

GENDER

AND

FOOD AID

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ACRONYMS

ABS	Annual Budget Submission
ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AERs	Annual Estimates of Requirements
A.I.D.	Agency for International Development
CARE	Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere
CDIE	Center for Development Information and Evaluation
CDSS	Country Development Strategy Statement
CFA	Committee on Food Aid
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CSR	Commodity Status Report
DCC	Development Coordinating Committee
FAM	Food Aid Management
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FEWS	Famine Early Warning System
FFW	Food for Work
FNA	Food Needs Assessment
FVA	Food and Voluntary Assistance
FY	Fiscal Year
GIF	Gender Information Framework
GNP	Gross National Product
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
ILO	International Labour Organization
INCAP	Nutrition Institute of Central America and Panama
MCH	Maternal and Child Health
MT	Metric Ton
MYOP	Multi-Year Operational Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PA	Planning Assistance
PPC	Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination
PVO	Private and Voluntary Organization
RD	Bureau for Research and Development
ROCAP	Regional Office for Central America and Panama
RSR	Recipient Status Report
SF	School Feeding
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
WFP	World Food Program
WID	Women in Development

FOREWORD

In most of the developing world today, women are responsible for a significant percentage of total food production. They are among the majority of recipients of some food assistance programming (Title II - MCH, Food for Work). Women fare less well, however, in terms of being included in the planning and management of the distribution process. The dynamics of household resource allocation indicate that, in many cases, the transfer of food aid will have different impacts depending upon who receives it. Based on our knowledge about women's participation in agriculture production, and other aspects of the overall development process, women may in fact face special constraints which, if not addressed, limit the overall impact of food assistance programs. There is, however, a lack of carefully documented evidence on these issues.

Given the magnitude and significance of the food assistance program and the frequency of questions about the linkages between food assistance programming and gender considerations, PPC/WID believed it needed to more fully assess the participation of women as agents and beneficiaries in A.I.D.'s food programs. A joint review conducted by FVA and PPC/WID was therefore undertaken to examine gender-related issues in food assistance that would give A.I.D. the requisite information base to determine opportunities or constraints to women's participation in food programs.

It is hoped that this document will serve as a first step toward enhancing the effectiveness of the food resource by ensuring that women's contribution to and benefits from the program are recognized and considered in the programming of this valuable resource.

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Office of Women in Development

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The views and interpretations expressed in this report are those of the authors and should not be attributed to the Agency for International Development.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Why Was This Report Undertaken?

The Bureau for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance (FVA) and the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, Office of Women in Development (PPC/WID) at the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) have collaborated in producing this report for several reasons:

- 1) Food assistance--both "program" food aid and project food aid--constitutes a significant portion of foreign assistance, yet gender considerations have been given scant attention in connection with food aid.
- 2) While there are many ways in which the issues of gender in food-assisted programming and projects are the same as gender issues in dollar-funded assistance, there are some distinctions that require attention.
- 3) In late 1990, the law governing food aid--commonly known as Public Law 480 (PL-480)--was altered in important ways as part of the new Farm Bill. Some of the changes will influence the opportunities for incorporating gender considerations in food assistance.

How Was This Report Compiled?

The report was prepared and written between July 1990 and May 1991, just at the time that the new Farm Bill was being discussed and passed in Congress, ushering in new approaches to food aid and new opportunities for incorporating gender considerations.

The authors followed the legislative debate closely. They reviewed the legislation which emerged and the Congressional report language which points out the differences between proposed Senate and House versions of the many sections in the bill, as well as the conference committee's selection of one or the other or some compromise between the two. Legislative intent is also briefly noted in the conference report in connection with some of the sections of the Act which was ultimately ratified.

Since the literature on food aid and the literature on gender are essentially separate, with almost no sources linking the two, the authors relied primarily on interviews with knowledgeable persons (see Appendix A, persons interviewed)--in A.I.D., in private and voluntary organization (PVO) headquarters, at a university, at the Food Aid Management (FAM) program (funded by A.I.D.), at the Food Aid Coalition, and several independent consultants.

The authors, both independent food aid consultants themselves, have also drawn on their own experience and expertise.

Background

1. A.I.D. Policy on WID and Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act

Persons interviewed were not in agreement on whether A.I.D. policies concerning attention to gender issues applied to food-assisted development and emergency operations, as well as to dollar-funded activities. Some pointed out that the FAM program and the Strengthening Grants awarded to Cooperating Sponsors who administer food-assisted projects are dollar assistance and therefore unquestionably subject both to A.I.D. policy and to Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act, which refers to gender. However, no action appears to have been taken in the past even with regard to these two "exceptions" to the apparent exemption of food aid.

2. Conscious Efforts to Link Gender and Food Aid

Although gender concerns have indeed been raised in many contexts, by A.I.D. bureaus, by USAID Missions in the field, by PVOs and cooperatives, by host country governments, etc., with the exception of the World Food Program--WFP--(which receives support under Title II of PL-480), no organization that we know of has systematically made an effort to determine how gender issues relate to food aid.

3. Food Aid and Dollar Aid: Moving on Separate Tracks

In most PVOs, furthermore, food-assisted activities have until the recent past (and still do, within some) moved along "different tracks" from dollar-funded activities within the same organization. Dollar-funded programs were far more rigorously planned and expected to live up to higher standards. There are still "two-headed" organizations--some quite deliberately so--which view their food assistance activities as quite separate from their other programs. If gender is raised as a variable to consider in the latter, it is not likely to be raised in connection with the former, which is subject to less rigorous examination.

4. New Legislation, New Opportunities

The new Farm Bill has altered the food aid landscape considerably. While Title II (grant food aid, channeled through PVOs, cooperatives, the WFP and other multilaterals) remains very similar to prior legislation, the other Titles of the Act are substantially changed. (See the matrix which is incorporated in Section I, Introduction, for a summary of new provisions.)

The A.I.D. Administrator now has responsibility for grant programs, and the Secretary of Agriculture for commercial sales on concessional terms. Thus, although the several policy objectives of market development, foreign policy, relief, and development continue to underpin the legislation, there is now a clearer mandate for development objectives as the focus of food assistance programmed with implementing authority of A.I.D. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and A.I.D. are to "cooperate and consult" in implementing the Act, but USDA has implementing authority for Title I, and A.I.D. for Titles II, III, and Food for Progress.)

With this new emphasis on development, and with the language of "broad-based, equitable, and sustainable development" appearing repeatedly throughout the Act, there are new opportunities for exploring the relevance of gender, within policy dialogue, in the context of country agreements, USAID Mission proposals, PVO and cooperative plans, monetization proposals, etc.

Constraints to Including Gender-Relevant Considerations in Food Aid

1. Constraints in Common with Other Development

Residence, age, social status, type of agriculture practiced, and any number of other relevant variables are routinely examined in carefully considered development interventions. Why then is there such a reluctance to take gender seriously, when in most parts of the world the division of labor between the sexes is pronounced--and therefore relevant to project design, program configuration, and policy formulation?

It may be that the very importance of gender "comes too close to home"--its centrality is also the reason for the threatening aspect of gender considerations.

Paying attention to gender when the argument is made on the basis of equity, fairness, and justice has been less successful than when the argument is based on efficiency and effectiveness: taking an important social difference into account when mapping out plans for development makes practical sense whether the resource used be food aid or funds.

2. Constraints Specific to Food-Assisted Development

The number of Food for Peace Officers in USAID Missions has been curtailed in recent years; the new Farm Bill calls for efforts to restore these positions. When there is no such position, the responsibilities of handling food aid fall to someone with a portfolio of other duties. As a result, there is often not enough time or expertise to provide for insightful review, whether in connection with a policy dialogue with a host government or in the provision of support to and oversight of PVOs and cooperatives.

Although clarification over who is a "participant" and who is a "beneficiary" is needed often in development work, it is complicated somewhat further in food aid by the addition of the term "recipient." The confusion of who receives the food (a mother who carries food home on behalf of her malnourished child, the father who "helps" in consuming it, for example--are these recipients?), who benefits from it directly (by consuming it) or indirectly (by profiting from a structure built with food for work, for example) makes it especially difficult in project food aid to determine whether gender considerations are being appropriately incorporated in project design.

Resistance to additional data collection as unnecessarily burdensome is both widespread and understandable. It will be a challenge to find the most appropriate ways to ensure that gender is routinely and effectively taken into account in the policy, program, and project design process, without turning the effort into an exercise in meaningless, burdensome data collection and disaggregation of data by gender. Interested parties need to be cooperatively involved in ensuring the former and avoiding the latter. Education, persuasion, and training in gender sensitivity at all levels should constitute the centerpiece of new approaches, with reporting requirements reflecting genuine efforts to incorporate gender considerations in planning procedures when and where appropriate.

Opportunities for Encouraging/Ensuring the Inclusion of Gender-Relevant Considerations--Policy, Program, Project Levels

1. Program Food Aid

Title I (Trade and Development Assistance) of the new Act provides for concessional sales to countries with the potential for becoming markets for U.S. agricultural commodities. As such, it is for the Secretary of Agriculture to administer programs under this title, in consultation with the A.I.D. Administrator, who can convey to USDA the results of A.I.D.-supported gender analyses when these are relevant to negotiations with host country governments. When Title I commodities are sold and the local currencies are used in support of A.I.D.-funded projects, gender considerations are to be incorporated as in any other A.I.D.-supported projects.

Title III (Food for Development) of the new Act has been rewritten. Countries that formerly purchased food on concessional terms may now be eligible (according to income criteria and other social indicators) for food on a grant basis under this Title. Gender should be taken into account in USAID proposals for a country agreement, both in connection with direct distribution or in-country sales and use of local currencies thus generated. Ten percent of these currencies placed in special accounts can be used to support indigenous non-governmental organizations, offering yet another avenue to influence program and project design with respect to gender.

Food for Progress (supported partially from Title I and partially from Section 416, which provides for the disposal of surplus commodities) focuses on agricultural policy reform in the receiving countries (which now include the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe, as well as developing countries). The mechanism for accessing these resources is less complex than either Title I or III, and the emphasis is on policy reforms such as access to markets, agricultural pricing policies, timely availability of farm inputs, technical assistance, etc.), which have a "gender angle" in many cases, to be incorporated at the time of negotiating agreements.

2. Project Food Aid

Title II (Emergency and Private Assistance) is essentially unchanged from former legislation and provides for channeling commodities through multilateral organizations (such as the WFP, PVOs, and cooperatives acting as "Cooperating Sponsors." Commodities can be monetized or used in direct support of projects.

There are several key points at which gender considerations can be brought into the picture: at the planning stage (in the case of Cooperating Sponsors, their Multi-Year Operational Plans (MYOPs); in connection with ongoing programs, through Recipient Status Reports (RSRs) provided that there is some genuine clarification of what a "recipient" is), and in the context of Annual Progress Reports. USAID Missions and A.I.D./Washington can be provided with checklists as a means to suggest ways in which gender is likely to be relevant in certain types of food-assisted projects.

3. Both Program and Project Food Aid

There are several most-likely entry points for incorporating gender considerations:

- **Food Aid Management Plans:** each country using PL-480 commodities is to have one, although few have thus far prepared them; although primarily concerned with logistics, it would be possible to include social concerns in connection with the overall use of food aid in any particular country;
- **Country Development Strategy Statements (CDSSs):** these USAID Mission plans are already required to have both food aid and Women in Development (WID) statements; missions may require help in relating the two and making the statements go beyond single-paragraph expressions of good intent;
- **data bases:** several are currently being revised; it might be possible to ensure the inclusion of gender among variables "on the screen," but this would have to be done in conjunction with other measures concerning desirable and feasible data collection and disaggregation by gender; and
- **training:**
 - food aid issues should be included in gender-relevance training (using the GIF--Gender Information Framework--expanded to provide for exercises specific to food aid);
 - gender issues should be included in food aid training;
 - training modules that incorporate both should be developed (see one example in Appendix C);
 - opportunities for collaboration with the WFP and with the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Sussex already exist (so that training approaches need not begin from zero);
 - training should be conducted for a variety of persons and in the context of several types of agencies and institutions:
 - in developing countries:
 - for management and operating staff of PVOs and cooperatives

-
- for staff in USAID Missions
 - for host country nationals who work in PVOs and cooperatives, in USAID Missions, in government ministries, and in indigenous non-governmental organizations;
 - in headquarters:
 - for staff at PVOs and cooperatives and
 - for staff in A.I.D./Washington: regional bureaus, Food for Peace, WID, etc.

Next Best Steps

In light of the observations briefly outlined above, what are the next best steps for A.I.D. to take?

- 1) It will not be possible to know whether progress has been made over time with respect to incorporating gender appropriately unless some consensus can be reached concerning terminology, which in turn can lead to agreement on feasible and meaningful data collection and inclusion. The emphasis should be on making sure that gender is considered when and where it will make a difference (policies, programs, projects) and not on data collection for its own sake. Data collection should be seen (in this and other matters) as a way of verifying whether we have achieved what we set out to do.
- 2) Guidance is currently being written in connection with the new legislation. As noted above, each of the major titles in the Act offers opportunities for gender considerations to be incorporated, and the guidance should reflect the same.
- 3) Who should be trained in what is indicated above? Training modules for various "stakeholders" should be developed and implemented at the same time the guidance is being drafted.
- 4) Checklists (for optional use), which could supplement the GIF, should be developed for use in review procedures, indicating ways in which gender may be relevant in the context of a CDSS, MYOP, RSR, Annual Progress Report, USAID proposal for a new Title III agreement, country agreement for concessional sales, or policy dialogue concerning agriculture.

I. INTRODUCTION

The basic legislation governing food aid, Public Law 480 (PL-480), was passed in 1954, and sales of food on credit terms date back to the 1930s. There are presently a variety of food aid programs authorized by the legislation--concessional sales, food donations, bilateral grants--and a variety of ways in which the food, or currencies generated from the sale of the food, can be used.

Gender analysis in food aid programming is currently very limited. There is a general perception among many program managers that since women are frequently recipients of food resources, the impact on women must be positive. For example, women and children are among the first to suffer when food supplies diminish in a country; thus, program food aid which helps to maintain supplies in the face of foreign exchange shortages can be of particular assistance to women. Further, there may be more women than men among the recipients of project food aid commodities, although the particular project "mix"--the types and magnitude of each--in a given country will influence the ratio of male to female recipients: male children usually predominate in school feeding projects. Children in Maternal and Child Health (MCH) projects are of both genders; however, whether mothers are provided rations separate from those intended for their children will determine the gender ratio in MCH projects. Urban Food for Work (FFW) workers are often predominantly female; more male workers are found in rural programs.

Congress recently passed reauthorization legislation for food aid as part of the 1990 Farm Bill. The new law, referred to as the Agricultural Development and Trade Act, is a complete overhaul of previous legislation. Congress has restructured the program and expressed its intention that the changes will ensure that food aid works effectively into the next century. A number of changes significantly strengthen the capacity of the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to assure that gender considerations in connection with food aid are addressed. These provisions include clear lines of authority to the A.I.D. Administrator in managing the food aid donations programs and Food for Development (bilateral food grants), Titles II and III of the legislation, respectively.

Also important is the provision that "To the maximum extent practicable, assistance for a foreign country under this Act shall be coordinated and integrated with United States development assistance objectives and programs for that country and with the overall development strategy of that country (Section 413)." Since the objectives of United States (U.S.) development programs include attention to gender in the design and implementation of programs, it is a particularly appropriate time to identify the gender considerations in food aid, past experience in integrating them into programs, and prospects for the future.

The balance of this section of the paper outlines the main provisions of the Titles of the food aid legislation and other program authorities in order to provide essential background for the review. Section II reviews food aid issues and their gender relevance. Section III describes program food aid, and Section IV discusses project food aid which is administered by Private and Voluntary Organizations (PVOs), cooperatives, and multilateral organizations such as the World Food Program (WFP). Section V reviews the constraints to introducing gender considerations into food aid programming, and suggests steps which can be taken to overcome them.

THE 1990 DEVELOPMENT AND TRADE ACT

Agricultural commodities and local currencies accruing under the Act are to promote the foreign policy of the United States by enhancing the food security of the developing world. The resources are to be used to:

- combat world hunger and malnutrition and their causes;
- promote broad-based equitable and sustainable development, including agricultural development;
- expand international trade;
- develop and expand export markets for United States agricultural commodities; and
- foster and encourage the development of private enterprise and democratic participation in developing countries (Section (Sec) 2).

The Act refers to the finding of the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences that food aid from all donors will have to double above 1990 levels of approximately 10,000,000 metric tons (MT) to meet the global needs of the decade of the nineties. Thus, the Congress directs that the President should both increase the food aid levels of the United States and encourage other donors to take similar steps. In addition, the President is to encourage other advanced nations to make increased food aid contributions to combat world hunger and malnutrition through both food and agricultural assistance programs.

The different titles of the Act and related program authorities will make differing contributions in support of the policy described above. The following matrix outlines the principal features of the new food aid legislation and possible entry points for addressing gender considerations. Title III in the new legislation is completely different from the old Title III, although the name of the Title, "Food for Development," remains the same.

PROVISIONS OF THE 1990 FARM BILL

<u>Title</u>	<u>Implementing Authority</u>	<u>Eligible Countries</u>	<u>Terms</u>	<u>Uses</u>	<u>Possible Entry Points, Gender-Related Considerations</u>
I. Trade and Development Assistance (Concessional sales)	Secretary of Agriculture (USDA)	Foreign exchange... developing countries having difficulty meeting food needs through commercial channels. (Priority to those with greatest food needs, undertaking economic development measures, & having demonstrated potential to become commercial markets for US agricultural commodities.)	Concessional rate of interest determined by USDA. Payments in \$, in currency convertible to \$, or in local currency (LC) for uses agreed to by USDA. Payments over 10-30 years; 7 year grace period.	Trade development; agricultural development; agricultural business development loans; agricultural facilities loans; trade promotion; private sector agricultural trade development; research. LC may be used by A.I.D. for agricultural and other development programs.	A.L.D. & USDA must "cooperate & consult." Results of A.L.D. gender analysis can be conveyed to USDA and used in agreement negotiations. When Title I-generated local currencies are used to fund A.L.D.-supported projects, gender-relevant considerations apply as to any other A.I.D.-supported projects.
III. Food for Development (Bilateral grants)	Administrator of the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.)	Least developed countries: those meeting criteria of World Bank Civil Works Preference List (per capita GNP less than \$500; daily per capita calorie consumption under 2700; under 5 child mortality of 100 per 1000 live births), or experiencing specific food deficit problems. Priority to countries which demonstrate greatest need for food, capacity to use food effectively, commitment to policies to promote food security, & have a long-term plan for broad-based, equitable, sustainable development.	Commodities granted for use in direct feeding programs; to create emergency food reserves; or for in-country sale for LC.	Specific economic development purposes (Sec. 306 (s)); 10% of LC in special accounts to support indigenous NGOs & cooperatives.)	Agreements must demonstrate how commodities or LC generated from their sale will be "integrated into the country's overall development plan to improve food security, alleviate poverty, & promote broad-based equitable [emphasis added] & sustainable development" as well as how their use will be "coordinated with U.S. development assistance objectives." In both these ways, gender-relevant considerations can be brought into play. (See report here, Section V, for more detailed suggestions.)
Amendments Food for Progress (agricultural policy reform)	Administrator of A.I.D.	Developing countries and emerging democracies that have agreed to introduce or expand free enterprise elements.	Commodities granted to governments, to PVOs, nonprofit agricultural organizations or cooperatives. Assistance is additional to other planned assistance.	Support to agricultural policy reforms.	Less complex than Titles I or III agreements; emphasis on policy reforms (access to markets, pricing, timely availability of inputs, TA) which are not "gender neutral" & can be influenced during agreement negotiations.
II. Emergency & Private Assistance Programs (private)	Administrator of A.I.D.	Developing countries.	Address famine; provide emergency relief, combat malnutrition (especially children & mothers); undertake activities to alleviate causes of hunger, mortality & morbidity; promote economic & community development & sound environmental policies; direct feeding.	Emergency food through governments and public or private agencies; non-emergency food through PVOs, cooperatives, & inter-governmental agencies. Direct distribution, sales, barter, or other "appropriate" methods of disposition. Cash grants for PVOs and cooperatives to initiate and administer.	Multi Year Operational Plans and other PVO documentation; USAID mission Country Development Strategy Statement (See report, Sections IV and V for more detailed suggestions.)

II. GENDER AND THE ISSUES OF FOOD AID

The consideration of issues begins by discussing three which are specific to food aid, distinguishing it from other types of development assistance. (Many of the elements of gender analysis in development activities apply equally whether the activities are supported with food, currencies generated by the sale of food, or dollar assistance.)

The gender considerations relevant to food aid issues which are of current concern are also reviewed. These issues apply to food aid in general, but there are differences which arise depending upon whether commodities are used directly or whether they are sold and the resulting currencies are programmed for various purposes. In addition, intermediaries differ according to the types of food aid activities, e.g., government agencies as opposed to PVOs, which can result in differing impacts. (See Section III, Program Food Aid, and Section IV, Project Food Aid.)

A. What is Different About Food-Assisted Development Activities?

1. Women's Control Over Food

It is commonly assumed that women have more control over food than they do over cash and, as a result, food assistance is particularly valuable to them. However, there was little consensus on this subject among the individuals interviewed, suggesting the importance of considering this question in the context of planning specific programs. The following are illustrations of the range of perspectives on the issue.

"Men control family income. Women prefer food to cash."

"Food is not a better way to reach women. It's a way to involve women in the short term, but not necessarily to benefit them. Unless you make it possible for women to grow or buy their own food, food aid can further marginalize them--for example by cutting them off from other resources. In Bolivia, since Mothers' Clubs were receiving food aid, their need for cash resources was overlooked."

"It all depends on the context. In Bangladesh, the road maintenance workers are destitute women without husbands to take away a cash income, so they prefer cash. In contrast, the FFW workers in Guatemala are predominantly women, and they do have husbands present. Despite much talk of men's unemployment, most men won't give up their street corner business to dig trenches for three months, so most of the workers are women, and these women do prefer being paid in food which they can control."

"In most cultures, since women have control over food, food aid provides an avenue of direct access to women which might otherwise not be available."

The last respondent is not saying that because women control food, women prefer food to cash, but that food can provide a culturally acceptable way for outsiders to "reach" women in highly restrictive societies.

"Food becomes a way to get around the problems of limited access to women. Men are more jealous about their women in agricultural settings than in health environments; therefore, if food isn't part of the package in the former, men may be unwilling to permit access to their wives, which can jam up the transmission of knowledge."

2. Sustainability and Participation

A PVO interviewee described the issues of sustainability and participation:

"We've often fallen short in the area of sustainability concerning food-assisted programs. The sheer size of such programs--often nationwide or regionwide--has resulted in many believing that community-level participation is not possible, and thus attention to long-term sustainability has been minimal. Food-assisted programs in PVOs until recently rode along different approval tracks than did dollar-assisted programs. Programs were designed, Annual Estimates of Requirements (AERs) approved, commodities called forward, without their having to undergo the same scrutiny as other programs. That has changed drastically in some PVOs, but not all yet."

"Since sustainability is so closely linked with the question of participatory planning, management, and evaluation, the relevance of gender again becomes apparent. If projects are designed top-down, and host country ministries are male-dominated, and PVO project managers are mostly male, it is not surprising if women's interests and gender relevant concerns are often left out of food-assisted project design."

3. Do the Foreign Assistance Act, Section 113, and A.I.D. Policy on Gender Apply to PL-480?

Dollar assistance is regulated by the Foreign Assistance Act; PL-480 food assistance is regulated by the Farm Bill. To what extent is there a crossover? Since much of the interviewing for this paper occurred prior to the passage of the 1990 Farm Bill, the consensus of interviewees was that the Foreign Assistance Act had limited applicability to the food aid legislation. The final form of the Farm Bill appears to change this situation by making the A.I.D. Administrator responsible for implementing Titles II and III of the legislation and stating the intention that food resources should lend support to achievement of the objectives of the foreign assistance program.

Despite these changes, there are still likely to be differences of opinion concerning the extent to which the WID provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act apply to PL-480. We found differing views on how much latitude there is when turning legislation into regulations, and ultimately into guidance. One view was that "regulations can never be more demanding than the legislation," while another stated that "regulations are often more demanding than legislation, since they are an 'interpretation' of the legislation; the regulations may be overturned by Counsel if they go too far." Certain portions of PL-480 activities, such as Institutional Support Grants to PVOs (formerly Strengthening and Enhancement Grants), are funded with dollar support, and numerous respondents to our inquiries indicated their belief that activities undertaken with funding from these grants do fall under the Foreign Assistance Act, and therefore are subject to Section 113 concerning gender.

The broader issue of what are A.I.D. policies and who is subject to them elicited comments to the effect that "the red, white, and blue policy books are no longer in effect" and "missions disregard A.I.D. policy directives on many topics; it's not surprising if they ignore guidance on gender as well." At the USAID Mission level, the decision to incorporate WID issues in strategy papers is done with wide personal variation. WID strategies may be no more than a paragraph in a Country Development Strategy Statement (CDSS), or considerably more detailed. The same is true for food aid strategies. Are the two ever combined? Not that we could determine, but our suggestion that this be done in Guatemala, where there is both a full-fledged WID and food aid strategy already drawn up (and where the latter is currently being "wedded" to the mission nutrition strategy) was well-received.

At the USAID regional level, there is also wide latitude with regard to the attention paid to either WID or PL-480. In Central America, the Regional Office for Central America and Panama (ROCAP) has indicated that a WID-related goal (increased numbers of women participants) is to be incorporated in all ROCAP-funded projects. In what may be an unusual (possibly unique) "marriage" of PL-480 and WID requirements, the ROCAP plan for PL-480 encourages government food-aid implementing agencies in all projects, but especially in food for work and micro-enterprise, to include more women. As a result, INCAP (the Nutrition Institute of Central America and Panama) has already begun to hire more women in executive positions.

Despite the range of opinions, a broad consensus appears to be present:

- 1) In the preceding legislation, there were only a few specific "entry points," e.g., Institutional Support Grants and the Food Aid Management (FAM) Project, where Section 113 technically should apply to food assistance as well;
- 2) personal inclination is more important than the letter of the law in determining whether gender concerns are or are not incorporated in PL-480 decisions; and
- 3) since personal imprint is paramount, the A.I.D. Administrator could make it plain that regardless of the source, whether dollars, local currencies, or commodities, and whether grants or loans, all A.I.D. activities are subject to scrutiny with regard to gender considerations. The way is now open given the new language in the food aid legislation.

A respondent summarized the viewpoints: "Overall, there must be an A.I.D. commitment to WID; project food aid must be built into the dollar budget. We must make what we are trying to do with food aid be part of what we're trying to do in development, and use the resource as leverage."

B. Current Food Aid Issues

1. Distributive Justice vs. Development Resources

This issue applies to all forms of development assistance, but it is particularly relevant to food aid because of the emphasis placed on feeding the hungry and on poverty alleviation in the PL-480 legislation. Currently, emphasis is increasingly placed on achieving economic efficiency, on utilizing resources most effectively, on getting the "biggest bang for the buck" and less attention is paid (in some circles) to issues of equity and distributive justice. It could be argued that there is a counter-trend, with the World Bank's

relatively recent "rediscovery" of poverty issues, with increasing attention to safety net measures to cushion the inequitable effects of structural adjustment. Nevertheless, the movement within the WID community toward emphasizing the economic efficiency of paying attention to gender (just as one sensibly pays attention to other relevant social divisions that can help or hinder development interventions), rather than the "fairness" of measures to provide women equal opportunities is widely adopted when discussing food-assisted development as well.

2. Nutrition Transfer vs. Income Transfer

There is one school of thought which argues that because food has nutritive value, it must ipso facto be everywhere and always used as a vehicle for providing nutrition to its recipients. Since women--and often female children--generally have greater unmet nutritional needs than men and male children, the gender relevance of this position is clear. However, there is another school of thought which says that the income transfer value of PL-480 commodities is more important than the nutritional value. Needless to say, there is a third school of thought which blends the two and suggests that the context should determine which intended transfer value is paramount.

3. Welfare/Relief/Development

Many food-assisted programs and projects were begun as relief operations; it has sometimes been found difficult to move from emergency response to developmental uses of this resource. Some hold the viewpoint that "to do development with food, you must convert it to cash." Others continue to struggle to program food aid in support of long-term, sustainable development. Some have concluded that large-scale food-assisted programs are inherently non-participatory and therefore essentially non-sustainable; non-emergency use of food aid can continue to be justified only on the grounds that it provides a long-term safety net. Since women and children generally constitute the bulk of welfare recipients, this approach to food aid as primarily a welfare instrument has obvious gender relevance.

4. Appropriate Uses of Food Aid: Incentives, Enabling Factors, Compensation, etc.

Much has been written and said about the dependency-creating effects of food assistance. "When rations are withdrawn, women cease clinic attendance and health care suffers." "When rations are withdrawn, people won't weed their own gardens." "Food aid undermines traditional systems of voluntary community self-help." These allegations have an element of truth to support them. Clearly, there are detrimental uses of food aid and their negative effects can be seen across the globe.

That there are, however, supportive, non-dependency-creating developmental uses of food aid is a position taken by many in the "food aid community." Carefully programmed, judiciously used, food aid can have a stimulating, catalytic effect. If it is used as an "incentive," it should not be a bribe to persuade people to undertake an activity whose value they do not understand (planting windbreaks just to get the food, for example, or attending a clinic not for the health benefits but only for the ration). But when used as an incentive which serves as an enabling factor--as in the case of compensating women who must walk long distances to a clinic, wait long periods for service, and thus forego other potentially productive activities--its value takes on a different light.

Activities which have women as the principal participants are often considered to be more dependency creating than other types of food aid activities, for example, MCH programs as compared to food for work activities. However, creating dependency is a design issue and it can be avoided in MCH activities as readily as in other types of programs. The objectives of MCH programs--improving maternal health and

child survival--can be achieved in ways which do not require continuing support. For example, child weighing and nutrition education can be combined with savings and credit services for women's enterprises where food acts as a temporary means of reducing women's income constraints, as well as an incentive for participation.

5. Disincentives

The potential of food aid to create disincentives to local production is an issue which is under continuous discussion. In recent years, there was a tendency to dismiss the potential for disincentive effects because the amount of food aid provided is relatively small in terms of total production and consumption. However, as the recent analysis of the development impact of U.S. program food assistance pointed out, it is important to understand in-country commodity markets in making such a determination. Markets are often very thin and regionalized in countries where most production is for household consumption. A large portion of marketed crops is destined for urban markets. As program food aid is mainly sold in the same markets, it can have a greater impact on both price and market structure than the size of the program would suggest.

This factor can have differential effects on men and women. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa there is often a difference between crops grown by men and women. One set of crops is grown on household plots with the participation of all family members and women grow the same or different crops on independent plots. Women's independent production, which may be a minor component of overall production, is often intended for sale to purchase essential items which women are expected to provide to the household (e.g., condiments, matches, cooking utensils). Thus, the food aid commodities can have a negative effect on women if they affect prices and markets for this component of their production.

6. Commodity Choice

A variety of considerations enters into the choice of commodities used in a country program. USDA determines which commodities can be supplied as food aid and in what amounts. There is competition between country programs for allocation of preferred commodities such as rice or milk. Determination of which countries will receive the commodities is often made on the basis of commercial (market development) or political considerations. Limited attention is paid to the gender component of the issue. However, the specific commodity chosen can have disincentive effects on local production, with the gender relevance discussed above. In addition, the properties of the commodity can have effects on women's productivity and status.

The provision of bulgur wheat or rice can be very helpful to women because of a reduction or elimination of the need for processing and shortened cooking time which reduces fuel use. These features are both time-saving and income-saving (if fuel is purchased). Alternatively, commodities may be provided which are not adapted to local processing capabilities, they may increase cooking time (and fuel use), and they can be unacceptable to local tastes. This last property is a source of stress and loss of status to women when family members reject what they prepare or complain about meals.

7. Accountability

Accountability and audit procedures are currently a major issue, especially for Title II programs. This issue may have negative consequences for introducing gender considerations, since program sponsors are reluctant to innovate in a hostile audit environment. However, one respondent saw an opportunity for job creation for women. "No matter how much money we have, we'll be dealing more with accountability issues; much of that is port-to-warehouse-to-beneficiary, and that presents an opportunity to involve women in-country, training them to perform the many functions necessary to fully account for commodities."

8. Stakeholders

On the broader field of play, it is often noted that PL-480 has the advantage of a wide variety of supporters (from shipping and agricultural interests, to humanitarian and developmental professionals). However, this very mix of stakeholders can also be seen as a disadvantage. As a respondent noted:

"there is such a long list of PL-480 interests and objectives, from trade promotion, to foreign policy, to humanitarian and developmental interests: food-assisted programs and projects are asked to serve so many masters, that gender is bound to be way down on the list of relevant concerns."

III. PROGRAM FOOD AID: CONCESSIONAL SALES AND BILATERAL FOOD GRANTS

Program food aid is a flexible assistance resource which is used to achieve a variety of development purposes. This section of the paper considers the provisions in the Act for Title I, Title III, and Food for Progress in relation to gender considerations. It is based on an analysis of the legislation and preliminary guidance, since the individuals interviewed had few suggestions on addressing gender concerns in program food aid.

N.B. We have not used the term "program food aid" here as do some PVOs--to refer to a cluster of food-assisted projects, or a single project that is national in scope (such as a "school feeding program"). Rather, we use the term here to refer to Titles I and III and Food for Progress. These were previously referred to as "government-to-government" programs, but under the 1990 legislation, they are no longer so confined.

A. Title I

Title I is now primarily intended to support concessional sales and trade development, and USDA is responsible for administering it. Commodities are provided on loan terms, for repayment within 30 years. The requirement for self-help measures which supported policy dialogue was eliminated from the legislation. However, the new agreements must include a statement indicating how the agricultural commodities (or currencies resulting from the sale of commodities)

"will be integrated into the overall development plans of the country to improve food security and agricultural development, alleviate poverty, and promote broad-based, equitable and sustainable agriculture" [Sec. 404(b) (2)].

A.I.D. and the USDA are directed to cooperate and consult in the implementation of Title I. The results of gender analyses prepared by A.I.D. for countries receiving Title I commodities can be communicated to USDA in these consultations, and used in the negotiations for an agreement.

The legislation provides that the Secretary of Agriculture can decide to accept payment of the loans in local currency. The currencies can be used for a variety of purposes including agricultural development projects in the country concerned. U.S. government agencies other than USDA that wish to use the currencies must reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation (a division of USDA which manages commodities) from their budgets. However, Congress stipulated in the report language of the bill that A.I.D. use of the currencies for agricultural and other development activities was to be exempted from this provision.

Under previous operational procedures for Title I, local currency funds resulting from the sale of Title I commodities were sometimes programmed to fund agricultural and rural development activities which A.I.D. was also supporting from its dollar budget. Agreement was reached with the host government on use of the funds during the policy dialogue and uses were sometimes formalized in the agreed self-help measures. These currencies were a significant source of funding for agriculture and rural development activities in some countries.

A.I.D. will now have to consult with USDA concerning the decision to accept payment in local currencies rather than in dollars, and on the allocation of the funds to support A.I.D. projects. The local currency is most likely to be used to support activities which will also receive technical assistance funding, and gender analysis would be carried out as part of the project preparation process.

B. Title III

Title III has become a highly flexible means of supporting the development of the lowest income countries, and those with significant food security problems. The new Act gives A.I.D. responsibility for implementing Title III, so there is also increased authority to address development considerations, including gender, than there was under previous procedures. All Title III commodities were formerly provided on loan terms and the commodities were sold. The country's long-term debt to repay the U.S. was forgiven if currencies resulting from the sales were used for agreed purposes. The preparation and implementation of programs was highly complex, and only a few countries made use of Title III. The following sections provide an overview of the ways the resources can be used, and the programming process for commodities with identification of the entry points for gender considerations.

1. Overview of the New Provisions in Title III

Title III now provides for grants of food without the cumbersome process of forgiving long-term debt. The food granted can be used in several ways:

- It can be used for direct feeding programs. The law specifically mentions mother and child feeding programs related to the Child Survival Fund in the Foreign Assistance Act.
- The food can be used to create emergency reserves.
- The commodities can be sold and the proceeds used for purposes specified in the Title. A number of different intermediaries can be involved in selling the commodities. The commodities can be transferred to the government for sale, the local USAID Mission can arrange for sale of the commodities, or A.I.D. can transfer the commodities directly to a private trade entity.

An individual country program can involve one or a combination of these uses.

When the commodities are sold, there are also several ways the currencies can be handled and used. The money is to be deposited in a separate account; however, the A.I.D. Administrator can decide not to require deposit in a separate account provided agreement is reached with the government for expenditure of an equivalent amount of currency for the uses specified in the Title. The ownership of the currencies will be with the government or with the U.S., depending upon the agreement reached. In either case, they are to be programmed jointly for the benefit of the country. When there is a special account, there is a requirement to use 10 percent of the funds, where practicable, to support the programs and/or the development of indigenous non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This resource provides an opportunity to support local NGOs which address WID concerns in their activities.

The legislation stipulates that these local currency proceeds are considered an integral part of the overall development strategy of A.I.D. in the country. Accordingly, as A.I.D. has implementation authority for Title III, there is both an enhanced opportunity to incorporate gender analysis in the preparation for activities, and a requirement to do so in line with the A.I.D. policy on WID. The following sections discuss the programming process for Title III and possible entry points for gender considerations.

2. The Programming Process for Title III

The programming process for Title III activities begins with the preparation of a Title III Proposal by the local USAID Mission. Since the legislation now requires that agreements be signed by November 30 of each fiscal year (i.e., no later than two months after the fiscal year begins), the proposals have to be submitted to Washington in time for review and preparation of negotiating instructions to meet that timetable. FY 1992 proposals are to be in Washington no later than August 31, 1991, and the deadline for future years will most likely be earlier.

The legislation requires that agreements for Title III programs be on a multi-year basis unless a specific waiver is sought for a single-year agreement. As a result, once programs are in process, proposals will only have to be prepared every few years. In any one year, a major part of the budget will be allocated for on-going activities, and there will be a limited number of Title III Proposals to review.

In cases where the commodities are sold, which is expected to account for a large percentage of the programs, proposals must stipulate how the resulting currencies will be used and controlled. A.I.D.'s responsibility for control of the funds and accountability will be greatly increased in cases where special accounts are required. The proposal must also justify the reasons for choosing specific commodities and provide evidence that they will not have a negative effect on the local market for the same or similar commodities. As discussed in the preceding section, commodity choice can have differential impacts on men and women, and this factor needs to be considered when a disincentive analysis is prepared.

Each proposal must describe how the commodities requested or the local currency sales will be integrated into the overall development plans of the country to improve food security, alleviate poverty, and promote broad-based, equitable and sustainable agriculture. In addition, they are to describe how they will be coordinated with U.S. development strategy in the country. Special emphasis is to be placed on funds devoted to activities that will increase the nutritional impact of the Title III program and improve the design and implementation of child survival projects. Another priority emphasis is placed on facilitating the use of private channels in agricultural systems.

It is during the process of preparing these elements of the proposal that gender analysis should be performed. Broad-based and equitable development requires that attention be paid to women's roles and access to services to increase their productivity. Coordination with the U.S. development strategy implies coordination with the WID strategy. The design and implementation of child survival projects will require attention to gender roles in child care, and certain of the interventions must involve women. Private trade channels may include women traders as well as men, and the intermediaries chosen can support both, or may marginalize one or the other.

The methodology in the GIF is a useful tool in preparing the gender analysis. In particular, the matrix for preparation of a CDSS specifies the data needed to quantify gender differences in productivity, incomes, hunger, health and nutrition which are all relevant to addressing the objectives of Title III (see "The Gender Information Framework: Gender Considerations in Design," by Virginia M. Caye and Alfred Rollins). The extent to which a Title III proposal responds to the findings of the gender analysis should be an element to be considered in the review of proposals by A.I.D. in Washington.

3. Entry Points for Gender Considerations

There are three ways that gender considerations can be addressed in Title III country programs:

- directly in the policy dialogue held at the time agreements are negotiated;
- through the specific actions which the recipient government proposes to take to enhance agriculture and rural development and in the benchmarks which are established to measure progress; and
- in the project activities which are supported either with food or with currencies generated by the sale of food.

In most cases, A.I.D. will have the most opportunity to assure that gender is addressed in the process of preparing proposals and in the negotiation of Title III agreements. Thereafter, except in the cases where A.I.D. programs the resulting local currency, other organizations will be responsible for the management of programs. For this reason, sensitization training of individuals, including host country nationals who are involved in food aid programming, is most important. Their understanding of the value of gender analysis in identifying strategies for achievement of Title III objectives and knowledge of the methodologies to conduct such analyses will facilitate preparation of proposals.

Specific gender considerations will depend on the situation in the country concerned, and the projects which will be supported. The best way to assure that adequate attention is paid to these issues is to address them during the preparation of the CDSS by the USAID Mission.

C. Food for Progress

Food for Progress was established in 1985 to support countries which agreed to implement specific reforms in agricultural policies. The authority for continuing the program through FY 1995 was included in the new Farm Bill. Food for Progress is funded from the Title I budget and from Section 416(b). The latter authority is a section of the law which is specifically intended to reduce surpluses of U.S. commodities and to use them for humanitarian and development purposes. Most of the 416 commodities are allocated to cooperating sponsors and either distributed or sold and the cash used to support the types of food aid projects discussed in Section IV below. However, 75,000 MT annually of 416(b) commodities are set aside for use as Food for Progress. In addition, \$10 million of funds from the Title I budget are allocated for the program.

Previously, Food for Progress commodities were allocated to governments. The Farm Bill now also permits transfer to PVOs, cooperatives, and non-profit agricultural organizations to carry out programs. The other major change is that programs can now be approved for middle-income countries and emerging democracies, as well as low-income countries.

Food for Progress programs are intended to be less complicated to prepare and implement than Title I or Title III programs. For example, any currencies generated from the sale of the commodities are not to be controlled, put in special accounts, or jointly programmed. However, USAID Missions are required to prepare proposals which assess the agricultural policies to be supported, and the measurement of effective programs is to be in terms of their positive contributions to achieving agricultural policy reforms. Access to markets by farmers, market pricing to provide incentives for increased production, the timely availability of inputs to farmers, access to appropriate agricultural technologies, and the construction of facilities and distribution systems for perishable products are among the policies which can be supported.

These types of policies are not gender-neutral. There is considerable evidence accumulating that women farmers have special difficulties in responding to reforms such as pricing because of the priority they give to household food security.¹ This factor, as well as differences in labor availability, can result in women-headed households growing different crops and requiring different types of inputs than male-headed households. Facilities for the processing and distribution of perishable commodities may provide new opportunities for female employment, or they can remove a source of income by substituting for processing activities which are a source of income to women. In the emerging democracies, there are many issues of female as well as male employment associated with the choice of agricultural policies.

Although the preparation of Food for Progress proposals is intended to be streamlined, attention to gender should not be excluded. In this case, as in that of the other types of program food aid, it is most appropriate to include gender analysis at the stage of preparing the country strategy, and to determine how the various types of resources to be supplied, including commodities for sale or distribution, can be directed to the achievement of the strategy.

¹A useful review of experience and a listing of the types of assistance which are most helpful to women is contained in "Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers?" prepared by Rekha Mehra for the WID Office, September 1990.

IV. PROJECT FOOD AID

Project food aid is primarily funded from Title II and Section 416. However, the new provisions in Title III discussed above include direct distribution of commodities and the possibility of supporting the project activities of PVOs and cooperatives with local currencies from the sale of food commodities. There is also a provision in Title III that currencies be used to develop the NGOs. Accordingly, while the focus of the discussion which follows is on PVO programs, it is also applicable to Title III when the resources are used for project food aid purposes.

This section of the paper contains much more material than that on program food aid, partially because of the long experience in supporting a variety of activities with food resources. Many of the individuals interviewed also believed that project food aid offered the best opportunities to address gender considerations and directed most of their suggestions to this portion of food assistance activities.

We begin by reviewing the types of food aid projects, and PVO perceptions of the relevance of gender in their projects. The balance of this section discusses the programming process for Title II and various practical questions in introducing gender considerations in project food aid.

A. Food-Assisted Project Types

The traditional categories of PL-480 food-assisted projects set out in A.I.D. documents are MCH, FFW, and School Feeding. Recent discussion, however, has emphasized that these basic categories restrict innovative thinking on ways to use food aid, and they may be replaced by guidance to program food aid in support of achieving various development objectives such as child survival and infrastructure creation. Nonetheless, most PVO representatives, as well as A.I.D./Food for Peace officers with whom we spoke, continue to think in terms of the three basic categories. The following discussion covers the three types of projects and a fourth category, in which commodities are provided to groups rather than individuals.

1. Maternal and Child Health

Many of our respondents initially commented that virtually the only connection they could think of between PL-480 and gender issues (usually interpreted as WID issues) is in the arena of nutrition and MCH programs. However, the extent to which women benefit from these programs needs careful examination since the "M" in MCH activities varies all the way from absent to meaningful. The range includes: (a) mother's role may be restricted to transporting the infant or child to the ration distribution site, usually a clinic or health center; (b) a woman's eligibility to participate may depend on her link to a malnourished child enrolled in the program; (c) the woman may be viewed as the person who must be kept healthy in order to provide an appropriate gestation place for a fetus, or a steady supply of breast milk; or (d) she can be regarded as a person in her own right, less likely than male adults to receive nutrients appropriate to her body size and required/culturally expected energy expenditure (e.g., requiring extraordinary nutritional support not only during pregnancy and lactation, but also during "normal" hungry season planting time). This wide range of attitudes toward women and their appropriate place in a supplementary "MCH" feeding program can all be observed around the world.

One of the major criticisms of MCH supplementary feeding programs is the observation that targeting either the child or the woman is especially difficult. Take-home rations normally go into the family pot, to be shared by all family members. On-site feeding is not only inconvenient for the woman who must take her child and/or herself frequently to a feeding center, but it can also result in substitution rather than addition - that is, what she eats on-site takes the place of what she would have eaten at home instead of being in addition to normal food intake, thereby acting as income rather than nutrition transfer.

How to minimize family "leakage" is a continuing issue. Targeting rations to children by providing "baby food" that adult males would be embarrassed to eat is said to be effective in some cases. "Prescribing" food as "medicine" for the "sick" woman or child is another approach. Enlarging the rations so that even when shared, there is enough left over to have an effect on the targeted individuals (women and children) is another. Stressing nutrition education along with ration distribution, underscoring the need to give the food to the intended family members, is yet another. In Peru, PRISMA has found it worthwhile to schedule home visits to the families of malnourished school children; all family members in such households are then measured, which results in identifying other family members (siblings of the school-age child, female members of the household) who are also malnourished.

One continuing area of uncertainty and therefore controversy concerns efforts to encourage pregnant women to gain weight during pregnancy. Cultural attitudes in many places dictate that women fast, or at least not gain much weight, during the last trimester in order not to have "too big" a baby and thus a difficult and possibly complicated delivery. However, several studies have indicated that supplementing food for pregnant women can have positive outcomes. A strategy under consideration is to focus on intra-utero malnutrition rather than weight gain, and include iron supplements along with food.

The disappointing results of efforts to measure nutritional impact on either women or their children in such programs has led some to disparage MCH feeding entirely, others to be skeptical but attempting to "enhance" the programs so as to increase the likelihood of nutritional effect (short-term) or impact (long-term). McGuire and Popkin, in a recent World Bank Technical Paper (Helping Women Improve Nutrition [their own as well as that of their families and communities] in the Developing World), reviewed and summarized the findings of a number of studies of supplementary feeding programs, and concluded that:

"[t]he consistent finding...is that to persuade women to use health and nutrition services for themselves, services must be made as cost free as possible by making them convenient geographically, minimizing out-of-pocket and opportunity costs of using them, and making them harmonious with currently applicable beliefs and practices. In addition, women need the authority or permission to seek help for themselves" (page 33, World Bank Technical Paper No. 114).

An issue which has not received attention is the question of the gender of infant children attending clinics. There is ample evidence that parents in many cultures are more apt to take their male children for curative medical attention than their girl children. Can the same be said for preventive care as well? Does the inclusion of food supplements at a clinic have any effect on equalizing the propensity to take children for inoculations? If a closer look at the possibility of using rations for this purpose revealed such an approach to be effective, possibly a less-negative view of rations as incentives for clinic attendance might result.

A great deal of emphasis in WID training is placed on agriculture and micro-enterprises, while nutrition plays a minor role. The effort to "mainstream" women in the critical areas of development probably accounts for the downplaying of the "traditional" area of nutrition which so often views women only in their reproductive and caretaker roles. However, the emphasis on women's productive roles needs not be at the expense of their other roles, and the authors believe that ignoring women's own nutritional needs can only be to their detriment. A weakened woman expected to attend to productive activities in the "hungry season" cannot be at peak production. A woman weakened by maternal depletion syndrome--frequent pregnancies, punctuated by extended periods of lactation--cannot fulfill her productive roles efficiently any more than she can play her reproductive role with ease.

New approaches to food-aided activities can provide a means of addressing these issues in meaningful ways. For example, one respondent described MCH programs as "a platform from which to reach not only malnourished but all women. MCH programs are now divisive. Instead, they should concentrate on a whole village structure. We could encourage a handful of experiments like that."

2. Food for Work

Food for Work (FFW) is a mode of delivering food aid which requires a work response from the participants receiving the commodities. As a result, there is a wide variety of activities covered by this category. Food may be used to provide a wage for labor performed, a partial wage (usually supplemented with cash payment), or an "incentive" for community works. More broadly, it covers other types of food-assisted activities such as food for training, food banks and food funds, food as risk insurance, food to provide start-up capital for small enterprise, etc. In each case, the activity is FFW because the individuals receiving the food are expected to make a work contribution to achieving the expected objectives.

Several gender-related issues in this category are discussed below:

a. Piecework vs. Daily Rate (or Other Time Basis for Payment)

The dilemma: if people (men or women) are paid merely for showing up at the work site, then productivity is very low. On the other hand, if work is compensated by cubic meters of earth moved, for example, then women will (because they move less earth) be paid less than men for the same amount of time. Paying women at a more generous piece-rate than men raises its own set of problems. Separating workers into men's and women's gangs is one approach; giving men road-building and women road-maintenance tasks is another, ensuring that both are paid according to work accomplished, but also ensuring that women end up with rations as large as men's at the end of the day...or week, or month, or project duration.

One respondent believes that the issue is not time vs. piecework. The larger issue is productivity. Although women can move less earth than men in the same time, women often bring along their children as helpers and may actually move more in a day (woman and children together) than a man alone. WFP is debating the issue currently. If the choice is a daily rate, then the project requires good design, appropriate tools, and good supervision; an overall work norm is essential, as opposed to individual norms, and should be set within a given time frame--e.g., completion of "X" amount of work by the group by such and such a date.

Echols, a former CARE staff member who was instrumental in redesigning CARE's very large FFW program in Bangladesh, observed that even though the women's rate was supposed to have been ten additional shares per cubic foot of work, in practice much of the difference went into the pockets of members of the local committees. Women, lacking bargaining power, often received less than men. Rates were adjusted, based on a review of payment in 1,000 projects, and were related to distance of the work site from the road, load-and-lift criteria, etc. The analysis resulted in different rates for different types of projects (52-1/2 shares for road work and 57 for canal work, for example), but identical rates for men and women. The WFP and the Government of Bangladesh adopted similar rates. With flat rates, there was less chance of cheating and consequently higher take-home rations.

Echols eventually created a different program in which monetized Canadian wheat provides funds for a road maintenance project; 15 km. of road are maintained by a group of 15 women (who also assemble for nutrition education and other associated activities weekly). The program provides work to 60,000 destitute women. The approach is predominantly welfare-oriented, and does not attempt to produce "durable assets." Can women "create durable assets" under FFW programs? Assuredly so, and they do, alongside men,

in the road-building project--given proper design, tools, and supervision, the roads thus created need not wash away with the first rains.

b. Why Do Women Come Out for Food for Work?

Any number of project designs did not anticipate that a majority of workers would be female. Project managers repeatedly note that they were "surprised" by the gender ratio among those who turned out. Explanations include the fact that in some countries, women are so destitute that the FFW, however difficult, offers the only alternative to prostitution or begging; in Bolivia, though no one expected it, "99% of the workers turned out to be women--it was a matter of self-preservation."

Other explanations include the proximity of urban FFW projects to their home, women's greater interest in community works (drains, retaining walls, sidewalks over muddy areas, urban tree-planting, garbage disposal, etc.), whether the works are undertaken for health reasons (drains, garbage disposal, etc.) or aesthetics (shade trees), or social reasons (community centers, playing fields).

c. Equity, Breaking the Traditional Barriers

Although the emphasis throughout our investigation (and thus in this report) has been on economic efficiency of gender relevance and not on equity, the question of equity inevitably was raised by many of our respondents anyway. For example, one respondent underscored the need to "get the vocabulary of gender equity into the mouths of development workers, including some Americans; we need to help them understand what glass ceilings are, what real job discrimination is, what comparable pay for comparable work means. Deciding whether to pay in food or cash from monetized commodities has serious gender implications."

Another noted that it is better to provide a mix of commodities; if only two are provided, one must be in such a large quantity that some of it is sure to be sold. "Then the husband grabs it and keeps the proceeds." In Lima, the Adventist Development and Relief Agency's (ADRA) FFW activities are conducted in half-day shifts only, permitting women to do their normal selling the other half day. Others cited instances in which traditional work roles were altered because men took on jobs (under FFW) which were normally considered "women's work" -- because the men were un- or under-employed and needed the work badly enough to break the traditional role barrier.

More common, however, is the observation that it is women who sometimes break the traditional role barrier when FFW offers them an opportunity to perform work previously barred to them. It may often be heavy manual labor, but an FFW project can also offer training opportunities in technical and mechanical fields which would otherwise not be available to women.

On-site child care is an important, often-overlooked aspect of FFW and women. FFW work sites with associated creches can not only keep such children out of harm's way, but beyond "garaging" children during working hours, they can relieve women of the additional weight of babies borne on their backs. ("They're used to it, traditional practices sanction the baby on the back while women perform arduous tasks" is commonly heard. Countering that are those who say that "certainly that is true, but the additional weight on an already malnourished woman, expending additional energy in the performance of traditional and non-traditional tasks has nutritional implications that need to be addressed.") Children assembled in such a child-care arrangement can constitute the nucleus of additional "enhancement" activities (growth monitoring, child-to-child nutrition/ health/ sanitation/ hygiene education, etc.).

Another innovative approach suggested by one respondent was to start with a "community contract" (using PL-480 commodities as leverage) to jointly examine the reasons for food insecurity at the community level. Traditional roles provided for sufficient food for all at one time. What has changed? cash cropping,

food for export, tired soils, women farmers marginalized to poorer lands, competing economic interests (school fees, consumer goods), more children surviving infancy, etc.? In the course of such a dialogue, as problems in ensuring food security are identified and analyzed in groups and solutions suggested, there is a good possibility that important gender issues will of necessity arise and be dealt with. Control over resources (land, water, credit, inputs, etc.) essential to the one(s) who are expected to provide for family food intake (grown and/or purchased) would have to be reconsidered in the light of current roles which may be dysfunctional in terms of family food security. Community consensus on actions needed to alter the current role division--so that all might eat--could then emerge. Food commodities would serve as leverage, catalyst, and a process-initiating input.

d. Whose Assets Are Being Enhanced? Whose Interests Are Being Served?

In the context of FFW projects, these questions are asked, if at all, in terms of class, caste, or other social divisions. If the irrigation system created with FFW serves only the landholders (the laborers having only the life-of-project benefit of the work, the landowners having the long-term post-project benefit of the works that improved their land), is it a legitimate undertaking? If the school built with FFW serves only those living nearby, and further marginalizes those whose dwellings are more remote, should it be undertaken? If the road to market serves only those with something to sell, will its creation exacerbate class divisions?

Gender differences, however, also need to be taken into account. Do women prefer a fuelwood lot project to a fruit-trees-for-cash project? Is women's work likely to be increased rather than alleviated by works which make possible an enlarged area of cultivation--men's responsibilities focusing on the mechanized aspects, while women's remain labor-intensive (e.g., weeding)? This issue is generic to development and is not confined to food-assisted projects, but it tends to be bypassed especially often in the latter, possibly because of the "laxer" review process in connection with PL-480-supported programs.

Many evaluators of FFW projects are concerned with the possibility of "disincentive effects" at the project site level. If participants are engaged in the FFW project, they may neglect their own plots, or if food is forthcoming from an external source, they may feel less pressure to grow their usual amount of food. In at least one evaluation, however, the concern with disincentives gave way to a concern over burden-shifting. When FFW project participants were asked if they'd planted the same or less than last year, now that they were busy on the project, many said they'd not reduced the area under cultivation. This brought contentment to those whose interest was disincentives, but some measure of concern to those who knew that this surely meant burden-shifting. Indeed, probing questions resulted in responses, usually accompanied by a good deal of laughter, "my wife has to do my part of the work this year since I'm away working on the project."

3. School Feeding

Possibly the most controversial of all three major categories of food-assisted projects is school feeding (SF). Again, this is not the forum to air all of the controversies, but merely to point to some of them. If children's nutrition deteriorates over school vacations, is it worthwhile feeding them during the school year? If school enrollments are primarily among the relatively better off, are feeding programs not just further dividing the poor from the poorest of the poor? If nutritional objectives are paramount, should feeding not be targeted to the younger more vulnerable populations (particularly infants and those of weaning age) where supplements can have a greater impact? Should SF be used as a vehicle for community organization (mothers' or parents' committees being formed or strengthened in connection with SF programs)?

Should the emphasis be on educational rather than on nutritional objectives--the ration being used as an incentive to enroll, to attend regularly, to refrain from dropping out? If so, how substantial must the ration be to compensate the family for the child's attendance? If the only nutritional objective is recognized to be a temporary, short-lived one--alleviation (not long-term weight gain) to enhance attention span and thus

cognitive development and academic performance--is a preschool breakfast, a mid-morning snack, or a mid-day meal the best route to achieving this? If the on-site feeding is provided at breakfast, it may provide nutrition in addition to what the child would have had (s/he would have had no breakfast), whereas if it is provided at noon, it may not be additional but substitutional (if the child eats in school, the family does not provide a meal at home). The question of income vs. nutrition transfer is central to these issues, and the clarification of objectives in SF programs is at the core of the controversy.

There appear to be two primary gender-relevant issues associated with SF programs: the potential for using mothers' groups as a springboard for other activities (training in organizing skills, nuclei for small enterprise development, etc.); and the potential for using school meals programs as a means to enhance female enrollment, attendance, and retention rates. Observers have noted that even where a school roster indicates that approximately equal numbers of girl and boy children are enrolled, actual attendance is often more lopsided and far more boys are actually present. Since the Commodity Reference Guide dropped the requirement for fixed rations, there is no reason a PVO could not experiment with providing extra rations for girls who attend school regularly, as a means to equalize literacy rates between the genders.

4. "Comedores" (Communal Dining) & "Moms' Mini-Monetization" (Start-up Capital from Commodities)

One use of PL-480 commodities that does not quite "fit" any of the three major categories is the provision of food as the basis for take-home prepared meals in the pueblos juvenes ("new towns" or slums) of Lima. These have been classified under "other" and are currently increasing in number and volume as the economic crisis worsens in Peru. The food is not provided to individuals as rations, but to women's groups who prepare cooked meals using the donated commodities together with local foods. The meals are not provided free, but are sold at a price far below market value.

The comedores are women-run operations. CARE, instead of contracting through various government ministries, now contracts directly with the Association of Comedores. CARE provides technical assistance and credit in support of a range of comedores. The association has few resources, but credit is the best way to make it possible for money to make money. CARE matches dollar for dollar what the women sell. They sell the food--PL-480 mixed with some local produce--and put the proceeds in the bank in order to leverage loans, since the groups have no other collateral.

Similar, but essentially different, is the concept of providing commodities to a club or group, a coop or pre-coop, often of women only, who purchase the commodities at anywhere from 5% of market value to full market value, most often around 50% of market value. The proceeds constitute the basis for purchase of tools and equipment (or rabbit hutches, etc.) for income-generating activities. This is done in many instances by WFP-supported projects. U.S. PVOs are uncertain about the "auditability" of such projects, although some have been undertaken on an experimental basis. In some cases, the women are not considered to be "purchasing" the food, but, after free distribution, are expected to make a voluntary contribution to the Mothers' Club fund. Coblenz reports that 60% of WFP-supported rural women's pre-coops operating in this way in Guatemala are still operating six years from initiation and are now moving on to other activities including credit. There are efforts to use this approach to unblocking the legal barriers to provision of credit to rural women lacking collateral.

One respondent commented that these two uses of commodities are "a manager's nightmare, since audits make PVOs so vulnerable; PVOs certainly need some technical assistance on what can be done." However, others pointed out that comedores have been under way for years and no one has objected that the commodities are being "sold." It was recommended that if PVOs propose these types of programs, they should be approached not as a larger-than-usual beneficiaries' contribution, but as monetization with a waiver on the requirement that commodities be sold at market value.

The two approaches are viewed by the WFP as essentially quite distinct. WFP has recently agreed to support Peruvian comedores, but they are not yet in operation. Semi-emergency feeding, even if over an extended period, in communal kitchens is different from small enterprise development, which essentially requires a boost for start-up funds and initial operations until profits are turned and credit is established. The danger in some of the Mothers' Clubs, especially those in Bolivia (WFP support has now been terminated), is that they became "a creature of food aid; host governments put their monetary assistance into other activities" and the Mothers' Clubs ended up being marginalized by their dependence on food aid. It worked better in Guatemala where an economic activity was selected first, then women were selected to work on it, rather than the reverse.

The above paragraphs point up the difference of opinion raised in the issues section of our report: is food aid essentially useful as a safety net-- starting with emergency relief (barely controversial), perhaps encompassing rehabilitation phases (post-disaster), possibly useful for long-term welfare (not just widows, disabled, and orphans but extended economic emergencies whether due to structural adjustment or other factors, and even stretched to include chronic situations requiring extended support from outside as in school feeding). The pendulum swings by the year--sometimes by the month--on whether food aid is appropriately, and efficiently, useful for developmental purposes. Gender concerns weave their way in and out of these broader controversies and are as subject to personal biases as are the latter.

B. Some PVO Perceptions

At the start of interviews, we routinely opened with extremely general questions about respondents' views on the possible linkages between gender considerations and PL-480 (before more specific, probing questions were posed). The sometimes startled responses were significant.

Some replied that they could see no connection whatsoever. Others indicated that the only connection they could imagine was that "MCH constitutes a major part of our PL-480 portfolio" (or indeed of the PVO's entire program) and therefore, since "MCH" includes "M", women and food aid are "connected."

Other respondents seem to view women as synonymous with children: a common comment was "Most of our beneficiaries are women." How is that? "We have a lot of beneficiaries in MCH." This response was common even in agencies where criteria for a mother's eligibility for receiving her own--in addition to a child's--ration was entering the program along with her malnourished child. That is, such programs did not include pregnant and lactating women, let alone all women of child-bearing age. Women in these programs serve primarily to transport their children to the distribution site, and yet they are perceived as "our principal beneficiaries."

Others hastily pointed out that "even in food for work, at least half...or maybe a very large proportion...of participants are female." This type of comment is also heard often in the field, where a project manager will assert that fully 40% of workers are women, but a site visit reveals only a token woman or two present--similar to the 50/50 school enrollment that turns out to be more a fiction of the books than a reflection of actual attendance.

Despite our deliberate emphasis on referring to "gender-relevant issues" and not to "women in development," most respondents instantly began the discussion by talking about how their agency had rectified--or failed to rectify--gender inequalities, and talked about women's inclusion here and there. Almost none saw the question as related to, for example, paying attention to traditional role divisions when designing project objectives and interventions. Although the shift in emphasis from equity to economic efficiency is certainly expedient, there appears to be a widespread understanding that when one says "gender" one really means "women."

Although several PVO representatives stated that most of their programs serve primarily women, some of these same individuals--on reflection--then noted that merely "serving" women as ration recipients, or even as project participants, may not be the same as serving their interests. "PVOs may see women as our primary clientele, but we don't think long term. We see them merely as recipients of the food we take out of the warehouse and do not see how we can use food to make women's lives better in the long run." At ADRA, review committees may hear an objection to a project proposal from the Assistant Director of Training who is specifically charged with keeping a watchful eye on gender issues, but headquarters has only a technical advisory role and cannot say yea or nay to a proposal for which independent funding may be identified.

Two "outsiders" commented on PVOs' perceptions:

"PVOs tend to put food aid programs on a different track with laxer criteria than dollar-funded programs, for historic reasons. They should, however, apply the same principles as for other development programs."

"PVOs think 'we're already doing it [paying adequate attention to gender]. Because women show up in MCH programs, we've done our bit for WID. But serious development is passing them by. WID should be seriously integrated in all projects as it now is in Country Development Strategy Statements."

C. The Programming Process for Title II

There is a considerable difference between PL-480 and dollar assistance procedures (and accompanying documentation). The process for food-assisted programming undertaken by U.S. Cooperating Sponsors (PVOs or cooperatives) is discussed in this section as well as the relationship to broader procedures that also encompass dollar assistance.

1. The Annual Program Cycle

Considerable leadtime is involved in planning Title II programs. For Fiscal Year 1992 (starting October 1, 1991), an idea may be born in the field (or at PVO headquarters) in early 1990. It may or may not be discussed by the PVO field office with its own headquarters, with the community concerned, with the Host Country Government, and/or the USAID Mission Food for Peace Officer or others. It may be submitted first as a concept paper, or it may go to the USAID as a full-blown Multi-Year Operational Plan (MYOP). The format must fit with the PVO's own long-range planning process--e.g., CARE's Multi-Year Plan, Catholic Relief Services' (CRS) Strategic Planning Process, etc. The format for MYOPs is contained in A.I.D.'s Handbook 9 and cable guidance. (Handbook 9 is currently being revised and will soon be released with new MYOP formatting.)

MYOPs are not signed either by A.I.D. or host country governments. USAIDs can review but cannot commit out-year resources. Thus, the MYOP--the central document related to food aid--is only a planning document, the mission which approves it doing so only "conceptually in order to create pipeline programs." With all in-country PVO MYOPs in hand, the USAID Mission adds up requested metric tons and numbers of related beneficiaries or recipients; the totals are included in their red-covered Annual Budget Submission (ABS), which is sent to Washington for A.I.D. to review in the summer and fall of 1990.

The Food for Peace regional offices review the ABSs, making regional recommendations based on the size of rations times the number of beneficiaries, resulting in commodity and dollar totals. At the same time, the A.I.D. Regional Bureaus are also reviewing the ABSs from the USAID Missions.

The current reorganization of A.I.D. may affect this division of responsibilities. The interest in WID or food aid issues varies from Bureau to Bureau. The Asia Bureau is currently more concerned with broad policy initiatives than in the details of MYOPs from individual PVOs. The Africa Bureau is more interested in both gender and food aid issues. It was pointed out that

"Bureau control over food aid has increased dramatically, at least in the Africa Bureau, in recent years because of: (1) The End Hunger Presidential Initiative, focused on Africa, headed by the National Security Council. Issues of food security are addressed, and these go beyond food aid, which should be linked more closely with financial aid. The focus on Africa, where there is low political priority, high food need, yet declining Title II programming (due mainly to CRS reduction in programming)--therefore, the Bureau is seen to have a greater responsibility; and (2) The Development Fund for Africa. Congressional intent was very clear--we must use resources, including food aid, more efficiently in Africa. FVA has a narrower view: to program commodities, not to do development. It is better to integrate food aid into development, not vice versa."

After review of ABSs, A.I.D. creates the blue-covered Congressional budget presentation, which includes both narrative and statistics for PL-480 programs; this is submitted to Congress in December or January. At the same time, PVO Progress Reports are due for the preceding (in this case 1990) fiscal year which ended a few months earlier, September 30.

By April 15, final MYOPs (or annual updates thereof) are due in Washington, along with AERs. If an AER is less than 5% altered from the preceding year, it need not be approved by the Development Coordinating Committee (DCC), Subcommittee on Food Aid (now chaired by A.I.D.), but "it is important to get the number of intended recipients right" on the AER (Marcunas, FFP/Africa). [See below, terminology, regarding the lack of consistency in identifying "recipients".] Given the changes in the PL-480 legislation, presentation to the DCC may not be necessary in future. The A.I.D. budgets are then sent to the Office on Management and Budget, and then formally presented to the DCC for approval (again, this step may not be required). By October, the new fiscal year begins and the above-massaged MYOPs go into effect; calls forward for commodities approved in the accompanying AERs are made after that.

2. Entry Points for Addressing Gender Considerations

At present, there is no part of the review process for Title II activities which includes systematic attention to gender concerns. However, individual PVOs, individual USAID staff, and individual Washington-based A.I.D. staff may take a particular interest. There is also no clear guidance on how this programming process fits into a USAID Mission's production of its CDSS, nor how the obligatory WID and food aid strategies (often no more than a paragraph or remote annex) fit into the development of the CDSSs.

PL-480 projects and programs are not developed by the full USAID Mission staff, but by the Food for Peace Officer, the Health Officer, or the Agriculture Officer alone. Thus, many proposals do not get any management review concerning policy guidance. It is assumed that A.I.D./W will cable the USAID Mission if there is anything found to be contrary to A.I.D. policy. In fact, WID issues are not addressed at the Washington end of PL-480 any more or less than they are in the field, depending on personal inclination--not procedures. A mission, such as Bangladesh, may have a large PL-480 program and also a strong emphasis on WID. But the issue can easily be ignored. It is all a question of who "owns the program and the particular resource."

There are points in the programming process where review of gender considerations could be introduced: (a) in the initial concept papers and MYOPs; (b) during USAID Mission review of the PVO

documents; and (c) when the Mission ABS or CDSS is submitted to A.I.D./W. The next sections consider various practical questions involved in introducing gender considerations.

D. Carrots and Sticks

Should requirements to address gender considerations--whether in planning documents or reporting requirements, whether at the PVO level or within A.I.D. (USAID Missions, country documents, policy papers, or within and among entities in A.I.D./W)--be mandated or persuaded? Should carrots or sticks be used?

The responses to our inquiries were revealing. Any number of people ruefully commented "if it isn't mandatory, it won't get done" and then added "but if it's mandated, it'll be resented and sabotaged; education, training, and persuasion are the only way to go--maybe with a boost in the form of a policy directive from the top." Some related comments include:

"Put it in the regulations or it won't get done. Persuasion is too slow."

"It's got to be in the legislation. There are not enough carrots for a PVO to be willing to take on gender concerns with all else they've got to do. Education should have some effect, too". [Several respondents noted the same--that gender issues which had formerly been treated as a joke, in recent years have come to be taken more seriously.]

"You need to do both [carrot and stick] at the same time--affect the letter of the law via legislation and regulations, and the spirit of the law, or what some call 'corporate culture' through consciousness raising via training and education."

"Gender matters; the problem is finding the best vehicle for communicating the concern. There are too many committees that just tick off relevant issues superficially. Taking gender into account comes more naturally now than a few years ago--a new plateau of understanding has been reached. It began with obligatory consideration, but now it's part of many people's consciousness. Of course, if gender considerations are made obligatory, there could be a backlash. But that's just part of the dialectic--it's like public resistance to safety belts, required by law when education didn't work, initially resisted, increasingly accepted."

"A.I.D. can delay cash payments, but it can't delay food deliveries as a 'stick' to governments to comply with our policies. Food aid is a poor resource to use for leverage."

"If USAID Mission personnel are interested, they'll make sure changes are made. Persuade them to do so, don't clobber them. Individual mission directors can have tremendous impact. They meet yearly in the field by region for information-sharing, not for training, but these meetings could be used as a forum for gender issues. A.I.D. has done a great deal of damage to women by neglecting to focus on them specifically."

At the WFP, the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs [CFA, the governing body] requests data disaggregated by gender but does not require it. There are no sanctions for those who ignore the sectoral guidelines on gender. The guidelines, however, have been voluntarily adopted by some collaborating agencies such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and some country offices. The Project Cycle training [in which the WID Coordinator presents a unit on incorporating gender into planning] has had some effect, in combination with placement of several more progressive country-based staff. The training has been enthusiastically received and has resulted in some changes in project design—changes focussing mainly on institutional capacities to reach target groups, such as the need for appropriate extension services so that women farmers will be reached. Low institutional capacity is now more frequently identified as a bottleneck to good project outcome.

E. Terminology, Reporting Requirements, and Data Disaggregation by Gender

There is currently confusion with respect to terminology in food aid projects. This is directly related to problems centering on reporting requirements, and these in turn to the very critical issue of requirements to disaggregate data by gender.

1. Terminology

What is a beneficiary? direct beneficiary? indirect beneficiary? What is a recipient? a participant? Several of our PVO informants said they use these terms inter-changeably. Why does it matter? It matters in the context of this paper because any suggestion that might be made with respect to disaggregating data by gender would have to occur in reference to data that were meaningful. As they now exist, most such "counts" are, by nearly everyone's admission, utterly meaningless. PVOs wonder if their efforts to count recipients and record them in Recipient Status Reports (RSRs) are ever used: one PVO staffer noted that "we didn't send ours in [to A.I.D.] for two years; we felt if they didn't ask us for them, they didn't need them."

When pressed, even those who say "we make no such distinctions here" will say "I guess a recipient is one who takes the food, a participant is one who comes...or perhaps one who works, and a beneficiary gets the benefits." But when we begin to add wrinkles, the terms become bewildering. What if the intended eater of the food is the pregnant woman, but her family members also partake: are they direct, or indirect beneficiaries? If a mother carries her child to the clinic, thus "participating" in the sense that she's physically present, not to mention the fact that she's the one to carry the dry ration home, but it's only a child's ration that is distributed, is she or is she not a participant?

If the dam built by FFW "benefits" those who build it only in the short run (via the food wages they receive) but results in long-term benefits to those to whose land it provides irrigation waters, are they the direct or indirect beneficiaries? If a watershed management project affects those upstream in one way and those downstream in another way (possibly adversely!), who is direct and who is indirect beneficiary? When an FFW project "pays" in family rations, should non-workers be considered direct or indirect beneficiaries? or should the concept of "beneficiary" be reserved for project impact and not effects of the ration itself?

The FAM Project is currently standardizing accountability terminology among collaborating PVOs. It is conceivable that they could undertake a similar standardization process with regard to this issue of terminology, documentation, reporting, and...ultimately disaggregation. The forthcoming "User's Guide to Designing Food-aided Projects" presents a framework for considering these issues. In addition, Echols' paper "Critical Thinking in Food Programs," which she prepared for CARE in 1989, and Hamman's Sectoral Guidelines for the WFP offer the definitions.

Hamman pointed out that the distinction between ration recipient and beneficiary is crucial; we may be "reaching" the women with rations, but what are we reaching them with--are they really benefitting? She states simply that recipients get the ration, participants do the work, and beneficiaries benefit from the assets created. That's fairly clear with respect to FFW, but far less easy to define in MCH programs.

2. Reporting Requirements

Current requirements are not only burdensome, according to many, but, what is worse, meaningless according to nearly everyone! What if the participants in a food for work project differ every day in the week: are they to be counted as separate individuals--30 today plus 30 tomorrow and another 30 the next day? or as 30 persons--or 30 rations--on average, regardless of who comes. What if 30 "rations" are prepared, but they're divided among whoever shows up for work that day, since they simply go into a communal pot and serve not as take-home "wages" but as mid-day energy-replenishment (so workers can carry on for a full instead of a half day)--how many "persons" are to be counted as recipients or participants?

It was suggested that the only meaningful term we now have is "ration"--since an unduplicated count of distinct individuals is not now possible. Some PVOs will count 100,000 who appear at the clinic in the second half of the year to be in addition to the 100,000 who showed up in the first half and report 200,000 beneficiaries. Others report an average of 100,000, even though some drop out and others replace them. And others will attempt to show that although there is an average throughout the year of 100,000 persons served, more than that number of separate individuals came in for one or more rations, and thus report a number somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000! No Management Information System we know of can--or should--produce an unduplicated count of individuals, and so RSRs are really not recording persons but average number of rations distributed in a reporting period.

The RSRs (along with Commodity Status Reports--CSRs) are important, despite this shortcoming, in that they represent reality rather than the plans presented in MYOPs and AERs. The PVO collects information for the CSR and RSR and submits it to USAID quarterly, with copies to the PVO's headquarters. The USAID Mission should use it to measure the status of the programs and to adjust in order to plan for a smooth commodity pipeline. It should--could--have other implications for reviewing programs with PVOs, but it is seldom used in any meaningful way. Until the question of meaningful definitions, and thus reasonably uniform reporting, can be settled, then these forms remain mainly an underutilized and much-resented burden rather than a helpful monitoring and planning tool.

It might make sense to abolish the concept and category of "recipient" and replace it with "numbers of rations" anticipated (AERs) and distributed (RSRs). The categories would include:

- group rations (mid-day meals at FFW sites, or commodities provided in bulk to comedores or communal eating facilities)
- family rations that are intended to be shared
- infant rations
- child (school age) rations; snacks vs. meals
- adult female rations, possibly distinguishing between mother-of-a-malnourished child ration and pregnant or lactating woman ration, or "planting ration" for women during the hungry season when work is at its peak, etc.

3. Disaggregation of Data by Gender

This is easily one of the most critical--and controversial--issues raised. To be vehemently for or against the obligatory disaggregation of project data by gender seems to be totally uncorrelated with our respondents' apparent concern for women's well-being (sometimes passionately expressed by those on opposite sides of the disaggregation issue) or the less-controversial question of economic efficiency based on applied knowledge of gender considerations.

What is universally stated, however, is that data collection for the sake of filling in boxes, not to mention file drawers--data collection, disaggregation, etc. for its own sake--is not to be tolerated, either by donors or implementing agencies. This said--and agreed upon--what, then, can be said to be meaningful data collection and disaggregation?

Horner (formerly with CARE) underscored the importance of going beyond DATA COLLECTION to ensuring that gender considerations are built into OBJECTIVES that a PVO intends to achieve. If the project is expected to bring about certain changes, and gender differences are relevant--either at the input or the output stage, or both--then it will ipso facto be necessary to know where things stand at the start of the project and collect the data necessary to know where they stand at the end of the project in order to know, quite simply, whether those objectives have been met.

Simply requiring that numbers of males and females here and there be routinely collected would surely be seen as an unnecessary burden. However, requiring that attention be paid to gender in project design (at the MYOP review process) and again at the progress report phase would of necessity result in collection of data only where it is necessary to meet these requirements. An example is targeting female retention in school and regular attendance as an objective of an SF activity, and establishing the data collection systems necessary to measure achievement of the objective.

F. Female Staff: Do They Make a Difference?

This did not constitute one of the interview questions, but it came up frequently in the course of respondents' ruminations concerning their agency's views and practices. Everyone who brought it up maintained that it DID make a positive difference--several cited particular women in particular offices who made a difference either by a single comment or by repeated dialogue. In one example cited, a husband and wife team were described, the latter credited with a considerably more successful program than the former.

It did not seem to matter where the female participant was placed, whether in key policy decision-making roles, in donor agencies (A.I.D., ADRA/Sweden, Canadian delegates to the WFP's governing body, etc.), within headquarters staff, in regional offices, in country offices. It did not matter whether the women whose presence "made a difference in the way we think about these issues" were technical staff or management, in supervisory positions, internal staff or external consultants.

When the matter did come up in the course of interviewing a broad spectrum of people, we asked: since having women present who have gender issues on their mind seems to make a difference, which is better, to have an individual "point person" specifically charged with WID oversight? or have a numerical presence of many women, as a reminder if nothing else? The response was invariably "both." One individual needs to have gender in her/his portfolio, and at the same time PVOs noted the need to actively recruit so there is more balanced staffing, which will help to assure there is more attention paid to gender issues on a daily basis.

V. ADDRESSING GENDER IN FOOD AID PROGRAMMING

This section of the paper identifies possible entry points for including gender in food aid programming. It begins with a review of the constraints and then identifies opportunities for including gender considerations. The final section identifies the next steps to take in building on the opportunities.

A. Constraints to Inclusion of Meaningful Gender Considerations

How is it that donors, managers, project planners and implementers, evaluators, and a variety of actors in the development field find it more comfortable to take other social divisions into account than they do gender differences, which are still apt to draw laughter in some circles? We pointed out to one respondent that it makes perfectly good sense to pay attention to whether the project participants are uplanders or lowlanders, wet or dry rice farmers, landless or landowners, newborns or weanlings, first or third trimester pregnant women, elites or the impoverished, upstream or downstream residents, members of the majority or of a minority tribe or linguistic group, etc., etc. Yet one of the most essential social divisions which everywhere and throughout all time has marked (rationally or otherwise) roles to be played within the total social fabric--namely gender--is bypassed, sidestepped, not taken into consideration in project design.

The response was most revealing. "Perhaps because it is such a central division, because it comes so close to home, because 'landless vs. landowner' is more remote from our personal lives but gender is right here and now, perhaps its very importance is the reason for its neglect. We're just too uncomfortable dealing with it." What was gratifying is that this same person's frank observation was followed by "Now that I've realized that, I'm going to take gender as seriously as I've been taking other important social variables."

A number of other constraints were identified:

"Elimination of Food for Peace officers in the field who can pay attention to the special aspects of food aid and related issues, such as gender."

"Men, both expatriates and nationals, who are unable to bring themselves to address women and their issues directly, most often manifested in their unwillingness to dialogue with women planners."

"We pay lip service to helping small farmers. If we ever got around to doing more, then gender issues would have to be addressed. A really detailed program dealing with small farmers would have to pay attention to women."

"Too often we assume that if women participate, they experience beneficial effects. It's legitimate to ask whether short-term employment is good for you, whether an income stream that cannot be sustained is better than none. Women and girls are neglected, despite the ample evidence that they are the primary food-producers in many places."

"Constraints are more operational than attitudinal--for example, compliance, food sharing within the family. It's not necessarily a result of husbands' attitudes towards their entitlement to food intended for women and children. Who should be the program target groups--perhaps it would be better to focus on women workers in FFW instead. Women's credit is more a legal than an attitudinal problem."

"Our church culture is very conservative. However, little by little, outside ideas--from outside the church and from other countries--are changing things. Access to education is the key. Trends in the society at large eventually influence the church."

The following classification of constraints was suggested:

At the country level:

- program managers would react negatively to requirements for data disaggregation which would be time-consuming; s/he is already under pressure from the country director to "get on with the job";
- counterparts would be even less interested;
- anything that takes time requires resources -- a good situation analysis, farming system analysis, data collection, monitoring and evaluation system;
- if the project manager is not convinced it is important but is obliged to do it, s/he will put in a minimal effort, and the self-fulfilling prophecy will ensure that the data collected are meaningless.

At PVO headquarters:

- the usual problems of inadequate communication with field offices will also hinder adequate communication regarding the importance of gender concerns;
- headquarters may require data collection but then fail to provide the additional resources;
- if it is left as optional, it will be seen as a low priority and therefore largely ignored.

B. Opportunities for Inclusion of Meaningful Gender Considerations

Turning from the negative side--constraints--to the more positive side--opportunities, we asked our respondents what they felt were the most likely "entry points" or "pressure points." (See also VI. D above, Carrots and Sticks, concerning mandatory versus optional approaches.)

We have endeavored to classify the responses according to stages in the cycle for programming food assistance, which entities are the most likely candidates for change, using extant data bases to record gender data, and training avenues.

1. Programming Cycle

Where and when in the programming cycle--from assessment to planning, implementation, and evaluation--should gender be inserted as a relevant issue in food-assisted programs? The answer is no different from dollar-assisted programs: everywhere, but it is better to include it "upstream" (assessment and planning) than "downstream" (implementation, evaluation). Some of the many gender-relevant issues raised in the preceding sections distinguish food-assisted activities from others, but the emphasis on "before" rather than "later" is the same.

"The best time is at the planning stage; we must emphasize food as a resource with which we can do something, not just as something to distribute. But we can also use the evaluation as a tool to reorient programs, take corrective measures, create models for replication."

"We should begin at the project design stage, and put the emphasis on PVOs; USAID Missions should then watchdog it, making sure the data are there from the beginning to provide information for monitoring and evaluation."

"The evaluation tool can be used to move beyond nutritional concerns to broader developmental impact issues."

2. Entities and Individuals

A variety of possibilities for involving entities and individuals in assuring gender is addressed were suggested:

"If things are to change, the A.I.D. Administrator can simply issue a policy statement that Section 113 issues are also relevant to PL-480."

"You should get to the geographic bureaus, one by one, to 'train' them in sensitivity to gender issues. Get to the PVOs in-country for the same purpose. Get to the USAID Food for Peace officer or equivalent. Get the issue into regional training. In Washington, get to 'whoever has the money'--a Title II seminar, for example."

The Food Aid Management Project was mentioned by several as a possible vehicle for standardization of terminology (a first step toward disaggregated data collection) and for training. PVO staff both at headquarters and in the field are instrumental in all phases of Title II activities. They should be included in gender training whenever it is provided.

"If the food aid coordinator in the geographic bureau is pushing for attention to be paid to gender concerns, they will follow proposals and see if they adhere to WID guidance."

"The quality of programs really lies at the mission level; A.I.D. personnel in Washington are too busy to review for such things as gender relevance."

"Some of the USAID Missions are buying in. Most mission personnel charged with food aid responsibilities have no experience with it. The principal priority is working with the missions."

At the PVO level, "men who run PVOs from the top and who manage projects in the field must be obliged to confront their own biases and take women's concerns into account; this can probably be done best by mandating requirements, supplemented with training and consciousness-raising."

"Turning it from a matter of humor to an issue taken seriously [within a PVO] has resulted partly from outside pressure, but also as a result of naming a few women to key positions within the organization."

The best pressure points are the PVOs themselves, since "most of what A.I.D. says and does it contracts out anyway." However, "PVOs tend not to want to add on extra work unless it's required by A.I.D."

Both PVOs and A.I.D. are essential, and should "be looking over each other's shoulders. However, unless gender considerations are obligatory, few will pay meaningful attention to them."

In country, "planning ministries have secretariats who coordinate with donors. PVO program directors are the key personnel, not the top persons. At USAID Missions, it is now obligatory to name a WID point person who should be the focal point of pressure."

We noted that only passing and extremely brief mention was made by a couple of our respondents of the need to include host country nationals (whether on staff of PVOs, on staff of USAID Missions, or working for PVO counterparts such as indigenous NGOs or government ministries) in sensitivity training and involve them in gender analyses, as well as most other aspects of project preparation. We would like to underscore the authors' conviction that development is not just the business of Americans, and that many of the suggested entry points are as relevant to host country nationals as they are to ourselves.

3. Documentation, Procedures

There is supposed to be a Food Aid Management Plan (FAMP) for each country using PL-480, which is to include reporting requirements and commodity tracking. These are usually not related to issues, but focus on logistics. However, the gender question could be inserted. In fact, very few FAMPs have been written to date.

Other possible entry points are Handbook 9 which is being revised and the new Regulation 11 issued by A.I.D. Now that the Farm Bill is law, appropriate guidance is being drafted. This offers an important opportunity to incorporate gender concerns in PL-480 guidance for the first time. Since the new Farm Bill also allows for PVO advisory input on guidance, there will be consultation when the guidance is drafted for Title II.

"While it does make sense to incorporate gender concerns in food aid strategies, the latter tend to be only very brief parts of Country Development Strategy Statements." [Note, however, that in Guatemala the food aid strategy and the WID strategy are not merely 'throwaway' paragraphs; there was some interest expressed in the possibility of "wedding" the two strategies for inclusion in the CDSS.]

One respondent emphasized that the way and the place and the time and the person that should be the focus for "pressure" should be on a case-by-case basis, starting where there's the most flexibility. That is, in deciding whether the pressure should be on A.I.D. or the PVO, with the PVO or the counterpart agency, at the top or at middle levels of management, in Asia or in Africa, at PVO headquarters or in the field, in food for work or MCH or school feeding, there is no one pat answer. In the case of a PVO,

"start where the country director is most interested, or where s/he needs a new direction to spark a languishing program. If A.I.D. has chosen a geographic region for emphasis, go with it. A.I.D. should say to the PVOs 'you MUST do thus and so,' and then the PVO searches for the most favorably inclined country director and a country atmosphere most conducive to change (don't start with the least-possible situation first)."

4. Getting Gender "on the Screen" (Data Bases)

Several efforts are under way to improve the data available on food aid:

- FEWS (Famine Early Warning System) with offices in Washington provides information on food aid programming but not yet by gender.
- Pragma Corporation is currently re-designing A.I.D.'s food needs assessment (FNA) methodology. They are adding a new dimension which will go beyond an assessment of aggregate food needs to questions of who needs food at the micro level, ways to target poor consumers, using food aid to cushion adverse effects of structural adjustment. Poverty is the current focus, but gender could be added in.
- An FNA data base is also under preparation at FFP which is tapping into CDIE's many data bases for information on food aid.

"Getting it on the screen," of course, assumes that "it" has been made available--that is, data disaggregated by gender. This has been addressed above in Section IV. E. 3. As one respondent commented:

"You must be vigilant, you must keep insisting on it. Even if a project mixes different individuals day by day, making a gender count difficult, it is still possible to require approximate proportions of women overall. Some projects will be easier--trainees in a food-for-training program and girl children in a school--can more easily be counted than ever-changing workers on a FFW site. You've got to keep on asking and keep on insisting."

These various initiatives to improve data collection and analysis procedures for food assistance all offer opportunities to integrate gender analysis. Although this has not been done to any extent in the past, it can be included in the future scopes of work for contracts.

5. Training

Legislation, regulations, and guidelines incorporating gender considerations and applying certain requirements to food-assisted programs and projects is the approach suggested by many informants as the "only real way to make major changes." In the same breath, however, most of the same people who said that also said that training, persuasion, one-by-one approaches are essential.

a. PVO Training

Some of the major PVOs have their own permanent staff devoted to training; gender issues are not often (or ever?) a topic for specific training, but there is no reason they could not be, and combining gender sensitization training with food aid training would be an opportune way to begin.

b. WID Training

The impetus for this report arose from the ongoing worldwide training effort of PPC/WID in which food aid questions have frequently arisen and answers were not always at hand. Hopefully, this report will provide a springboard for the development of training materials specifically directed toward the subject of gender and food aid, focusing on the particular points of intersection of the two.

c. Food Aid Certification/Qualification

With the reduction worldwide in the number of Food for Peace Officers, there has been an effort to ensure that other individuals in USAID Missions are knowledgeable about PL-480. Food aid certification training was proposed for other A.I.D. personnel which would be required for advancement. There was resistance to the proposal, and plans are now being made to provide food aid "qualification" training and make it voluntary. Since the Farm Bill emphasizes improving the skill level of food aid personnel, some type of training is likely to be developed over the coming year. When this course is organized, it would provide an opportunity to include gender considerations along with other topics.

C. Next Steps

The preceding pages are filled with implied recommendations. Some will be expensive and long-range, while others could be implemented soon, and some of them with little additional expenditure (e.g., an A.I.D. Administrator's decree that Section 113 applies to ALL A.I.D. undertakings, regardless of the nature of the resource, would be virtually cost-free although implementation would require expenditures).

We can, however, select from the many possible next steps a few that seem most urgent and also feasible.

1. Data: Standardization and Clarification of Terminology, Recording Requirements, Data Disaggregation

We have noted above the importance attached to data disaggregation. On the one hand, we are hesitant to recommend additional reporting burdens on PVOs involved in Title II programs. On the other hand, some PVO representatives were entirely supportive of such a requirement as the most meaningful way to ensure that gender is considered in project design and implementation: such individuals view it not as a record-keeping exercise, but a directive to take an important social division into account when planning and carrying out projects.

But let us make an analogy. Many well-meaning project interventions are introduced as a way of "improving women's lives" when in fact they add to project area women's burdens. It makes little sense to add on literacy training, health education, small enterprise development, etc., unless women's already lengthy working day can be reduced--grain mills, woodlots for fuelwood, nearer sources of water, and other measures to reduce women's workload as a tradeoff for increased time commitments. (Reduced unprofitable waiting time in health centers would head some lists of ways to free up women's time and energy for productive activity.)

Similarly, if PVOs are to be asked to disaggregate data, whether at the MYOP stage or in Progress Reports or in RSRs, they should be offered a tradeoff--simplified reporting procedures and formats. And they must be convinced that the data are not being collected just so that someone in Washington can tell them they're not doing enough for women! They must link data requirements with project objectives, and they must be convinced that taking gender into account can have an ultimate "payoff" in terms of project success. Thus, data collection is a "proof" that gender concerns have been taken seriously and built into consciousness and project design.

Before disaggregated data can be suggested as a requirement, however, it is necessary to have agreement on terminology. We recommend that either a roundtable discussion be organized among key PVO personnel, or a round-robin series of proposals circulated among PVOs, or a series of individual interviews to compare various approaches to standardizing the terms "participant, direct and indirect beneficiary, and recipient", further specified according to types of programs (a participant in FFW is clearly different from a participant in an MCH program, for example).

A helpful recommendation is to

"take an incremental approach. Name the three highest priorities. For example, require that there be a separate ration for women in MCH, and that pregnant and lactating women be included. Require that it be spelled out in plans and reports. Then move on to the trickier issues like women's access to credit, food for work when workers change day by day, and so on. It should be relatively easy to 'eyeball' on a sample basis at worksites, and it should not be hard to know how many trainees are female out of a total group."

How could such requirements be instituted? The initiative will have to come from A.I.D. with the support of PPC/WID. The Farm Bill established a Food Aid Consultative Group including A.I.D. and PVO representatives which is to be consulted on changes in regulations for Title II. Recommendations suggested by A.I.D. could be discussed and finalized with this group.

2. Guidance

The new PL-480 legislation offers a rare opportunity for building gender into the guidance that must be rewritten within 6-12 months after the bill becomes law. This can be done at the same time as the activity recommended in the preceding section. Guidance for Title III for FY 1992 and future years is in preparation. Since the law requires that all Title III proposals indicate what the country is doing to alleviate poverty and achieve broad-based, equitable and sustainable development, it is appropriate that PPC/WID assure that a discussion of gender issues forms part of the analysis. The mandated Food Aid Consultative Group should be involved from the beginning in the preparation of guidance for Title II and Section 416 activities. If participatory approaches are to be recommended for projects, they are no less important--and no less time-consuming and cumbersome--for the creation of 'sustainable' guidelines that will have the full cooperation of implementing agencies.

3. Training

Training is clearly central to any strategy to bring about effective change in attitudes and practices. The suggested approach is to incorporate gender concerns in food aid training (whether or not labeled "food aid certification") and to incorporate food aid issues in gender-relevant training. A number of the issues and examples cited in the text of this report should be usable for the creation of training tools.

Case studies, so useful in training workshops, are not as easily identified as we had hoped. Indeed, the one individual most involved in examining gender and food aid--Mona Hamman at WFP--carries most examples "in my head," and has no case study handouts readily available. She indicated a willingness, however, to be involved in the initial stages of material design, to share her approaches with A.I.D., and even to participate (on short-term secondment) in initial training sessions. Nearly all the projects cited in the course of our interviews could as well have been cited in non-food-aid-related WID training--that is, they are examples of the negative effects of "leaving gender out" or the positive effects of incorporating gender considerations. However, we urge a further effort to identify cases in which both food and gender are relevant in order to develop these as training materials.

Hamman's training (in the context of WFP Project Cycle training of field staff) focuses on:

- who beneficiaries should be (beneficiaries being defined not as ration recipients but those who benefit from the project activity)
- who the beneficiaries actually are
- constraints to mainstreaming women in development
- overcoming constraints
 - with food aid
 - with technical assistance
 - with capital
- institutional capacity to do the above
- sustainability.

The University of Sussex, Institute for Development Studies (IDS), offers a Master of Arts degree in Gender and Development, providing

"training for development practitioners in the analysis of gender issues in development. Students are equipped with analytical and practical skills, enabling them to analyze development processes at both micro and macro levels, and their impact upon gender relations. They are helped to acquire skills to enable them to intervene effectively in relation to gender disadvantage at the level of policy and practices. Unit 5, Approaches to Policy, Planning and Research, is a one-term course that provides training in a number of gender-sensitive approaches to policy and planning. It focuses on a variety of research methodologies which can be used to generate gender disaggregated data useful for policy formulation." (pp. 28-29, University of Sussex, Graduate Programs in Arts and Social Studies).

While the above makes no mention of food aid, some of the IDS staff have considerable experience in food aid. We recommend that A.I.D. explore the possibility of piggy-backing on some of their already well-developed training programs, with a view toward seeking out collaborative approaches, as suggested above with regard to WFP as well.

4. Review Procedures

It was observed that generally there are no checklists for review of MYOPs and Progress Reports, and criteria for review of grant proposals are drawn up anew each proposal cycle. For example, when Planning Assistance (PA) was asked by FFP/Africa to review a batch of MYOPs, PA created its own list of criteria by which to compare them.

A possible approach suggested is: Pick out a few countries, involve the FFP desk officers and regional bureau food aid coordinators in a review of the countries' CDSSs with special reference to their food aid and WID strategies. See whether these link up in any way. Determine whether either FFP or regional bureaus have any interest in, or systematic way of remembering to keep gender in mind when reviewing food aid strategies. Then follow up with a particular country (we suggest Guatemala for reasons noted above).

Although the idea of standardized checklists for proposal review was not well accepted by some respondents, it would be possible to draw up optional-use checklists, taking care that they not become ipso facto requirements but the basis for commenting on proposals. Checklists tend to become very detailed and lengthy and thus apt to be ignored. We suggest a barebones list of questions that reviewers might consider.

A possible approach to take is identifying points of correspondence between what the Mission or Bureau wishes to accomplish in its overall development strategy which includes WID and the proposed food aid activities. For example, a Mission may have, as one of its priorities, small enterprise development with attention to removing the constraints on women entrepreneurs. Food aid project activities with their large female clientele (e.g., MCH activities) offer a potential for implementing the strategy. Another possibility is funding from Title III sales. If review is approached in this way, attention to gender and food assistance may be seen as supportive of Mission activities rather than an additional burden. Where the activities are supported with Title II resources, these reviews would be undertaken in partnership with the PVOs or cooperatives concerned.

The food aid evaluation office is considering drawing up a new generic evaluation scope of work. Some questions on gender considerations, by type of project, could be incorporated. The new PL-480 legislation requires that within two years (presumably by FY 1993) independent evaluations must be prepared of five Title II country programs and five Title III country programs and the reports submitted to Congress. Gender considerations could be included in these evaluations, and steps taken now to identify the factors to consider.

In 1985, Moore drew up such a list of gender-relevant questions for the WFP's Evaluation Service. They were quite extensive and touched on every aspect of all WFP evaluations, from logistics to end-users. We doubt they were ever used, and suggest that while they may now be useful as a starting point for an A.I.D. evaluation checklist, other steps should also be taken. Both a short and a longer version should be prepared to enable evaluators to refer to a core list of questions. Additionally, a more detailed set should be available to fall back on when gender concerns become particularly relevant.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

At A.I.D.

Tom Marchione, PPM
Jerre Manarolla, PPM
Jeanne Marcunas, Africa, FFP
Hope Sukin, Africa Bureau, Nutrition
Emmy Simmons, Africa Bureau, Nutrition
Richard Hough, Asia Bureau
Shane MacCarthy, Institutional Support Grants, PPM
Forrest Duncan, PPM
Jim O'Meara, FFP/FVA
Jon O'Rourke, FFP, FVA (special assignment, legislation)
Ben Hoskins, FFP, Latin America
Rita Hudson, FFP, Asia
Bob Hechtman, FFP, Asia
Joe Langlois, FFP, Africa
Carolyn Weiskirch, PPC/PB

USAID Mission, Guatemala: Dale Humphries, FFPO
Carolla Solo, WID focal point

ROCAP and INCAP, Guatemala: Joe Coblentz, Technical Assistance

FVOs

CARE: Rudi Horner, Primary Health Care Director

CRS: David Piraino, Strengthening Grant Coordinator
Helen Bratscha, Health Coordinator
Doug Broderick, Desk Officer, Eurasia Region
Karel Zalenka, Desk Officer, Eurasia Region

ADRA: Bill Jenson, Commodity Supported Development
Rudy Monsalva, Commodity Supported Development
Mario Ochoa, VP for Program
Ken Flemmer, Community Development
Vicky Graham, Human Resources
Sharon Tobing, Evaluation
Dave Taylor, Planning

Ellen Levinson, Food Aid Coalition

Tom Zopf, Food Aid Management Project

Lawrence Barbieri, Support Services International (formerly CRS and SAVE)

World Food Program

Jens Schulthes, Chief, Project Design Service

Mona Hamman, Socio-economist, WID focal point, Project Design Service

University

Ray Hopkins, Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College

Independent

Lisette Echols (formerly CARE's Director of Food Programming)

APPENDIX B: RESOURCE LIST

WID Resources

1. AID Policy Paper, Women in Development. Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, October, 1982.
2. HR 2655 and S. 1347 to amend the Foreign Assistance Act, June 1989, along with HR 2939 appropriations for foreign operations, July 1989, plus committee reports to explain the bills and minority statements.
3. Agency for International Development, PPC/Women in Development. A Report to Congress. Planning for the Next Decade: a Perspective of WID. House Committee on Appropriations and Senate Committee on Appropriations, March 1, 1989.
4. Agency for International Development, Program for WID, A User's Guide to the Office of Women in Development, FY 1990.
5. Agency for International Development, Office of WID. Making the Case for the Gender Variable: Women and the Wealth and Well-Being of Nations. Technical Reports in Gender and Development, number 1 (by Rae Lesser Blumberg; Mari Clark, ed.), 1989.
6. Agency for International Development. A Trainer's Manual. Common Problems/Opportunities for Creative Solutions, or How to Conduct a Workshop to Assist USAID Staff to Integrate Gender Variables in the Program and Project Process. [draft]
7. Leslie, Joanne. Time Costs and Time Savings to Women of the Child Survival Revolution. Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women, paper prepared for the Rockefeller Foundation/International Development Research Center Workshop in Issues Concerning Gender, Technology, and Development in the Third World, New York, February 1987.
8. McGuire, Judith and Barry Popkin. Helping Women Improve Nutrition in the Developing World: Beating the Zero Sum Game. World Bank Technical Paper Number 114, 1990.
9. United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Committee on World Food Security. Gender Issues in Rural Food Security in Developing Countries. CFS: 90/4, January 1990.
10. MayaTech Corp. Gender Considerations in Development Workshop for Trainers. Feb. 5-7, 1990, Washington, D.C. Submitted to AID/PPC/WID.

Food Aid Resources

11. "Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers?" By Rekha Mehra for the WID Office, Sept. 1990.
12. World Food Programme. The Contribution of the WFP to the United Nations Decade For Women. World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1980. By Ruth Dixon.
13. WFP. Food Aid Strategies for Women in Development. CFA: 23/7, March 1987.

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14. WFP. Interim Evaluation Summary Report on Integration of Women in Development within WFP-assisted project Egypt 2499, Land Development and Settlement. CFA: 16/12 Add. C2. July 1983.
 15. WFP. The Continuum in Women's Productive and Reproductive Roles: Implications for Food Aid and Children's Well-Being. Mona Hamman and Nadia Youssef. Occasional Papers No. 5.
 16. Bryson, Judy, John Chudy, and James Pines. Food for Work: a Review of the 1980s with Recommendations for the 1990s. Feb. 1991.
 17. A.I.D. Bureau for Food for Peace and Voluntary Assistance, Office of Policy Program and Management. The Development Impact of U.S. Program Food Assistance: Evidence from the A.I.D. Evaluation Literature. By Jennifer Bremmer-Fox and Laura Bailey, Robert R. Nathan Associates.
 18. WFP. Women in Development: Draft Guidelines for Evaluation Missions. By Emily Moore. October 1984.

APPENDIX C: AN EXERCISE IN GENDER CONSIDERATIONS*
with a PL480-related solution to a gender-related problem

The simple exercise included here was created as one of many illustrations that were used in the context of planning skills training workshops that were funded by the PL-480-related Strengthening Grant.

Workshop participants were first introduced to an approach to problem analysis which requires sorting out causes of a central problem and its various consequences. A central problem is identified and placed at the center of the page, a series of consequences flowing therefrom below it, and primary, secondary, and tertiary causes placed above it -- arranged to reflect probable causal relationships. (Some of these diagrams become exceedingly complex as every step of every linkage is included on a single chart.)

Putting causes at the top is logical to some (including the workshop facilitator, who frankly admits that she thinks either from left to right or from top to bottom), but illogical to others who are of course free to turn the diagram the other way -- since some may view causes as "roots", which should obviously not be waving in the air but be placed in the ground, at the bottom of the chart!

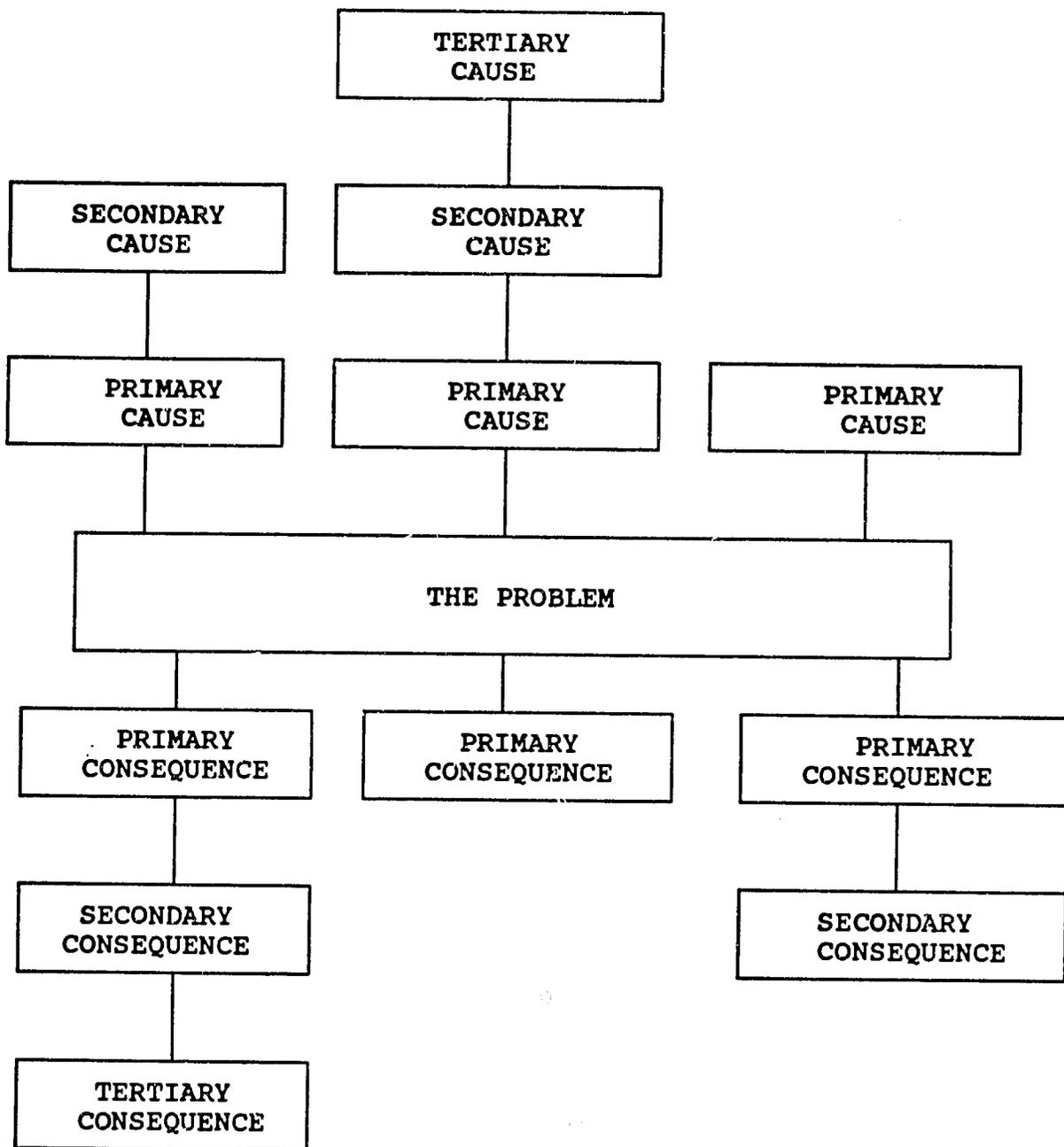
The consequences are noted for two reasons:

- 1) to ensure that we're dealing with a serious problem; if the consequences noted are trivial, we've probably not identified a problem worth dealing with, and should select another problem;
- 2) to suggest whether the solutions/actions we are already undertaking are Band-Aid interventions (dealing with consequences), as contrasted with attacking the causes of the problem.

Since a chain of causal linkage is essentially endless, the point at which we identify Thus and So as THE central problem is, therefore, somewhat arbitrary. We can almost always pull out a consequence from one problem analysis, center it on the page, and begin again to trace ITS causes and consequences.

The focus, then, is on causes -- with both more space on the paper and more time in the discussion devoted to "getting it right" with respect to causes.

* This exercise was created by Emily Moore, Ph.D. (Polimore Associates--consultants in food assistance). It was first used by Catholic Relief Services (Ghana, and in French for CRS/Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso, and Madagascar).



A number of illustrations followed -- starting with humorous examples unrelated to development issues (e.g., the traffic light isn't working, resulting in driver hesitation, irritability, accidents and so on), then moving on to development-related examples (infant mortality, maternal mortality, food insecurity and so on), and then illustrations of management problems (e.g., vertical non-participatory management, poor internal communications, etc.).

As these various examples were presented, participants were increasingly encouraged to contribute their perception of causes, consequences, and the appropriate linkages among them.

Then participants were each provided an envelope containing eleven small slips of paper, each containing a sentence (next page). Individually, then in pairs, then with the entire group, participants were asked to arrange them on the table before them in problem analysis format -- i.e., central problem, then its causes & consequences.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION
IS LOW

FERTILITY RATES
ARE HIGH

GIRLS' ENROLLMENT
IN PRIMARY SCHOOL
IS LOWER THAN BOYS'

TRADITION FAVORS
BOYS'
OVER GIRLS' EDUCATION

GIRLS ARE EXPECTED
TO CARE FOR THEIR
YOUNGER SIBLINGS

MALNUTRITION IS
HIGH

MANY WOMEN STILL
USE INEFFICIENT
AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

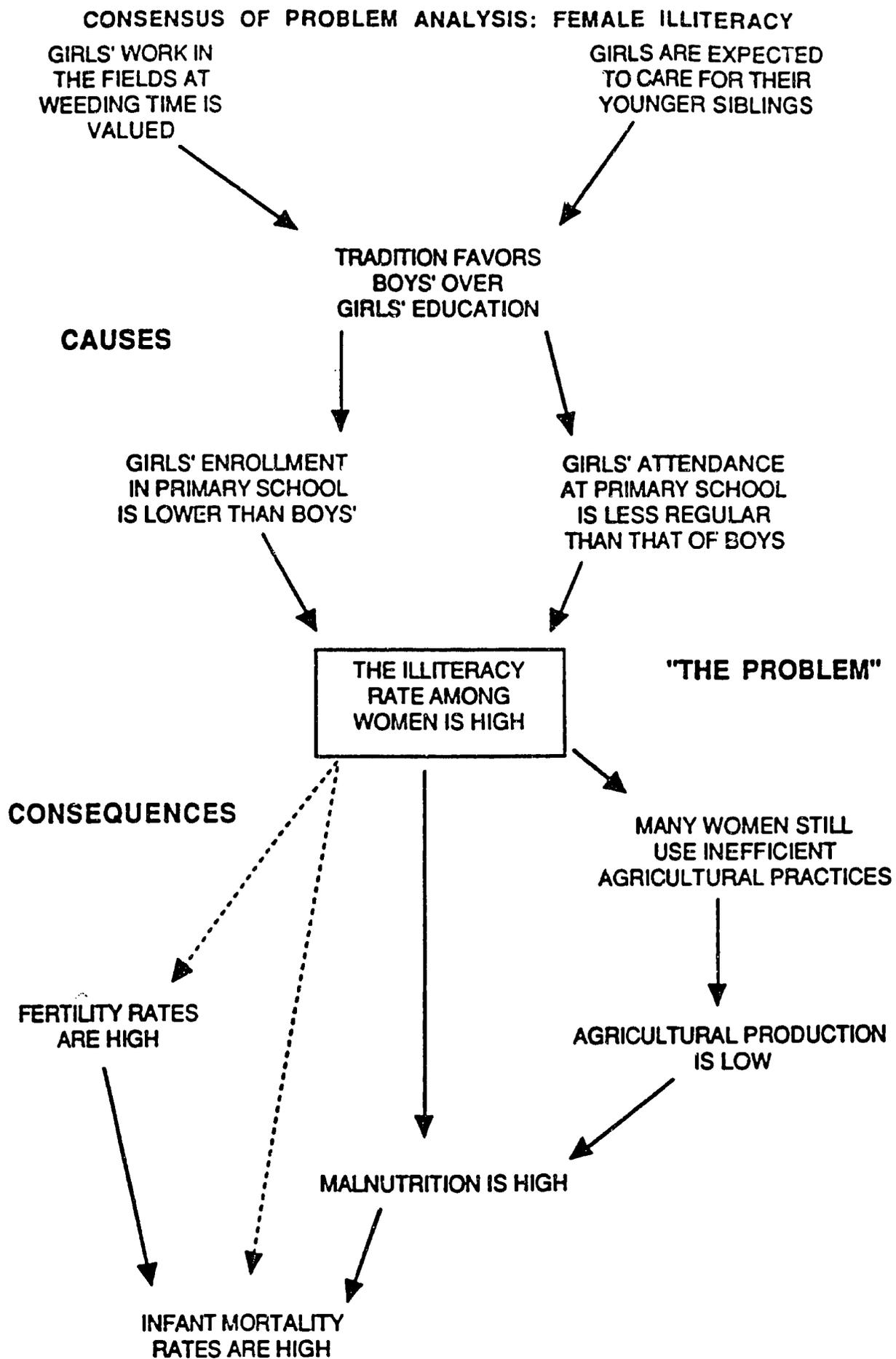
GIRLS' ATTENDANCE
AT PRIMARY SCHOOL
IS LESS THAN REGULAR
THAN THAT OF BOYS'

THE ILLITERACY
RATE AMONG
WOMEN IS HIGH

INFANT MORTALITY
RATES ARE HIGH

GIRLS' WORK IN
THE FIELDS AT
WEEDING TIME IS
VALUED

Generally there is almost total consensus on how to arrange the eleven slips of paper, with some cross-criticism among workshop participants once the exercise proceeds to the plenary for discussion. This consensus is represented on the following page, where the central problem is found to be high female illiteracy. This has a variety of serious consequences, including in some (not necessarily all) cases a block between women farmers and knowledge or inputs that would enable them to adopt improved farming practices. This in turn results in agricultural production that is lower than it might be, which in turn contributes to (though it is of course not the sole cause of) malnutrition (including maternal), which also contributes to infant mortality. The causal path between illiteracy among women and high fertility and infant mortality may be complex (a narrower "world view," or employment, or lack of access to information concerning ways to manage fertility are suggested intervening variables), but that there is a strong association between female literacy and lower fertility, and between female literacy and lower infant mortality, has been demonstrated repeatedly (the classic examples of Sri Lanka and the Indian state of Kerala being those most often cited, as well as intra-community differences in education and fertility). See next page for the consensus problem analysis diagram which workshops both in Lome (in French) and in Accra developed.



Having satisfied ourselves that we are dealing with a problem that has serious consequences, we then turn to selecting causes that we feel are appropriate points of intervention for the particular organization holding the workshop -- in this case CRS. By turning a reversal or amelioration of the central problem (in this case female illiteracy) into a broad goal, we then convert the selected causes from negatives into positives and these become specific objectives (in this case addressing the economic value of female children which works to prevent families from sending them to school).

A simplified logical framework is then created, in this case attempting to utilize a PL-480-assisted school program as a means to counteract the reasons for low female enrollment and attendance (following page).

The goal (amelioration of the central problem of female illiteracy) is to raise the level of female education. The specific, quantifiable objectives refer to the most proximate causes of low level of female literacy -- namely poor enrollment and spotty attendance even among the enrolled. (These objectives are quantified and placed in a realistic time frame, and must be related to current levels of girls' enrollment in and attendance at school.)

The general strategies to be followed to attain these objectives are income transfer and conscientization ("sensibilisation", consciousness raising). The latter of these two strategies has a set of specific activities, namely meetings and discussions with teachers, mothers, and fathers, about the importance of enrolling girls in school and having them attend regularly.

The former of the two strategies is based on the assumption that the economic value of girl children at home, in the fields, and helping the family in market activities, could be offset by some form of income transfer to families willing to forgo their girl children's contributions at home. PL-480 rations would continue to be provided as a snack or meal to all children, both boys and girls, the objective being primarily hunger alleviation (and thus improved attention span and greater cognitive development). However, a second, take-home ration could be provided to girls who attend regularly ("regular" being defined locally, such as 4 out of 5 schooldays, or 9 out of 10, etc.). The size, composition, and value of the ration would have to be determined, and presumably varied over the course of a quasi-experimental project, in order to see "how much it takes" to have a meaningful effect on girls' school enrollment and attendance.

While the CRS/Lome workshop (participants from four countries) drew up a simplified log frame addressing the problem hypothetically, CRS/Ghana drew one up that was intended for inclusion in their revised Multi Year Operational Plan. Because of the highly experimental nature of the suggested intervention, however, the objectives were determined to be the completion of an operations research undertaking which would provide some support to or refutation of the hypothesis that double rations for girls can have a meaningful impact on girls' schooling.

SIMPLIFIED LOG FRAME

