

**"An Historical Review of USAID's Social Sector Performance
in the 1982-87 Country Assistance Program"**

**Section One: Social Sector Programs
Section Two: Cross-Cutting Social Initiatives**

By

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Section One

Social Sector Programs

On the whole, Pakistan's social sector development achievements lag behind those of other fields. This has been a matter of grave concern to the GOP, AID/Pakistan, other donor agencies, as well as to many of the people of Pakistan. Many explanations can be forwarded for this: historical, economic, political, etc. Suffice it to say that the World Bank has expressed that while Pakistan is on the threshold of becoming a middle-income country, it's social sector performance lags further behind many far-more-impooverished countries. In its review of the World Bank's relationship with Pakistan, it was noted that:

No Asian country with nearly as strong a growth record as Pakistan has had as weak a record in the development of the social sectors - in education including literacy, in health and population programs, and in the participation of women in the modernization process. The building of a variety of development promoting institutions, especially in the social sectors, has been spotty.

There is, therefore, a two-pronged explanation behind AID/Pakistan's accomplishments - or lack of such - in social sector projects in the 1982-87 program: the first is intrinsically related to activities and priorities of the Mission, while the second must include the larger issue of social sector malaise in Pakistan, which is beyond the scope of this report. It is important to remember that AID/Pakistan was responding to GOP priorities which emerged through policy dialogue in its social sector programming; as such, the following will concentrate on the concerns of AID/Pakistan in contributing to social sector development, with a view to understanding what was attempted, what was achieved, and what lessons can be learned from the experience to make AID/Pakistan's programs more dynamic, responsive and effective in the future, given the constraints imbedded in the framework of Pakistan's current situation.

\$196 million - 15% of the total assistance package - was allocated to social sector programs. The Mission concentrated their efforts in three areas: health, population, and human resource development. In addition, selected cross-cutting social initiatives [included in the following section of this report] such as women-in-development, narcotics and training have been incorporated into most of AID/Pakistan's programs with an aim to have an impact upon social issues in the process of achieving other development concerns.

In brief, highlights of AID/Pakistan's social sector achievements during this period include:

- *Provision of overseas training for more than 3,500 Pakistani professionals, including about 800 in long-term degree courses;
- *Construction of eight health technician training schools throughout Pakistan;
- *Provision of \$5.2 million in equipment and commodities in support of Pakistan's Expanded Program in Immunization (EPI);
- *Supported establishment of new National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS) in Islamabad;
- *Supported initiation of nation-wide population-related social marketing of contraceptives program;
- *Provided \$33 million for anti-malarial spraying operations covering about 80% of Pakistan's "at risk" population;
- *Contributed to avoidance of an estimated 21 million malaria cases, containing what would otherwise have been a major health problem in the country.

In addition, highlights of cross-cutting social sector achievements include:

- *Established WAPDA Distribution Training Institute in temporary facilities in Lahore, and initiated plans for constructing permanent facility in Islamabad;
- *Supported strengthening of NWFP Agricultural University in Peshawar, including overseas training for nearly 70 professionals, establishment of computer lab, and completion of construction plans for new campus facilities;
- *Provided more than \$4.5 million in research equipment to various provincial agricultural research institutes and to the Arid Zone Research Institute in Quetta;
- *Initiated several hundred small-scale rural development and infrastructure schemes, including schools, health facilities, irrigation schemes and water supply systems in areas which had been used for poppy cultivation, and have succeeded in eliminating poppy cultivation in a number of localities.

In effect, AID/Pakistan really had two different social sector programs: the first roughly covers 1982-85, the second 1985-87. While at first glance it appears that the strategic shift occurred with the change of Director at the Mission, in truth the explanation for the policy shift correlates more with the initial constraints to building up the program in Pakistan which, once that got off the ground, enabled more dynamic social sector activities in the second phase. This will become evident in the following discussions of each social sector program.

Health

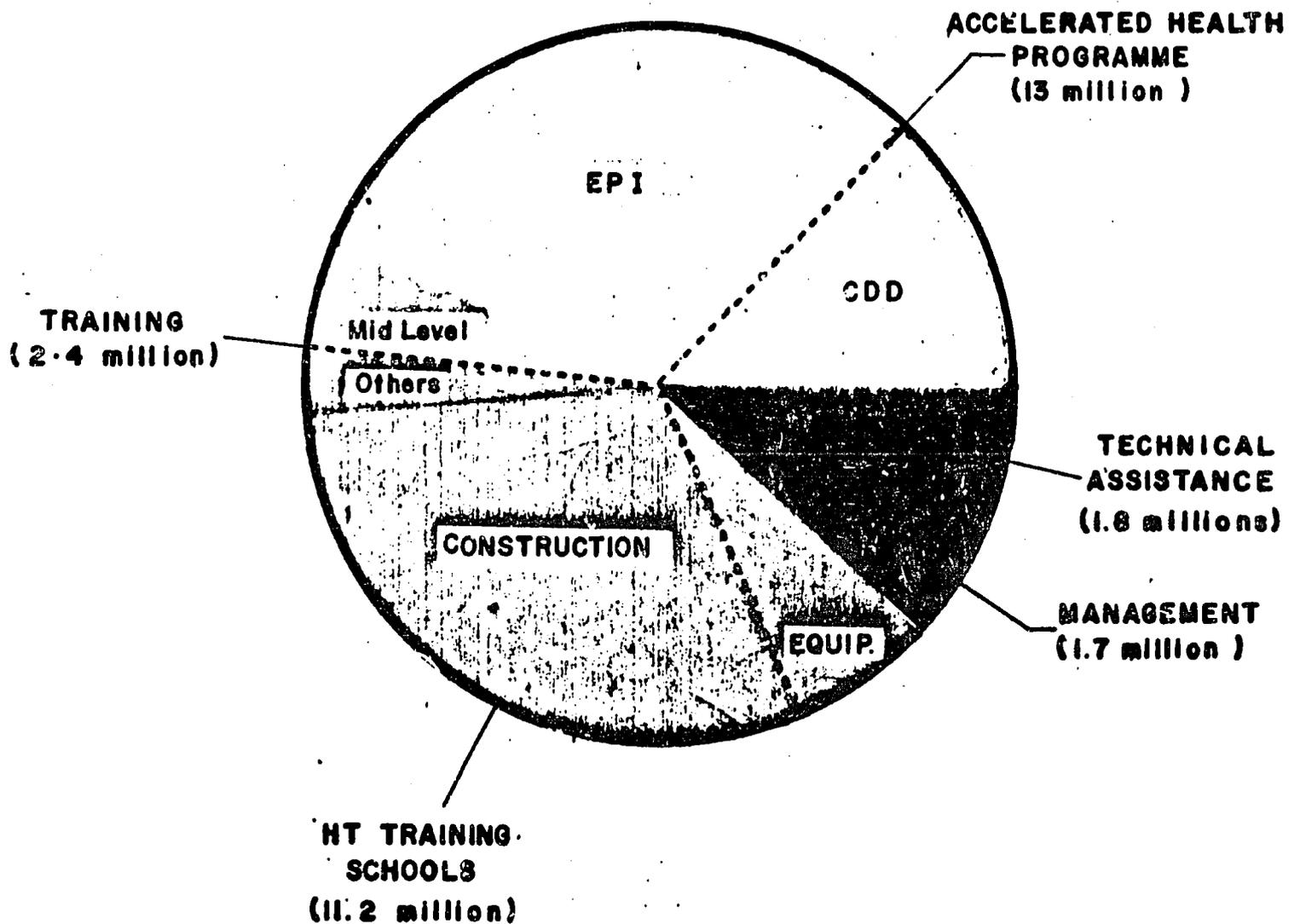
In this area, AID/Pakistan had two substantial projects, which will be addressed separately: Primary Health Care, and Malaria Control.

Primary Health Care:

This project was initiated at a funding level of \$30 million with the objective of improving the health status of the rural population, and was essentially a continuation of the Basic Health Services Project which AID/Pakistan supported during 1977-1981. The earlier project had focussed on the establishment of clinic-like units, Integrated Rural Health Complexes (IRHCs), which were to be staffed by physicians and mid-level health auxiliaries called Medical Technicians (MTs) and other paramedics (e.g., TBAs, LHVs, MPHWs), as well as curriculum development for the MTs. The first phase of the project (1982-85) emphasized the building up of comprehensive rural health-care delivery systems; the second phase moved to focussing attention on reducing morbidity and mortality rates amongst children under age 5 due to the major public health problems in Pakistan. The Chart "Primary Health Care Project Activities" (following page) shows the proportional distribution of resources within the project.

Health is a province-based responsibility in Pakistan. In response to the GOP's creation of the Basic Health Services cell within the Health Ministry, whose aim was to manage the government's Basic Health Services project, AID/Pakistan found itself able to assist the GOP's coordination efforts. It should be recalled that by this time in Pakistan, due to efforts undertaken under Z.A. Bhutto's government, there was no shortage of doctors in the country, but there were problems in their dispersion and related support services. In the first phase, Aid/Pakistan concentrated its attention on organizational inputs, such as staffing the proposed IRHCs and attached Basic Health Units (BHUs) in remote areas throughout the country, strategies for building up these networks, and details relating to their management: teaching physicians new procedures and management techniques, introducing a register system to keep track of patients, etc. AID/Pakistan committed itself to building 13 permanent medical technician training schools in the country; as of this writing, their status is:

PRIMARY HEALTH CARE PROJECT ACTIVITIES (in U.S. dollars)



TOTAL : 30 million

- *3 schools completed in Sind;
- *5 schools about 90% completed in Punjab;
- *3 schools about 70% completed in NWFP;
- *1 school in Quetta just had its foundation laid, while construction on a second school in Baluchistan (in Khauzdar) is not yet begun.

People interviewed at the Mission feel that these schools were the most interesting and wisest thing initiated by AID/Pakistan's health program in this period. For one, they are out in the periphery, in areas which badly needed such resources. Second, each school has a hostel attached to it, which will facilitate enrolling women from the respective regions to participate in the training programs.

Another important contribution by AID/Pakistan in this phase was its strong emphasis on medical technician training and with which it became closely identified - perhaps too closely identified. In many respects, the training program was perhaps too ambitious, as MTs were being trained to do many of the tasks of physicians. Problems which resulted from the overly-ambitious training programs came to be closely associated with AID/Pakistan. However, on the positive side, a curriculum for training paramedics was developed, with a strong emphasis on developing community health skills. During the second phase of the program, this was expanded to include hands-on training and field assignments.

Other inputs in the first phase include assistance in a communications program for control of diarrheal diseases and initial participation in vaccine production.

The program faced a number of problems: resources were concentrated in a few centers, there was a lack or absence of supervisory contact, service delivery problems were rampant, there was no monitoring system to evaluate if they were meeting benchmarks and targets which had been set with the GOP and, in a larger sense, it didn't address the existing systemic problems which constrained the success of the program. The actual training components of the program had initially been conceived with little dialogue with the GOP. There was a question of program design as well, for the basic strategy of outreach required more provision for travel than had been included. The very nature of the program became problematic and frustrating, to the point where the Mission considered shutting it down in 1984 and again in late 1985. A large part of the frustration had to do with the internally-asked question: was the Mission really accomplishing anything? In hindsight, we can see that the program was too spread out, with limited staffing resources to make such efforts truly effective.

Building on an important lesson learned in the first phase, the second phase of the program was initiated with a great deal of feedback from the GOP. While some of the programs were continued, the emphasis shifted to having an impact on disease in the country. The prime focus came to be on the six life - threatening diseases in Pakistan: malaria, TB, respiratory infections, poor nutrition, pre-natal (anti-natal) risk factors in pregnancy, and, of most importance, diarrheal prevention and treatment.

In 1986, AID/Pakistan - in conformity with GOP policy and other donor activity -- actively began to participate in the effort to control diarrheal disease and reduce mortality due to dehydration through a strategy aimed at training provincial health officers for case management of containing diarrhea. PRITECH began to organize all aspects of Oral Rehydration Strategy (ORS) program planning: production, distribution and supply of ORS, as well as evaluation and research. AID/Pakistan spent substantial funds, particularly in 1987, on communicating ORS in the country: 2 million pictorial leaflets were distributed; television spots were used; and 3 messages on ORS were broadcast throughout the country over a one-year period. AID/Pakistan participated in policy dialogue with the GOP in its attempts to standardize ORS treatment. The problem is that while ORS can be effective in preventing dehydration, it can only be so when used properly, and there are indications that it is not. Therefore, AID/Pakistan has encouraged the standardization of a) ORS packet size and b) messages to mothers concerning proper feeding and treatment when children have diarrhea.

In addition, AID/Pakistan spent a total of \$5.2 million in commodity support for the GOP's EPI. Though EPI was the GOP's strategy, AID/Pakistan can take some credit for the fact that EPI coverage went from 5% in the country in 1982 to 80% in 1988: AID/Pakistan supplied much of the injection equipment for the program, including cold chain equipment. A second area in which AID/Pakistan has been very active is in vaccine production equipment for tetanus typhoid, and particularly in promoting tetanus immunization for fertile age women. The latter focus stemmed from a visit by Stan Foster, an epidemiologist from the Atlanta Center for Disease Control in November 1986. From his evaluations of disease control and hospital records, he argued that while EPI was having substantial effect on preventing disease among the 43 million children who are under age 15 in Pakistan, there was a great need to protect unborn fetuses, particularly from tetanus.

There was a strategy shift in the training component as well. The GOP asked for help to supplement basic medical education of mid-level (peripheral) medical officers; in effect, the training program shifted from training medical officers in charge to emphasizing an integrated training program for the entire health care system, from the level of District Health Officer and below. In addition, AID/Pakistan assisted the GOP in expanding their MIS system to become a both a supervisory and a reporting tool, basing the system on facility service statistics (e.g., utilization rates, drug supplies, case management).

A new curriculum emphasizing community health skills was finally published in March 1988. This was developed entirely as a participatory process, using advisory groups in all provinces and seeking input from people throughout the health structure. While it took two years to write, it appears to have much effective potential.

Other inputs in the second phase include institutional support of the training program by providing \$12 million in equipment and furniture for the schools, and enrolling many more women. At present, 22% of technicians in service are women; however, 40% of currently enrolled trainees are women.

A final area in which AID/Pakistan is actively engaged in policy dialogue with the GOP is in its attempts to have community medicine in general, and community pediatrics in particular, emphasized in government programs.

The important lessons learned from the Primary Health Care program can be summed up as follows:

- *It is critical that the GOP make substantial inputs into the direction of the program. The political will which was evidenced on the part of the GOP which contributed to the success of EPI needs to be harnessed to make other health programs successful as well. Though this may be a time-consuming process, the GOP's participation is, obviously, invaluable;
- *AID/Pakistan must make the internal decision: to give highly visible, high impact assistance, or broad-based support to strengthen the overall system;
- *It is important that realistic targets be set and then attempts at achieving them be monitored;
- *A program can't do everything at once - train doctors, train MTs, build schools, devise training curriculums, and hope to have an impact on disease control - with a high level of quality.

In effect, the above lessons learned have contributed to an awareness on the part of AID/Pakistan's planning for its 1988-1993 health program, which will stress Child Survival Strategies. In addition, AID/Pakistan's consistency over the years in stressing the increased participation of women as health providers has also been incorporated into the new program.

Malaria Control Project

A second health-related area in which AID/Pakistan has been active has been malaria control. \$41 million dollars were allocated, along with Rs. 21 million, mostly in the provision of 13,650 metric tons of insecticide for anti-malaria spraying operations covering 16.2 million households. In addition, the Mission supported the establishment of the National Institute of Malaria Research and Training (NIMRT) in Lahore for malaria operational research; the establishment of malaria case detection centers at health facilities in various urban municipal corporations; and trained 272 doctors and 7,356 MTs in malaria control techniques and strategies.

[More on this, perhaps two pages,
to be written by other project team member]

Population Planning

It is a commonly recognized perception that if a country is unable to contain its population growth rate, all other development endeavors may well be jeopardized. Pakistan has one of the highest population growth rates in the world: while Planning Minister Dr. Mahbub-ul Haq estimates the rate in 1988 to be 3%, others informally feel that it may well be even higher. At the present rate of growth, Pakistan's population of 100 million will double in about 25 years. Continuation in a program such as population planning is of vital importance, but continuation has not prevailed in Pakistan. There have been many disruptions in the program, each related to political upheavals. Despite 30 years of public sector efforts, contraceptive prevalence rates have not reached beyond 10%. In sum, the 3% population growth rate does not bode well for the country's future economic nor social development prospects, and the resultant inability to provide basic amenities to such a fast-growing population may contribute to future political disruptions as well.

Background to the 1982-87 Program:

Efforts to contain population growth rates began in 1952 in Pakistan as a purely NGO activity by the Family Planning Association of Pakistan (FPAP). Shortly afterwards, this developed into a government-funded NGO program (between 1955-60). The government then included public sector efforts to contain population growth through health outlets (hospitals and clinics). Therefore, by the early 1960s, there was a two-pronged program: the FPAP-NGO program, and a public sector program. At this time, the population was about 43 million.

A new program was begun in the mid-1960s, based on IUDs, Dais (TBAs) and incentive payments, run by the GOP health department. AID/Pakistan's involvement at this time was to provide budgetary support for contraceptives and some vehicles to assist the program. While the program initially was popular, it quickly lost support as the targets were over-ambitious and there was much fictitious reporting by doctors and clinics to claim incentive payments.

With the fall of Ayub Khan's government, the population planning program was suspended and efforts in this regard were substantively reorganized. The country's population was now estimated at 65.3 million. The program forwarded by the Bhutto government was the Continuous Motivation System (CMS). In 1975, Inundation was added to the program. This involved the sale of condoms and pills through shopkeepers throughout the country, on the premise that increased availability would increase usage. The failure of the CMS portion of the program has been attributed to the employment of young, unmarried, urban girls as motivators; political appointees; and lack of the necessary supervision of field activities required in such an effort; and, later, the bifurcation of male and female staff. Inundation was virtually also a lost cause because while contraceptives were supplied to large numbers of shops, they were often kept in the back (i.e., out of sight, hidden) and potential clients just didn't know they were there.

AID/Pakistan was involved in extensive policy dialogue with the GOP at this time, providing local currency funding and other institutional help (e.g., books, audio-visual equipment, etc.) and, most importantly, supplying the contraceptives. The Mission's involvement was at its height as it was the inventor of the Inundation idea, codesigner of the CMS strategy, and was the major donor: in effect, this was said to be AID/Pakistan's program. The program floundered; it was not effective; and a very important lesson was learned by AID/Pakistan: because it virtually designed the program, AID/Pakistan was, at least in people's minds, blamed for its failure. This experience is instructive: contribute to the ongoing programs of the GOP, but don't create them. To this day, many people still associate AID/Pakistan with this problematic program.

At about the same time, AID/Pakistan entered into policy dialogue with the GOP to explore ways in which the private sector could be engaged in population activities, and provided consultants for this purpose to the GOP in 1976. AID/Pakistan had agreed to supply condoms to private sector enterprises provided they were marketed as a wholeheartedly commercial enterprise. All agreements with the GOP were in place, but before the contraceptives had even left the warehouse, the 1977 coup d'etat occurred, the entire program was called into question by the GOP, and was subsequently cancelled. However, it is important to note that as far back as the mid-1970s, the GOP had agreed to the concept of the social marketing of contraceptives in that the government's resources were insufficient to make them available on the necessary scale.

The failure of CMS and Inundation caused general disillusionment among the international donor community, and all but UNFPA gradually withdrew support from the GOP's program after 1977. AID/Pakistan continued to play a marginal role, as its contraceptives were still in the country and had to be monitored, but this was all.

The GOP strategy was once again reorganized during the 1980-82 program development period, which saw Dr. Attiya Inayatullah play a major role in its formulation. Plan Formulation Groups were organized, funded by the UNFPA. AID/Pakistan was not consulted, but neither did it have the manpower to assist had it been consulted nor was it in a position legally to apply any funding at this time. The country's population had now reached 84.3 million.

The 1982-87 Program Period:

By 1982, Dr. Inayatullah had presented her multi-faceted community-based, clinic-based "cafeteria" approach to the international donor community. The Population Welfare Division's program was based on a 3-pronged core activity approach:

- * Family Welfare Centres (FWCs, essentially clinics)
- * Reproductive Health Centers (RHCs, mostly (sterilizations in hospitals)
- * Training

In addition, the GOP included the social marketing of family planning into the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The GOP approached AID/Pakistan for assistance in this area, and policy dialogue was engaged in at the ministerial level to work out the project design.

Concerning the larger population planning program of the Population Welfare Division, a shopping list was essentially presented to the donor community, and the World Bank, UNFPA, ODA (England) and CIDA (Canada) began to fund the core programs. The entire strategy was to be based on community participation, with the primary objective being contraceptive usage going from a prevalence of 9.5% in 1982-83 to 18.6% by 1988, and continuous practice increasing from 6.8% to 13% in the same period.

Demographic objectives (from 1983 to 1988) were:

- a. Reduce CBR from 40.3 to 36.2 per 1000;
- b. Prevent 2 million births in period;
- c. Reduce PGR from 2.8% to 2.6%;
- d. Reduce TFR from 5.9 to 5.4 per woman.

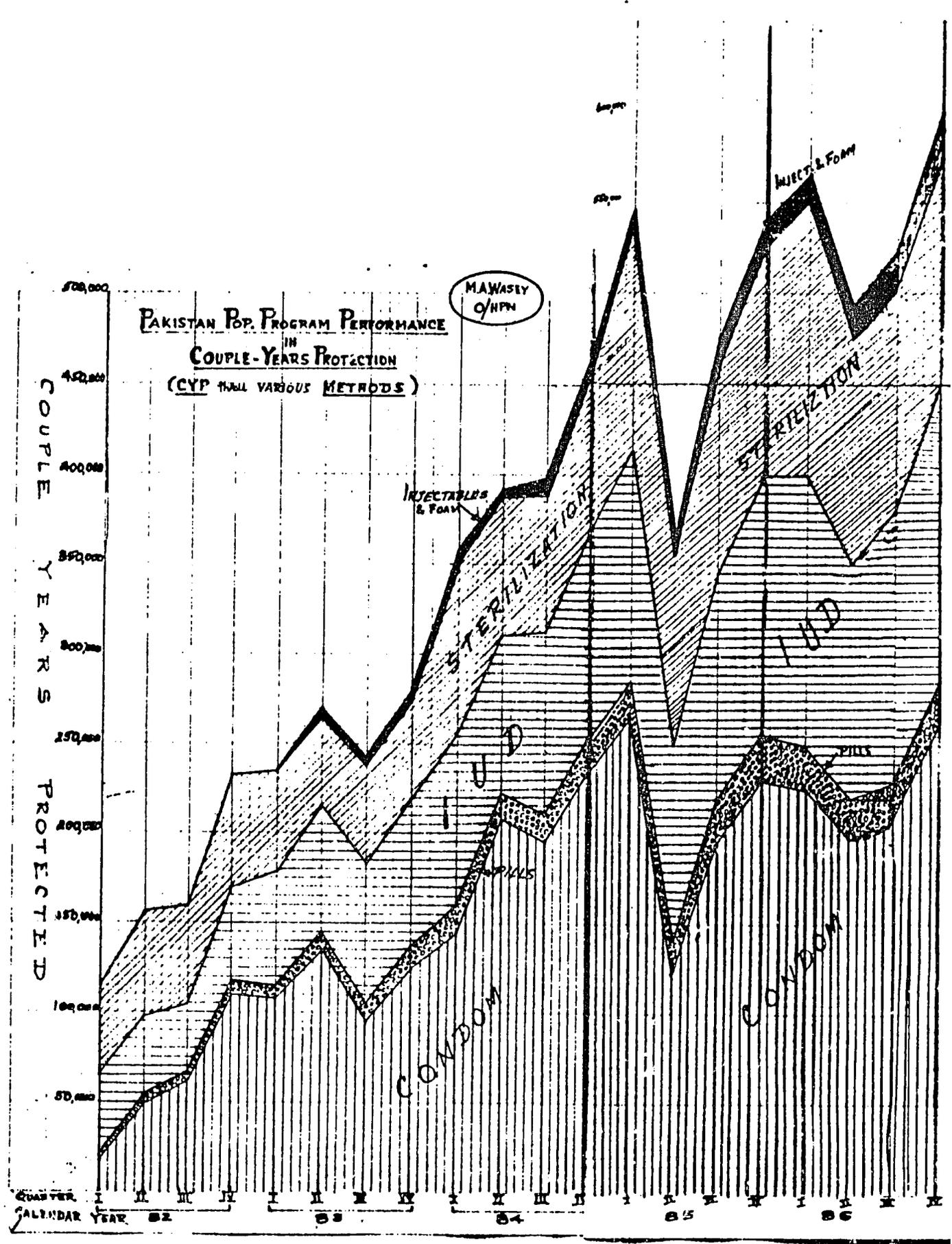
Delivery services were to be provided through FWCs, RHCs, local hakims, PLDOs, NGOs, TGIs, and District Distribution Points (DDPs) sale agents.

It was hoped that the following methodwise usage of contraceptives would be achieved (see attached chart for actual statistics on usage in the program period):

Condoms.....	46.37%
IUDs.....	19.76
Contraceptive Surgery.....	20.46
Oral pills.....	12.50
Injectables.....	0.91

AID/Pakistan began to develop its own projects quickly in the new start-up period, the last five months of 1981 and early 1982. By then, other donors had already offered assistance for most of the core items, so that AID/Pakistan assistance had to be confined to support activities, namely:

- * Of greatest importance: AID/Pakistan supplied the contraceptives for the program;
- * Provided Rs. 21 million for construction of buildings for a central warehouse in Karachi and the National Research Institute for Fertility Control (NRIFC);
- * Supported research: operational and demographic; the buildup of the National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS); improving condom testing capability and other NRIFC activities; and provided institutional support for condom field-testing.



In response to the GOP's encouragement to international donors to coordinate their activities, the UNFPA held the first such meeting in 1983. Since then, informal meetings have been held periodically. In addition, the GOP began to involve NGOs in their population planning program on a larger scale in 1985, and began to fund some of their activities. The NGO Coordinating Council was formed as a somewhat independent entity of the government (semi-autonomous contract organization) to expand and coordinate NGO involvement in the population program; it now consists of 90 registered NGOs including FPAP. This was done at the same time when the responsibility for the program was being transferred from Dr. Inayatuallah to Minister Mahbub-ul Haq. The country's estimated population was now 96 million.

At the same time, which was midway in AID/Pakistan's program period, there was an external evaluation of the population program. Based on recommendations made in this evaluation, the program was

- expanded to cover new areas;
- project completion date was extended from 1987 to 1989;
- provision was made for increased contraceptive supplies
- overall program funding, which had earlier been increased from \$25.6 to \$40 million, was now raised to \$74 million.

The majority of the expanded activities remained in support areas of the GOP's program: support for the National Research Institute of Reproductive Physiology (NRIRP) was added; small sums of money were budgeted for monitoring and statistics (essentially to strengthen the GOP's existing MIS system) and for improving the project's communications (e.g., mass media, including TV, radio, newspapers; audience research; production of films - although no monies have yet been disbursed in this regard); and began minimal involvement in reproductive health activities by lending support to the surgical contraceptive program. In the latter, funds were provided for institutional reimbursements (costs of operations) and technical assistance to ensure that the procedures were of high quality, voluntary, and were a result of informed choices by clients.

The above activities were pursued for two reasons:

1) these were recommended by the external evaluation; and 2) by then, AID/Pakistan felt that these were areas where they could be effective. In addition, it must be pointed out that this increased involvement in population activities paralleled the Mission's expansion into social sector activities following the larger shift in perspective which came with Rocky Staples to Islamabad.

As mentioned earlier, AID/Pakistan has been exploring ways in which the private sector could be engaged in the social marketing of population planning since the mid-1970s. In addition to its support of the GOP's larger population program, the Mission has also supported the GOP's Social Marketing of Contraceptives Program. The idea was that through the use of standard advertising techniques and existing retail networks, the social goal (i.e., the benefits of family planning) would be marketed to the population. Two design teams were engaged by AID/Pakistan. After a prolonged project design exercise (lasting almost two years), a Project Agreement was finally signed with the GOP in March 1984. W. Woodward Pakistan (Pvt.) Ltd. (distributors of the popular gripe water in Pakistan) were selected as the implementing firm and signed a contract with the GOP in December 1985. AID/Pakistan contracted with the U.S. firm, Population Services International (PSI), to be their resident advisor as they had extensive experience with a similar (successful) program in Bangladesh, while the GOP contracted with the NDFC as their advisors. Woodward then proceeded to hire advertising and market research firms on sub-contract basis. The condom, called "Sathi," was test-marketed between October - December 1986 in Sargodha (Punjab) and Tharparker (Sind), and then launched nationally in January 1987. By March 1987, the national launch was completed.

The program works thusly: AID/W provides the condoms (through their standard central procurement procedure) with AID/Pakistan's funds; they are bulk-shipped to Karachi, where they are cleared and stored in a rented government warehouse (the one being built by AID/Pakistan is still under construction). Of the \$20 million budget for the SMC Project, 60% (\$12 million) is budgeted for contraceptives, which are given to Woodward free of charge. 30% (\$6 million) is given to Woodward to cover its costs for marketing, packaging, advertising, etc. Woodward packages the condoms, sells them to their distributors, who sell them to wholesalers and/or shopkeepers, who then market them to the public for Rs. 1 for a packet of 4 condoms. Woodward is paid a commission according to how much product they move. A small part (.04%) of the sales is deposited into a special account of the GOP's Population Welfare Division (not into the GOP treasury), and has been reserved to be utilized for operating the SMC project in the future as mutually agreed by the GOP and AID/Pakistan.

In its relatively brief life, the social marketing network now covers 40,000 retail outlets throughout the country, mostly in urban areas, thereby providing large numbers of a safe, high-quality, low-cost product to a wide spectrum of consumers in Pakistan. The program has been handicapped so far in that the GOP has not yet agreed to allow the product to be advertised in the mass media. Despite this, people involved in the program at the Mission feel that Woodward's has been creative - and successful - in getting the message out thus far. An impressive 30-second promotional film is being shown in cinema halls, in which a father is featured nurturing his child. Pictures from

the film have been used in calendars and other promotional materials. As a part of its public sector activities, the GOP has allowed commercials promoting family spacing to be aired on television as of early 1988, and SMC hopes it will soon be able to follow suit.

It is anticipated that oral pills will be introduced into the SMC program by early 1989, though many more procedures (e.g., clearing them through the Drugs Act) will have to be followed before this is possible.

AID/Pakistan can take credit for certain successes of the GOP's population efforts in the 1982-87 period:

- It supplied the necessary contraceptives, which virtually enabled the program's existence;
- It enabled the establishment of NIPS;
- It facilitated the expansion and improvement of the NGO Coordinating Council's operations, and the increased NGO involvement in the program.

When the two buildings under construction (the central warehouse and the NRIFC) are completed, there will be a visible reminder of its contributions as well.

The major problem encountered during this period was that the GOP institutions were not sufficiently built up to absorb the assistance AID was prepared to give, and their establishment took longer than people expected. For example, construction of the NRIFC building, for which AID/Pakistan ended up providing additional funding, was only recently commenced. In addition, AID/Pakistan was hampered by a low response from U.S. research institutions to provide long-term technical assistance. There are few major accomplishments in the training component as well, which can be attributed to one particular problem: unlike other government departments, the GOP's Population Division (within the Ministry of Planning and Development) got into the unique position whereby the the program has been divided up into nearly thirty separate projects, each needing a separate PC-1, including separate budgets. Therefore, they are allowed little flexibility and become bogged down bureaucratically. AID/Pakistan has consequently been frustrated in its attempts to implement a comprehensive training program due to strict adherence to PC-1 documents. At one point in 1986, the PWD attempted to get a separate exemption from the PC-1 coverage, but the Planning Division within the Ministry did not give permission for this.

It is too early to say what lessons can be learned from the SMC program, as it has only been in place a year. One point that should be made is that it may become a prototype for other ventures which would be run by private sector companies. The concept of allowing the private firm to make operational decisions "sounds right" thus far as it appears to give the program a needed flexibility. In addition, instead of creating a new company to market the condoms (as was done in Bangladesh), the private company is one which was already established in Pakistan, and needed to expand its product line. Finally, the GOP seems to have made the wise decision to go ahead with integrating the program into people's daily activities - buying the condoms at a local shop - rather than having to go to a clinic for them.

The current GOP program is showing mixed results. Planned federal and provincial population councils, to be chaired by the Prime Minister and Provincial Chief Ministers, have not yet convened. AID/Pakistan has let its opinions be known that although official population policies appear appropriate, such vigorous and visible political leadership would help them. A sustained and organized communications campaign is also badly needed. In addition, although the GOP has been saying that the Health Department will soon participate in the delivery of population planning services - a move which AID/Pakistan supports - this has still not occurred. Positive developments include the involvement of NGOs and the private sector, particularly the USAID-supported Social Marketing of Contraceptives program initiative.

During the Sixth Plan Period, the GOP projected the country's population at 147 million in the year 2000 if the growth rate remained constant at 2.85%, and at 134 million if the rate declined to the desired low of 2.1% by then. Although the current growth rate is a matter under debate within the GOP at this time, it is generally said to be about 3% and the current population, in 1988, is estimated to be over 100 million. If the current growth rate remains constant, the population will be over 148 million by the year 2000. However, if the growth rate declines gradually to about 2.46% by then, which is the present desire - which looks problematic at this time - the population in the year 2000 may be only 139.4 million instead.

Human Resource Development

The Human Resource Development program is responsible for nearly all forms of training which takes place in the AID/Pakistan bilateral country program. Training relates to all areas of the program: there are virtually no long-term benefits to putting in new irrigation lines, introducing new varieties of seeds for crops, or building roads into new areas if the people benefitting from these developments are unable to maintain them. During the 1983-87 program period, HRD was responsible for little activity outside of the Development Support Training Project (DSTP). Non-DSTP activities include institutional strengthening support for the Lahore University of Management Sciences and the Government of Punjab's Social Welfare Training Institute.

While DSTP was conceived as a totally new project and not as a continuation of a previous project, training had been part of USAID activities in Pakistan since 1952. In the 1950s and early 1960s, AID/Pakistan probably sent more people to the American University in Beirut for more degrees than from any other country in the region, to study in such areas as management, agriculture, and education. Students were more often sent to Beirut for Master's degrees rather than to the U.S. as Beirut was more popular at the time. Also at that time, AID/Pakistan had supported the establishment of local training institutions. While training in Pakistan in the past was substantial, it pales beside the extensive amount included in the 1982-87 program.

DSTP was created as a response to the need to improve Pakistan's ability to identify, design, manage and implement development projects. DSTP's purpose is to support improvements in public and private sector management, administration and finance in addition to facilitating the technical training which results from other project activities. It was to provide the necessary resources needed to lay the groundwork for timely and effective implementation of the entire country assistance program. Given the limitations of the Human Resource Development program - that it was to be based on **training** but not on **educating** - it has experienced remarkable success.

DSTP

DSTP is atypical in AID/Pakistan as it is not a project per se, but rather is an umbrella for the management of the entire bilateral country portfolio. Training assistance is derived directly from project needs, from throughout all the areas which AID/Pakistan supports for development purposes. DSTP funds nearly all training in the bilateral program, except for the limited short-term, in-country training which takes place on an ad hoc basis within particular projects which address specific immediate needs. DSTP directly supports other AID/Pakistan projects by:

- a. providing management training and technical or sector-specific training for field and middle level officers responsible for the planning, design and implementation of development projects;

- b. providing training opportunities for high level officials who make critical decisions regarding the authorization and funding of development projects;
- c. providing placement and support services for participants sent to the U.S. and third countries under other AID/Pakistan-financed projects;
- d. strengthening the existing in-country English language instruction program which could be drawn upon to maximize the benefit and impact of training supported under other projects;
- e. strengthening existing management training institutions in order to ensure a long-term developmental impact of the project;
- f. institutionalizing a system whereby management training is undertaken in response to identified needs and the nomination/selection process is streamlined.

In 1982-83, the project paper was written, based on the perceived need for modern management in Pakistan through training. Two kinds of training were originally stressed: in-country and overseas; English language training was incorporated later. The project paper was signed in March 1983, and the principal sub-contractor, the Academy for Educational Development, was signed on in December 1983. AED came in-country in February 1984.

The original DSTP proposal had provisions for four contractors, as AID/Pakistan recognized that the scope of DSTP was so vast that they would be unable to do all the various tasks with direct-hire personnel. The following were contracted with:

1. The prime contractor: The Academy for Educational Development. They are responsible for much of the project in that they oversee the three sub-contractors, as well as the bulk of management training. They have a five-year contract (12/83 - 12/88), at the end of which time the program will be rebid; at the time of this writing, AID/Pakistan was working on the request for proposals.

2. The sub-contractors:

a. Experiment in International Living: They were originally joined with AED, and were involved a bit in English language and placements. When participant training became paramount, so did their placement tasks.

b. Arthur D. Little (Cambridge): Involved in private sector development by providing technical assistance for training institutes and in-country training programs.

c. Institute of Public Administration at Pennsylvania State University: they also provided technical assistance for private sector institutions, and certain areas within the public sector, such as Punjab Small Industries Corporation, where they were organizing

training programs for members related to productivity, management and employment. This subcontractor was dropped in 1986, after the interim evaluation, when AID/Pakistan realized they just didn't need them anymore.

Originally, only \$10 million and Rs. 66 million was envisioned to be budgeted to DSTP, to last 5 years. The project was focused on in-country training, with only a small amount of overseas training for the public and private sectors. However, nearly each project in the bilateral program started with a large training element. Within the first year of the project, HRD did an extensive needs analysis survey. At this point, DSTP was faced with the problem that there were insufficient resources available to do the required in-country training. With the size of the civil service in Pakistan and the needs specific to DSTP, the established institutions were not sufficient as they faced problems of quality, quantity and relevance. They could not train to degree-level nor train in MIS and other modern management techniques. Therefore, DSTP was soon modified with a new budget set at \$40 million for the entire 1982-87 program period. (The new 1988-93 program has allocated DSTP \$100 million, with \$25 alone projected for 1988.) HRD came to control DSTP in the Spring of 1984, about four months after the project was begun. Various projects had wanted to be responsible for their own training programs, and appointing HRD to oversee DSTP- in hindsight, an extremely wise decision, especially in light of the chaos which resulted in the AID/Egypt training program where this decision was not made - was at the time controversial.

DSTP essentially consists of three component parts: management training; overseas participant training (and related services); and in-country English-language training. The three component parts of DSTP require separate attention:

1. Management training: DSTP funded and staffed, along with other donors, 9 institutions to facilitate the GOP's own civil service training:

- a. National Institutes for Public Administration (NIPAs, one in each province);
- b. Pakistan Institute of Management (one each in Karachi and Lahore);
- c. Lahore Staff College
- d. Pakistan Academy for Rural Development (in Peshawar; linked to USC);
- e. National Centre for Rural Development: established outside of Establishment Division's arena (the Establishment Division, which is not housed in any Ministry of the GOP, is responsible for all the training institutions).

The DSTP management training group works with the institutions on a long-term basis to introduce new courses, upgrade materials, and to provide consultants to oversee

teachers' efforts within the institutions. Outside of the institutions, the management training group conducts programs to train trainers. For example, they run programs to train women within women's programs, in association with women's organizations. They train managers and technicians who work in line agencies throughout the country, focusing on younger people and middle-level managers. In 1987, DSTP ran about 30 programs, which increased to 54 in 1988. About 2,500 persons have benefitted from formal in-country management training in both the public and private sector in the 1982-87 program period.

2. Participant training: this cuts across all the projects of the Mission, and always takes place through DSTP. DSTP is responsible for all placements into short and long term training/education programs abroad. It is the most expensive component in the project. HRD is the final decision-maker in participant training, no matter which project -DSTP or another one - is funding the participant. There are two types of courses:

Technical courses: usually 6-9 months non-degree, short-term courses; may or may not get a certificate. Most are in the Northeast (where the bulk of American universities are), and usually held in the summer months. Half of the entire short-term volume is in agriculture, where the main centers are the University of California at Davis, the University of Idaho/Washington State (joint program), Iowa and Wisconsin. Other important centers are in Colorado, New Mexico and Utah, which specialize in dry land irrigation training programs.

Academic courses: for one year or longer. These generally lead to a degree and are long-term. There are no particular locations associated with academic courses as they can be anywhere.

In 1986, DSTP established the Private Sector Training Program. Initially, the GOP was unsure of what AID/Pakistan was going to do with the PSTP, but as the GOP had never been able to fill all the slots AID/Pakistan has given them, the taking away of scholarships from the public sector was not an issue. DSTP set up a regular advertisement process to promote the program to interested persons, focusing especially on the development of entrepreneurs in family-owned businesses. Another factor which prompted the establishment of the PSTP within DSTP was that the existing public sector program was not nominating women: the covenant between AID/Pakistan and the GOP had said they were committed to training 10% women, but then the GOP said there weren't enough women to be trained. This program [discussed in the WID section of this report] facilitated the incorporation of women being trained abroad. The PSTP is now the largest growing portion of the portfolio.

An interesting feature of the potential of the participant training program to have a substantial effect on the social fabric of the country can be seen in a component part of the Baluchistan Area Development Project. This has established a training program for young, poor Baluchis from Makran. About 50 men are just finishing the language training portion and are about to enter scientific training in various American universities. The Government of Baluchistan has requested AID/Pakistan to expand this participant program; AID/Pakistan intends to start training 75-100 Baluchis over the next 3-4 years in the U.S.

The following chart shows the total number of people who have been processed for participant training in the program period, by long-term vs. short-term courses:

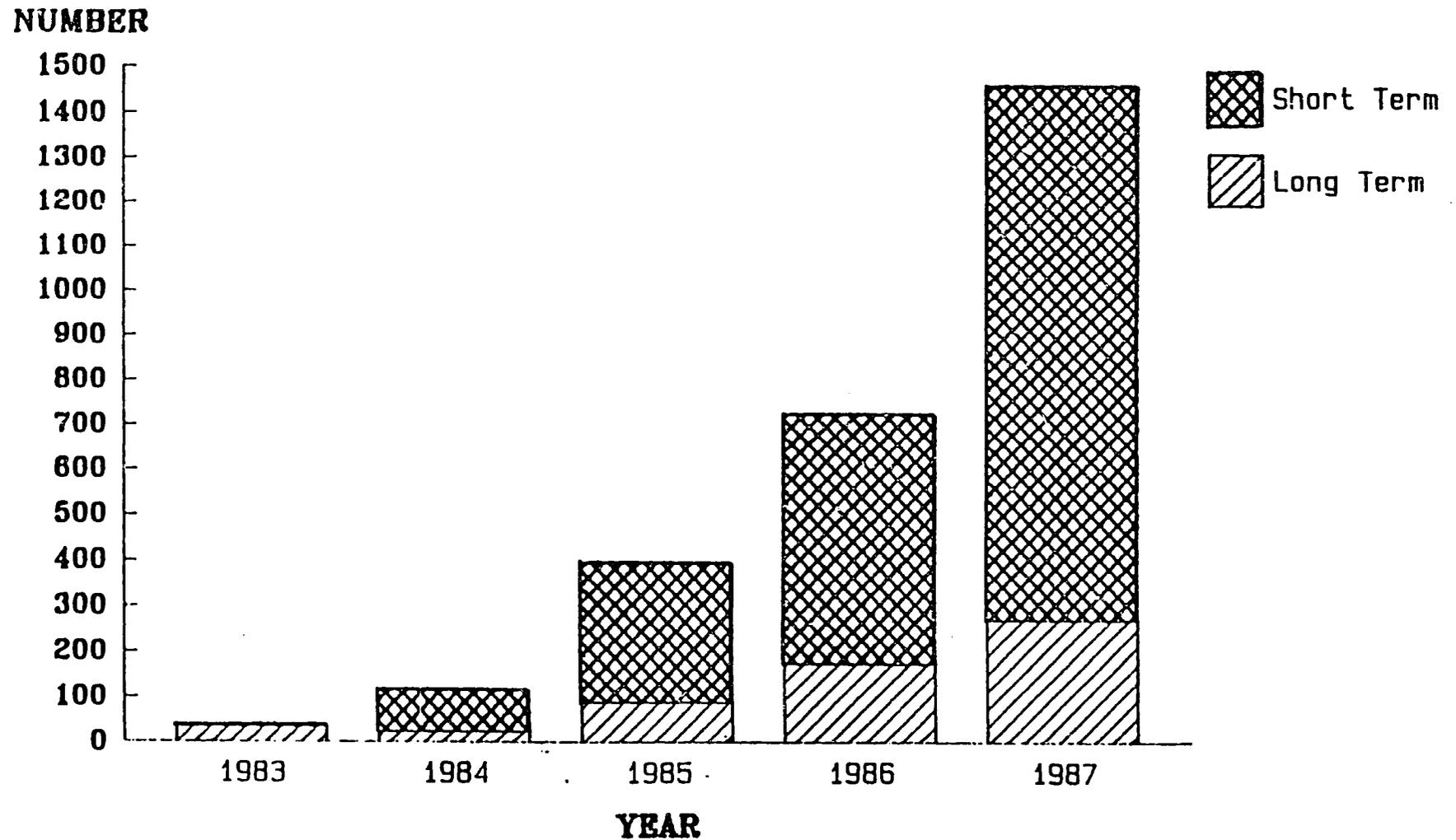
	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Total</u>
Total	47	123	403	733	1469	2775
Long-term	9	96	312	555	1194	2166
Short-term	38	27	91	178	275	609

The graph on the following page, "Participant Training, 1983-1987" depicts the relative weight given to short-term and long-term training within the overall country program.

3. English Language Training and CIELS (Center for Intensive English Language Study): the English language training component is to prepare candidates for overseas training to be able to effectively study abroad at the university level in English. The original intention was to strengthen existing institutions, but AID/Pakistan soon found that they weren't specific enough for the required training. At the time, the focus on raising management levels was fairly ethnocentric: send bright officials to the U.S, to become MBAs, MPAs, etc. A new (overly-ambitious) English language training program was devised to be 18 months long and located in three different centers. DSTP was to equip the centers and train people to run them, which would then be in place for the remainder of the 5-year program. The Mission expected that the GOP as well as the Pakistan-U.S. Cultural Centers would be enthusiastic. However, between the time this was envisioned and the time it was ready to be put on the ground, the GOP had begun to actively promote its Urdu language policy. Such an ambitious English-language training program was now antithetical to internal conditions, particularly at a time when the GOP was actively promoting Urdu in all walks of life.

When it was recognized that the original idea was not possible, AED began to teach specific English language classes through pilot programs in NWFP & Baluchistan. An English course was also set up at the National

PARTICIPANT TRAINING, 1983-1987



Agricultural Center in Islamabad. A sense of where the language need was - and to pinpoint that need - evolved out of the experimental programs.

By 1985, international donors were meeting periodically to discuss the possibility of establishing an English language center. AID/Pakistan officials had met with the University Grants Commission and informally offered to fund the center. However, by the end of the year, HRD decided to start its own English language center, which opened in January 1986 as the Center for Intensive English Language Study.

Participants at CIELS are chosen from the various project managers within AID/Pakistan. Through their own networks, they identify candidates for studying abroad. Once a candidate is identified, he or she is then sent to take an institutional TOEFL administered by AED. AED gets a reading of the candidate's level of English proficiency. If they score over 500 and the candidate intends to go for a Master's degree, they are urged to study English on their own. If the score is below that, then they are nominated to study English at CIELS, located in Islamabad two blocks from the Holiday Inn. CIELS runs year-round 8-week modules, with usually 60 students per module. It's especially geared towards those people who get between 440-500 on TOEFL exams, and who need to score between 530-550 to qualify for a USAID (within DSTP) scholarship.

Successes:

The DSTP participant training program has certainly been a success, overall. Participants are able to get necessary management and technical skills studying in the American environment. While recruitment of women had been low, DSTP then established a private sector-oriented program to rectify the low figures of female participants.

Complementing the participant training program, it seems that the progress made thus far by CIELS is commendable, within the narrow confines of running an institution for a specific purpose.

The successes with in-country management training cannot be as obvious or as measurable as CIELS, as it deals with trying to change human behavior and learning methodology, both of which are very difficult to do. However, the program is expanding and receiving positive feedback. AED feels it is now more aware of the problems and understands the local situation better. It sees the fifth year of the program as the inspiring year as there are 54 different programs going on, and ideas for more in the future.

Problem Areas:

An important problem in the participant training program lies in the fact that it is really a process, not a project. People are processed through a system which finally sends them abroad, which is where they study or are trained. While it is difficult to get good people who meet realistic qualifications

chosen at the field level, an even greater task is to get them through the entire selection process, which DSTP has no control over. This issue has been a subject of policy dialogue with the GOP's EAD, to get them to facilitate the latter part of the process. The GOP misses a large number of AID/Pakistan-funded training opportunities because of its complex and lengthy processing procedures. In some instances, nearly 50 clearances are required before the necessary papers reach HRD.

Another problem stems from the fact that this is now the largest participant training program within USAID, with an enormous scope. The volume of potential candidates coming out of the pipeline has increased incrementally: it has gone from a few hundred per year to a few thousand per year in 1988. The volume is in short-term training, which is 3/5 of the program. It becomes difficult to administer such a rapidly expanding program given existing personnel resources.

Lessons Learned:

AID/Pakistan has come very far in its thinking about management training. While ample opportunities remain for qualified candidates to study abroad, there is more emphasis on short-term in-country training. An area in which DSTP is attempting to expand into is support of PVOs and other private organizations. They are bringing in outside professionals to run, at least thus far, 3-day or week-long training seminars for managers.

In the English -language training program, it is now clear that DSTP tried to do too much too soon with dispersed resources in the first half of the project period. The initial attempt was not well-focussed and poorly timed. The more limited CIELS program seems to be serving the Mission's goals well.

The greatest lesson learned was that by the end of the 1982-87 program period, the Mission, along with the GOP, recognized the limitations of a training program which included no education component. Both parties reached the conclusion that the ultimate benefit of a development assistance program could only be derived from a better educated populace, and hence the move into education projects in the 1988-93 program period. In the new program, HRD consists of DSTP as well as two new projects: Primary Education, and the higher education Institutional Excellence. With the latter new projects, the Mission will expand its training emphasis into the very needed area of education, a perspective which was excluded from the program under review.

Section Two

Cross-Cutting Social Initiatives

In addition to its social sector projects, the 1982-87 program addressed social development issues through four major cross-cutting initiatives:

1. Women in development (WID): to foster the incorporation of women into the larger development process in the country as both agents and beneficiaries of change;
2. Narcotics: to eliminate the cultivation of opium poppies as well as reduce the growing usage of narcotics in the country;
3. Training: to train individuals involved in the various bilateral projects in a variety of in-country, U.S.A., and third-country programs on short-term and long-term basis.
4. Centrally-funded activities: to utilize AID/W resources to support and complement the larger country program, particularly in addressing NGO concerns. [to be done by Jonathan Addleton at AID/Pakistan.]

Every project in the basic country program was to take each of the first three issues into consideration, whenever possible, in its design and implementation. On the whole, these initiatives have been fairly successful, and are being actively incorporated into the 1988-1993 country program.

Women in Development

The incorporation of women into the development process enabling them to become both agents and beneficiaries of change is a challenge confronting developing states throughout the world, and particularly in Asia. The United Nations, in declaring 1975-1985 as the Decade for Women, underscored the necessity of incorporating women into development planning and the futility of development efforts which do not do so.

Section 113 of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act (Percy Amendment) of 1973 requires that traditional U.S. bilateral development assistance programs, specifically those based in Sections 103-107, "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." Subsequent USAID policy declarations reenforced this policy mandate further. For example, in USAID's 1982 policy paper "Food and Agricultural Development," it noted that training women was salient in preparing them for their roles as agricultural producers, workers and family food providers. Greater efforts were called for to expand opportunities for women to serve as administrators, scientists, technicians, extension workers and other food and agriculture professionals. The policy paper stressed the importance of increasing women's productivity through increasing their access to resources.

However, the program in Pakistan is not a traditional one; rather, it is a security assistance program - to promote economic and/or political stability -- which is instead derived from Section 531. Only "to the maximum extent feasible" will assistance be provided "consistent with the policy directions, purposes and programs of part I of this Act." In effect, the policy directive mandating the incorporation of women into larger country strategies did not necessarily apply to the new Economic Support Fund (ESF) program introduced in Pakistan in 1982.

Meanwhile, in Pakistan, minimal attention had been paid prior to the early 1980s to incorporate women into the larger development process. An early response to the 1973 USAID/WID legislation in the context of Pakistan was the 1975 visit by Nan Frederick, representing the office of the Coordinator for WID/W, to conduct a study to gather first hand information on the status of women in Pakistan and to address how the AID program in Pakistan might involve women in Pakistan's development efforts. While a few suggestions for consideration of relevant issues were made to AID/Pakistan, it appears that Frederick's study - as well as a number of other reports done by or made available to the Mission - had scant impact on the program, particularly as the program was already beginning to wind down. Within the country (i.e., separate from USAID activities), attempts at alleviating the marginalization of women in the larger socioeconomic infrastructure in Pakistan were in the sphere of social welfare which, while contributions in and of themselves, did not move beyond treating the symptoms of the problem, rather than addressing the social causes. Of significance in the late 1970s, partially in response to the United Nations' Decade for Women and partially in response to other internal factors, the GOP established The Women's Division, at the level of the Cabinet Secretariat, to be responsible for paying attention to the unique situation and needs of Pakistan's women.

The USAID Asia Bureau formally outlined its WID strategy on 13 April 1984 (STATE 108939). In brief, it encouraged more attention to the role of women in project design, implementation and evaluation; proposed a target percentage of 25% of participants on trainee programs to be women; suggested a pattern for Mission WID representation to consist of a trained local national as more or less fulltime WID officer, and a USDH officer to devote some of his or her activities to WID; and offered some assistance to Missions. Training was seen as meriting particular attention, not only because of the ease of identifying the immediate beneficiaries, but also because few programs offer a speedier means of moving women into leadership positions. At 17%, the Asia Bureau was behind all other areas in percentage of female trainees in 1983; at 8%, Pakistan's average was the second lowest in Asia, after Nepal. The following chart has been included for historical and comparative perspective, particularly to show where Pakistan stood in relation to training women vis a vis other USAID Missions:

% of Female Participants in USAID Training Activities

	FY 1980	FY 1981	FY 1982	FY 1983
Worldwide total	16	16	18	21
Africa total	15	16	18	20
NE total	13	12	15	18
LAC total	21	22	23	29
Asia total	15	15	15	17
Bangladesh	8	11	14	15
Burma	38	27	27	13
India	4	2	21	12
Indonesia	8	10	10	18
Nepal	8	8	7	5
Pakistan	5	2	5	8
Phillipines	35	37	37	34
Sri Lanka	20	13	15	15
Thailand	16	25	25	21

USAID Missions in Asia were urged to maximize the use of in-country and/or private sector training in countries where there is resistance to letting women go abroad for training (such as appears to be the case in Pakistan), and advised that appropriate women's lodging facilities be available wherever in-country training is given.

In sum, the Asia Bureau felt the most rewarding strategic approach was to maximize and document the targeting of women in project design and approval. The basic thrust involved integrating women into the mainstream of mission and bureau programming - the "big ticket" items. Small-scale, peripheral, discrete "women's projects," with PVOs or otherwise, were not discouraged necessarily, but the Bureau noted that "it should be clear that such activities do not constitute a sufficient response to WID policy, the major emphasis of which is on the basic, regular portfolio" and that to ignore the subject substantively was not an appropriate response. The reflection of WID concerns in project design "is as much a question of will and analysis as anything else."

The resumption of assistance in 1982 did not, however, lead to an incorporation of women into the original design of the various new projects. The GOP/AID agreement for the resumed assistance package did not contemplate WID or NGO assistance in the areas which were identified for cooperation; other concerns were given higher priority. The initial Mission position was stated in USAID Notice No. PAK-1580, dated 26 April 1984, which claimed that considerations of management, staffing, funding availability and "responsiveness to the priorities of the GOP" virtually precluded the inclusion of specific WID projects or grants within the program. In addition, the Mission itself needed to make a close analysis of what could be effective: was it realistic to assume that women's concerns could be mainstreamed into the larger country programs, could greater gain be made by focussing on particular WID activities, or was this, first and foremost, a policy issue to be addressed with the GOP? Following the Asia Bureau's WID strategy of taking women into account in the basic country portfolio, three areas within the six year ESF program where particular WID emphasis would be appropriate were at least identified: participant training, population, and evaluation. However, no tangible activities were undertaken except in the population planning project. Apparently, the Mission felt that emphasizing "peripheral areas" (e.g., WID, NGOs, HIG, PRE), considered slow-disbursing and low yield efforts, would deplete staff and other resources at a critical time when the program was just in the early stages of design and implementation. Again, the Mission was in Pakistan under a political imperative and senior officials felt it could not then address the special interests of what they perceived as a special constituency at the outset.

This is not to say that the Mission had no suggestions for WID-related activities in which it could become involved. For example, an early centrally-funded report on the impact of watercourse improvements on women was conducted by Asma Khalid in 1981. It encouraged setting up projects for rural women along the lines of the FAO's poultry development project, as well as building up ties with the GOP's newly established Women's Division. Four years later, a similar centrally-funded report was conducted by Samina Khan and Carolyn Ater in the Punjab. However, these studies did not figure into the Mission's programs in irrigation or agriculture.

In 1983, the Mission commissioned Dr. Barbara Metcalf to conduct a study entitled "An Assessment of Programs and Needs in the Field of Women in Development, especially in regard to Education and Training," which looked at possibilities for starting up a female-oriented education program and the probable reaction within Pakistan. It argued that there is an "enormous controversy over what is prescriptive or normative in Islam in regards to women in Pakistan today," and there are many contradictory views on what women do and what potential exists for their greater participation as agents of change. In particular, Dr. Metcalf emphasized that "the education of girls and women in this country is the most pressing Islamic duty towards which this government should direct itself...an excellent case can and should be made that in female education the demands of Islam and development converge."

The Metcalf study recommended two areas for further exploration with a view toward possible projects:

1. Post-literacy skill training: directed towards neo-literates and other literate women, it would reinforce literacy and create income generating skills. It was noted that while most training programs in place in the country emphasized traditional skills such as sewing, there were some efforts underway to teach other skills, such as under agriculture, in which there was a successful project in training lady field assistants in livestock in the Punjab, and forestry, where sericulture projects were being introduced in several provinces.

The ILO was becoming involved in such a project in Pakistan, and Metcalf felt would welcome USAID's collaboration, and were already working with Swedish and Dutch programs that target rural women. Although AID/ Pakistan has not yet acted upon these recommendations, it will be able to participate in such activities if and when the proposed Special Development Fund (SDF) becomes available.

2. Primary Education for Girls: As only one-fourth of primary aged girls in Pakistan enroll in school, and the proportion of those who drop out before effective literacy is established is overwhelmingly high, there are important contributions to be made in Pakistan's overall social sector development by emphasizing this area. This is an area which has been taken up for serious consideration by the Mission, and is being incorporated into the new six year program.

Dr. Metcalf, in her final statement, urged AID/Pakistan to consult with the Program Section of the GOP's Women's Division as it operates to produce programs, channel money, and evaluate and monitor all issues related to women throughout the society.

Mission personnel did engage in extensive consultations with officials at the Women's Division in this and other contexts, but the decision was made that given the Women's Division potential funding sources from other international donors as well as its limited political/bureaucratic base and absorptive capacity, AID/Pakistan explore other mechanisms to support WID initiatives. The need for an alternative approach later took form as the policy-driven SDF which would be oriented towards NGO - and hence WID - activities.

The larger priorities of the Mission in Pakistan - namely fast disbursing commodity assistance for balance of payments purposes, agriculture and energy - were viewed by most officials in the first half of the program as being of such overwhelming importance that time and resources would just not allow more attention to be given to the WID area. For example, there was no mention of WID issues in the FY1986 Country Development Strategy Statement written in January 1984. This general perspective appeared to be shared by the senior GOP officials with whom the Mission was in contact. It must be recalled that "women's issues" were channeled into the new Women's Division, and were not incorporated into playing a role in the Finance Ministry, Planning Ministry, etc. This is a situation which has plagued the incorporation of women into development the world over: seeing their needs and contributions as separate from those of the larger society.

A major shift in orientation occurred with in mid-1985. WID project and policy concerns came to be a more significant issue in the Mission's policy dialogues with the GOP. A WID committee within the Mission was formed so as to create an advocacy center for WID concerns. In addition, a senior staff member was designated project officer for NGO activities with an inherent WID focus. The Mission Director issued a memorandum to all project officers and personnel on 25 March 1986 - which was reissued one year later - urging they explore WID components in projects as the Mission "is fully committed to examine and pursue opportunities for improving the situation of and prospects for women in Pakistan." From now on, every Project Implementation Review (PIR) was to address WID issues. While this orientation shift could have little impact on projects already on the ground, it could have an effect on transforming the perspective within the Mission for future actions and policy directions.

Five WID-related activities were undertaken in 1986 so as to identify potential areas in which USAID might participate. These activities reflected a growing Mission recognition that WID concerns were not being fully addressed. The aim was to identify, on a broad basis, the kinds of things Mission personnel should be thinking about at both design and implementation stages. In brief, they are:

ICRW Report, March 1986: This was the first undertaking supported by the Mission in its attempt to seriously address the WID issue. This centrally-funded team from the International Center for Research on Women conducted a broad portfolio survey in which it reviewed opportunities available for improving women's productivity, economic opportunities and contributions to project success in the three areas of agriculture, energy and training. It specified (a) data collection activities, (b) the emphasis on women as training candidates, and (c) inclusion of community level components or sub-projects as areas in which opportunities for reaching women through on-going AID projects could be availed. [Details are included in Annex to WID.]

Suzanne Staples Report, May 1986: From visiting projects in rural areas and katchi abadis in Karachi and Lahore which were aimed mainly at training women for income generation, the study identifies projects that AID might want to support. The general focus was on the GOPunjab's Women's Department of the Ministry of Social Welfare, in which six potential projects were identified (upgrading the Social Welfare Institute, Lahore; upgrading district industrial homes; building up women's crafts emporia along the lines of the Indian handicrafts business; marketing and sales promotion; a monitoring cell for women's projects; and development of 100 rural community development projects at the union council level). The study also recommended AID become involved in private women's projects as well (e.g., computer programming training, family welfare cooperatives, etc.). The report has contributed to a probable donor-donee brokerage effort to replicate selected efforts of the GOPunjab's program.

Legal Report, August 1986: this was a commissioned report to AID by a prominent feminist law firm of Lahore on the legal status of women in Pakistan entitled "Dissemination of Information on Women's Legal Rights," due in August 1987. It was supported by the Project Design Implementation Fund (PDIF) with the idea that a project on women's rights might result from the study. A second contract was signed with the law firm in January 1988 to follow up on this and seeks to create two outputs: a research document, available primarily for donor, documenting the history and status of women's activities in the country; and an action document to assist indigenous NGOs in developing and implementing WID-oriented packages.

ICRW (TADP) Report, November 1986: conducted in the Peshawar area, it made suggestions for incorporating a WID income generation component into the Tribal Areas Development Project. In addition, these two individuals from the ICRW field surveyed WID-related NGOs throughout Pakistan in preparation of the Special Development Fund's program paper.

Gender Resource Awareness in National Development (GRAND): This centrally-funded activity, aimed at elevating WID-related concerns to a more prominent position in the national planning process was initiated in 1986. The study ultimately involved four short visits and the installation of a computer and support facilities in the Women's Division. Jordan and Pakistan were selected by PPC/WID as the pilot projects for GRAND. A number of computer presentations of the model were subsequently given to leading donors and GOP officials. Despite its early promise and Mission efforts to support the exercise, GRAND was never institutionalized within the Women's Division and did not succeed in developing an effective model for Pakistan. However, an outcome was the installation of a computer in the Research Wing of the Women's Division. AID/Pakistan is funding a one-year contract with a commercial firm to provide repairs, operations, maintenance and training services; Mission personnel are concerned about the ability of the Women's Division to maintain it thereafter.

While no one particular project, per se, has yet resulted from the above activities, the body of knowledge which was collected contributed in some part to the incorporation of WID-related components in some of the Mission's projects. Many on-the-ground projects have not incorporated a WID-related activity either because of misconceptions of the role of women in Pakistan, lack of field orientation, or staffing limitations. There remain stereotyped perceptions that certain activities are not appropriate for women, and there would be social objections to the greater incorporation of women in ongoing projects. But, as Suzanne Staples documented in her discussions with Punjabi villagers in her report, local villagers said: "We are very poor. None of us would object to improving the lives of our families. Whether more money comes through women or through the men makes no difference to us.

While some projects in the country portfolio do include WID components, the Mission as of yet has no projects aimed exclusively at women or girls. The SDF, when implemented, would go far in rectifying this omission. The vast majority of these components have been in the training field, followed by health and family planning, and then specific activities in other projects.

The Development Support Training Program (DSTP), of all the existing AID/Pakistan projects in this era, made the greatest attempt to include women on a large scale, allocating 1/5 of its \$25 million budget to a WID component aimed at involving women in training programs that in the past have been reserved almost exclusively for men. The number of women who have participated during the 1982-87 program, both in the DSTP as well as in other AID/ Pakistan-funded training programs abroad are as follows:

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>
DSTP	.....4.....	.....9.....	.....25.....	.....67.....	.....72
Other projects	.....	.....	.....2.....	.....2.....	.....10

In 1987, the Mission selected the WID section of the Private Sector Scholarship Program (PSSP) as their "WID success story." The program came about as a result of sustained Mission effort and dialogue with the GOP after AID/Pakistan personnel recognized the limited successes of getting women to participate in their traditional training program. Women selected for training come from a variety of fields in the private sector (e.g., banks, pharmaceuticals, marketing firms and educational institutions) as well as those who own and manage small-to-medium sized businesses (e.g., boutique owners, garment and toy manufacturers, architects) for long-term degree programs and short-term non-degree programs in the U.S. and third countries. In-country workshops have also been initiated to reach a larger number of the target group, emphasizing women in mid-level managerial positions and entrepreneurs. The PSSP processed 72 women participants for training in the U.S. during FY85 and FY86; as of 11 March 1988, selection of 72 women for FY87-funded nominees was nearing completion.

This program has clearly been a success with the targeted group, as it has been acknowledged that even short programs of 6-8 weeks have enhanced their specific skills, which has helped in the growth of their businesses. However (a) the numbers of participants remains miniscule in comparison with the total number of trainees funded by the Mission; and (b) the program is oriented towards a segment of the population which is not representative of the larger society. Stratification in this country is, in reality, two-tiered: there are the "haves" and the "have-nots," the latter of which is the vast majority of the population. However, this program is focused on the "haves" segment, the small minority of educated women already integrated into the national economy to some extent. Whereas this is a worthwhile activity in and of itself, it is not addressing itself to the seminal WID training issue: the integration of women from all walks of life - and particularly, those from the neediest groups who in fact do comprise the majority of the population - into the on-going national development process.

The Primary Health Care Project has made recruitment of females a priority. There has been a 25% increase in the number of female health technicians, who came to comprise over 45% of the 459 students being trained by early 1988; 22% of the graduates of the 18-month training course through the period have been women. All of the thirteen Health Technician Training schools constructed or designed during the period included provisions for female hostels, an important inclusion to enable greater female participation.

The Population Welfare Planning Project, needless to say, has included a WID component in all its activities. Special support has been given to promote female participation through NGO activities: 5 women from various NGOs have been trained in the U.S. in areas of program development and management. 238 female NGO staff, volunteers and community health workers have received training in-country in areas of project development and management, contraceptives technology, and motivation and counseling for family planning. Through USAID's assistance to the NGO Coordinating Council, the project has assisted women-based NGOs in developing and establishing family planning service delivery projects.

Nationwide household surveys conducted under the Food Security Management Project, by including a series of women-specific questions, are providing new information about the role of women in Pakistan's economy. Other surveys and research designed to integrate women's concerns into broader nationwide project activities are being conducted through the Forestry Planning and Development Project, the aim of which is to involve women in tree farming, and the Energy Planning and Development Project, where the emphasis is on promoting inexpensive but energy-efficient nontraditional fuel sources such as coal briquettes. The Forestry project also includes a segment of its sociological baseline study which examines the role of women in fuelwood collection, marketing and use. The Energy project also sponsored a series of conservation seminars aimed especially at women to encourage greater fuel efficiency in the home.

Historically, women in Pakistan have frequently been excluded from professional and educational opportunities for lack of adequate hostels and other facilities. In recognition of this cultural constraint, a major institution-building project at the Agricultural University in Peshawar under the Transformation and Integration of Provincial Agricultural Network Project is including special facilities for women, including a hostel. Appointment of a Dean of Women to the Agricultural University is initially funded by the project as well. A female hostel is also under consideration for the Pakistan Forestry Institute in Peshawar as a possible add-on to the Forestry project in the 1988-93 program. In addition, AID/Pakistan has presented a proposal to the GOP supporting the Female Welfare Cooperative Society of Lahore's request for a female hostel.

A "Women's Non-formal Education Component" was developed as part of the NWF Area Development Project (NWFADP). It has been in implementation about 18 months, and is slowly but steadily gaining the support and active participation of the target group. The project has started up thirty training centers in the Gadoon-Amazai area which are oriented towards training and educating women in health, nutrition, basic literacy, animal husbandry, etc. These low-budget training centers are usually located in two rented rooms in a central location, so that the women can easily get to them. Two women in the Gadoon

Project Coordinating Area administer the centers, hire a female teacher for each one, who then hires her own female assistant. One room is used for the training center; the second is used as the teacher's living area. The project is considered of great importance to the NWFADP overall, for in the process of transforming the local economy away from poppy cultivation and into new areas, the integration of women into the new economy is perceived as critical to the overall project's success. It may well prove to be an example to be followed for future projects, particularly in the NWFP, and provide opportunities for dialogue and possibly coordination with other donors as well.

While steps have been taken to integrate women into the larger country program, areas certainly exist where AID/Pakistan's efforts can be further effective. For one, the Mission has yet to develop a WID strategy paper; this has facilitated integrating WID activities into USAID projects elsewhere, and is a lesson to be learned from their experiences. From AID/Pakistan's performance during the 1982-87 period, we can assess that this longer strategic view should be institutionalized to enable the Mission to have the continuing political will, itself, to emphasize including women into its larger country program and thereby facilitate women's integration into non-traditional work and other areas where they can become both agents and beneficiaries of change.

The change in both direction and policy dialogue with the GOP which began in mid-1985 may be seen as the beginning of an important process in which support for the Special Development Fund became the centerpiece of AID/Pakistan's WID efforts. The Mission has recognized that neither it nor the GOP can afford to play at the edges of women's needs in Pakistan and that for a sustained and successful development process, women must be incorporated into a larger programming framework. In effect, the decision was made that the ability to fund NGOs directly leads to the increased ability to support WID initiatives. Much effort has been expended on supporting the SDF, which is not yet formally approved by the GOP. Although the SDF could not be implemented during the 1982-87 period, it appears likely that it will become a part of the 1988-93 program as substantial inroads were made in the last months of the program when it began to garner much GOP support. Increased support for NGOs has been included in proposals for the GOP's Seventh Five-Year Plan.

Essentially, the SDF would fund a new Pakistan-based organization (akin to a foundation approach) to support NGO activities. Each contributing donor will be able to earmark the broad parameters for which their funds will be used. The AID/Pakistan contribution of \$30 million (untied to most USAID requirements through the cash transfer mechanism) has been earmarked for strengthening NGOs and for support of NGO/WID projects. A governing board made up of no less than 2/3 private sector notables - people with proven track records for integrity and/or success in the NGO field - will have authority to make grants of up to \$600,000 without any further approval. The main policy issues at stake have been the GOP's hesitancy to commit substantial resources to NGOs as development agents as well as to agree to the channeling of funds from international donors to non-governmental institutions, outside the standard GOP approval and budget process.

That AID/Pakistan had no vehicle through which it could support NGOs in Pakistan during the 1982-87 program significantly affected what it could do in the WID sphere as well. Much of the criticism by Pakistanis of the Mission's performance in this field directly relates to AID/Pakistan's lack of presence in NGO - and thereby WID - activities. What is visible is that a momentum is in place within the GOP and in the Mission which recognizes the importance of addressing women's concerns within the larger development context in Pakistan. Whether SDF will ultimately be approved by the GOP remains to be seen, but with the enthusiastic support within the Mission which it has gained, it seems that this can go far in drawing attention to other WID areas. While AID/Pakistan will be supporting WID initiatives through its support of the SDF, to complement these efforts it may be time for the Mission re-evaluate its relationship with the Women's Division and consider taking a second look at expanding its support of their programming efforts. Needless to say, to strengthen the Mission's stance which it has taken with the GOP and other international donors to take WID into account, AID/Pakistan should also make a more concerted attempt to fully integrate WID into the entire country project portfolio.

Narcotics

AID/Pakistan has adopted a two-pronged source/demand reduction strategy for its narcotics program in Pakistan, which is part of USAID's support of narcotics control as an international effort. The strategy focuses on the development-enforcement linkage, seeking to moderate the micro level economic and social costs to small farm opium poppy growers who are moved back into legal agricultural undertakings by the progressive success of Pakistan's enforcement policies. In addition, a "poppy clause" is included in most projects agreements with the GOP, as part of USAID's global policy to include such a clause in those areas where poppy cultivation exists. The poppy clause calls for the removal of poppies found in any area receiving project resources. AID/Pakistan will not continue to work in a given locality if poppies are being cultivated there - everything just stops.

On the whole, efforts for opium poppy substitution have been problematic: opium yields estimated at 800 metric tons in 1979 dropped to 40-45 tons by 1985, but expanded under the new government up to 140-160 tons in 1987 and were between 130-170 tons in the 1988 harvest season.

During the 1982-87 program period, narcotics surfaced as a major issue in Pakistan on two fronts. Pakistan emerged as a front line heroin transit route, in large part as a result of the narcotics pipelines from Iran and Afghanistan being cut due to the Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan, which also caused a dramatic increase in the farmgate price of opium. Second, Pakistan came to have a significant internal addiction problem in this era, going from no known heroin addicts in 1980 to 650,000 in 1987. In response to this growing problem, AID/Pakistan's activities on this front have had two major objectives: crop substitution and demand reduction.

In the 1982-87 program, AID/Pakistan has been assisting the GOP in implementing various area development activities that are intended to reduce opium poppy cultivation in locations that have traditionally grown poppies and to prevent its spread to nontraditional areas. It has also been assisting the GOP to implement several nationwide drug awareness campaigns and to establish a drug information center. These are intended to educate the Pakistan public about the dangers of drug abuse and to build grass roots support for the GOP's demand reduction and crop substitution efforts.

Opium poppies have been grown in remote highland areas of the NWFP since the turn of this century, though their cultivation significantly increased after World War II. Poppies flourish at 500 - 2,000 meters on mountains in the NWFP (e.g., Gadoon and Malakand areas) and in high plains and northern valleys (e.g., Dir). Such remote and isolated regions have undergone minimal socioeconomic transformations; while their populations have access only to marginal non-irrigated land with limited economic alternatives. An entire village's annual yield can be transported out of the area on three donkeys, over high passes, through gorges, and by simple boats in areas which have no other transportation facilities. Therefore, with its high labor demand at harvest and its value as a profitable and easily marketed and stored crop, opium poppy has remained important in these areas, and is often the basis of local economic systems.

The GOP ratified the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotics Drugs and the 1971 Accord. In 1973, the Pakistan Narcotics Control Board (PNCB) was created under the Ministry of Interior to coordinate, supervise, and execute Federal government policy in narcotics matters. In 1979, the GOP promulgated the Prohibition Ordinance (Enforcement of Hadd) which made the manufacture, distribution and use of intoxicants (alcohol and drugs) in the country illegal, in conformity with Islamic law. The Ordinance was strengthened by a further ban on poppy cultivation and GOP efforts to eliminate it in settled districts and in major irrigation systems. The GOP's goal became the development of alternative income opportunities in areas under poppy cultivation, and to ensure enforcement of the opium ban be carried out at reduced hardship to farmers and at reasonable cost.

The PNCB and UNFDAC jointly inaugurated the first opium-elimination project, the Buner Agricultural Pilot Project, in 1976 (renewed in 1981). The GOP began requesting assistance from other donors as well.

The second opium-elimination project was begun in the Malakand Agency in the NWFP in 1982 by the PNCB, GONWFP, and the INM of the U.S. Department of State. During its first year, 80 hectares under poppy cultivation (of a total estimate of 240-325 hectares under cultivation) were destroyed.

AID/Pakistan entered into poppy elimination efforts in August 1983 with the initiation of the Gadoon Amazai Area Development Project, in conjunction with the PNCB and the GONWFP. The fruition of AID/Pakistan's efforts was seen in 1987, when Gadoon was finally 95% free of poppies for the first time. As this project remains the most important of AID/Pakistan's poppy elimination efforts it will be addressed first, followed by a discussion of other activities.

The project was designed in 1982, and the agreement was signed with the GOP in August 1983. This is a multi-faceted, integrated development project, which includes three major component parts:

- *Training for off-farm employment: farmers have been taught various skills, including masonry, plumbing, carpentry, horticulture and animal husbandry; some farmers have become drivers and field assistants in agriculture extension; staff training at Project Coordinating Unit (PCU);
- *A network of agriculture extension agents has been developed to promote the transition to wheat as the major substitution crop. Farmers are given free seed and fertilizer after signing the poppy ban;
- *Construction program: to transform the public infrastructure, consisting of constructing and rehabilitating roads, schools, irrigation facilities, Basic Health Units (BHUs), etc.

It is important to note that these activities precede the enforcement of the ban on opium poppy cultivation. Over four hundred of these infrastructure projects are on-going; one hundred have already been completed.

The greatest expenditures, in order of priority, are on infrastructure, particularly roads; crop substitution; and training. The training aspect hopes to teach the farmers some marketable skills. In addition, job substitution programs focused on creating a new economic base have been used as incentives for farmers to accept the poppy ban. These include the following:

1. Industrial estates: 150 acres in Gadoon, offering businesses 50% reduction in electricity rates, tax holiday for 10 years, duty-free importation of machinery and 20-year repayment period for the cost of land, so as to encourage established industrialists and entrepreneurs - people with proven capabilities - to invest in the area;
2. Overseas employment: visas are set aside for people from Gadoon, though due to the low level of skill, few have been used;
3. 1,000 positions offered in the paramilitary forces; only 10% were filled (approximately);
4. Free distribution of wheat seed and fertilizer, which was expanded in the second part of the program.

It must be noted, however, that the training component has been the biggest disappointment in the project, though the past two years have seen greater interest and participation on the part of the local farmers completing courses in various trades and undergoing short term training at various institutions.

Initially, the project depended on the GOP Communications & Works department which was unable to fully assist the varied demands of the project. AID/Pakistan was then able to incorporate within the project the flexibility to provide all the necessary technical resources, including local engineers, surveyors and other agricultural extension assistants. People at the Mission argue that the Gadoon project was able to enjoy such flexibility precisely because it is a poppy substitution project.

The project experienced a major setback in March, 1986, when the GOP was attempting to enforce the ban on poppy cultivation. Apparently, farmers had been extensively warned the previous year against growing poppies, but had not been similarly warned in the 1985-86 poppy growing season. Rather than warning farmers at the beginning of the season, government officials went out in March, at the time of the harvest. One of seven union councils in the Project Area had been brought under the ban in the previous year; the outbreak occurred in two adjacent union councils which were supposed to come under the ban that year. Government forces engaged in armed confrontation with the resisting farmers, resulting in 10-14 deaths. No effort was made to compensate the farmers at that time; it was only later that they received a bit of compensation for their lost "corn" crop (the summer crop which follows poppies). Thirty-five GOP platoons have recently been permanently assigned to the Gadoon area.

Many people in the country associated USAID with the shooting: legislators walked out of the assembly in protest, claiming that the government was trying to appease the Americans by shooting farmers defending their crops. A constitutional crisis was created in the new Junejo government. As a consequence, the effectiveness of AID-financed consultants was hampered due to limited access to the project area: they were not allowed in for nine months.

In the context of activities under the TADP, the GOP - through the Economic Affairs Division (EAD) - questioned the legal basis of and need for the poppy clause in project agreements. The Mission responded by providing copies of pertinent U.S. laws in an attempt to demonstrate the basis for the clause. It was pointed out that:

- * these laws require the U.S. president to certify that Pakistan is taking all possible legal steps to eliminate the illicit cultivation of poppy production and trafficking of narcotics;
- * without this certification, Pakistan could not receive U.S. assistance;
- * the poppy clause in each Project Agreement is intended to assist the President in making the certification; therefore, removal of the poppy clause would seriously jeopardize the President's ability to make the required certification.

AID/Pakistan has encouraged GOP efforts to make the dangers of drug abuse known to the public. Following the shooting in Gadoon, USAID realized how poorly informed the Pakistani public was about drug abuse in general and about Pakistan's drug problem in particular. In response to the negative public reaction to the shooting, the PNCB initiated two drug awareness campaigns funded out of the Mission's Project Design and Implementation Fund (PDIF), for a total of \$372,000. When PDIF funds could no longer support a third drug awareness campaign, \$300,000 was set aside out of the Primary Health Care Project. The PNCB has utilized NGOs to carry out major portions of the campaigns.

A major success of the project has been the extent to which local farmers have become involved in the various activities. They delineate what needs to be done, and initiate the infrastructure project, such as adding a room to a school, building a teacher's lodging, constructing a road, etc. They oversee the day-to-day activities, such as hiring the masons, buying the materials, etc. On their part, they donate the land; AID/Pakistan provides economic support to the projects as well as technical expertise (e.g., engineers).

People at the Mission who have been actively involved in the Gadoon-Amazai project credit its success to its flexibility. For example, while most projects have fixed budgets, the project allows budget shifts between line items so as to be optimally responsive to the local farmers' needs. Another aspect of this flexibility is that such projects should not be "over planned" ahead of time, but again should be responsive to what the local people feel they need in terms of infrastructural supports -- and thereby strengthening their commitment to achieve AID/Pakistan's final goal: the removal of poppies from the region.

The Poppy Clause

Most of AID/Pakistan's projects are not integrally tied in with elimination of poppy cultivation -- 90% of the projects are in areas where poppy cultivation is nonexistent -- though all projects (except in humanitarian projects such as health and population) include a poppy clause. If there are poppies in an area, no project can be initiated until they are removed. If the project has already been undertaken, all work ceases until they are removed. Finally, if the project has already been completed and poppies are discovered, AID/Pakistan will first ask the GOP to clean out the area; if this is not done, then AID/Pakistan can request reimbursement for project funds expended in that area.

Needless to say, the poppy clause is not used in areas which are specifically poppy substitution projects. Its use would certainly endanger the success of the project, as farmers often want to see tangible needs met before agreeing to completely eliminate poppy cultivation.

The poppy clause has been invoked twice under the Tribal Areas Development Project (TADP) and once under Irrigation Systems Management (ISM):

TADP: In 1984, poppies were seen as the project was commencing; the GOP was informed and they cleared the area (total time: 2 months);

In 1987, tubewell construction was underway in the Bajaur tribal agency. Poppies were found, and some were cleared out which caused a tribal disturbance. The GOP political agent could not get the farmers to stop growing the poppies, so AID/Pakistan suspended the project;

ISM: Poppies were found in Mohmand Agency in the Spring of 1987. They were benefitting from water flowing through an AID/Pakistan-built canal. It was late in the poppy season, when the crop was ready for harvesting. A letter was sent to the GOP; when AID/Pakistan returned to the area, the poppies were not there -- however, they were probably quickly cultivated.

AID/Pakistan has fortunately never been in the position of having to present a "bill for services rendered" to the GOP because of the poppy clause. The implications of such an act would undoubtedly result in a major issue.

Lessons Learned

The project is considered to be going so well that activities have been expanded to the adjacent Khala Dhaka area in Hazara. Learning from the experience of the need for flexibility, the first step is to build roads into the area: "animal transportation costs" (e.g., for donkeys) is included as a line item in the budget. USAID funds are also being channeled to a crop substitution project in Dir, similar to the Gadoon-Amazai project, through the UNFDAC. In addition, the Mission has requested that AID/W grant permission to carry out three sub-project activities financed under the Tribal Areas Development Project (i.e., not ostensibly a poppy project per se) in areas where poppies are being grown without using the poppy clause. The intent is to provide some flexibility in bringing some very difficult and inaccessible areas under the poppy cultivation ban. Using leverage gained by the completion of sub-project activities rather than simply the promise of such activities in the future, the GOP could then enforce the ban in these areas of geopolitical importance along the Afghanistan border.

Building on its campaign to educate the Pakistani public about the dangers of drug abuse, AID/Pakistan will support the National Drug Abuse Prevention Resource Center, to be located in the PNCB. AID/Pakistan will contribute \$2.462 million, the U.S. Embassy's Narcotics Affairs Unit will contribute \$500,000, with a GOP contribution of \$1.089, over a five-year period.

Training

Training is considered a seminal part of all USAID programs worldwide. The bulk of training in Pakistan has been coordinated through the Human Resource Development (HRD) program's DSTP, though some training has been undertaken within the separate projects themselves without the involvement of HRD input. While most of the latter forms of training have been in-country and short-term, this has not been true in all instances.

The most useful way, therefore, of viewing training as a cross-cutting social sector initiative is to review the various projects' incorporation of a training component, excluding the DSTP (which is covered in the Social Sector Programs section).

Overseas training dramatically gained in importance within AID/Pakistan's country portfolio in the second half of the era, as is evident in the following project-by-project (excluding DSTP) breakdown:

Participants Processed for Study Abroad (Excluding DSTP) 1983-87

	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>Total</u>
On Farm Water Management (391-0413)	--	14	49	30	16	109
Irrigation System Management (391-0467)	--	6	20	60	229	315
Population Welfare Planning (391-0469)	--	2	1	4	10	17
Tribal Areas Development (391-0471)	--	1	2	--	11	14
Malaria Control II (391-0472)	2	--	10	16	33	61
Rural Electrification (391-0473)	2	--	40	110	81	133
Primary Health Care (391-0475)	--	7	3	1	10	21
Energy Planning & Development (391-0478)	---	---	7	32	27	66
Baluchistan Area Development (391-0479)	---	--	--	---	3	3
Forestry Planning & Development (391-0481)	---	---	--	18	25	43
TIPAN (391-0488)	--	--	26	23	34	83
Management of Agric. Research & Technology (391-0489)	--	--	27	14	146	187
Food Security Management (391-0491)	--	--	13	14	90	117
TOTAL	<u>4</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>198</u>	<u>322</u>	<u>715</u>	<u>1169</u>

Within the given projects, training components have been considered since the design stage. The way in which training has been availed of throughout the program is as follows:

On-Farm Water Management: This project was begun in the late 1970s and carried over into the 1980s. It financed overseas training and study tours for 156 government employees, as well as in-country training courses for 8,723 government employees and farmers. Four training demonstration farms (one in each province) were established, as well as four OFWM training centers with the capability to plan, design and conduct required training courses. A total of 107 men and 2 women received training abroad during the program's tenure.

Irrigation Systems Management: It financed long-term overseas training for 30 participants and short-term overseas training for 111 others. A total of 315 men (no women) participated in overseas training (many financed through DSTP). In addition, in-country training was provided for nearly 3,000 participants.

Population Welfare Planning: The project mostly provided support services to the GOF's on-going PWD's program, and did not include an extensive training component. However, it supported the establishment of the National Institution of Population Studies and the National Research Institute for Fertility Control. A total of 11 men and 6 women from the project were trained abroad during the program.

Tribal Areas Development: The project itself provided overseas training for four water engineers. On the whole, 14 men received training abroad in this project.

Malaria Control II: 272 doctors and 7,356 MTs were trained in malaria control techniques and strategies in a variety of in-country and overseas programs. 61 men received training abroad in this project.

Rural Electrification: The project established the Distribution Training Institute in Lahore (in temporary facilities), and has initiated plans for constructing a permanent facility in Islamabad. It developed a comprehensive distribution personnel training plan and provided in-country training for 30,000 persons. A total of 133 men received training abroad, about 1/3 in long-term programs and 2/3 in short-term programs.

Development Support Training: This is the bulwark of the Mission's training efforts. For complete details, please refer to the Human Resource Development section of this report.

Primary Health Care: Eight health technician training schools are near completion in Sind and Punjab. 1,715 health technicians have been trained and posted, of which 40% are women. Management training was provided for 531 medical officers. Orientation was provided to 434 in-service health technicians on delivering preventive services. A curriculum has just been revised for teaching mid-level health workers. Nineteen men and two women have been processed for training abroad.

Energy Planning & Development: The project implemented Pakistan's first national coal conference, which attracted more than 500 Pakistani and national participants. A total of 66 men were trained abroad through this project.

Baluchistan Area Development: The training element focussing on 50 working class students may well become a prototype for other Mission training components. For once, the Mission was able to address the need for training non-elites. Outside of the special Makrani component, 3 men received training abroad in 1987.

Road Resources Management: No participants were processed for overseas training on this project. In-country training was provided for over 750 participants.

Forestry Planning and Development: The project supported curriculum development at the Pakistan Forestry Institute. It funded the participation of more than 35 men in long-term training courses overseas and more than 50 men in various in-country training programs. A total of 43 men were processed for overseas training on this project.

Northwest Frontier Area Development: More than a thousand persons were trained in-country in a variety of marketable skills. No participants went abroad for training during the program.

Transformation and Integration of NWFP's Provincial Agricultural Network: 56 staff members were trained in computer use following the project's establishment of a computer lab and provision of computers for provincial research stations. It also initiated a research station improvement program. It conducted outreach programs which involved 372 farmers, and enrolled 33 professionals in long-term advanced degree programs and provided short-term overseas training for 35 teachers and researchers. A total of 83 men received training abroad through this project.

Management of Agricultural Research and Technology: The project supported the establishment of a new training institute at NARC. It strengthened the Arid Zone Research Institute in Quetta, and initiated a research program there, including farmer-oriented research in eight communities and support for improved range management in Baluchistan, as well as other research programs. It provided short-term overseas training for 80 people and developed plans for providing long-term overseas training for 90 others. A total of 185 men and 2 women received training abroad through this project.

Food Security Management: In-country training was provided for more than 400 people through a series of computer workshops, seminars and applied economics courses. The project financed long-term overseas training for 10 participants and short-term training or observation tours for at least 45 others. A total of 115 men and 2 women (in 1985) received training abroad through this project.

It would be impossible to add up the total of number of people who have benefitted from in-country training programs. Specific projects may hold ad hoc training sessions when applicable and adequate records may not have been kept in all cases. The real value, however, in looking at training as a cross-cutting social initiative lies not solely in the numbers trained (though of course, that is important in and of itself), but rather that almost every project has included such a component. The successes, failures and lessons learned from each training attempt must be seen in the light of the larger project's success. Therefore, further details on training are included in the specific project histories.

People Consulted:

Outside of the Mission:

Dr. Mohammad Afzal, Rector, Islamic University (former Minister of Education, GOP)
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Dr. Peter Dodd, Director, USEFP
Dr. S.M. Quereshi, Secretary of Education, GOP
Akbar Zeb, Foreign Ministry (GOP), son of the late Wali of Swat
Khalid Bukhari, Joint-Secretary of Education, GOP
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(Annex to WID Section)

IRRIGATION SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT

(Command Water Management) 391-0467

and

ON-FARM WATER MANAGEMENT

(Project Paper Amendment) 391-0413

These two projects will be discussed together, given that their village (or farmfield) components are similar and complementary. The Command Water Management (CWM) component of the Irrigation Systems Management (ISM) project will, among other things, promote the organization of Water User Associations (WUAs) into federations and councils to enable them to work effectively with the Irrigation Departments of provincial governments. In addition CWM will train project personnel at the sub-provincial and field extension levels in ways to organize WUAs and multidisciplinary problem solving in water management and community participation.

The On-Farm Water Management (OFWM) project will, among other things, also promote the establishment of WUAs and will train management-level government personnel and extension workers in extension techniques and alternative approaches to promote efficient utilization of water at the farm level. Whereas the CWM sub-project will concentrate on WUAs' role in public watercourse improvement, maintenance and management, the OFWM project focuses on the role that WUAs can play in water management and watercourse work on the privately--owned farmfield. The approach of both projects for these purposes is essentially the same: institutional strengthening of provincial and subprovincial governmental authorities to manage the irrigation systems, including the creation of field extension teams, the promotion of WUAs and federations of WUAs, and training of both extensionists and farmers in technical and social aspects of water management.

Both projects have other large components which are not field oriented or do not have any community level activities. These components will not be discussed.

In talking to the project officers involved in these projects, it became clear that, although the project papers do not reflect this very well, women are active users of the irrigation system water courses. Not only do women work in irrigated areas as hired farm laborers, but when no other water sources are available they use water from the irrigation canals for livestock, domestic and personal hygiene purposes. They may either perform certain activities like bathing children and washing clothes at the water course or carry the water from the irrigation canal to the compound, or a combination of both (Khalid, 1981, Khan and Ater, 1985). Thus, although women may not play any formal roles in the management of the watercourse network per se, and they do not have any visible decision-making functions in water course improvement and maintenance, the activities of these two projects affect them directly and, perhaps just as important, women's use of irrigation water affects project development and success. For instance, in the predecessor to the OFWM project, some watercourses were outfitted with laundry stations when improved. At some of these facilities, pounding of clothes with sticks cracked the cement lining of the laundry stations and the watercourses nearby, and women have in some areas been told that they can no longer wash clothes at the improved watercourses (Khalid 1981). According to one of the social scientists doing research on the formation and operation of WUAs, it is possible that the cement mixture used to line the laundry stations may have contained too much sand to withstand normal use. The current OFWM and ISM (CWM) projects are not building laundry or bathing facilities, possibly due to the cracking problem, but also because doing so would encourage women to wash clothes and children in water contaminated with insecticides, according to one of the project officers interviewed. However, if no other water source is available, women will continue using irrigation water, whether at the watercourse or in the compound.

This issue and several others were addressed by a consultant to USAID/Pakistan in a 1981 report (Khalid, 1981). Many of the same WID concerns in water management were taken up by two other consultants in a 1985 report

(Khan and Ater, 1985). We are aware that the Mission is knowledgeable of these issues, yet few of the concerns raised have been heeded. The two reports mentioned above together provide a comprehensive view of women's time and access problems associated with irrigation projects. A potential drawback to the report is that the data on which they are based may be considered "anecdotal" by some. Nevertheless we here highlight the most prominent issues:

- o WUAs will probably have an all-male membership and extension teams will probably be all male as well. Women will have no formal mechanisms to voice their concerns regarding restricted access to watercourses for watering livestock and performing household work. Likewise, the projects will have no way of reaching women directly in efforts to improve watercourse and water management; yet women are important users of irrigation watercourses.

- o In restricting women's access to irrigation water where this is their only source, the projects may be increasing women's work burden by forcing them and their children to haul additional amounts of water to their compounds.

- o Where women are involved in grazing livestock, they may be compelled to travel greater distances if not allowed to graze livestock near the improved watercourses. This will impose an additional time expenditure on them.

The irrigation projects have had some indirect positive impacts on women. For example, their husbands now have more time to spend at home and there is not so much fighting over water access and allocation among farmers (Khan and Ater, 1985). Nonetheless, the unresolved problems have the potential of negatively affecting women's economic roles more dramatically and, as observed earlier, may also influence project success.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that project officers and the research team working on water management and WUAs review the details of the issues raised in Khalid 1981, and Khan and Ater 1985, in order to determine which apply to the regions and the project components for which they are responsible. If the evidence presented in these reports is considered "anecdotal," efforts to collect appropriate data should be undertaken.

2. Where appropriate, project designs should be modified to include more buffalo wallows, bathing pools, watering outlets, and laundry stations at watercourse points where the water will not yet have had contact with contaminants.

3. Projects should consider providing hand-operated pumps for domestic use as a subcomponent or activity, both as a means of checking the problems of "misuse" of watercourses for non-agricultural purposes, and as a response to the need for domestic water sources. Eventually these pumps could be substituted by electrically-operated pumps, particularly in those villages that became effectively electrified through the last component of the Rural Electrification Project. The officers responsible for the irrigation projects might consider coordinating plans with the project officers in charge of the Rural Electrification Project, in order to identify those regions currently being served by irrigation activities that will eventually become target villages or village-clusters for electrification efforts. In those areas where project overlap the idea of providing electric water pumps near the residential districts would be feasible.

FOOD SECURITY MANAGEMENT PROJECT (391-0491)

This project has three components: economic and policy analysis, agricultural data collection, and post-harvest grain storage management. Under the first, special studies on grain systems modeling and alternatives to the rationshop systems are being undertaken. The third component will fund interventions in the public grain storage system to rehabilitate and maintain storage facilities and improve their operations. The Food Security Management (FSM) project follows Pakistan's current CDSS (1986-1990) in its efforts to strengthen government institutions to manage and implement agricultural development projects, and to provide training in policy-relevant research and policy implementation.

Project implementation is in its first year, and the first and third components, which are the areas where project activities and WID concerns might intersect, are in their early phases.

The FSM project has no component reaching down to the community and household levels and thus has no point of direct contact with village populations, male or female. The post-harvest management component is aimed at improving the state-run grain storage facilities exclusively. Nonetheless, the project officer has been considering the possibility of adding an on-farm food storage activity to this component since new information puts on-farm grain losses at higher levels than previously thought. Surveys elsewhere in South Asia, on the other hand, suggest that loss ratios for on-farm storage are considerably less than for public facilities. More data may soon be available from the FAO on this point. At the time the FSM project paper was prepared (late 1983-early 1984), FAO was conducting a survey of on-farm losses as part of its efforts to improve farm technologies for food security. In our discussions with Mr. Ibrahim Ali Abul-Zahab, Project Officer for FAO in Pakistan, we learned that a baseline survey for wheat loss assessment was completed in June and one for rice was completed in November 1985. The wheat data has been analyzed and, based on the results, FAO has introduced techniques for reducing stored grain losses at the farm level on a pilot scale. In August, four-hundred and eighty farm storage facilities were

fumigated and in September one-hundred and seventy metal storage bins were distributed to farmers in thirty-two villages at subsidized rates. A revolving credit fund was established to help farmers pay for the bins. Very little additional information was available at FAO's Islamabad offices on the implementation details of the pilot project. Apparently, data is being collected periodically from these 32 villages and a project plan has been presented to FAO-Rome for expansion of pilot activities. We were unable to obtain copies of the survey report or the project document.

We were able to obtain some anecdotal data on current on-farm storage practices which show that, due to lack of adequate extension services and appropriate materials, women mix the harvested grain with mercury in an effort to reduce on-farm losses (Hague, forthcoming). The implications of this practice, however prevalent it might be are self-evident.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that USAID consider the possibility of including an on-farm storage management component in the FSM project, both as a means of achieving the project goal in ensuring national food security through rational and efficient use of national resources, and as means of reaching the farm household and, within it, the women who are primarily responsible for post-harvest grain handling and storage (Khan and Ater, 1985:28). Specifically, AID might want to review both the data collected by FAO and the pilot project activities described above to assess both the severity of on-farm losses and the specific interventions FAO is experimenting with. In addition to pest control and improved storage facilities on the farm or homestead, the provision of credit (through innovative schemes such as revolving funds) to help farmer households pay for the cost of improved technologies, the distribution of grain processing technologies such as winnowers, grinders and mills and some extension services, might be considered. It should be stressed that these activities should, from the start, be oriented to the women in the household to ensure improvements in the handling of grain crops post-harvest and reductions of on-farm losses.

2. Under the economic and policy analysis component, the FSM project and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) are conducting two special studies related to management of post-harvest grain storage. One of these involves collection of household and individual level data in the 'village' areas. This effort should provide an excellent opportunity to gather information of good quality on women's participation in grain production and other field agricultural activities. To achieve this, we strongly recommend that women be asked directly about their field work activities. As it stands now, there is a production module administered to the male principally involved in production and another module addressed to the female which will deal with time-use and food consumption, among other things. A previous survey of activity patterns and division of labor in the Punjab (Khan and Ater, 1985) found that, compared to women's direct reports of their agricultural activities, male reports consistently underestimated the work of women and children. This finding is supported by numerous reports from other countries.

In the IFPRI study, when women are asked about the work they do, they should not be asked to identify their primary and secondary activities, but rather, to indicate the tasks they undertake in grain production and in household activities. This module will be supplemented by a time allocation study of women. The time-use study will assess women's time costs of visiting clinics and utilizing other government services, cooking, gathering firewood and water, and "a few other well-defined tasks" (Internal IFPRI memo from Harold Aldeman, December 17, 1985). We strongly recommend that the time allocation study should also ask women about the time they spend in field agricultural activities, and in post-harvest grain processing and storage.

We are aware that the draft IFPRI surveys are already quite long and will likely have to be reduced. Concerns about the length of the survey should be weighed against the importance of improving the data-base on women in agriculture as a necessary first step for project designs that adequately take into account women's roles. During our conversations with Mission staff, other donors and GOP officials, we were given conflicting reports on the extent to which women in Pakistan are involved in field agricultural activities and the agricultural tasks they perform. It is clear that there

are many impressions and unsubstantiated opinions regarding this issue. The literature on women in agriculture is also inadequate and full of generalizations that may not hold from province to province. It is, therefore, important to take advantage of the opportunities offered by on-going projects to partly rectify this situation, without having to mount a new data collection effort or increase the costs of research components.

FORESTRY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT (391-0481)

Along with strengthening the GOP's institutional capacity to conduct forestry planning and development, and creating a research component which looks into the economic, managerial and botanical aspects of forestry, this project has an important farm-level component that will contact farmer households directly to introduce the practice of "tree farming". Mission staff working on this project and their GOP counterparts have gone far in conceptualizing how village women may be affected by the project and planning how to create income-generating activities directed at women as part of this third component. Plans are to have women participate in project activities as part of family groups and through experimental all-women run seedling nurseries. A social scientist has been brought on board to address the sociocultural dimensions of tree farming and a female social scientist is being considered to design and implement the activities in which women will participate.

The project proposes to increase the level of energy supplies so Pakistan can achieve energy self-sufficiency. In order to do this it becomes essential that the idea of tree farming on privately owned farm and rangelands catch on with the people who will be doing the actual planting. The concept of farmer advisory councils (FAC) will be implemented and tree species acceptable for traditional uses (firewood, fodder and timber) will be introduced. Field-level personnel and farmers will receive motivation and training, and the FACs will be encouraged to work closely with project field personnel in forestry management. The regions in which the project will carry out field activities are the firewood-scarce rainfed areas of the Punjab and NWFP, the irrigated lands of Nasirabad in Baluchistan and the sections of forest plantations in Sind.

Both GOP officers and Mission staff responsible for the project expect that women will become involved in forestry activities for household consumption and for income generation. The following roles for women were mentioned:

- o collection of tree seeds and sale to the project;
- o mulberry trees and sericulture;
- o apiculture;
- o seedling nurseries and sale of seedlings to the project;
- o basket weaving with materials derived from trees;
- o an integrated approach combining several of the above.

Both the project paper and the individuals developing the project expressed a concern for the effect that project activities might have on women's work burden, since forestry tasks and related income-generating activities are time intensive. Officials from the Forestry Department of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture are worried that the project design does not contemplate the introduction of technologies to reduce household work or save time and energy. This is a valid concern and should be addressed to ensure both good project performance and women's well being.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We encourage the Mission to support the ideas of the project team regarding integration of women into the project. The project design should consider, in addition, the use of female forestry extensionists and the creation of female FACs especially in those regions where income-generating activities for women will be developed.

2. The female social scientist to be hired should be a person not only academically qualified but also well versed in WID theory and practice, and familiar with Pakistan's cultures and social structure. She will require more than cultural sensitivity to succeed.

3. One way of addressing the issue of women's work burden, and at the same time enhancing project success, would be to make a concerted effort to serve the same populations with forestry activities and energy conservation technologies and activities under the Energy Planning and Development project (EP and D). The EP and D project discussed later in this report is offering energy-saving technologies for domestic activities and new fuel sources that could mean time-savings for the women and children who usually collect firewood. On the one hand, the Forestry project is creating economic opportunities for women and possibly increasing their work-burdens, but on the other, the ED and D project is introducing time and energy saving technologies, possibly for higher monetary costs (given that the new fuel source--charcoal briquettes will have to be purchased), and no opportunities to directly increase household income. It appears that this would be a logical opportunity to address both the economic and time-saving needs of one or several populations of rural women through the complementary activities of the two projects. If target populations for both projects could be integrated, we hypothesize that women in those populations would not only benefit from the time and energy saving devices introduced by the EP and D Project, but would be better disposed to try the new fuels and technologies in order to free up time for forestry activities. In addition, once forestry activities become profitable, some of the income could go towards the purchase of the coal briquettes introduced by the EP and D Project, Thus both projects would benefit.

BALUCHISTAN AREA DEVELOPMENT (391-0479)

The purpose of the Baluchistan Area Development Project is to accelerate the integration of the Makran Division of Baluchistan into the socio-economic mainstream of Pakistan through three main components: a road component, a water component (including on-farm water management), and a planning, management and human resources development component under which a special development activities fund is being made available. As with most projects, virtually all of these components may indirectly affect women and improve their quality of life. Two of the project components, however, offer the opportunity to directly improve women's productivity in their agricultural and livestock activities and to improve their access to education, health and other social services.

1. Water components: This component includes on-farm water management activities principally through watercourse improvement and precision land levelling. Since women are typically active users of irrigation system watercourses, effective rehabilitation of watercourses must take their usage into account. Women use water from the irrigation canals to water livestock and for domestic and personal hygiene purposes. They may graze livestock along watercourses (perhaps contributing to the deterioration of the canals), bathe children and launder clothes at the watercourse, and/or carry water from irrigation canals to the compound for domestic use. Because women may not play a formal role in water management associations, however, their use of the watercourses and its impact on project success may not be readily apparent. Several studies of the intersection of women's roles and on-farm water management in the Punjab (khalid, 1981; Khan and Ater, 1985) are available to the Mission and it is likely that, with minor variations, the issues raised therein are pertinent to this project. (For more information, see the discussion of the Irrigation Systems Management Project 391-0467 and the On-Farm Water Management Project 391-0413 in this report.)

2. Planning, Management and Human Resources Development: Under this component of the project a one million dollar special development activities fund is available to deal with current development problems in the project

areas. The project paper suggests that this fund may be used, for example, to construct schools, health facilities, or housing for teachers and health workers from outside the area. The fund will also be used to provide a baseline survey of socioeconomic conditions, and could include processing or marketing projects, among others.

Because it provides a mechanism for reaching directly to the community level, the fund could be enormously important in addressing women's needs in the project area. Since women's activities and needs are often "invisible" in the Pakistan context, however, USAID may have to take the lead in suggesting and developing uses of the fund that will have a direct effect on women.

One activity currently being explored is the development of a program of training and education for young men and women in the Makran area. The program would include scholarship support for girls at the high school level (grades 9-10, U.S.) and possible continuing support for attendance at the intermediate and/or degree colleges in Sibi, Loralai, Quetta, and Karachi (since no such colleges for girls currently exist in Makran). Incentive pay and training opportunities for teachers would also be provided in order to improve the quality of both girls' and boys' education. Eventually, some students might be supported at Pakistani and/or U.S. universities. The potential for this program to positively impact on women is great. Several suggestions for minor but critical design features are mentioned in the section on recommendations below.

A host of other activities to significantly improve the situation of women in Makran could be developed under the SDA fund. These are discussed below. It is important to note, however, that implementing development projects of any kind in Southern Baluchistan is particularly difficult and will have to consider combined political and social pressures as well as a high degree of initial suspicion. Local NGOS may be the most appropriate implementing entities for some types of community programs. Perhaps some of the suggestions made below could be discussed in more detail with Dr. Carroll Pastner who, along with her husband, has conducted extensive field work in Makran and has advised UNICEF on their activities in Baluchistan.

The project paper notes that an important source of non-farm income among women in Makran comes from palm mats, bags, and other palm items, and palm products are the fourth most important export from Makran. In the coastal areas women engage in finishing, fish marketing, and other retail businesses. Thus projects could be developed to improve quality and marketing of palm products; to introduce more efficient fishing methods; to improve storage and processing of fish in order to improve marketability; and to provide credit facilities and marketing for other retail businesses in which women are involved. In many areas women's work is limited to production, and marketing is carried out through male family members or, more commonly, through middlemen. Women could therefore benefit from programs designed to replace the middleman's services. Typically middlemen carry raw materials for piecework to their women clients. The women are sometimes required to pay for all or part of the materials, or to provide additional materials or tools such as the special pliers used in making earrings, thread for sewing, or the sewing machine itself. The women are paid (per piece of work completed) by the middleman who carries the finished product to the market for sale, or to a larger distributor for whom he works. Needless to say, the women piece workers are paid extremely low wages because of the monopsonistic position of the middleman. SDA funds could be used (perhaps through the hire of a PVO) to set up a similar system in which women would, however, share in the profits from the sale of their goods; alternatively, a women's cooperative could be developed through which individuals could be hired to market the cooperative's goods in return for a fixed fee. Eventually, credit and savings facilities could be incorporated to provide adequate working capital for the expansion of women's home-based businesses.

Potential projects related to women's agricultural and livestock activities include among others:

1. Training in:

- (a) improved grain processing and storage techniques;
- (b) Improved poultry raising techniques and egg production;
- (c) more efficient milk and butter production and handling/storage;

(d) animal health (women are majorly responsible for poultry and livestock and often have no knowledge of vaccination requirements or treatment of animal illness. A forthcoming study by Ms. Huma Haque of the Pakistan Agricultural Research Council (PARC), Islamabad, documents women's reliance on faith healers and visits to shrines to "cure" their livestock.).

2. Transfer of technology such as:

- (a) food storage facilities;
- (b) mechanized rice hullers;
- (c) mechanized grain grinders;
- (d) blowers for winnowing;
- (e) incubation boxes for eggs;
- (f) improved butter churns;

(g) energy-efficient stoves;

(h) oil-pressers;

(i) facilities for handling water and firewood;

(j) improved water pumps; and

(k) mechanized weeders (they are apparently in use in the NWFP and are important for women since, contrary to the statement on page 223 of the project paper, women do work manually in agriculture especially in transplanting, and weeding of legumes, vegetables, and other secondary crops).

3. Marketing systems for:

(a) poultry;

(b) eggs;

(c) butter and milk; and

(d) legumes and vegetables

This list is illustrative and can be expanded to include a variety of additional activities mentioned elsewhere in the report.

Finally, an important activity to be carried out through the SDA fund is the base-line socioeconomic survey of the project area. Currently many projects do not attempt to focus on women because they are designed on the basis of inadequate information or misinformation regarding women's roles in agriculture, home-based industries, etc. The base-line survey planned under the project offers the opportunity to collect accurate information on women's activities. The opportunity will be lost, however, if the survey itself implicitly assumes that women do not work manually in agriculture, for example. As a case in point we note that, at least in its draft form, the IFPRI study to be undertaken in the Food Security Management Project (391-0491) proposes to assess women's time costs of visiting clinics and utilizing other government services, cooking, gathering firewood and water, and "a few

other well defined tasks" (internal IFPRI memo from Harold Alderman, December 17, 1985). This approach virtually assures that women's agricultural activities will remain undocumented since semi-literate or illiterate rural women are unlikely to volunteer information regarding tasks that are not explicitly mentioned. The Baluchistan Area Development Project survey may benefit from the work and/or services of specialists on women's roles. Two possible consultants were mentioned in a cable from Asia/DP/E dated January 20, 1985. One of the consultants, Dr. Carroll C. Pastner, has done extensive fieldwork in Baluchistan while the other, Dr. Lynn Bennett, did a significant amount of work on women in Nepal and is currently based in New Delhi. Local expertise on this issue may also be available.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

We suggest three ways in which the Baluchistan Area Development project can focus on improving women's productivity and socioeconomic situation, as well as their contribution to project effectiveness.

1. Review the water management issues raised in Khalid, 1981, and Khan and Ater, 1985, and consider the provision of buffalo wallows, bathing pools, watering outlets, and laundry stations along watercourses to be rehabilitated under the project's water component.

2. Work with consultants, research groups, or PVOs (local or expatriate) who are focused on women's roles in rural areas to develop a variety of projects to improve women's education, training, agricultural productivity, and returns from home-based and retail businesses through the Special Development Activities Fund. For the education activity already being considered under the fund, we suggest a strong outreach component to make information out the benefits of girls' education available to parents and to address their concerns regarding girls' safety at local schools and, especially, at colleges in Sibi, Loralai, Quetta, and Karachi. In addition to providing chaperoning of girls the program should also include a counselling component for girls (and their parents) who may have doubts concerning the value or appropriateness of obtaining education and who may be separated from

their parents and an extremely protective environment for the first time in their lives.

3. Ensure that appropriate questions regarding women's activities and needs in the project area are asked of women in the base-line survey to be carried out under the SDA fund. The information gathered will be invaluable in determining additional projects for the SDA fund and also as a basis for correcting misinformation rural about women in Pakistan.

Issue: How Much Can One Project Accomplish?

The foregoing discussion responds to the Mission's request that the ICRW team outline any potential openings for USAID projects to focus on women. We understand that it is unlikely that all potential activities can be undertaken in any one project. In the Baluchistan Area Development project the difficulty of working in an extremely underdeveloped and sensitive area may further limit the number of small development activities that can be implemented. Nevertheless, we have provided an extensive list of potential activities because, by virtue of including a Special Development Activities Fund, the project design lends itself, in theory, to the types of interventions most likely to impact upon women. Virtually all of the development activities mentioned could be undertaken in any project with a component oriented to community level development interventions.

TRIBAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT (391-0471)

and

NWFP DEVELOPMENT (391-0485)

These two projects are similar to the Baluchistan Area Development Project in that their potential impact upon women lies most concretely in two components: irrigation or watershed management and local development projects.

It is generally held that women's roles in the tribal areas and in the NWFP are much more restricted than in the other provinces of Pakistan. To some extent this may be true--for example, women in these areas may be less likely to leave their compounds than they are in the Punjab. This does not mean that women's roles in agriculture and livestock are particularly limited, however, since in these project areas the "compound" often includes a large amount of planted fields and grazing area for livestock. Information gathered at the Agricultural University of Peshawar indicates that, at least among the lower-income groups, all the concerns regarding women's use of irrigation systems and their agricultural and post-harvest processing activities mentioned in our discussion of the Baluchistan Area Development and other projects are also pertinent for the tribal areas and the NWFP. Recommendations for ensuring a positive impact upon women are therefore similar.

As with the Baluchistan project, it is likely that the difficult areas in which the project operates will limit the number of activities that can actually be implemented.

It is worth noting that, despite what may be more stringent adherence to the tradition of purdah in the NWFP, several U.N. agencies--I.L.O., FAO World Food Programme, and the U.S. High Commission for Refugees--are working on income-generating projects for women. In addition, "industrial homes" established by local councils in the Peshawar area have succeeded in drawing women out of their compounds for training in sewing and knitting skills. These programs are not very lucrative for the women involved, but they could

provide the basis for introduction of training in improved dairy and egg production and marketing techniques, livestock care, etc. One Peshawar-based PVO, Ockenden Venture, has been successfully filling the role of "a benevolent middleman" for refugee women's sewing and embroidery products. A similar approach could undoubtedly be extended to local women as well.

RECOMMENDATIONS

As with the Baluchistan Area Development Project, we suggest that USAID:

1. Take account of women's usage of irrigation systems to be improved under the projects.
2. Develop small-scale projects focused on women's training and education, improved agricultural productivity and livestock activities, and training and marketing for home-based income-generation.
3. Utilize any base-line surveys or evaluations that may occur under the projects to obtain accurate information regarding rural women's activities in the project areas.

**TRANSFORMATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE
PROVINCIAL AGRICULTURAL NETWORK (TIPAN) 391-0488**

The TIPAN Project at the Agricultural University of Peshawar (AU) in the NWFP offers enormous potential for benefitting women and improving the understanding of women's roles in agriculture through each of its six main components:

1. The Teaching Program: This program includes a revised admissions policy that expands the sources of entering freshmen. The enrollment of women is being encouraged to increase the numbers of female agricultural professionals in the province. Five or six women have already entered the university--a small number, but one that represents a major effort to encourage female enrollment and provide appropriate facilities at this previously all-male institution. As project staff are well aware, continued enrollment of women will depend to a large extent on completion of planned housing for women. Currently female students are housed at the University of Peshawar but it is unlikely that more rooms can be provided on this basis; in any event, female agricultural students must prepare for frequent exams under the term system and find it difficult to do so while housed at the University of Peshawar since their study habits differ markedly from those of U. of P. students who are working under an end-of-year exam system.

2. The Research Program: The new research program will have a problem-solving orientation and will require a multi-disciplinary approach in view of the complex farming systems of NWFP. Such an approach, in order to be effective, must take into account the role that women play in farm production, livestock care, and agro-based industries in the NWFP and throughout Pakistan. The background design document for the project suggests the creation of a Division in the Study of Rural Households in the Faculty of Rural Social Sciences. This Division could be used as a source of information on rural women in agriculture to be fed into all aspects of the research program.

3. The Outreach Program: Under this component AU will develop technology packages for major crops, animal husbandry practices and the

farming systems of the province for transfer by extension agents. In addition a cadre of outreach personnel will be developed to serve as subject matter specialists for the extension services as well as continuing education programs for agricultural offices and field workers. It is critical that this outreach program transfer information about women's farm activities to the extension services. Women should also constitute a significant proportion of outreach cadres in order to work with farm women. Continuing education courses should inform agricultural officers and field workers regarding women's roles in agriculture and special efforts should be made to train and/or upgrade women extensionists and deal with special problems of transport or housing that they may face in their work in rural areas.

4. Support Centers, Physical Facilities, and Equipment: Among other items, this component provides for the construction of dormitories. As mentioned previously, virtually the entire program to increase women's enrollment at the university will depend on the construction of women's dormitories--an obligation of which the GOP should be strongly reminded.

5. New Personnel, Facilities and Organizational Structure: Under this component the faculty structure is being reorganized to comprise four new faculties: Plant Sciences, Animal Husbandry, Engineering Applications, and Rural Social Sciences. Discussions with project staff at Peshawar indicate that the Rural Social Sciences program may be created within the Institute of Development Studies at AU. An issue to be considered is whether or not this implies that Rural Social Sciences--an area of study which is most likely to focus on women in agriculture--is of less central concern than plant sciences, engineering applications, etc. More important, it appears that the Rural Social Sciences program is not yet in place; thus the current degree program is probably not preparing students with knowledge of women's agricultural activities and their critical roles in farm households, livestock care, and technology transfer.

6. Participant Training and Technical Assistance: This component will finance long- and short-term participant training in the U.S. It appears that efforts are being made to recruit women for this program; such efforts should be supported and continued.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

It is clear that TIPAN project staff are making major efforts to incorporate women into the project. Many of the following important actions are already under active consideration and need to continue to be emphasized and closely monitored throughout the life of the project.

1. Begin construction of female dormitories as soon as possible so that efforts to recruit female students and faculty can continue.
2. Support the creation and staffing of the Rural Social Sciences faculty in order to emphasize research on women's roles in the farming systems of the NWFP and Pakistan. Such research is critical for the development of a well rounded curriculum and for effective outreach programs.
3. Emphasize the importance of information about women in agriculture as part of outreach programs.
4. Actively recruit women as members of outreach cadres and as participants in continuing education programs.
5. Support the efforts being made to recruit women as participant trainees.
6. Review the detailed "Program for Women", Chapter 5 of the background document for project design which discusses a variety of ways in which women's concerns should be addressed in the TIPAN project.

NOTE: The possibility of using distance learning methodology in TIPAN's outreach component is mentioned in the background project design document, and the development of mass media programs and audio-visual aids are discussed in the project paper. The ICRW Team had the opportunity of visiting the Allama Iqbal Open University in Islamabad and we suggest that the TIPAN outreach program might benefit from the Open University's experience with distance learning. UNICEF is currently using material developed by Allama Iqbal for

child welfare outreach programs, and we understand that special programs can be commissioned in a variety of areas including agriculture

MANAGEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY

(MART - 381-0489)

The MART Project consists of five components: research management and administration; information transfer; training for the agricultural research network; arid zone research; and wheat and maize coordinated programs. It is through the training component that the project has the most potential for a direct and positive impact on women.

The training component includes, among other activities, training of the National Agriculture Research Center (NARC) and Provincial training facility staff, development of tailored in-country training courses, and overseas participant training. Since women in Pakistan play significant roles in agricultural research, especially laboratory work, they can potentially benefit from each of these activities.

A visit to the NARC revealed that a fairly good proportion of NARC staff are women (about 25 percent). It appears that a definite effort has been made to recruit female staff; hopefully, such efforts will continue. Additionally, female staff should be involved in organizing courses at the NARC Training Institute and should themselves receive training.

Recipients of NARC training are currently nominated at the provincial level. Women are included, but they constitute only two or three percent of recipients. It is unclear whether this is due to a lack of female agricultural researchers in the provinces or, more likely, the tendency of provincial officials to nominate male staff as candidates for training. Dr. Hankins of USAID has suggested the possibility of holding a conference of women agricultural researchers at the NARC Training Institute as a way to provide practical and moral support for women researchers, and to determine how many women are involved in research at the provincial level. Alternatively a quota system could be used requiring that, for example, one out of every four nominees be female. It is, of course, preferable to avoid

quota systems, but USAID experience in several projects has shown that, in the Pakistani context, they may be the only method of inducing the GOP to actively include women in training programs.

Finally, the participant training component of the project should also provide substantial opportunities for training women researchers abroad. Again USAID may have to take a firm stance regarding the need to actively recruit women under this component.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Women are fairly well involved in the MART project, however, their participation could be significantly improved by:

1. Continuing and expanding efforts to recruit female professional staff for NARC.

2. Hiring female staff for NARC's Training Institute and including them in the project's training for trainers.

3. Insisting that more female researchers at the provincial level be nominated for NARC training courses--either by specifying female researchers who may be identified through a conference of women agricultural researchers or by instituting a quota system.

4. Ensuring that substantial numbers of women participate in the overseas training component. Again, a quota system (formal or informal) may be necessary.

Another important feature of the project, in terms of potential impact on women, is the Rural Distribution component. Under this component the project will eventually fund approximately 184,000 residential connections and 4,500 community connections (in addition to commercial, industrial, and tubewell connections). These connections will undoubtedly benefit women both directly and indirectly. The project's impact on women, however, could be greatly improved by complementing the rural distribution component with a program of village and community level efforts to introduce technologies that save time and improve productivity in agricultural, livestock, and household production. That is, the electrification of villages could be complemented by a number of small projects designed to introduce and provide training in the use of food storage facilities, rice hullers, grain grinders, egg incubation boxes, household water pumps, blowers for winnowing, etc. The use of all of these technologies is made possible by the introduction of electricity and all would result in increased time saving and productivity for rural women who are majorly responsible for livestock care, poultry, production of dairy products, and post-harvest processing of grains. (See also the discussion of the Irrigation Systems Management and On-Farm Water Management Projects).

There are innumerable additional uses of electricity, of course. The point is that the project's direct benefits for women could be greatly expanded by taking the project one step beyond provision of electricity to provision of appropriate electrically powered technologies. The addition of a program of community-level projects need not involve additional USDH staff for the project since these are substantial numbers of PVOs, university-based outreach groups, and private sector firms that could be contracted to carry out such projects. A mechanism for supervising these contractors is discussed under "implementation options" in the final section of this report.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Rural Electrification project has a great deal of potential to positively impact on women, much of which is already being realized through the project manager's efforts to involve women in training and technical assistance activities. We suggest that USAID:

1. Support continued efforts to involve women in training under the project.

2. Consider adding a component for community-level introduction of appropriate technologies for women, and training in the use of such technologies. An illustrative list of these items is included in the text above. It appears that local PVOs, university-based outreach groups and private sector firms working in these areas could be readily identified.

ENERGY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

(391-0478)

Women have a stake in efficient and reliable fuel sources for household uses (cooking, heating, lighting) since they spend considerable time and caloric energy procuring firewood or dung patties for these purposes. The energy conservation and reusable energy components of this project are ultimately aimed at women. Feasibility and market studies will be developed to test the acceptability of small hydro, solar and bionass technologies for household and/or community use. Coal briquettes of different quality, smoke levels and prices will be introduced, and efficient wood and coal burning stove will be made available to women. The testing of these products will most likely take place in the areas where Afghan refugees have settled in NWFP. A coal-burning stove developed by the Indian Central Fuel Research Unit has been selected for trials in Pakistan under this project.

Although the activities under this project aimed at women will probably not created any direct income-generating opportunities for them, they are important for increasing women's productivity in other areas, by virtue of the time savings they will accrue from not having to collect firewood and make dung patties and through more efficient cooking methods. The project team should be careful that the coal and wood burning stoves they select are well suited to the cooking practices of women. Several people, including one working in the refugee camps near Peshawar, told us that if women cannot easily see the flame while cooking they will either tear off the front and back dampers of the stoves, thereby reducing their energy efficiency, or reject them altogether. FAO is experimenting with fuel efficient wood burning stoves attached to smokestacks in NWFP. The I.L.O. has been utilizing the appropriate technology designs of a group called Aprotech Asia (4th Floor, Yakuo Bldg., Dasmarinas St., Binondo, Manila, Philippines - Telex 40131 YUTIVO PM) in other Asian countries with a particular view to encouraging culturally-sensitive stove design, and the GOP Women's Division has been looking into the possibility of introducing briquettes made out of sugarcane bagasse. The idea

is that it is probably easier to rethink the design of a stove than to change the cooking habits of hundreds of women.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. The time-saving and energy-efficient technologies introduced under this project should offer a range of options to its ultimate users, so that they may be adapted to current practices and preferences. We learned from the I.L.O. staff in Islamabad that Andrea Singh, a well known Indian-American anthropologist, has recently published a book on appropriate food processing and cooking technologies for the South Asian Sub-continent. Although we were unable to obtain a copy, we understand it is available through the I.L.O.

2. Earlier, the recommendation was made that field activities under this project could be integrated with those planned under the Forestry Planning and Development (FP and D) project which will be aimed at women. If the same populations were served by the complementary activities of both projects, women's time savings under the EP and D project could be productively tapped by the income-generating activities of the FP and D project. Moreover, some of the income derived under the latter could be used to defray some of costs of new fuels under the former. Please see the section on recommendations of the FP and D project for a more extensive discussion of this point.

DEVELOPMENT SUPPORT TRAINING (391-0474)

The Development Support Training project is designed to upgrade the managerial and technical expertise of Pakistanis in the public and private sectors who are involved in the planning, development, and implementation of Pakistan's priority social and economic development programs. The project consists of two components, in-country training and overseas training, with a main focus on the in-country training.

Both project components have great potential for reaching women and it is clear that the project's managers are actively exploiting this potential.

In-country, the project has already financed a CEDPA (Center for Development and Population Activities) management training course for women working in the population sector, held in Karachi in September/October 1985.

Management training for the Pakistan Business, Professional, and Agricultural Women's Association is also likely to be funded under the project.

Through its overseas training component the project will be funding short-term training and long-term degree programs in the U.S. for some forty female candidates. These women were selected by USAID and EAD from amongst applicants who had been recruited through an advertisement placed in national papers directly by USAID. This active pursuit by USAID of a focus on women is commendable and is illustrative of the degree of freedom USAID may have to focus on women once it is made clear to the GOP that promoting women's participation in projects is an AID priority.

The project's design allows for a great deal of flexibility in determining the training and other activities that can be funded through the project. Discussions with the project officer indicate that the project might be used to fund, for example, training and upgrading of local PVOs, and

possibly the provision of credit funds to be administered by these PVOs or other private sector groups.

If USAID decides to implement some of the recommendations in this report regarding community-level projects, the DST project could be a source of funding and expertise for related training activities and/or upgrading of PVOs or other groups chosen to implement community-level projects for women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

USAID should support continued efforts to train women under this project and possibly consider using the DST project to help implement some of the recommendations suggested in this report for other USAID projects.