their Welfare (Physical Well-Being, Extent & Level of Participation, Status)	
	Direct	Through Family or Firm	Impact on Women	Relationship of Impact to Their Welfare
Household	Training in household skills, health, nutrition, etc.	Increased investment (eg. well closer to the house)	Increase in time for: a. Leisure b. Extra productive work in or out of household c. Education	To the extent that a woman, through the family decision making process, is able to use the benefits of her own labor to improve her own nutrition, health, etc. increasing her productivity will have a direct impact on improving her physical well-being. Or to the extent that a woman can use her extra time to increase her level of education, increasing her productivity can have a direct impact on her status and on the extent and level of her future participation in society and the economy. The extent to which the family controls the disposition of the fruits of women's labor may depend on whether it is produced within or outside the family. In other words, women hired workers, entrepreneurs, and professionals may have more control over their income.
Agricultural Labor On Family Plot	Training in agricultural skills (time to plant, proper spacing, how & when to fertilize, etc.)	Increased investment in complementary inputs, (fertilizer, seeds, new tools)	Increase in: a. Time for leisure, other productive work, education b. Output for home consumption c. Income-if extra output sold	
-17- Agricultural and non-agricultural labor for hire	Training in skills required on the job	Increased investment in complementary inputs	Increase in: a. Time for leisure, education b. Income	
Entrepreneurial activities such as marketing	Training in management as well as specific skills required by the job (eg. grading for those active in marketing). Increased investment in complementary inputs		Increase in: a. Income b. Level of participation c. Status	Direct impact on level of participation and status. Increased income can be used to purchase better nutrition, health, etc. (indirect impact on increasing physical well-being)
Professional Activities	General leading to professional education		Increase in: a. Income b. Level of participation c. Status	See above

returns to their labor (the family may decide otherwise); nor is there any automatic assurance that as returns to labor rise, as a result of the additional investment, women will not be displaced from these activities.

Where women participate as entrepreneurs, complementary inputs and/or credit to purchase them can be provided directly to women. Providing these women with management training as well as specific skills required by their work (e.g. techniques of grading, inventory control, or organizing co-operatives for women in marketing) will also increase their productivity. However even these types of programs must be specifically designed with women in mind. Certain policies, incentives and safeguards will be necessary to insure that women do in fact benefit. It may also be necessary to include women in the planning--implementation process. However, in the long-run the most constructive and enduring approach is to provide sufficient productive opportunities for men and women alike.

In terms of the practical mechanics of designing programs whose objective is to increase the productivity of rural women, the first step for a country is to identify all those areas where women are now productively employed. The next step is to design policies/programs/projects to more fully utilize these women (i.e. increase their productivity). Second, when development programs/projects displace women, other opportunities for them to participate in productive activities should be created. In fact, special attention should be paid to women throughout the process of development to insure that they are not displaced from activities in which they are already effective or that the degree of their participation, the level of skills which they exercise, etc., is not downgraded.

Increasing the Productivity of the Entire Rural Community

In a zero growth economy, increasing the productivity of rural women could put men out of work. Or what is more likely, as activities now performed by rural women become more remunerative, men will move into them displacing women. Even if there is growth in gross national product (GNP) and agricultural output, the masses of rural people may benefit little from this growth if it is concentrated in the urban sector or if it has been produced by only a small segment of wealthy farmers. Under such circumstances the majority of the rural population may face zero or negative growth even though the overall rural economy is growing. In economies where this situation prevails, attempts to increase the productivity of rural women could be regarded as competitive with men and therefore unacceptable.

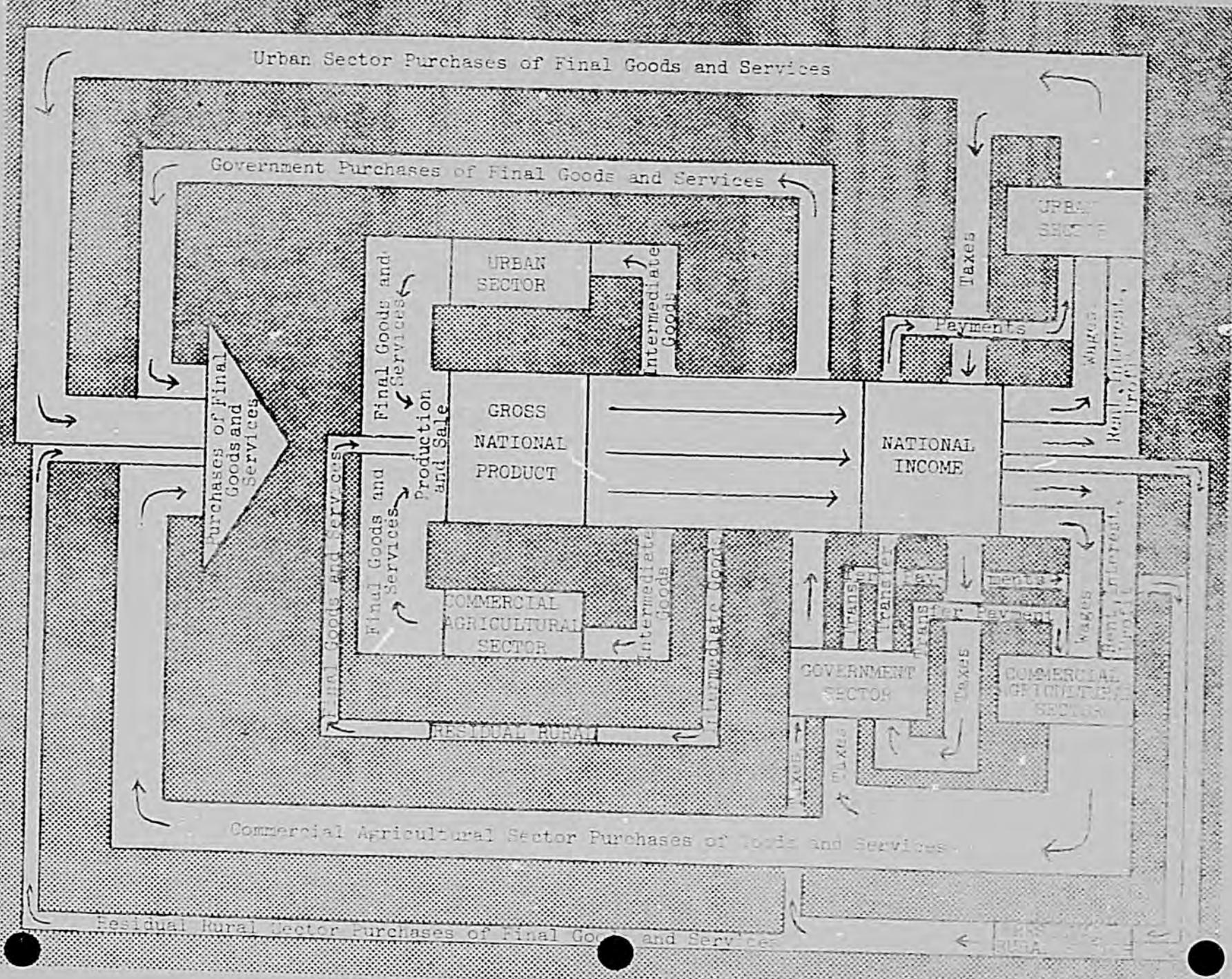
Figure 6 describes the income and expenditure flows of such an economy. Although 40 percent of the total population is in the "traditional" or "residual" rural sector, it contributes little and receives little from the rest of the economy (the level of income or expenditure is indicated by the width of the flow). Here is a case where rural women are not the only group which has been by-passed by the development process. This society must find ways and means of integrating all its rural poor into its national economy--not just its women. Rural women, because of their inferior economic and social status, have been most victimized; they are the poorest of the poor. Yet both groups will have to be dealt with simultaneously.

For years the development profession ignored these types of problems preoccupying itself with the problem of growth (increasing the width of the total flow in Figure 6). For many "growth" of output became synonymous with "development" and physical technology with "modernization." Once development was defined as growth in output, theoreticians and practitioners alike found it necessary to concentrate on relationships between inputs/investments and output/growth (the production function). Government planning offices and lending agencies set as their goals certain rates of growth of output. And all projects, technologies, institutions were evaluated on the basis of their contribution to these growth rates. People, however, were viewed primarily as contributors (inputs) to this growth rather than as ends in themselves, or even as factors of production which have rights to benefits from this growth.

Once growth became synonymous with development increases in GNP, per capita GNP, or output of particular products became sufficient measures of success. This follows even though each of these measurements is an abstract statistic and in no way measures peoples actual standard of living. Even per capita income (total GNP divided by total population) is a poor measure of people's welfare. For example, growth in GNP may be concentrated in a narrow-sector of production and its benefits may accrue to a small minority of the population (see Figure 6); market prices do not necessarily reflect social values; and important elements may be outside the sphere of simple monetary evaluation.

The term "modernization" was also misused coming to refer to a technical relationship between inputs and outputs rather than changes in the socio-economic structure of a nation. Modern industry became equated in some people's minds with a technique (capital intensive) which was peculiar to the developed countries rather than the system for organizing labor and capital to produce and distribute a commodity. A similar confusion exists in agriculture where the term modernization is used to refer to the adoption of physical technologies ignoring the transformation of the rural society and economy which is both a prerequisite for and consequence of the adoption of this technology.

Figure 6--The Income and Expenditure Flow of a Hypothetical Less Developed Country



By accepting these concepts, the development profession blinded itself to what actually was happening to the masses of LDC rural poor. Yet evidence grows daily that few people have shared in the growth process and many have suffered an actual reduction in the quality of their life. In many countries at least one-third of the rural population are unemployed and 60 to 70 percent of the remainder are underemployed. And more and more of these people, no longer linked to society through their traditional roles and shorn of jobs which is the important link in the new order, are being shoved to the margin of life under the joint effects of population, disease, malnutrition, and ignorance. A thorough analysis of several more direct indicators of human welfare--health, education, housing, labor force participation--would have made these failures obvious much sooner.

More recently we have begun to remember that economic growth is only the means to an end--improving human welfare--and that development implies structural changes in society as well as increases in magnitudes of output. But our traditional emphasis on physical growth makes it difficult for us to cope with our new perception of reality. Our goals have changed (as indicated in the latest AID legislation or AID's new initiatives), but we are still saddled with the old theories whose basic concepts are inadequate for our new purposes.

TOWARD A THEORETICAL BASIS FOR PEOPLE ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

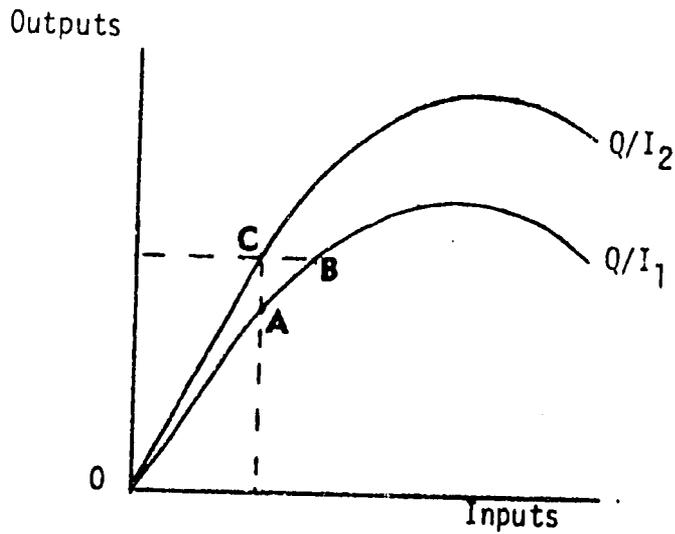
Growth Model as the Decision Mechanism

- Primary Relationships -- between inputs and outputs, e.g., the production function
- Objective -- to determine what technology and input combinations will maximize output
- Success Indicators -- growth in output (e.g., GNP, per capita GNP, yields of wheat, corn, coffee, etc.)

As long as nations were primarily interested in growth of output, it was rational for them to concentrate on the national or individual commodity production functions (Q/I_1 and Q/I_2 in Diagram 1). This model provides a framework for decision makers to use in selecting technologies and input combinations that maximize output--the objective of the model. Output can be increased by (1) adding more inputs (moving along the

production function from A to B), (2) selecting or developing a new technology (moving from A on Q/I_1 to C on Q/I_2), or (3) a combination of the two. Although labor is included in the system as an input, what happens to it as a result of changes in the production function, whether labor is displaced for example, is incidental to the analysis. As expressed in Figure 6, the growth model system is concerned primarily with total flow of output (and how to increase its rate and level) and only peripherally in how the flow of output and its benefits is or can be distributed among the sectors and factors of production.

Diagram 1



Distributive Model as the Decision Mechanism

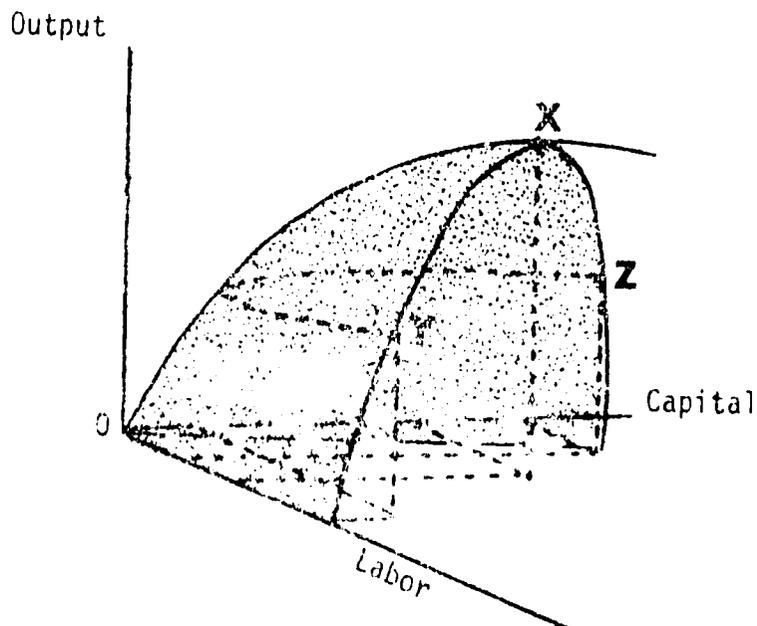
- Primary Relationships -- between employment, productivity, and the returns to labor.
- Objective -- to determine what technology, input, and output combinations will optimize returns to factors of production--i.e. labor.
- Success Indicators -- should include direct indicators of well-being (health, nutrition, housing) as well as numbers participating in labor force and returns to labor.

However, once nations become interested in people's welfare, they must concentrate on how people participate in and benefit from growth

itself. The most rational and enduring way for the rural poor to share in the benefits of growth is for them to participate in its production. In other words, the best way to integrate the rural poor into their national economies is to design policies/programs/projects which provide opportunities for productive employment for all those who desire it. By increasing the numbers of rural people participating in the economy, and by improving the level of their participation (e.g. increasing their productivity), the size of the flow to and from the rural sector would increase (see Figure 6). If correctly designed, programs which increase these flows could add to the total flow (growth) but not diminish the flow going to and from other sectors (redistribution).

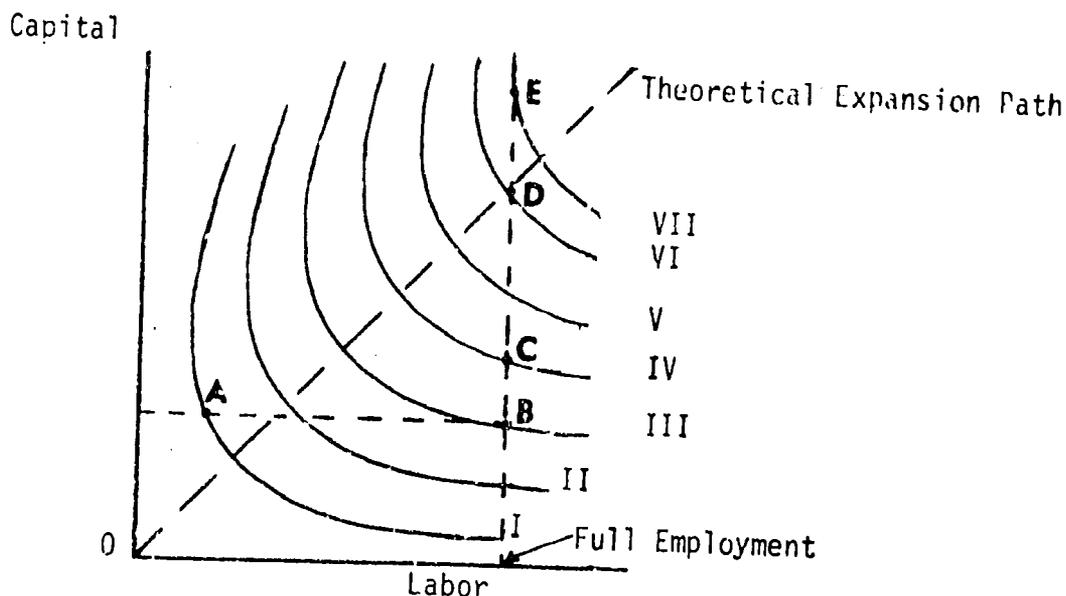
Once nations take this step, they must become concerned with a new set of factors--full employment, labor productivity, and returns to labor--as well as growth. Distributive growth models could provide a mechanism for relating these concepts. The first step is to expand Diagram 1 to show the relationships between labor, capital, and output (see Diagram 2). Output is maximized at point X; this is the most productive combination of inputs from a technological point of view. But it may not be an optimal solution for individuals/firms who allocate their resources based on the relative prices of capital and labor. Nor is it necessarily an optimum solution from society's point of view. If a country's goal is to increase rural employment, point Y, which uses large amounts of labor per unit of capital, is the more logical choice. Point Z which has a much lower labor input would reduce employment below the levels of both X and Y. If a country has multiple goals--to increase both employment and output--some point between X and Y will be most logical. Governments can and do influence what is optimal behavior for individuals by manipulating prices, developing technologies, etc.

Diagram 2



If enough Option Y programs/projects/techniques are selected, a country could fully employ all its rural labor (move from point A to point B in Diagram 3, where each curve shows the various combinations of capital and labor which can produce the same level of output. Output level I equals the dotted line YZ in Diagram 2, for example).

Diagram 3



By employing AB more people, the economy moves to a higher output level (from I to III output level). But at B each individual would receive less return for each unit of his labor because the marginal productivity of his labor is less at B than at A. (Labor's marginal product is less at B because each unit of labor has less capital to work with; therefore, even if the price paid for each unit of labor's output remains the same, labor, which receives the value of its marginal product, receives less). Point B is not an optimal solution from society's point of view as long as its goal is to increase the welfare of significant numbers of individuals in the rural sector and not merely to employ everyone in the sector. Economic theory tells us that the returns to labor can be increased by increasing labor's productivity. Economic theory also tells us that increases in labor productivity can be achieved by increasing workers skills, by increasing the amount of capital used with labor (more fertilizer, more irrigation pumps, more thrashers, etc.) or by adopting new, more productive technologies (improved seeds, or machinery, for example).

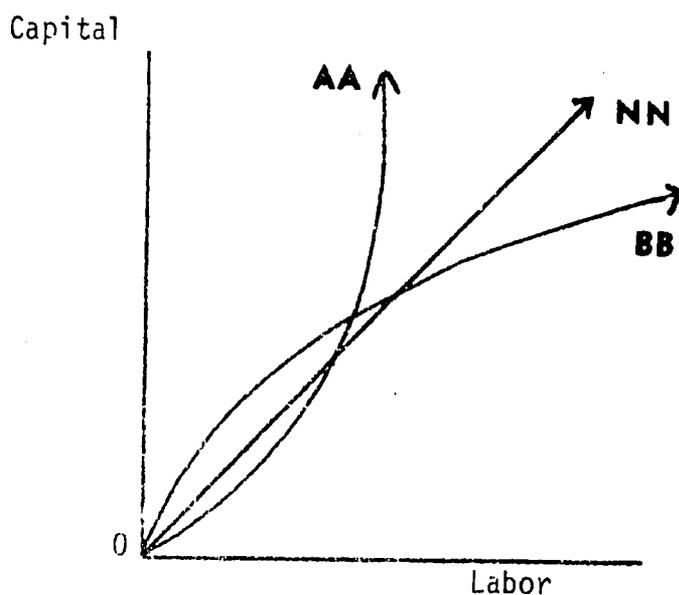
An increase in capital is represented on Diagram 3 by a movement from B to C; output is higher at C and labor is more productive. Adding

41

technology to this system complicates it slightly. If the new technology is "neutral", the relationships between capital and labor will be unaffected. If an economy at C in Diagram 3 adopts an improved but neutral technology, its relative usage of capital and labor will remain the same; in terms of Diagram 3 the economy will remain at C, but output level III will represent a higher output level than before. A new technology is said to be capital using when, at a constant capital-labor ratio, the marginal product of capital increases relative to the marginal product of labor. If the new technology adopted is capital using, the economy will move to a new higher output curve where relatively more capital is used with each amount of labor. If the new technology is labor using, the economy will also move to a new higher output curve but one where relatively more labor is used with each unit of capital. New technologies can be embodied in capital (new machines, new seeds, etc.) or in labor (increased skills).

In market economies, technologies are also developed and implemented in response to factors like relative prices. If the combined response of individuals and firms is to adopt primarily capital using technology, over time this will result in a decline in the rate of growth of employment (Expansion Path AA' in Diagram 4. Diagram 4 is Diagram 3 with the output levels removed to make it easier to read). If one of society's goals is to maintain full employment, this is not a socially optimum path. Expansion path B, which is based on the adoption of more labor using technology, is a preferable course.

Diagram 4



HYPOTHETICAL EXPANSION PATHS

- AA'--Capital using technology
 - A--Capital substitutes for labor
 - A'--Capital substitutes for land (and labor)
- BB'--Labor using technology
 - B--Unskilled labor substitutes for capital
 - B'--Skilled labor substitutes for capital

100

Economists have developed these concepts to explain why economies have followed certain expansion paths, for example (positive economics). The task of the planner is to use these same concepts to show decision makers how to influence the path taken by their economy to make sure that the results correspond more closely to their society's goals (normative economics). In countries where goals include both full employment and increased output, the task of the planner is to chart a course somewhere between B and E in Diagram 3 where labor's marginal product is as large as possible without making the returns to capital so low that its accumulation and investment is discouraged.

Employment, in other words, is the mechanism for integrating the rural poor into their national economies. Once employed, their incomes can be increased by making various means of increasing the productivity of their labor (technical education, new technologies, additional inputs) available to them. However, this alone will not insure increases in their income. If increased productivity means increased output of a single product and if the effective demand for the product does not increase commensurate with the increase in its output, the price society is willing to pay for the product will decline. If demand for the product is inelastic, the price can drop far enough to wipe out all the gain to farmers due to their increased productivities. This is not as likely to happen in societies where the benefits of development are widely distributed; for people at lower income levels spend a larger percentage of a given increase in their income on food than do people at higher income levels. Even when income is poorly distributed, price declines are not an immediate problem as long as the increased output (1) displaces imports or (2) is exported (assuming that the country's exports are too small to have an impact on prices in the international market). However in the long-run, without a more equitable income distribution, crop diversification, and/or increased exports, the rural sector will not benefit commensurate with its increased productivity.

Another means by which people can share in the benefits of growth is by becoming recipients of transfer payments (see Figure 6). This mechanism has proved inadequate especially in the LDC's. Most leaders in the developed as well as the developing countries find that they cannot stay in power by taxing away much of what the "haves" have to give to the "have nots". A little perhaps can be taxed away and distributed to the rural poor in the form of social services--education, health, etc. But direct payments to the masses of rural poor would be (1) impossible for political reasons, (2) too difficult to administer, (3) a waste of a vast amount of human talent and energy, and (4) deprive large numbers of people of a meaningful position in the social structure by depriving them of a productive role in the economy.

How successful countries are in reaching the rural poor will depend on whether they and the international development agencies are able to: (1) develop an integrated approach to rural development which provides productive employment for all people and (2) apply far more will, imagination, and resources than either are now investing. The success of these programs will have to be measured in terms of direct indicators of human welfare (health, nutrition, education, housing, family size), as well as participation in the labor force, and returns to labor, etc. Once development is viewed as a social as well as an economic process, per capita GNP or other output measures are no longer satisfactory.

One thing is clear, however. No one program--not family planning, not education, not housing, not land reform, not credit, not agricultural price policy, and not agricultural technology--is going to change the situation for the LDC rural poor. For example, during the late 1960's, the new high yielding rice and wheat varieties were touted as the solution to famine in 1984.

By now it is evident that they have failed to fulfill this promise; nor have they succeeded in reducing wide spread rural poverty as many had hoped they might. Studies done during the early 1970's already indicate that the majority of the rural poor have been unable to take advantage of these new technologies because they lacked the necessary resources: land, capital, knowledge. In fact these particular varieties were designed to be of maximum value under only the most ideal of situations--while the majority of rural families face the most un-ideal of situations.

What happened was that farmers with better initial endowments (better land, access to irrigation, more capital, etc.) were able to capture most of the benefits of the new technology to the disadvantage of the larger number of less well endowed farmers to say nothing of the landless laborers. Moreover, only in societies where there was a relatively broad distribution of resources to begin with, have the actions of the primary beneficiaries of the new varieties benefited other groups of the rural disadvantaged. In other societies, consolidation of resources among fewer people, increased unemployment, and increased rural to urban migration have occurred. When this happens real social product decreases and there is a decline in the quality of life even though actual output has increased.

Even output increases cannot be achieved with a simple, single pronged attack--a better seed, a better plow, or fertilizer. Once the goal is broadened to include more equitable distribution of growth, an even more complex system of well-coordinated programs, policies and resource inputs will be required. Small farmers are especially dependent on the government to provide them with:

1. Passable local roads to good, nearby markets and storage for their produce;
2. Inputs which increase the productivity of their land and labor;
3. Price, trade, and tax policies yielding input/output relationships which provide incentives to adopt techniques which increase their productivity;
4. Credit on favorable terms for various uses;
5. Information/training on improved production techniques, marketing policies, prices, etc.

With the switch in emphasis to participation in growth, the government must redesign its policies/programs so that they reach significant numbers of the rural people, including the smallest and most disadvantaged. This may require it to:

1. Redesign technologies and mixes of technologies so they can be used by a broader spectrum of farmers, i.e. technologies which are appropriate for them considering their resource base, management and technical skills and possibilities for improvement, and attitudes toward risk.
2. Reorganize the system for distributing fertilizer, seeds, tools, knowledge, and credit so that a much larger number of rural people have access to the means of increasing their productivity.
3. Create alternative and/or supplementary types of employment for rural people who are landless or whose land base is so small that there is no way to provide them with a decent income level through raising the productivity of their land.

AID STRATEGIES

Past Experience

The U.S. Government is actively supporting the U.N. effort to identify "ways and means by which women in rural areas of developing countries can be helped to achieve their maximum potential..." In November 1972 the U.S. Delegation to the U.N. Commission on Social Development "stressed the importance of improving the position of women as a pre-condition to the success of national development." In 1974

the U.S. Delegation to the 21st Session of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women was authorized to urge specialized agencies to "take steps to employ qualified women in more and in higher-level posts than has been the case to date in order that the concerns of rural women are treated at the planning and policy making levels of all bodies in the U.N. system."

Although we do not disagree with the philosophy behind these statements, even a brief review of AID's past experience with women's programs in the LDC's decreases our confidence in AID's ability to help implement such a philosophy. Our arguments are based on our own personal observations and the observations of others in the development profession. Sufficient time was not available to document AID's programs for rural women, not to determine the numbers of rural women that have been reached over time, nor to evaluate whether AID's programs were effective in improving women's health, education, employment etc.

Our strong suspicion, however, is that AID's programs have led to no visible improvement in the welfare of LDC rural women. This is because AID has refused to recognize that women's problems are only symptoms of more deep-seated problems of rural poverty and discriminatory social structures. Instead of attacking causes, AID dealt with symptoms, especially the most visible--women's poor health, poor nutrition, etc. AID's second error was to select projects which confirmed Western European concepts of women as primarily wives and mothers, ignoring their role as contributors to economic development even in cases where they were already active as producers of goods and services. The combined effect of these two errors was a portfolio of projects which concentrated almost exclusively on homemaking, family planning, health and nutrition.

A third error was the failure to insist that countries develop women's programs within a broader frame of reference--a profile of disadvantaged men and women, a set of goals, a plan. Establishing priorities among groups of projects, comparing alternatives, or selecting projects which have a cumulative impact are almost impossible outside of such a framework. Means and ends also get confused or omitted without such a frame of reference. For example, the often repeated demand to hire more qualified women has meaning only within a frame of reference which defines the term qualified, indicates numbers and types of positions and numbers of women available, and provides the means for obtaining qualified women if sufficient numbers are not available. Without this type of framework, such demands are not likely to be met. Similarly, various mechanisms have been used to improve the lives of women in the developed countries: (1) legislation to improve the

status of women, (2) labor legislation regulating wages and conditions of work, (3) trade unions and/or women's organizations, (4) women's bureaus. Yet such mechanisms can be meaningless if adopted by developing countries without being related to a framework of goals and broad strategies or without the necessary adaptations to the country's socio-economic structure (see Figure 5).

Redesigning AID Strategies

Convert existing or proposed rural development projects. Attempts to graft additional components onto AID's existing or proposed projects in order to increase women's participation in these projects or to make women additional beneficiaries is pointless. Projects not designed with women in mind in the first place and which do not reflect the socio-economic frame of reference are not likely to incorporate the policies, incentives, and safeguards necessary to insure that significant numbers of women will be integrated into the development process. As stated earlier, increasing the options available to women is not enough if they are not able to equally exploit these options because of a lack of time, money, knowledge, social acceptance, or legal standing. Programs/projects which do not take specific steps to identify and eliminate these barriers are not suitable vehicles for carrying out the dictates of the Percy Amendment. The Agency would do better to accept these projects for what they are and not expect them to have an impact on a target group whose members because of their inferior economic and social status are probably the poorest of the poor and among the most difficult to reach.

Select a limited number of high priority, immediate impact projects. The Agency can also implement a limited number of programs/projects designed to deal directly with rural women. In the past such projects have focused on the role of women as wife and mother. Women in their equally important roles as producers of goods and services have been ignored, meaning that AID has minimized the importance of women as contributors to economic development. This focus should be balanced if not reversed. Certainly additional progress can be made in improving the physical well-being of rural women through increases in the social services available to them--health care, supplemental feeding and nutrition education, family planning, etc. But success in these efforts will be limited by the overall poverty of their rural communities. Nor can women be effectively integrated into their national economies by programs which focus only on their physical well-being.

For these reasons and because other development agencies such as FAO, U.N., etc. will likely continue to finance non-integrating types of projects, it would be to AID's advantage to concentrate on projects

which deal with rural women in their roles as producers of goods and services. The advantages of such an approach are several: (1) it is innovative, (2) such projects would have an immediate impact, (3) this approach attacks all three problems--physical well-being, unequal participation, and low status, and (4) by enabling women to contribute to growth of output, this approach would more effectively integrate them into the development process.

Appropriate criteria would be developed for screening and selecting projects. Preference would be given to projects which:

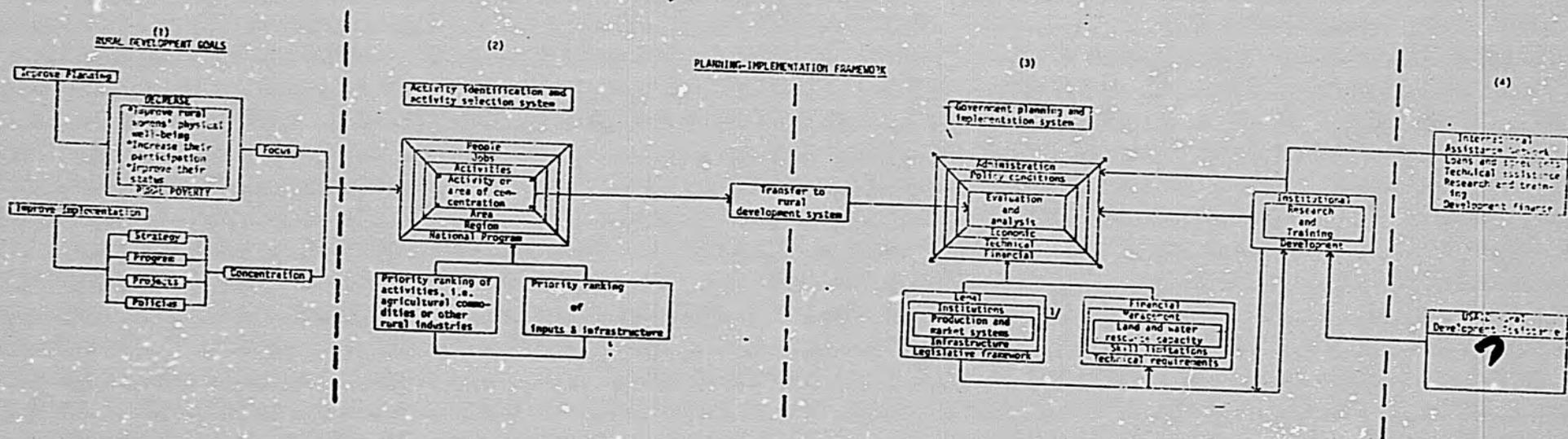
1. Concentrate on activities where significant numbers of rural women are actually employed as producers of goods and services.
2. Include the necessary training, investment, legal, and institutional changes as part of an integrated package designed to increase the productivity of selected groups of rural women.
3. Incorporate women as program planners, managers, and technicians, or make provision for their training.

Missions sponsoring such initiatives would compete for the limited capital and technical assistance resources available for such projects. These projects would be (a) catalytic and experimental in nature, (b) geographically distributed when warranted, and (c) modest in cost. Most would be developed as specific country projects.

These projects can be of two general types: (1) those which focus on a specific activity in which large numbers of women are active and (2) those which focus on the multiple roles of women within a given geographic area. The first type involves a single activity but multi-regions or multi-countries and the second a single region but multi-activities. Marketing, because it is a function handled by women in many countries and because it is less location-specific than agricultural production, is one activity which is suitable for a concentrated country, perhaps even cross-country effort. Training programs which provide rural women in a given geographic area with a variety of skills needed in their multiple roles is another possible approach. Such programs would include health and nutrition education, for example, but give equal emphasis to training in technical agricultural skills or training in skills needed for alternative employment in the marketing sector or rural industries. Both types of projects will have limited impact, however, unless designed as part of an overall planning and implementation framework (see Figure 7).

Help countries design and implement comprehensive rural development programs. Programs/projects to improve the welfare of rural women will achieve little success, however, unless conceived as part of a larger

Figure 7--A Recommended Planning-Implementation Framework



187

rural development effort. The poor physical well-being of rural women is a direct consequence of the poverty of the rural community. And programs/projects to enable rural women to participate more fully in the economy will find limited acceptance unless sufficient productive opportunities are provided for all men and women that desire them. The real problem is to integrate all rural people--men and women--into their national economies. And the only rational and enduring means to accomplish this is by providing everyone with the opportunity to participate in the rural economy in whatever activities and level of decision making that their inherent intelligence and skills suit them for.

Once the emphasis on growth is altered to include people and their productive employment as a goal, AID's typical piecemeal approach is no longer acceptable. Nor was it always appropriate when growth alone was the goal, for it has been demonstrated time and time again that an integrated system of policies and programs is necessary even to increase the production of a single commodity. Yet AID has continued to finance single pronged attacks like credit. When credit is the limiting factor, making it available will have the desired impact. But if all the other pieces are not in place, (see Figure 5, Column 4 for a listing of some of the more common mechanisms--extension, education, price, land improvement, marketing, transportation, taxation, etc.), output increases will not be forthcoming on a sustaining basis.

In other words, the piecemeal approach is suitable from AID's point of view only if the piece selected turns out to be the single limiting factor. But there need not be any one limiting factor; many pieces may be missing or the pieces may be there but poorly organized. In these cases the Agency should be concerned with the system--its design and implementation--and not just one piece. Countries never have the luxury of being able to concentrate on one piece of a program, however. They can orchestrate inputs--getting a credit loan from AID, for example, research assistance from the international research institutes, a fertilizer loan from one of the Banks, and provide the rest of the inputs themselves. But neither they nor lending agencies should confuse a piece of a system (a mechanism) with what is really necessary to achieve a goal--a comprehensive, integrated, well functioning system.

Once the goal is broadened to include a concern with human welfare and integrating the disadvantaged into the development process through productive employment an even more complex system of policies/programs/inputs must be designed and implemented. Governments will have to develop the ability to conceive and implement multi-goal, multi-sector, and multi-discipline approaches to rural development. New systems will have

to be designed to reach significant numbers of the rural disadvantaged. Existing agricultural systems must be restructured and re-oriented. Systems of rural industries will also have to be created to provide jobs in rural areas where there is no agricultural solution.

Planners will need to develop a detailed profile of the rural disadvantaged. This will include a description of who they are (age, sex, etc.), where they are, what they do, what they can do. A separate profile should be made for rural women, of course. Because the emphasis is on jobs now rather than output increases, potential crops, mixes of crops, and other types of productive employment suitable for rural areas (processing facilities, handicrafts, textiles, etc.) should be evaluated. These activities should be ranked first on the basis of their contribution to increasing the employment, productivity, and income of rural people. Final selection, of course, also depends upon their relative investment costs, and the relative ease with which constraints to implementation can be eliminated. Planned implementation may require reorganization of institutions in order to reach significant numbers of the poorest, training and/or retraining of personnel (especially of women if one of the goals is to integrate women into the development process), and policy and legal changes as well as increased investment.

Leadership for such an effort must come from within each country. It is impossible for outsiders to be involved in the process of goal determination except as catalysts or advisors. When the course of action calls for a restructuring of basic policies, programs, and even society, itself, strong local leadership is even more crucial. Incorporating women into the mix as participants in the planning and implementation process as well as beneficiaries adds another sensitive issue. The basic analytical and planning work will have to be done by a core group within each country. The dimensions of their job are outlined in Figures 5 and 7. Responsibility for organizing and implementing the program will be handled differently in each country depending on the existing structure of government and the strengths and weaknesses of individual agencies.

Outside assistance will be needed first and foremost to help plan and organize the overall effort (part 5 in Figure 5). Once this has been accomplished, the mechanisms to be used to implement the program can be tuned up and larger amounts of financial assistance provided. In the beginning technical advisors can serve as catalysts, helping countries initiate a discourse on goals and focus issues. Later they can provide knowledge, advice, and training on (1) how to analyze and plan multi-goal, multi-sector programs and (2) how to organize and manage the type of comprehensive, integrated rural development program which is necessary. AID does not have the staff needed to do this job, however; nor is one in the wings. Consequently, the starting place is to develop a core staff in AID/Washington with appropriate talent, authority, and responsibility to help interested countries plan and organize such rural development programs.

* * * * *

Our purpose in writing this paper was limited. We concentrated on two points: (1) presenting a framework for analyzing the problems of LDC rural women and (2) discussing several broad strategies whereby AID can help countries integrate their rural women into their national economies. A technical paper can be prepared to support our arguments, using Taiwan and Peru as case studies. Our discussion of possible AID strategies can also be expanded, once preliminary approval is given to our recommendations, to include detailed descriptions of (1) several potential high priority, limited impact projects and (2) the type of core staff needed if AID is to help countries plan and implement comprehensive rural development programs--its composition, functions, funding, authority and responsibility, relationships with AID/Washington and country missions, etc.

EXCERPT FROM BACKGROUND PAPER ON
THE NEW FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT PROVISION (PERCY AMENDMENT)
ENTITLED: "PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT"

E

prepared by: Jonathan Silverstone,
PPC/PDA

TAB E. III

An International Effort

This is not strictly a unilateral initiative of the United States. It is consistent with and supports international law and the domestic law and policy of many developing countries.

The International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade was adopted by the United National General Assembly in 1970 after lengthy and detailed drafting procedures and discussion in a number of international forums by representatives of the industrially advanced market economies, the developing countries, and the states that engage in central planning.^{4/}

It says: "The full integration of women in the total development effort should be encouraged."

Much international attention has been given to the status of women and programs to protect and enhance their rights. But specific international concern with women's status and roles in connection with economic development is relatively new.

The first international meeting between experts on the status of women and economic development experts occurred in June 1972 under UN auspices. That session focussed primarily on women in rural, small business, and industrial development, and on education related to

^{4/} United Nations Publication Sales No. E.71.II.A.2.

112'

90% of this small group of survivors drop out before graduation. But those who finally graduate are generally not prepared for economic participation.

The Economic Commission for Latin America recently noted that there have been no studies of the role of women in the development of that region. It has recommended that antidiscrimination measures and the lack of educational, employment, and economic opportunities be looked into.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East proposes to hold a seminar in May 1974 on the integration of women in the development process.

A member of the Egyptian cabinet chaired a conference called by the Arab League and the United Nations in Cairo in 1972 on "The Role of Arab Women in Development". A six-point platform was adopted. It calls for increased employment and better vocational training; encouragement of girls' enrollment in schools and intensive programs to train women teachers; enactment of laws to protect working women and to provide health benefits for farm workers; marriage law reforms, including enactment of minimum age requirements; encouragement of day care nurseries and environmental health programs; and reforms which would bring family planning activities closer together with maternal

and child health centers.^{6/}

Although the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group have refrained from speaking officially on the matter, they published an article in 1971 on "Women, Jobs, and Development" (Finance and Development, December 1971). The author, Margaret de Vries, is an American economist. She points out the tendency of various kinds of changes in production technology to force women into greater dependence on men and to reduce sharply their participation in the labor force, consequences which developing countries cannot afford. This deterioration is also self-defeating from the standpoint of population programs, she notes.

Gaps and Biases in Data

Any attempt to consider the participation of women in national economies, at least so far as development is concerned, is hampered by the economic accounting conventions now in international use to measure development and economic participation and to guide or justify policy.

Standard measures of labor force participation frequently exclude women who are outside modern or industrial employment.

^{6/} Donald Allan, "Arab Women Speak Out", UNICEF News, July 1973, p. 8.

The standard methods for measuring economic development are based primarily on transactions occurring and valued in modern markets. Work and services performed and consumed within households and subjects of gift, barter or traditional, informal markets, are generally excluded or substantially undervalued.

These measures have the virtue of administrative convenience and understandability for Western-trained economists and bureaucrats. Whatever the rationale behind them, however, they leave out, in practice, the bulk of women's contribution to an economy. Production, gathering, and preparation of food, child rearing, household maintenance, and production and exchange of domestic goods are overlooked, as are some other kinds of activity, which are the subject of cash market transactions but are nevertheless arbitrarily excluded.^{7/}

This means that we have little data on the actual participation of women in national economic development for most countries, and we are hard pressed to show actual increases or decreases in their contribution to the total development effort, if by development we include actual economic production and increases in its real value.

The economic accounting conventions which define what is to be included in the national product may have significant effects on policies and programs and on the existence of people living in a real world outside academicians' and administrators' models.

^{7/} See the discussion of "Development Measures" in Development Digest, vol. XI, No. 2 (April 1973), especially at pages 113-115; 120-124. See also Helvi Sipila, "Third World Woman: Master of Her Own Destiny", UNICEF News 4 (July 1973).

115

For one thing, the conventions make invisible people out of those whose product is left out. Invisible, at least, when it comes to policies and programs designed to enhance economic development. Thus, women whose economic contribution is ⁱⁿ excluded or undervalued agricultural, domestic, or trade activities are not recognized or recognizable in models which use these statistics. And where the people allocating external assistance look for a direct connection between assistance inputs and increased production, they overlook essential functioning parts of the economy.

Another problem follows from this measurement technique. The measure may indicate an increase in production--and therefore development progress--when production has, in fact, declined.

Assume, for example, a family migrates from the countryside to the city, where the husband gets a job and the wife does not. Assume the work of neither had previously entered into the national product account. The husband's production on the new job will show up as an increase in total national product, and, indeed, his contribution to the economy may in fact be greater than his previous work. On the other hand, because they are now in the city, the wife is no longer able to fill subsistence needs for the household--including, perhaps, production, gathering and preparation of food, gathering fuel, and manufacture of clothes and household artifacts. She may even be idle

for substantial portions of the day that had previously been devoted to economic activities. It is possible, in these circumstances, that there is a net loss in the actual national product, while the internationally recognized figures say something else.^{8/}

The international economic accounting conventions serve useful purposes. But it should be noted that they come from the industrial countries and are not sufficiently sensitive to tell what is happening to the people who are left out and what their exclusion means for the economic and social health of developing countries. If the work women do is not recognized, then they may suffer.

Women are not, of course, being entirely ignored by development planners.

Economic performance is being thought of more and more in terms of per capita product, that is total economic product divided by total population; and economic progress, in terms of the rate of production growth divided by the rate of population growth. Whatever roles women are assumed to have in production growth, they are seen to play a strategic part in population growth. Economic planners and development assistance agencies view their acquiescence in bearing children as a menace to economic progress and security for the countries where they

Esther
^{8/} See Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, pp. 167-173
(St. Martin's Press, New York, 1970)

107

live, and for others as well.

Concern for the population denominator and worldwide overcrowding has drawn attention to women. As noted in connection with United Nations activities, this concern is an important basis for funding studies related to womens roles in economic development. But it is possible that such a perspective, if it is the exclusive or dominant view of female participation, could badly distort the picture.

Cultural and Technological Imperialism

The economic roles which women perform vary widely throughout the world. It is normal, however, for each of us to view other cultures in terms of our own, or some one or two others we have observed or heard about. Thus, we often think of a "modern" culture, which has certain characteristics, and a "traditional" culture, which has different features. While most of us know better than that, as a practical matter this is how our perceptions and assumptions work in the absence of conscious and conscientious effort to do otherwise.

For example, an argument offered in support of the Percy Amendment suggests that in developing countries traditional culture blocks women and girls from access to educational and economic opportunities; whereas modern societies are more enlightened.^{9/}

9/ Cong. Record, 2 Oct. 1973, pp. 18422-18423 (daily ed.)

But many scientific observers have observed that the economic position of women has been harmed in some developing countries because of the customs of colonial and aid administrators from modern societies and because of the prestige of Western ways.

One report notes complaints from Thailand that "Western influence adversely affects the position of women there by making sharper distinctions between sexes than has traditionally existed in that country. The people from the West have brought scouting for the boys, needlework for girls, special hospitals for women, public toilets separated by sex."^{10/} Another argues that Western administrators in Burma failed to take into account the self-dependent role of women there, "which differed both from European and from most Asiatic patterns."^{11/}

Woman's Role in Economic Development, by Ester Boserup, a Danish author, appears to be the major and perhaps the only general survey of this subject available in English. It was published in 1970.^{12/}

^{10/} Ester Boserup, Woman's Role in Economic Development, p. 219 (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1970).

^{11/} Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, p. 43 (Mentor Books, New York, 1955).

^{12/} Much of the discussion in this paper is based on the Boserup book. It is summarized in Development Digest, vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 97-122 (April 1971). See also Barbara Ward (ed.), Women in the New Asia (UNESCO, 1963).

In summarizing a large number of studies, she observes that "European settlers, colonial administrators, and technical advisors are responsible for the deterioration of the status of women in the agricultural sectors of developing countries. It was they who neglected the female labor force when they helped to introduce modern commercial agriculture to the overseas world and promoted the productivity of male labour." Regardless of the extent and nature of female participation in agriculture, it has been customary for foreign technical advisors and programs to teach men, only, to apply modern methods in the cultivation of a given crop, while women continue to use the traditional methods for the same crop, thus getting much less out of their efforts than the men. Moreover, by virtue of this training for men with respect to cash crops which are the object of substantial international and national research, development, and investment efforts, men have access to cash and therefore investment opportunities, including farm improvements, that are denied to women who produce noncash food crops. This is a significant problem in societies, such as some in Africa, where wives have the burden of sustaining themselves and, to a large degree, their children, through their own economic efforts, in addition to providing service and some support for their husbands.

The provision of Western training and the introduction of new technology enhances the prestige and earning capacity of men vis a vis

women. Men handle the industrial inputs, while women do degrading manual jobs. Men spread fertilizer, while women spread manure. Men ride the bicycles and drive the lorries, while women carry headloads. "In short, men represent modern farming in the village and women, the old drudgery."

Where illiteracy, traditional behavior, and superstition had once been common among all the villagers, Ms. Boserup argues, these signs of backwardness gradually become more characteristic of rural women than of men. The reason is that modern primary education creates a major technical and cultural gap between men and women. The gap widens when modern agricultural methods are taught to the men, who, because of the primary school training, can better absorb that technology.

Added to these discriminatory effects of Western colonial and Western inspired development programs in non-Moslem rural Africa south of the Sahara, Ms. Boserup suggests there is evidence that the introduction of Western land tenure reforms, which provide for individual ownership and the marketability of land, has also undermined the economic and social position of women.

Whether or not they are the final word or the only possible interpretation of the events to which they refer, the studies cited by Ms. Boserup suggest the possibility that well intentioned development programs and projects may undermine the status of women, encourage

121

disintegration of cooperative relationships between men and women, and at the same time, perhaps, reduce the efficiency of development efforts, no matter how one measures economic development. This is not a matter of intent, let alone evil design. It reasonably flows from a failure to see what goes on in an economy and a tendency to think in terms of abstractions that are distorted.

Jobs and Economic Responsibilities

The roles of women in agriculture and other aspects of an economy range from control--through active labor participation--through complete non-participation. The kinds of jobs that women do exclusively and the kind of jobs that women stay out of are often different in different places and at different times.

In Muslim and Hindu societies, or so-called plough agriculture societies, the tendency is for women to be secluded, to the extent they can afford it. The facts and ideology related to seclusion may, as a practical matter, result in better wages for women who are in the work force and may support better opportunities for women in certain professions--including teaching and medicine--than might otherwise be the case. Ms. Boserup noted that two such countries have prime ministers who are women, and she thinks this is so, in part, because "men have not become accustomed to viewing the role of educated women

as that of a less qualified assistant to a male supervisor."

Contrasted with these societies are the areas, including those in Southeast Asia and Africa referred to, where women are active in agriculture, business, and labor generally.

The active role of women as traders, financiers, and controllers of transport in some African countries is frequently commented upon.^{13/}

In Ghana, scholars have noted that women control trade in fish and staple foods by acting as financiers for these industries.^{14/}

Vietnamese women traditionally act as the professional organizers and managers of fairly substantial credit organizations.^{15/}

In Latin America, women migrate to cities in greater numbers than men and are actively employed in clerical occupations. This is not so in India and much of Africa. In North Africa, men are replacing French women in clerical jobs. But in Kenya, the government is encouraging African women to fill job vacancies left by departing Europeans and Asians.^{16/}

^{13/} See, for example, Brendan Jones, "Togo's Businesswomen", Development Digest, vol. 9, No. 2, p. 123 (April 1971)

^{14/} See L. Grayson, "The Promotion of Indigenous Enterprise in Ghana", African Studies Assn. 1972 (INA-FAR 17182) and studies cited there.

^{15/} See Clifton G. Barton, "Credit and Commercial Control in South Vietnam", Report for AID East Asia Research Program (1973).

^{16/} The actual roles of Latin American women in rural life and in marketing are often overlooked because of the failure of scholars and administrators to consider the economics of Indian communities. But see Margaret Hagen, "Notes on the Public Market System and Distribution Network of Managua, Nicaragua" (INCAE, Managua, June 1972). Barry Heyman, of AID's Latin America Bureau, is preparing another study on this subject.

123

We have noted varying patterns of economic functions which women perform in regard to production, trade, finance, and services. There is also a wide variation in the responsibilities they have to run and support families. The traditional position of women as breadwinners in parts of Africa was mentioned. With economic change, moreover, there is a growing trend in some places for women to assume or be forced to assume the full financial responsibility for family support.^{17/} There are many reasons, ranging from custom through migration and the disintegration of traditional institutions, as well as the effects of war, employment availability, and domestic relations and property law.

When we single out women as a specific object of study in the context of development, we run the risk of seeing life as being dominated by a war between the sexes, where one's loss is another's gain. Such a picture is not a helpful one, although there may be signs that current patterns of development in some places are transforming life in this way.

As participants in production who often bear the major burden for family support, women may require assistance as much, if not more than, men to perform higher productivity, higher income jobs to the extent that is possible. In any case, it is neither fair nor good economic development sense to base development assistance strategy and

^{17/} There is often a gap between what the law says and assumes in this regard and what is actually happening. Legal fictions about the head of the household may obscure the truth and create obstacles for the growing number of women who actually have the responsibility.

124

operations on the assumption that man is the universal breadwinner.

It would also be misleading to think that all the women in a society necessarily share common economic and social interests, so that what helps one will help, or will not harm, the others. Women are, of course, members of castes and clans and classes and ethnic groups, and it is reasonable to believe that they will generally share the animosities, conflicting interests, and hierachical arrangements that govern the relationships among these groupings.

We have seen that the current measures of production and development exclude much of what women do in the economy. The result is not only that we do not know what the role of women is, or is becoming, but the measures themselves may lead to policies that have bad consequences for women and development.

There is evidence that some policies, programs, projects, and techniques supported by Western administrators, entrepreneurs, and advisors may have undermined the position of women and may also have been economically inefficient because of a failure to understand and take into account the roles of women in particular societies.

There is a wide variety of roles and responsibilities in different places. If there is some understanding of these and if the knowledge is applied to development programs, it may be possible to avoid

125

repeating and compounding past errors.

Clearly, the pattern has not been set by AID or the U.S. Government. One critic at least, Ms. Boserup, suggests that the record of the United States overseas has had better consequences for womens status than that of other Western powers.

What AID Can Do.

AID can make important contributions, however, in working with others and supporting the efforts of countries and international groups to deal with the problem. We can encourage study and the application of understanding in this area to our own operations and those of others.

Two types of information are needed immediately by people who are making program and budget decisions in AID and who are responsible for implementing section 113.

First, they need to know about the economic roles of women in the specific countries with which they are dealing, the effect of economic change on these roles, and the position of the governments and others within the countries on the integration of women in economic development.

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active participation in economic life.^{5/}

The United Nations Population Fund recently put up money for a program to encourage studies of the integration of women in development. The object is to discover and to make known how women's work affects child bearing and migration.

The Economic Commission for Africa has a five-year program (1972-1976) which calls for studies on the impact of modernization on women in rural areas; on women in wage employment; on self-employed women in marketing, industry, and services; on vocational training for female school leavers; and on planning for participation of women in national development. This study program will focus specifically on conditions in that region. According to the ECA, African women produce more than one-half the continent's food, but do not get training or technical assistance, and, at the same time, do not have access to cash for farm investment or for labor-saving equipment for farm or household. Participation of African women in wage employment appears to be dropping in many countries, and independent women entrepreneurs and traders are being displaced without alternative opportunities, according to ECA, which also noted that ten per cent of the girls who start primary school go on to secondary school, and

^{5/} For a discussion of UN activities following up the International Development Strategy in this regard, see the Report of the Secretary-General on a Program of Concerted International Action to Promote the Advancement of Women and their Integration in Development, 7 Dec. 1973 (Doc. No. E/CN.6/577).

137

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