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The Sexual Division of Labor and Prospects for Integrated Development:

Report on Women's Economic Activities in Mahweet,
Tawila, and Jihana Regions

Yemen Arab Republic

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Introduction

The following survey of women's activities and the sexual division of labor in the areas of Mahweet, Tawila, and Jihana has been prepared as an adjunct to the survey report submitted by Messrs. Tutwiler and Hart to AID Yemen and the Community Development Foundation. A separate report on women's activities and development prospects was deemed necessary not only because there is, in many respects, a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes, but also because women's activities have generally remained outside the venue of LDA's. Furthermore, men are rarely able to provide accurate information on the economic and social routines of women. The data presented is necessarily of an impressionistic nature, given the short time span of the survey. Also, Yemeni women (especially peasants) are unaccustomed to giving explanations; thus, although they are proud of their way of doing things, it is very difficult to get them to describe the process, and information is best obtained by observation. Peasants also tend not to keep track of things by enumeration, and cannot always say, for example, how many times a day they go to fetch water.

There are only a few statistics available from published sources which shed any light on the relative economic roles of women and men in the areas surveyed. The male/female ratio in Mahweet town is 109.2:100; for the governorate as a whole, the ratio is very low--85.7:100, indicating a certain amount of rural-to-town migration within the governorate itself. Women in Mahweet governorate represent 66.5% of the total available manpower, and 28.6% (second only to Saada) of the formal labor force. Separate data is not available for Tawila or Jihana, but male officials in both areas estimate that about 60% of the population are women. In Jihana even this is misleading in terms of economic activities within the region, since officials said that approximately 70% of the men who live in the town are drivers who spend only one or two nights a week at home. With increased male out-migration and the absorption of male labor into such "modern" professions as administration and transportation, and increasing proportion of the burden of agricultural production is being borne by women.

Women in rural Yemen have traditionally been involved in a variety of subsistence activities aside from regular "housewifely" chores (such as cooking, laundry, child-rearing, etc.): care of animals, gathering fodder and fuel, procurement of water, and specialized crafts and market activities. Their participation in agriculture has varied according to the number of family workers, the size of landholdings, and the period of the agricultural cycle (i.e., planting, harvesting). This report outlines both the traditional economic activities of women and their changing roles in the emerging cash-based system. It includes preliminary information on the present agricultural role of women in the Mahweet, Tawila, and Jihana areas, delineates differences in the roles and attitudes of women in these regions, and develops a methodology for including women in rural development projects.

A. Poultry

Household maintenance of small flocks of four or five full grown chickens with 10 to 12 newly hatched chicks was predominant in most houses in Mahweet. Poultry is mainly range-fed with varying housing facilities. In some cases, it consists simply of a hole in a rock wall surrounding the house or in a protective area behind sacks of grain. In other households there is a special area surrounded by a rock wall separating an area for chickens from the rest of the courtyard. These areas have a straw-sorghum stalk base which provides a good sanitary collection for chicken droppings, is regularly cleaned, provides sunlight, and in some cases could support 20 to 30 chickens.

Women complained that they got one egg a day and that two years ago most of the chickens in Mahweet died (presumably of New Castle disease, which is common in Yemen). In the market in Mahweet, wazif, a dry fish, was available which could provide a good protein source if combined with bean/sorghum mash. The introduction of a locally available high-protein chicken feed could potentially increase the egg production of Yemeni chickens--this, however, needs testing. Women were appalled at the idea of feeding fish to chickens, not only because they thought the taste of the eggs would be affected but because of the cost. Therefore, a poultry extension program would need to concentrate on education of women in the proper proportions of food mixing (to include wazif) and on demonstration that the additional cost of a protein supply would be offset by increased egg production (if in fact it would).

In Jihana the poultry regime differed substantially from that of the highlands. Many, but not all, households kept chickens (usually in small flocks of a rooster, three or four grown hens, and about a dozen chicks); however, they are kept for meat rather than for eggs, which are purchased in the market. Therefore, roosters are especially important to poultry raising in Jihana. Extending the AID poultry project to this area would involve changing local practices and instituting import-substitution with regard to eggs. Improvements in feeding methods would be valuable, however, since birds tend to be small even though they are raised for meat.

Women expressed a preference for their own Yemeni chickens over imported varieties, which could be a limiting factor to consider before introducing new poultry strains. As the AID project has only layers and provides no roosters for fertilization, there might also be problems in gaining acceptance for imported chickens which cannot reproduce (Yemeni chickens will not mate with "foreign" chickens).

Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that development projects involving poultry could start with improving local feed, improving feeding practices, and improving housing facilities through utilization of local households as models and for demonstration. This in itself could potentially improve production, and would serve as a basis for

extension of new varieties of poultry which require optimum housing and feeding conditions.

In Tawila women were also selling chickens in the souk, again indicating the importance of poultry reproduction. It appeared that fewer households maintained flocks than in Mahweet; also, eggs were available in the souk in Tawila but not in Mahweet.

In conclusion it must be said that poultry raising is a woman's occupation, and that probably 3/4 of all households have chickens to provide a basic protein sustenance, and in some cases, to provide income for women who sell their products in the market. Improvements in poultry raising to increase egg production of local varieties or to introduce new varieties can and should be done involving training of women in poultry raising. Innoculation for New Castle disease can also be undertaken in this manner.

B. Husbandry--Cattle

Upkeep for cattle is another major occupation of women and children. The morning's activity frequently includes a four to six kilometers' walk from the village to collect green fodder, which is carried on the head in huge bundles. Sorghum stalks are then wrapped in fodder (usually clover) and force fed to the cattle by hand. Cattle are also fed left-over bread and/or garbage mixed with water. In Mahweet each household tends to have one cow and one bull, the latter being used for plowing. In Tawila fewer animals were visible, possibly because farming families are concentrated in villages outside the actual city of Tawila, which is an hour and half's walk uphill from the surrounding fields. In Jihana, where fodder is more scarce, a few women kept cattle; it was hoped that cows will present a calf or two a year, to be killed for meat. In all areas women complained that cows yield very little milk--usually about a pint twice a day.

In Mahweet we were told that some time ago many cattle in the area became sick and died, possibly of Rinderpest disease. In doing extension work involving vaccination of cattle against Rinderpest, improvements in feed, etc., a woman veterinarian would be a viable help, since only women know the illness symptoms, and changes in eating patterns necessary to diagnose particular diseases. Introduction of lucerne feed as a protein supply could increase milk production.

C. Husbandry--Goats and Sheep

In the Mahweet and Tawila areas there were few large herds of goats and sheep. Generally, either small children or older women were herding three to eight goats and sheep--basically a family-sized herd. Each small herd tended to have one or two pairs of newly born kids or lambs. In the highlands patches of grazing are scattered; most land capable of supporting vegetation is cultivated. Therefore, small herds are the most ecologically feasible. However, if numbers of fields begin to go uncultivated, there is a potential for increased amounts of grazing land

and , therefore, possibilities for the development of goat and sheep production.

By contrast, in Jihana the nature of the landscape and the rarity of any kind of grazing land make small, family-sized herds impractical. A single shepherdess grazes the entire flock for the village, which consists of 10 goats and 28 sheep. It is unlikely that the area could support a larger herd or that family flocks could be maintained successfully. In most areas of Yemen, the unchewable leaves of qat are retained and fed to sheep and goats.

C. Agriculture

In social science literature, economic modernization is often associated with a "breakdown" of peasant economies as labor for wages and more "modern" occupations replace subsistence-type production. In the areas surveyed, despite the departure of a fair proportion of the male labor force from the peasant producing system, this "breakdown" has apparently been retarded by women's assumption of such tasks as plowing, planting, harvesting, and marketing. It is not known, however, precisely to what extent women participated in these activities before the current trend of rapid change began, or whether some activities formerly engaged by women have been abandoned.

The decline of agriculture has clearly not kept pace with the rate of departure of men from agricultural production. Around Mahweet, for example, officials of the LDA estimate that up to 3,000 men have migrated in search of work, and yet only the remotest and smallest terraces go uncultivated. Somewhat contrary to our expectations, moreover, both women and men were proud of the fact that women now do even the heaviest chores, including plowing. The story was similar elsewhere. At ar-Regum, where the authorities estimated that one man from every household (generally the fittest) has migrated, the greater participation of women in agriculture has prevented a decline in production. The women there said, however, that they do not work side by side with their men in the fields. Within the town of Tawila, which is more spacially and culturally distinct from the surrounding countryside than other towns we visited, none of the women we visited considered themselves farmers, and only a few kept animals. In the fields below the town, however, we saw women plowing and planting and those who came in for market day considered themselves farmers.

In the highlands, daily wages for women tend to be approximately 3/4 that of men (i.e., 30 rials as opposed to 40 rials), on the grounds (real or imagined) that women are less productive than men. It is, perhaps, more common, however, for women to work family plots, if any, while the men seek wage labor elsewhere. Women also do share-cropping.

Agricultural conditions and practices are very different in the Khawlan area than in Mahweet governorate. In families that own and cultivate their own land (of which there are relatively few), husband

and wife may work together if the man is present; otherwise, the women may work the land. Non-landowning women may do day labor. Both male and female day laborers we saw harvesting wheat near Jihana were paid in kind--five or six bundles of wheat for a day's work. Although in this case both sexes were paid equally, it is somewhat more usual for men than women to be employed for wages.

Female participation in agriculture is not determined at the aggregate level, however, but at the family level and depends on the ratio of producing males to producing females at the household level. For an average-sized family of six to eight persons, the labor of at least two women is required for minimum household chores: fetching water, preparing meals, doing laundry, caring for animals, and gathering fodder and fuel. A third woman in the household might engage in light farming, care of additional animals, or producing crafts and/or gathering fuel and fodder for market. Only if there are three or four women can the household really afford for women to take on outside labor. Similarly, if a family unit includes several adults, the labor of one can be spared for migration. In a nuclear family where children are still young, however, the departure of the father for Saudi Arabia (or elsewhere) may mean that fuel, fodder, food, or other household needs will have to be purchased.

Further study is needed to determine specifically the conditions under which men migrate and/or women seek employment outside the family. While it is unlikely that women will ever assume the primary burden of agricultural production, it is safe to assume that they will, over the next decade, come to represent an increasing proportion of the agricultural labor force. This is true simply because while men will increasingly turn to outside sources of cash income to meet the rising cost of living, women will remain within the village and within the traditional mode of production. Consequently, although new varieties of vegetables or cereals may be introduced or purchased by men, the women who will be an important part of the agricultural labor force should be trained in the correct spacing requirements, cultivation techniques, etc., so that the new varieties will give their maximum production.

D. Manure

Manure collection is also an activity mainly done by women and children. Manure is dried on stone walls and then used for fuel, especially in areas (such as Jihana) where there is a scarcity of wood fuel. In most areas the manure which accumulates below the public facilities at the mosque is dried for fuel.

Manure was mixed with soil and used as fertilizer on fields in the Mahweet and Tawila areas; however, it was left on the fields for two or three days before being worked into the soil. This results in a high loss of the nitrogen component of the fertilizer. In Regum a highly developed system of composting was present with a two-meter square stone wall area outside each household in which chicken droppings, left over straw and other garbage was collected. These types of structures could be utilized in demonstrating the technology of composting such as heat

maintenance and methodology for obtaining a high nitrogen content which would be beneficial for household production of vegetable gardens or for use on the fields.

E. Health and Nutrition

In general, health conditions are appalling in Yemen, and Mahweet and Khawlan governorates are no exception. Most women, assuming that we were doctors, complained about their children having worms. Many children have swollen stomachs from gastro-intestinal diseases, some to the extent that the child is totally listless. Lack of health facilities is a major concern of women, who frequently do not feel comfortable or reassured by going to a male doctor. Infant and child mortality, estimated to be as high as 47% in rural areas, are regarded as a sad fact of life. Although a small stock of medicines (obtained from dispensaries or pharmacies) is kept in many homes, generally information about their purpose and proper usage is lacking.

As most diseases are a consequence of inadequate nutrition and poor personal and environmental hygiene, a mother-child health clinic operated by nurses would be most beneficial. Basics of hygiene, water sanitation improvement through use of clay pots with charcoal/sand filters, and the importance of preventative approaches to disease control could be easily taught in a mother-child health clinic. Basic nutrition can be improved through the introduction of household vegetable gardens, small poultry raising projects, and goat raising projects to increase the milk supply.

F. Water

The quality of available water, and the time and effort required for its procurement, varies from one area to the next. In Jihana, where rainfall is meager and the surface land is parched, a system of wells (some dug recently and other centuries old) provides ample, convenient, and relatively clean water for the town. Water for the day's use is drawn early in the morning, and carrying water does not consume much of the working day. Water is, nonetheless, a valued commodity, since agricultural lands are maintained by irrigation.

In the greener highlands around Mahweet and Tawila, by contrast, where villages are almost invariably situated on hilltops or bedrock (to avoid wasting cultivable land), the nearest source of water may be as much as an hour's walk away. In these areas, the number of trips--and thus the amount of water available to the family--varies with the distance to be walked, the size of the household, and the number of women in the household. In Mahweet, an artesian spring provides a town with fairly fresh water, which is collected from a stone structure below the souq. There is a second well just outside of town. Laundry is either done in a special enclosure near the main collection cite or brought to an intermittent stream about 40 minutes' walk from town; it's a very pleasant spot, grassy, and well shaded, and some women brought picnic lunches.

Nonetheless, both water collection and laundry are very time-consuming tasks.

Near Regum there are several water collection pools, two or three of which were probably used previously for household water but which are now covered with green algae and used only for watering animals. The main source of drinking water is about 45 minutes away--and on the return trip women must climb the steep rock face on top of which the town is situated. The quality of drinking water seemed poor. There are two streams at which laundry can be done, but the less clean one is used because it is closer.

At Tawila the drinking water was very dirty in appearance and had an unpleasant taste. It is drawn from one of a few large cisterns outside town which collects rainwater. A spring adjacent to the principal mosque provides some of the town's water.

In the Wadi above Khamis Beni Sa'd, Wadi Har, women collect drinking water and do laundry in the stream bed itself. This is probably the least sanitary of all systems, since the water is often dirty and contains bilharzia.

For the governorate of Mahweet as a whole, out of 31,073 households enumerated by the 1975 manpower and population survey, 22,870 named streams as their main source of water; 4,201, pools, 3,968, outside wells, and 16 households drew their water from private projects. A more easily accessible source of water was consistently listed as the first development priority by women in Mahweet, Regum, and Tawila; most women mentioned it without being asked. By contrast, in response to a question about what would make their lives better, Jihana women said "rain."

Obviously, when water must be lugged by hand (or by head) to the house, bathing is a problem. Although Islam requires that the hands, feet, face, ears, mouth, and nose, and the anal and public regions must be washed five times a day (a practice generally adhered to), a full bath is a seldom thing; children too young to pray may wash very seldom. Rarely is fuel wasted to heat water for bathing. However, baths are considered desirable, and public baths were named several times among priority development projects.

G. Crafts and Commercial Activities

The greatest differences among women's activities in the three areas surveyed was in the field of craft and marketing activities.

In Mahweet, where animal husbandry and care of poultry are primary chores, craft and marketing activities seemed minimal. Some women's straw-work--flat baskets, wide-brimmed sunhats, such as worn by most peasants in the area, and some larger baskets--were available in the souq, but they were apparently produced lower in the Wadi area and were marketed by men.

The picture was very different in Tawila. In the large central midan (or square) slightly over half the sellers in the weekly souq were women, most of whom had walked to town for the day. They came in groups from villages two to four hours away to sell their own flat baskets (about 6 rials apiece), or individually to sell a headload of wood (25 rials) or a donkey-load of sorghum stalks (10 rials for enough to feed a working bull for a week). Although both men and women sell wood, sorghum, and produce such as apricots and vegetables, only women market chickens and baskets. Women also brought grain to the souq to have it ground in one of the town's two diesel grist mills.

A few older women were selling handmade children's hats and embroidered ladies' leggins. These were not their own wares but were collected from the craftswomen; the saleswoman then gets a portion of the selling price and returns unsold items to their producers. We also saw in homes articles such as quilts, potcovers, crocheted back-scrubbers, and the like, sewn both by hand and by machine, but these were not sold. There seems to be much more of a class-type distinction between townswomen and peasants in Tawila than in Mahweet; the townswomen, who have more leisure time, engage in light crafts which they may or may not lend to saleswomen to be marketed. Virtually all the women in the souq are from outside the town of Tawila itself.

The town of Jihana has no souq as such, and few women engage in crafts. However, in the neighboring town of al-Biyadh is centered one of Yemen's most important handicraft industries, pottery. Bouadh produces the clay bowls, coffee pots, jugs for cooling water and food, and linings for bread ovens which are used throughout the country, and has apparently been the center of the pottery industry for ages. The men of Biyadh are responsible for bringing the clay from a neighboring mountain (by donkey) and for transporting the pots to Sana, Hodeidah, and Taiz; they also build the kilns (of which there are about half a dozen, each costing 1,000 rials to build). But the women are quick to say that the industry and its artistry are theirs. It is they who hand-built the pots, using clay molds and a slightly convex wooden pallet as their only tools. Once the clay has been beaten and mixed with water and is ready for use, it takes only about ten minutes to build a coffee pot. About 100-115 bowls, jugs, and coffee pots are produced each day--or about 3,000 pieces a month. Five or six oven linings are made each day. Each piece is left in the sun to dry for two or three days, then hand-painted with a red dye, left to dry again, and baked in a kiln for six hours. The men said it takes about two weeks from the time the clay is brought from the mountain until the pots are loaded into trucks and brought to market.

All the women in Biyadh work in the pottery industry, although some also do farm work. Earnings for an 8-hour day range from 30 to 50 rials, depending on skill and age. The small pieces are all made on the ground floor and in the front yard of a single house; oven linings are produced at another house. We were unable to obtain a clear picture of the organization of the industry, largely because of disparities between men's and

women's accounts. The men said it is organized by family and saw their own role as quite central; the women described a cooperation of village women and depicted the men as merely "go-fors."

In souqs at Mahweet and Tawila, Biyadh pottery was being sold, usually by women.

In all three areas surveyed, as well as in Sana, there are also a couple of strictly women's activities which deserve mention because they are important to what might be termed "women's culture." These are the women who specialize in organizing the (very elaborate) wedding celebrations; musicians who entertain at women's parties, and usually work in pairs; and artisans who create dye designs on the hands, feet, and faces of brides and wedding guests. Each of these would be paid 10-15 rials for an afternoon's work, in addition to enjoying the party along with the rest of the guests.

It is not clear at this time what development efforts, if any, might be undertaken to improve family incomes through stimulation of craft and market activities. In some areas, it might be possible to introduce light, market-oriented crafts such as knitting and embroidery which could be done during afternoon parties or in the evenings; few peasant women could spare time from their other activities to invest in a craft industry. This is an area in which more research should be done.

In Tawila and Mahweet the fact that many village women come to town on souq day (to buy and to sell) provides an excellent opportunity for dissemination of information on matters such as health, nutrition, agriculture, and the availability of new services which may be instituted. Although in the town of Mahweet the Development Board has high visibility, few of the village women from the region are aware of its existence.

Methodology for Involving Women in Rural Development

The most effective methodology for any development project is one which takes account of existing social realities, works within the constraints imposed by the existing cultural system, and attempts to maximize the strengths within that system. Such diverse factors as existing family patterns, the protectiveness of Yemeni men towards "their" women, the exclusiveness of women's society, the lack of formal education for most women, and special areas of women's expertise, therefore, must be taken into account.

In the governorate of Mahweet approximately 36% of the women over 10 years of age are either divorced, widowed, or single; approximately 50% are married, compared with a national average of 62.3%. 13% of Mahweet's women are widowed, 2% divorced, and 21% single, compared with national averages of 12.4%, 2.1%, and 23.2%, respectively. (The marriage age for women is about 15, somepart of the "single" figures, taken from the Yemeni population survey, represent girls too young to marry). These figures do not include the large number of "migration widows" who, though married, live essentially a "single" life. Generally, divorced and widowed women

are particularly well-respected by other women, and tremendously outgoing; all of those we met indicated that they did not intend to marry again. These women have an exceptional amount of freedom to talk with male members of the community outside their own families and autonomy in making economic decisions. They would be a potentially valuable group to train in poultry or vegetable production, vaccination of poultry or cattle, or nutrition and health work.

Women living with husbands are generally obligated to abide by the husband's wishes (although we encountered cases of them taking the pill behind their spouse's back) and frequently tied down by annual pregnancies. Male officials in Jihana and Mahweet disapproved of the idea of village women traveling to do extension work, and they probably represent the opinions of other men as well. It would be wise initially, therefore, to utilize already existing channels of inter-village communication in the dissemination of information. Regular demonstrations on souq day would, over time, reach women within a wide radius who come to town once a month or so to purchase gas for lamps, cloth, and cooking utensils. Another resource which could be tapped is women who travel to other villages to visit relatives.

In general, the lack of communication between men and women, even within the household unit, is (to the Western mind) startling low. Men don't know when women's parties are held, or how many eggs chickens give; women are often vague about their husband's occupations, unless they are farmers. For this reason, it is not likely that men will pass on new information about crops, etc., to their wives or sisters, and it will be necessary in many cases to set up duplicate training programs if the news is to reach women. By the same token, the communications network within women's society is very highly developed, and word of an impressive new technique will be passed along quickly. Involving women in development projects would entail visiting courtyards and qat parties to discuss possibilities in poultry raising, vegetable gardening, etc. Demonstrations in households would be an effective way of training women in poultry housing, feed, vaccination, sanitation, vegetable gardening, etc. At a later stage local women could be paid a salary to extend information and techniques to other households.

A major claim against using women in agricultural development is that in Yemen 99% of the women are illiterate. However, women do play a major role and possess a great deal of knowledge in poultry raising, animal husbandry, and all other aspects of agriculture. As women will not as a group be educated in a school system for perhaps another 30 years, it is important that women now be employed to introduce and disseminate information valuable to all of the agricultural society by increasing productivity and improving nutrition. In all areas of agricultural development, training of women is essential because it is women who will remain in the area and who will be able to continue extension activities if trained properly, whereas men, once trained, are free to leave the area--and probably will. Developing of tapes for dissemination of information could be undertaken in health, nutrition, pest control, mixing of poultry feed, etc.; if successful, the use of tape recordings could be expanded to form the

nucleus of an adult education program covering such topics as general science, history, and geography. Similarly, slides, movies, and other visual aids could be utilized to educate both women and men in the anticipated results of a particular development project or to help explain abstract concepts as contamination of water and food, etc.

A multi-disciplinary program particularly involving women in poultry raising, animal husbandry, and vegetable gardening, and training these women to extend the information, would go a long way towards improving the overall health, nutrition, and productivity of the area. A planned program of extension should be devised which local women counterparts will be able to carry out after the foreign personnel leave. Initial foreign personnel need not be agricultural, animal husbandry, or poultry experts, since there are plenty of technicians in Yemen--WHO, UN, AID, SIRDEP, the German Farm, British Veterinarians, etc.--but need to be people who can transmit the highly technical knowledge to the people concerned, and to train people who will be able to extend the information when the foreigners leave. In some cases, this extension may require salaried workers; in others, innovations may spread of their own force, provided easy access is available.

1. Poultry

A. Locate household to set up demonstration of local feed which will improve egg/meat production of local chickens. Use household in which local housing facility can be used as a model for improvements in housing facilities for chickens. Train women in this household or others interested in technology of raising chickens regarding sanitary conditions, water, and feed requirements, etc., and select one to further extend information on mixing of feed, etc., to other households in the area. Bring in women from surrounding villages to extend information to other villages.

B. Train a woman in inoculation of chickens for New Castle and hire her to inoculate chickens in the area.

C. Introduce new varieties of chickens same as #1 above.

2. Husbandry

A. Determine a household interested in introducing lucerne as a feed supply and use it as a model for improvement in milk production. Select a woman to extend methods, procedures to other households.

B. Train one woman in inoculation of cattle for Rinderpest and other prevalent diseases and provide salary to continue inoculation of cattle in the area.

3. Vegetable Gardening

A. Develop demonstration vegetable garden in interested household; give seeds and instruction in planting, cultivation methods, etc., to women in household.

B. Hire women to distribute seeds and extend information in cultivation to other households.

C. Using household where model compost bin is present, train women in technology of building compost; hire someone to extend information.

4. Agriculture

Locate women and/or work teams of women and set up field demonstrations or trials of sorghum/millet or other grain or vegetable crops. Women salaried for their work and for extending information and involving other women in teaching methodology of cultivation, disease and pest control, fertilization practices, etc.

5. Health and Nutrition

Set up a mother-child health clinic. Involve women and train them in sanitation, health practices, nutrition. Hire women to help set up demonstrations and visual aids on water filters, importance of breast feeding, sources of disease, etc.

6. Crafts and Commerical Activity

Investigate interest and availability of skills for setting up light craft industry and help interested women to gain access to necessary supplies and to organize system for marketing their wares.

7. Social Development

Additional research needs to be done to determine the most feasible approach to such potential social development projects as adult education, formal women's organizations, and the like. A scout troupe might be formed and girls trained in nutrition, needlework and crafts, experimental farm techniques, care of poultry, animal husbandry, and the like. Later, these girls might help with demonstrations and provide a firm basis for perpetuation of the project after the foreigners leave.