

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 290 663

SO 018 691

TITLE Development with Women: Mainstreamed or Marginal? Hearing before the Select Committee on Hunger, House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, First Session.

INSTITUTION Congress of the U.S., Washington, DC. House Select Committee on Hunger.

PUB DATE 8 Apr 87

NOTE 55p.; Serial No. 100-6.

AVAILABLE FROM Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.

PUB TYPE Legal/Legislative/Regulatory Materials (090)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS *Developing Nations; *Economic Development; *Females; *Foreign Policy; Hearings; International Cooperation; International Education; International Organizations; International Programs; International Relations; Modernization; Primary Sources

IDENTIFIERS Agency for International Development; Congress 100th; World Bank

ABSTRACT

The status of efforts to integrate women into the development assistance projects and programs funded by the U.S. government was the subject of this hearing. Representative Elizabeth J. Patterson, Democrat from South Carolina, pointed out that women in developing nations must work 17 hours per day for the survival of their families. Testimony was given by Dr. Iren Tinker, director of the Equity Policy Center, who reviewed the strategies followed by the Agency for International Development (AID), the World Bank, and United Nations agencies to integrate women into development policies. Elise Fiber Smith, the Executive Director of the Overseas Education Fund (OEF) International, discussed the strengths and the accomplishments made by private voluntary organizations (PVO's) in improving the participation of women in the development process. Mary Hill Rojas, president of the Association for Women in Development, discussed the importance of gender factors in agricultural production and strategies to improve low resource farmers access to extension, credit, and other development resources. The document contains the prepared statements of Kay Davies, Director, Office of Women in Development (AID); Kaval Gulhati, president, Centre for Development and Population Activities; Mary Hill Rojas, Elise Fiber Smith, and Irene Tinker. Also, the responses to questions are provided. (SM)

 * Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
 * from the original document. *

ED290663

20

DEVELOPMENT WITH WOMEN: MAINSTREAMED OR MARGINAL?

HEARING BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ONE HUNDREDTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, APRIL 8, 1987

Serial No. 100-6

Printed for the use of the Select Committee on Hunger



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

- This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
- Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

73-709

WASHINGTON : 1987

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402

167819C



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

MICKEY LELAND, Texas, *Chairman*

TONY P. HALL, Ohio
BOB TRAXLER, Michigan
LEON E. PANETTA, California
VIC FAZIO, California
SAM GEJDENSON, Connecticut
PETER H. KOSTMAYER, Pennsylvania
BYRON L. DORGAN, North Dakota
BOB CARR, Michigan
TIMOTHY J. PENNY, Minnesota
GARY L. ACKERMAN, New York
MIKE ESPY, Mississippi
FLOYD H. FLAKE, New York
JAMES H. BILBRAY, Nevada
KWEISI MFUME, Maryland
ELIZABETH J. PATTERSON, South Carolina

MARGE ROUKEMA, New Jersey
BILL EMERSON, Missouri
SID MORRISON, Washington
BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, New York
ROBERT F. (BOB) SMITH, Oregon
DOUG BEREUTER, Nebraska
FREDERICK S. UPTON, Michigan

(II)

REF ID: A611278

CONTENTS

	Page
Hearing held in Washington, DC, April 8, 1987	1
Statement of:	
Davies, Kay, Director, Office of Women in Development, U.S. Agency for International Development [A.I.D.]	17
Leland, Hon. Mickey, a Representative in Congress from the State of Texas, opening statement of.....	1
Patterson, Hon. Elizabeth J., a Representative in Congress from the State of South Carolina, opening statement of.....	2
Rojas, Mary Hill, assistant director, Office of International Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University on behalf of the Association for Women in Development [AWID].....	11
Smith, Elise Fiber, executive director, Overseas Education Fund [OEF] International	8
Tinker, Irene, director, Equity Policy Center	4
Prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, et cetera:	
Davies, Kay, Director, Office of Women in Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development [A.I.D.]:	
Prepared statement of	41
Responses to questions submitted by:	
Hon. Mickey Leland	44
Hon. Benjamin A. Gilman	47
Gulhati, Kaval, president, Centre for Development and Population Activities [CEDPA], prepared statement of.....	49
Rojas, Mary Hill, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University:	
Prepared statement of	37
Responses to questions submitted by Hon. Mickey Leland	40
Smith, Elise Fiber, executive director, OEF International:	
Prepared statement of	35
Responses to questions submitted by Hon. Mickey Leland	36
Tinker, Irene, director, Equity Policy Center:	
Prepared statement of	29
Responses to questions submitted by Hon. Mickey Leland	33

DEVELOPMENT WITH WOMEN: MAINSTREAMED OR MARGINAL?

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8, 1987

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:35 a.m., in room 2359A, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Mickey Leland (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Dorgan, Bilbray, Mfume, Paterson, and Robert (Bob) Smith.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MICKEY LELAND, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS

Chairman LELAND. Good morning. I'm pleased to welcome our distinguished witnesses to this hearing of the Select Committee on Hunger. Today we will be discussing the status of efforts to integrate women in development assistance projects and programs funded by the U.S. Government.

This committee consistently finds that women in developing countries play roles which are vital to strengthening the economies of their countries and to the health and survival of their families.

However, much of women's work suffers from a problem of visibility because it occurs outside the mainstream of the formal sector. This invisibility problem has contributed to the failure to adequately include women in the planning, design, and management of development projects, programs, and activities. Unfortunately, women have been viewed more as passive beneficiaries than as active participants in development projects.

Neglect or token participation of women in development projects has been costly in terms of failed projects and wasted resources. For example, a project which established a small tree plantation in Niger to provide a future supply of fuelwood trained men to care for the seedlings and young trees.

In that country, caring for plants is considered to be the work of women. But women were not included in the training or any other aspect of the project. As a result, the training was wasted and the project did not succeed.

Similarly, the failure of many water supply projects can be traced to a failure to include women, who are most responsible for carrying and using water in decisionmaking. Because women have not been trained to repair pumps and have not had input in deter-

(1)

mining where wells should be located, many water projects have not been sustained.

More than 10 years ago the Foreign Assistance Act was amended mandating that U.S. development assistance give special attention to programs, projects, and activities which integrate women into national economies. Since then much has been learned about the problems and constraints involved with integrating women in development assistance strategies. But much stronger actions could and must be taken to overcome those problems and constraints.

In this day of scarce development resources, we cannot afford to bypass or ignore women or to minimize their roles in the development process. We must find ways of overcoming the barriers to their full participation.

As I have stated before, I believe development which includes women as active participants is not only equitable, but it makes economic sense.

I know that our witnesses today bring a wealth of experience to this issue. Before they are introduced, however, I'd like to excuse myself to meet with Speaker Wright for a very important briefing that we have on Friday. The Speaker has asked me, as chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, to travel with him to the Soviet Union where we're going to try to get some cooperative measures through a project established with the Soviet Union.

My able replacement is herself a woman, and will prove to you today, this day, and to all of us in Congress, that indeed here in this country, not just in developing nations, women can do as well as men who chair these committees, and supposedly run this Congress, and will prove, to be a most invaluable person on this committee. She is new to the committee, so this being her first opportunity, I presume, to chair a committee of the Congress, I wish her well and want to publicly thank her for taking over this morning.

I'll try to return as soon as I can, but return only to be a member of the committee and allowing the gentlelady from South Carolina to maintain the chair. And I thank the gentlelady for assuming the chair at this time.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. ELIZABETH J. PATTERSON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. PATTERSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your kind words, and I know you do have to leave at this time. I am pleased to participate in this important hearing and to serve as Chair while you're meeting with the Speaker. I'll try to keep it in control until you get back.

The more I learn about women in the Third World and the tremendous contribution they make to the welfare and development of their countries, the more I'm surprised that so much of our development assistance has bypassed them for so long.

In the Third World many women work a 17-hour day. The typical work day for a rural African women begins before 5 a.m. and doesn't end until close to midnight. Why do they work such hours? Because it's essential for the survival of their families.

It's the women who have the responsibility for getting water and firewood. It's the women who raise the food crops that feed the family. And it's the women's earnings which often pay for medicine and education. I don't doubt that there are women in our country who work 17 hours a day. But here it is the exception and there it's the rule.

The facts are that the poorest, least educated, hardest working and sadly the most unhealthy people in the Third World are women. Yet, with all of these strikes against them, they represent the best hope for the future well-being of their countries.

If we are truly interested in helping Third World countries with economic development, then we must make sure that their people can not only survive, but prosper.

They must have access to education, adequate housing, and be free from malnutrition. To accomplish this, our development assistance efforts can no longer ignore or bypass these countries greatest, yet most neglected, resource, their women.

As Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania, once observed, "A person cannot walk very far or very fast on one leg. How can we expect half the people to be able to develop a nation?"

As our chairman, Mr. Leland, has pointed out, "past failures have often been the result of the exclusion of women." And it is my belief that in this time of weakening Third World economies, increasing public opposition to foreign aid, and severe budget restraints, we cannot afford failure.

Today we have a panel of experts and a representative from the Agency for International Development to tell us more about current and past efforts to mainstream women in development projects and programs.

First we will hear testimonies from our expert witnesses and direct questions to them. Then we'll proceed to A.I.D.'s witness for testimony and questions. I am hopeful that we will leave this hearing with the strengthening commitment to action.

The first witness is Dr. Irene Tinker. Dr. Tinker's involvement with women's issues and development policy is longstanding. In fact, she played an important role in getting section 113, known as the women in development amendment, added to the Foreign Assistance Act. Dr. Tinker will be reviewing the strategies followed by A.I.D., the World Bank, and other U.N. agencies to better integrate women in development policies.

Following Dr. Tinker's testimony we will hear from Elise Fiber Smith, the executive director of OEF International, a private, non-profit organization, whose primary focus is to improve the economic condition of low-income women throughout the Third World.

Mrs. Smith will discuss the strengths and accomplishments made by PVO's in improving the participation of women in the development process.

Our third panelist is Dr. Mary Hill Rojas, president of the Association for Women in Development, and assistant director of the Office of International Development at Virginia Tech.

Dr. Rojas will discuss the importance of gender factors in agricultural production and strategies to improve low resource farmers' access to extension, credit, and other development resources.

Dr. Tinker, as our first panel member, you may begin. We look forward to hearing your testimony.

Thank you.

Ms. TINKER. Thank you very much, Congresswoman Patterson.

STATEMENT OF IRENE TINKER, DIRECTOR, EQUITY POLICY CENTER

Ms. TINKER. It gives me great pleasure to appear today before the Select Committee on Hunger for its hearing on the integration of women in development. The first congressional hearing on this important issue was also before the Committee on Foreign Affairs', Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations.

Congressman Donald Fraser requested my testimony as part of a series on the "International Problem of Human Rights," on October 24, 1973.

The focus of our testimony then was the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, referred to by Congressman Leland, concerning the integration of women into the development process as required by an amendment that had just been introduced by Senator Percy.

The basic issue underlying that amendment, the frequent adverse impact of development on poor women, has not disappeared. However, we have today a much greater understanding of the extent and cause of the problem and extensive experience with interventions designed to ameliorate the negative impacts.

Development is primarily concerned with economic growth, and two decades ago there was almost no data about women's economic activities outside the modern sector. Thus, the gathering of statistics on women's work, for many people, became a major preoccupation at that time. Our assumption has been, and continues to be, that if women are proved to be valuable contributors to the gross national product, then development programs will be designed to reach and include and benefit women as well as men.

After 15 years of research, we have thoroughly documented that women work; that the poorer the household the more important is the economic activity and/or the income of the women to the family's survival; that technology has undercut women's traditional methods of making money; that agricultural innovations have generally increased women's work; and that the income of women is more likely to benefit the family than income to the man.

In my written testimony I have footnoted much of the research that has taken place in the last 15 years to show that these facts are true. The committee members themselves were using many of these facts in their statements, so I don't think there is any point in going over in detail what we now know about women's work in agriculture in the different parts of the world.

However, published data is always behind reality. For example, the stress on environment is increasing so fast, due to population growth and new agricultural technologies, that we find that the other activities that women must do to survive in rural areas are becoming so overwhelming that they must reduce time spent on agriculture.

A recent study in North India shows that women expend two and one half times as much human energy gathering fuel and fodder as

they spend on agriculture. Clearly time is a major constraint for poor rural women, a fact of great importance to recall when trying to consider increase agricultural production.

Another major constraint is the growing number of women headed households who constitute, around the world, about one out of every three families. Official U.S. Census statistics, which tend to undercount this phenomena, report that women headed households are 45 percent of all households in Botswana, 34 percent in Jamaica, and over 20 percent of all households in the following countries; Malawi, Sudan, Ghana, Rwanda, El Salvador, Panama, Peru, Guyana, Venezuela, and Hong Kong.

Women headed households in rural areas are generally landless and so are among the 40 percent of all rural families who buy food. There's a tendency to think that if you increase production in rural areas there will be more food to go around. But with 40 percent of the people landless, governments encourage greater production by raising farmgate prices. Higher prices to the farmers means an increase of food costs to the landless.

In cities women tend to work in informal sector activities because of the flexibility it allows them to combine their two roles: earning income and caring for children. Worldwide we know that the poorest of the poor are always women headed households; therefore, they are most likely to be among the malnourished.

The World Bank figures show that 51 percent of the people in low income countries do not consume enough calories to carry on an active working life. That's over one-half the people. Unfortunately, the Bank does not disaggregate its figures by male and female, but it is instructive that two-thirds of the undernourished live in South Asia where deeply ingrained biases result in much greater malnutrition among women. One-fifth live in sub-Saharan Africa with its growing food deficits.

These data show some commonalities around the world, but they also underscore the variations in the lives of women. Thus, while it is possible to make a set of guidelines for designing and administering development programs, such programs must be adapted to the needs of women in a particular country at a particular time and in a particular setting. Let me note some important issues in running such programs.

It is important to avoid the trap of either/or; yet we tend to discuss whether women's projects should be separate or integrated. In fact, they should be both. Generally if you want to reach women in almost any country, I think even here, it's usually best to meet with them alone. But to set up programs outside the administration or planning structures for development purposes is to marginalize those programs. So one needs both separate and integrated strategies within programs.

Similarly, in development agencies it is absolutely essential to have an office or a focal point for women, staffed by someone whose job it is to reiterate the importance of including women in development programs, and too as a major information source.

But such an office is not sufficient. Support of decisionmakers in Congress and in the administration of the donor agencies is absolutely imperative. High level support by Barber Conable, a former Congressman, has allowed Barbara Herz in the World Bank to

greatly increase programs designed to reach women; both the safe motherhood initiative—which I wish we had thought of 20 years ago—and new agricultural extension efforts.

A.I.D. has reduced its interest in women in recent years, but it does have a pilot project on extension. The best extension project, however, that I have any information about is run by IFAD, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, in Cameroon, where male and female extension workers work with farmers groups of both men and women.

IFAD has recognized the importance of women's agricultural activity from its founding, and should be supported.

Within the U.N. system, UNIFEM, or the U.N. Fund for Women, has provided the impetus for UNDP to integrate women in their projects. A recently established office in UNDP will monitor the integration of its programs as well for the new director, William Draper.

INSTRAW, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, on which I served as an American board member during the first 4 years of its existence, works with the U.N. statistical office, with UNICEF and with other parts of the U.N. to ensure that data on women are collected and utilized in future planning and that women are included in all training programs.

So all of these offices serve as focal points and pressure groups in addition to running their own programs or doing their own studies. But without high level support from the heads of donor agencies, there is no way that women will be part of all of the programs that are appropriate, and that's what our goal should be.

Another dichotomy to be avoided is the assumption that programs are either for women or for men. Most people, even women headed households, live in kin networks which include both men and women of all ages. Programs must be designed to benefit the family, not only one member of it.

Too long development has been channeled only to men. This may have encouraged the family disorganization that causes the women headed households. But integrating women in development means basing programs on equity for the family and community as well as for the women themselves.

A final dichotomy that must be avoided is between micro and macro policies. Too often food subsidies or pricing policies have differential impacts both by class and by sex.

UNICEF has led the development community with its focus on the impact of debt rescheduling on children. Similar studies should be made concerning the impact of specific macro policies on poor women.

For example, land tenure is a particularly critical policy for women in Africa, and one that will directly influence food production in the next century. Population projections of 700 million people in Africa in the year 2000 are bound to change the subsistence agriculture.

Women, the farmers of Africa south of the Sahara, have only traditional use rights on the land. As population pressure increases, and the privatization of land accelerates, who will be the farmers of Africa in the future?

If men take up farming, will they alter their current traditions and begin to take responsibilities for supporting their children and wives, which is not traditional in this part of Africa? Women have to support their own children. What is, or should be, the balance between equity and production?

As this committee takes up issues of hunger in Africa, could it not suggest that a projection be made of what African agriculture would look like in 50 and in 100 years, if current programs and policies are followed? Once the scenarios are described, the alternatives should be examined in terms of both equity and production.

I have just suggested a study looking ahead 50 years. In development terms that's not a long time. After all, we're only in the third U.N. development decade. The concern with women in development has only been around one-half that time. Yet, everything seems to speed up these days with faster communications, faster travel, increasing migration, and rapid population growth.

We are indeed all becoming part of a global village. It behooves us to be concerned about the hungry and the poor and the women everywhere.

I thank you for the opportunity of sharing my thoughts, triumphs and concerns with you today, as you search for ways to achieve an equitable and sustainable future.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Tinker appears at the conclusion of the hearing, see p. 29.]

Mrs. PATTERSON. Thank you, Dr. Tinker. During your testimony we had two other members of the committee join us and I'd like to recognize them at this time; Congressman Dorgan from North Dakota and Congressman Mfume from Maryland.

Would either of you all like to make a statement at this time? If not, I'd like to ask you some questions. I'm still in the learning stage so I need, as a freshman, need to ask lots of questions.

What do you think of the proposals which have been made to eliminate or decrease the role played by A.I.D.'s Women in Development Office? What do you think would happen to the women in development initiative if this did happen?

Dr. TINKER. I think it would be disastrous. There has already been a decreasing emphasis and concern with that office over the last 7 years, and I think it's very clear that as a result there has been less pressure on the Agency rather than more to increase its concern of including women in all of its programs.

I think the people in the WID Office have tried to make do with their decreasing resources, but as I said before, if you do not have a focal point where people both from the outside and inside the Agency can come for information, women will drop out of A.I.D. programming.

Without such an office to provide pertinent data to other parts of the Agency, facts on women are over looked. For example, you have the World Bank report on poverty and hunger which does not mention women once. Yet, we can come up with statistics documenting the increased hunger among women, as I tried to do in my short talk today.

So I think that without a focal point, without a person with direct responsibilities for reviewing and monitoring projects women will not stay as a major priority.

I think what happens in a bureaucracy is that there are so many competing pressures, just like there are among in Congress, that someone has to keep reminding you of specific issues. Since we don't really know enough about how to encourage or direct social change for men or for women it is important to have experts on women in development who can help other people running projects.

I think that, therefore, it's absolutely essential that an office in A.I.D. be strengthened.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Thank you. I will notice that I was given my little directions of what I should do, and I was supposed to hold questions for each witness until later. I sort of jumped the gun because I was interested. Maybe we should go ahead and hear the next testimony, and that would be from Elise Fiber Smith.

**STATEMENT OF ELISE FIBER SMITH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
OVERSEAS EDUCATION FUND (OEF) INTERNATIONAL**

Ms. SMITH. Thank you very much. I'm pleased to be here before the members of the Select Committee on Hunger. I want to congratulate you on scheduling the hearing, as well as introducing new legislation to strengthen the women in development sections of the Foreign Assistance Act.

We at OEF also appreciate being asked to identify types of assistance that should be provided and methods of providing that assistance.

As you know, my name is Elise Smith and I'm the executive director of OEF International. We've had over 40 years of experience as a private voluntary organization focusing on enabling women to participate fully in the economic and political life of their countries. We've worked in over 70 countries during that long history, before women in development was really discussed.

But one of the points I'm going to emphasize in my testimony is the role of private voluntary organizations in further integrating women in the development process, and the enormous potential being presented as private voluntary organizations play an increasing important role in channeling foreign assistance. I then want to look specifically at types of assistance that would be useful to you as you examine the issues of mainstreaming and individualized projects for women.

One of the things that we at OEF see is that the PVO's have a major role to play in integrating women in development. In addition, PVO's are becoming more important as a channel for foreign assistance to the Third World.

It's already been acknowledged in the Gilman amendment to the foreign assistance authorization bill that there should be a reassessment of the ratio between private and public foreign assistance. Private voluntary groups are those that have the capacity to deliver assistance much more effectively, inexpensively and innovatively, and to my mind reach women more effectively, because they work at the grassroots areas level they concentrate on individuals with the greatest needs, and they recognize that women are a sig-

nificant part of the population that they have to reach in order for effective development to occur.

So within that context, I think it's important to note that about 2 weeks ago in London a major meeting of international PVO's was held, which included both Third World countries and European countries, Canada, and the United States. Out of that meeting came two points that I want to emphasize about why the NGO's and their links to women are going to become increasingly important.

First, with the recognition that NGO's worldwide are going to move from a peripheral to a central role in providing leadership for national and international development within the next 10 years, women have to be a critical part of that leadership, both in indigenous PVO's and within the international NGO community.

Second, within this context there's going to be a more mature partnership between NGO's in the host countries in the Third World and their United States or Canadian or European counterparts. Again, you're talking about women being an important leadership factor in that equal partnership.

Now, this comes back to the question of whether women are going to be ready to move forward, both in indigenous PVO's with women's organizations and other development groups, or whether they are going to be lagging behind in their capacity to provide leadership.

I would like to mention that until now, development policies have concentrated primarily on women as beneficiaries. When the women in development policy is far-sighted, such as at A.I.C., implementation still does not fully represent that policy.

We at OEF believe that there is a need for women-specific projects in areas where women have little or no experience, expertise, or acceptance. I think that's really critical, because if women do not have the skills to fulfill their capacity in leadership and management areas, they are not going to be able to fulfill roles in their own indigenous organizations or on other levels in international development activities.

We believe that the goal in the long run is to mainstream women in the development process. But in terms of preparing women to take their full place in their countries' economies, women-specific projects are still very important.

When we talk about women-specific projects, the idea is not to projectize women's concerns, though, but rather to design those projects within the context of a major development sector proposal. I can give you examples of this out of OEF's experience.

In Honduras, we're carrying out a swine project which is part of a national livestock program. In Somalia, we are carrying out an agroforestry project, that does not work solely with small women's groups throughout Northern Somalia, but rather is part of a major sector program in reforestation and renewable energy involving the National Range Agency and the Somali Women's Democratic Organization in working with Somali women and men and Ethiopian refugees.

But in the development projects that we've examined, both in women-specific projects in this larger sector approach and in terms of women's leadership within the development community, our as-

assessment in Latin America, Africa, the Caribbean tells us that women leaders and managers in local organizations need technical assistance to ensure that their development efforts can become sustainable.

What kinds of assistance do they really need? I'm talking about assistance to women's organizations, primarily indigenous women's organizations in the Third World, to prepare them to take leadership roles and to realize policy and institutional changes that support development efforts.

First, we at OEF believe—and I know the PVO community itself is going to move in this direction—that there is a need for strengthening the strategic organizational capacities, of women's organizations and development organizations with emphasis on women. This translates into training in strategic management skills with attention to institutional and policy initiatives. These indigenous organizations also need skills to mobilize resources in their own countries.

Women's organizations and development organizations emphasizing women need to be involved in other networks so that their organizations can carry out their development work more effectively. Thus, there's a need to support the growth of networks of local and national complementary institutions to strengthen the vertical and horizontal linkages among women.

All of this empowers women with the kinds of skills necessary for them to be part of the planning and decisionmaking process in their own countries.

Finally, I want to mention that in OEF's programs which look at training and technical assistance at one level and management skill training at another level to increase the capacity of local organizations to carry out development programs effectively, we continually hear women say that they want to be involved in the design and planning of projects; they want to be able to manage projects; they want to be part of the national decisionmaking apparatus to help decide on the allocation of resources; and they want to be able to articulate needs of women at the grassroots level and link them to policies at the top. But women with the capacity to carry out that role are scarce because of lack of training opportunities.

So as you consider recommendations to be incorporated in the legislation, I want to re-emphasize that more attention should be given to providing training and technical assistance in the areas of organizational and management skills for women leaders, women entrepreneurs, women's organizations, and development organizations focusing on women.

Second, I recommend that you seriously consider the concepts outlined in the African famine bill that I mentioned earlier, as well as the Gilman amendment which talks about the significant part that the PVO's can play in working with and reaching women with these kinds of organizational skills training.

Third, I want to stress that PVO's are a major vehicle for reaching women, and I think that to strengthen their capacity to reach more women is a significant goal.

Finally, I totally support Irene Tinker's statement that the women in development office at A.I.D. has a critical role to play as

a catalyst in our bilateral programs to implement the policies that A.I.D. has defined, including the increased use of PVO capacity.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Thank you. I'm sure you're probably more accustomed to all these bills and interruptions than I am. But you all just stand by me if my voting record comes before the group at home and the voters in 2 years and they say I missed a vote, tell them I was with you, OK?

[The prepared statement of Ms. Smith appears at the conclusion of the hearing, see p. 35.]

Mrs. PATTERSON. We could recess, but this is just a vote on the journals, so I would like to stay and continue on. I hope that our other members will return.

Now we'll move on and we'll hear from Dr. Mary Hill Rojas.

**STATEMENT OF MARY HILL ROJAS, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR,
OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, VIRGINIA POLY-
TECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY, ON BEHALF OF
THE ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT [AWID]**

Ms. ROJAS. Thank you very much. I feel very privileged to be here today before this committee representing the membership of the Association for Women in Development, better known as AWID. The collective membership of AWID represents an exceedingly rich source of expertise and experience both in the field of development in general and with women in development in particular. And I think we need to keep that in mind because it is a source to draw upon not only for your committee but for the Federal Government in general.

It is a multidisciplinary association which draws its membership from a wide variety of private and voluntary organizations, multi-lateral organizations, universities, and individuals with an interest in women in developing regions.

One of the constituencies of the association is the land grant university within the United States. And as a faculty member of one of those universities, I'd like to share with you a little bit of my perspective with women and development at the campus level.

I teach a course with a rather cumbersome title, called working with limited resource families in developing regions through extension. And the first thing we do with our students is to get them to look at the component parts of that title.

We ask them, for example—and these students, I might remind you, are primarily from Virginia—define a family. We asked them to define family structures. We then design for them various family configurations. The United States' idea of a nuclear family, the polygamous family, the extended family, the female-headed household.

We talk about decisionmaking and income distribution within families. We ask what are resources for a farm household. Using by way of example the most common, land, labor, and capital, we ask who in the family has title to land. What is the division of labor within the family. Who plants, who weeds, who harvests, who has access to which resources, and who controls them?

We ask what does limited mean to them. The students usually name lack of political power, lack of education, and poverty. They name being too old and too young. They name being of minority groups and they name being female.

Then we ask them why family structure and an understanding of resources and their allocation is important to agricultural production, and why they are important to the field practitioner and the extension agent. Invariably for these students, most of whom who have never been outside of the State of Virginia, the importance of gender or understanding the roles of rural women and men and their access to and control over resources emerges as a critical element in understanding all agricultural systems.

The students, who are, for the most part, not only Virginians, but also in the agricultural sciences; agronomy, soil scientists, horticulturalists, and who, for the most part, have never heard of women in development, identify, on their own, what have become known as women in development issues.

They understand that if land title and access to credit are linked and titles are in the man's name, then access to a vital resource is curtailed for women. They understand that if a woman's primary responsibility is to feed her family through subsistence crops, then the introduction of cash crops that demand her time and labor may be in conflict with the nutrition of her family.

They understand that if the man is considered head of the household and is given credit to buy a tractor, he soon cultivates more land. They see that the woman and her daughter must then weed a larger area.

The students begin to understand the choices that they must make as extension agents and the impact these choices may have on the various members of the low resource farm family, as well as on agricultural production.

Through the women in development literature we have learned a great deal about how to better work with the low resource farm families and what information we need to know to do so.

We know that gender plays a large role in the labor constraints in agricultural production. Male migration out of rural areas leaves women with work they traditionally have not done, such as clearing land. New practices may contribute to a heavier work load for women and their subsequent refusal to adopt the technologies introduced.

We know that when women have control over crops or livestock there is an incentive for them to try innovations. A choice between a dairy project and a beef cattle project is often a choice between targeting women or targeting men.

We know that women and men often have conflicting views of agricultural resources. A woman's concerns with the forest are to find firewood and building poles for her family's needs. A man sees these products as cash crops. A woman sees the forest as a source of food, fodder, medicines, and raw materials for baskets and mats. A man does not usually consider these uses of the forest.

We know that agricultural yield, the standard criteria of researchers, often does not take into consideration the preferences and priorities of village women and men. Cassava, for example, traditionally a women's crop, was grown on an experimental station

and produced a high yield. However, the new variety deprived women of the leaf harvest and they refused to adopt it.

Based on what we know, then, from the women in development literature, we must provide training and research, and we must base this training and research on the priorities and needs of the low resource farm families, especially women as they are the food producers of the world.

We particularly need to empower the limited resource rural woman by providing her with more access to the resources and opportunities that will allow her to better utilize and control the options opened to her and to her family.

We need practitioners who understand that agricultural production and agricultural yield are only a part of the equation. Those of us concerned with women in development are concerned with all of these issues, often at the household level. We are concerned with research at this level and with the links between this research and extension and training.

In the recent evaluation on women in development by the U.S. Agency for International Development, those agricultural projects that did gender analysis and adapted the project activities based on the analysis had a greater success rate than those that did not.

Although the report does not attempt to explain the cause of this, I believe the answer is simple: gender analysis focuses our attention on the women and men at the household level, and it is here that the success or failure of development often ultimately lies.

In this regard, it is obvious that the field of women in development is making an invaluable contribution to the development process.

Thank you for the privilege of being with you.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Thank you, Dr. Rojas.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Rojas appears at the conclusion of the hearing, see p. 37.]

Mrs. PATTERSON. Until our other members come back, I'll just have my field day and get to ask all the questions. And then when they return, we'll go on.

Mrs. Smith, let me ask you, does the PVO community have specific recommendations to make to the Select Committee on Hunger for better including women in development activities?

Mrs. SMITH. Well, what the PVO community has been doing for the last few years has been to strengthen its capacity in the design of programs. I know that PVO's believe that gender analysis at every level is absolutely critical for their programs.

So while they have not set out a specific set of recommendations for this committee, the sense in the PVO community is that since most PVO's reach women in many ways, often through women-specific projects, they are committed to increasing the management capabilities of women at the local grassroots level. They therefore would recommend to this committee that priorities be given to resources that provide that kind of training.

One group, the Center for Development and Population Activities has certainly worked extensively to train women managers for better delivery of services and development programs. Groups like Save the Children reach many women beneficiaries in integrated

programs, but they're trying to train women to have skills to carry out a leadership role in those integrated programs.

So by looking on a case-by-case basis at the work of individual PVO's you can see that they believe that women need to be involved in project design and planning, as well as trained in management skills to enable them to be directors of those development projects. That is a recommendation that I believe the PVO community would present to this committee because of the work they've done in the past.

Mrs. PATTERSON. I guess I should ask Dr. Rojas a question. Do you think by increasing the number of female agricultural extension agents in developing countries is sufficient to increase the women's farmers access to extension services?

Ms. ROJAS. No, I don't. I think it's one part, again, of the equation. However, I also think that there have been interesting studies on using male extension workers to address women's needs through training of men and women, and I think that's certainly a possibility.

Mrs. PATTERSON. And do you think that we can train men to be more sensitive to the women farmer's needs?

Ms. ROJAS. Oh, absolutely. And I think my example perhaps of my Virginian students proves the case. They become very sensitive to women's needs. Also there was an interesting study by an Anita Spring in Malawi that showed how in fact they did sensitize, if you will, men extension agents to work with women and the various methodologies that they used to do so.

Mrs. PATTERSON. I thought it was very interesting in your statement to say how you started your class off in asking them to define the different words and the title of the—

Ms. ROJAS. Yes, right.

Mrs. PATTERSON. And coming from a rural southern State I can relate to that. If you ask students in South Carolina, you know, what is a family, the—

Ms. ROJAS. Well, for extension agents, of course, it's very important to know who they're dealing with. And if they only think in terms of a nuclear family, especially in other countries outside the United States, they're missing the boat.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Dr. Rojas, could you briefly describe or give an example of how development project activities can be or have been adapted to gender analysis?

Ms. ROJAS. Well, one that Virginia Tech was involved with was the resource conservation and utilization project in Nepal. Initially that project, which was basically looking at the problems of deforestation in Nepal, did not address women at all. You may or may not know, that in Nepal there's a very high illiteracy rate among women. About 5 percent of the women are literate.

The women were being totally ignored, forgotten, let me put it that way, not ignored, in the project. In fact the women have a primary responsibility for the forests in Nepal. They collect the fodder, they collect fuel wood for cooking—the project was missing a vital element in their hopes for reforestation.

Virginia Tech then had an anthropologist who went to Nepal and made certain recommendations to include women throughout the program. For the first time they had women in the school of

forestry. That meant they had to adapt the facilities for women, much like we've had to adapt the facilities, I believe, in Congress to allow for women.

And they have done that, and there are women students now at the school of forestry, who then go back to their own local areas and work with village women to help with the whole reforestation program.

Mrs. PATTERSON. I'd like to welcome at this time another member of the committee, another freshman, Congressman Bilbray.

Would you have any statement to give at this time?

Mr. BILBRAY. No, I'm just going to listen for the moment.

Mrs. PATTERSON. He's a very good listener, I know, as a member of the freshman class with him. We welcome you. We're glad you cast your vote and came on over.

I have no further questions. Do any members have questions?

Ms. TINKER. I wonder if I could add something to the question of extension workers.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Yes, please.

Ms. TINKER. This, I think, is a very critical issue and is one where again I think it varies very much by culture. But part of the difficulty is the local status of different kinds of crops. You have to take into consideration also the difficulty of male extension workers being able to reach women unless they're in groups.

The particular project that I mentioned in Cameroon has tried to address this issue by creating groups of women and men, then training both men and women extension workers in different kinds of crops: coffee is a male crop, and maize is a women's crop. Information on both crops are taken to both men and women. This is important because the sexual divisions between the crops are changing as the price for the maize goes up and the coffee price goes down and the coffee bushes get older.

This is one of the reasons that I consider land tenure so important; as men begin to grow maize for sale, how will the women be able to keep back maize to feed their own family?

Mrs. PATTERSON. I have been handed a question that's very interesting to me, so I would like to get your response to this.

Dr. Tinker, I understand that you have worked extensively in India, and I learned recently that India accounts for about one-third of all infant mortality in the world. I've also been told that there's a definite gender bias revealed in child survival statistics in India, reflecting preferential treatment of males within the household with regard to health care, nutrition and et cetera. All of this is very disturbing to me.

And what, if anything, do you think A.I.D. and other development assistant agencies could do to reverse this pattern?

Ms. TINKER. South Asia is the only part of the world where there are in total population fewer women than men, because biologically women tend to live longer. It has very high maternal mortality and it has a feeding pattern which tends to result in high female infant mortality both caused by the low status of women. Also, in most of the society, the family must give money, a dowry in order to marry a daughter. So girls are expensive to get rid of as well as to feed.

In some of the lower classes in India, as well as in Africa, there is a bride price; this indicate that women's labor is worth something and so the husband's family buys the wife's labor. It's a very interesting switch. In south India, one study showed that after agricultural innovations have come in and the farmers get more money, they take the women off the fields to give the family higher status, and immediately the women are no longer economically useful. The same caste group went from a bride price to a dowry in one generation.

What can be done about this? Well, this is a deeply ingrained and historical problem. I think there are two things. One, I'm very impressed with this concept of safe motherhood. It provides, for the first time I think, a focus of the maternal child health programs on women as opposed to children. We all know that healthy mothers have more healthy children, and that it's much more sensible to feed the mothers so they will have healthy children than to have a whole lot of children, half of whom die.

At a subsistence level because of the time constraints which you yourself referred to, children are usually helpful to the mother. There is very little incentive for her not to have children at that level since she's working so hard already and perhaps does not understand the nutritional relationship of pregnancy to her own tiredness.

I think that spreading information about spacing of children in order to have more healthy children is an interesting alternative to birth control alone, and one which may reach the men as well as women, both of whom would like to have healthy children.

A second and rather interesting project was done in south India by people concerned with appropriate technology. They found in these particular villages in Bangalore that nonpregnant women were about 700 calories a day lower than they ought to be for minimum survival. By introducing appropriate technology in the form of biogasdigestors, which would pump the water, provide fuel and grind the grain, they reduced the long working day of women sufficiently to reduce her expenditure of energy so that eating the same amount of food meant that she was now having a reasonable diet.

This underscores the long working day of women which consists of agricultural work on the field, of processing of the food which takes 2 to 2½ hours a day, of getting water which may take another hour, of getting something to cook with, which is usually scraps of trees and fuel wood. The poor, if they get firewood they sell it, they don't burn it.

If this fantastically long and strenuous day of women can be reduced, it's also another way of increasing their healthiness without providing more food. Such an approach may be faster than trying to change what is this terribly ancient, ingrained feeling that women are not worth much.

I've been kind of amused by the response to recent tests which allow you to predict the sex of a fetus. Some people are concerned that most Indians will want to have boys, not girls. Well, I'm not sure that's not a good idea because, after all, if women became a scarce resource, I think their status might go up.

Mrs. PATTERSON. More appreciated.

Ms. TINKER. So I don't share the concern that others have if this test were widespread. But I'm not sure that encouraging the test could be a policy.

Mrs. PATTERSON. I'm going to show—what I do with my spare time, I just recently read the issue in People magazine and the section on women was very interesting to me where they have realized a drop in the birth rate and they've directly attributed it to women and poor health among women, and the desire now to take those women out of very difficult jobs so that their health would become better and they'd be interested in producing children. So it was an interesting article for me, a new twist.

If there are any other statements that you all would like to make at this time, or if you would like to give them to us, we will have them printed in the record. We do appreciate so much you all being with us, and please forgive the ins and outs of a meeting while we're in session.

Congressman Bilbray, would you like to make a remark at this time?

Mr. BILBRAY. Not at this time.

Ms. TINKER. Thank you very much.

Mrs. PATTERSON. We thank you for being with us. The next witness we'll have with us today is from the Agency for International Development. Actually, we had been expecting to have two representatives from the Agency, but I understand that Mr. Bissell is in another hearing at this time. So we're pleased to welcome Miss Kay Davies, Director of the Office of Women in Development. Thank you for coming to meet with us today, and please proceed with your statement.

STATEMENT OF KAY DAVIES, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (A.I.D.)

Ms. DAVIES. Thank you very much. I'm not going to read the entire text of the statement, but I would like to have it put into the record.

We appreciate the opportunity of being here and very much appreciate your interest and your commitment to this particular concern.

Since the Percy amendment was enacted almost 14 years ago, the issue of women in development has progressed from what has been often viewed as a special interest cause to one recognized as a vital and critical component of our bilateral foreign assistance programs.

It has been a priority issue for A.I.D. administrator Peter McPherson. He has taken a personal role in assuring that women's contributions to the development process are integrated within the Agency's mainstream programs and projects.

A.I.D. believes to ignore women's roles in the developing world is both wasteful and self-defeating. Because women and girls comprise more than 50 percent of the world's population, our programs will be less effective and less efficient if we fail to recognize women's potential contributions to their families, their communities and to their nations.

At this point it is important to emphasize that A.I.D. considers women in the context of their economic roles. We do not deny that for equity reasons women should be taken into consideration. However, we believe that we can have far more success as a bilateral donor organization if we target the economic roles of women.

Further, A.I.D. believes that implementation of its women in development policy depends upon its successful integration throughout the Agency itself. Women's issues must be integrated into the mainstream and not marginalized in a single office or through women-specific projects only.

And we believe that the responsibility for implementing of this policy rests with all of A.I.D.'s offices, at all levels of decision-making.

Today, just as all of our programs are built upon what is referred to as the four pillars; private enterprise, technology transfer, institution building, and policy dialog, implementation of women in development programs is also built on these same four pillars.

I would like to have the examples of those inserted for the record now.

So, keeping this in mind, the primary objectives of our women in development policy are to consider women in an economic context and to integrate women into all of Agency programs.

Our key strategies are to institutionalize WID concerns within the Agency, offer high level technical assistance to our missions and to others, and to offer training to our own personnel.

The Office of Women in Development continues to serve as the catalyst to accelerate the integration of women into the Agency's programs. Since 1981, it has spent over \$16 million of its funds to support projects that benefit women. These projects addressed increased employment in the private sector, small scale enterprise development, and management training, education and skills training, credit and technical assistance, agricultural development, and others.

I would like to now give you a few examples of how the women in development office and the Agency itself are addressing these concerns.

First, in an effort to effect policy changes in the nations where we work, we emphasize to host governments that the effectiveness of development depends in significant degree upon the efficiency with which human resources are applied. The Agency and its overseas missions attempt to demonstrate to host governments the important economic advantages of developing and applying the skills of women.

We are developing a microcomputer simulation model called gender resource awareness in national development, also called GRAND. GRAND demonstrates the economic impact effective participation of women and girls can have in different economic sectors. Models for gender resource analysis are tailored to each country situation.

Programs are now being developed for Pakistan and Jordan, and as many as 10 more countries will be targeted in the next 2 years.

A second area of interest to us is in the area of education and training. In a typical developing country women fall far behind men in access to elementary and secondary education. As a result,

an even smaller percentage become qualified to pursue higher levels of education.

However, we are beginning to see changes. For example, from 3 years ago when there were no women students at the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Science in Kathmandu, Nepal, female enrollment has now increased to 32.

U.S. A.I.D./Nepal is cofinancing a project with the World Bank for construction of permanent dormitory facilities for 154 women students. The project also includes a covenant that the government of Nepal increase female enrollment and numbers of female staff.

In Jordan, a project provides technical assistance and training to the faculty of economics and administrative sciences at the University of Jordan, 50 percent of whom are women.

Getting women involved in the education process is one of the main issues addressed by A.I.D.'s BRIDGES project. It's a \$10 million worldwide effort managed by Harvard University and A.I.D.'s Bureau for Science and Technology.

In order to build upon the work already being done under this project, the Office of Women in Development is working with the bureau on a sub-project to facilitate greater improvements in girls' access and retention rates. The project will provide a statistical data base and the use of microcomputer modeling to explore alternative strategies that more effectively reach girls.

This is a very good example of the Office of Women in Development leveraging its funds with other agency offices to maximize its impact on females in the education sector.

With respect to our Agency's participant training program, in 1986 15,330 A.I.D. participants were trained in the United States; 21 percent of whom were women. The number of U.S. trainees and the percentage of women are now the highest ever in the Agency, and we will continue to pursue even higher goals in the future. This should increase as access to education for women at all levels improve in the developing world.

A third area of interest is micro and small-scale enterprise development. A.I.D. is now formulating a formal strategy in this sector. There are many examples of projects reaching women where improvements in equity were achieved at the same time economic performance was improved.

For instance, in Jamaica, our mission has funded small-scale loans for the private sector. Since its inception, the mission's project has provided over 1,200 loans, and 35 percent of the enterprises receiving loans have women as principals. The number of women receiving technical assistance and training is even greater.

The office of women in development is also leveraging its funds with the Bureau for Science and Technology's ARIES project. ARIES is designed to help increase the effectiveness of institutions that promote micro and small-scale enterprises.

For example, we recently funded the addition of one person on a technical assistance team who will focus exclusively on women in the design of Jordan's small entrepreneur development project. And we have many other examples of where missions themselves have taken the lead to specifically help women entrepreneurs.

A fourth area of interest is extending technical assistance to field missions. Missions often need assistance in developing gender as-

pects of their planning and program documents as well as implementation and evaluation. Through the Office of Women in Development assistance is made available in a number of ways.

Through cooperative agreements with title XII universities, working through the Consortium for International Development, we've offered technical assistance to over 25 countries.

As examples, in Nepal consultants have established baseline data on household composition, the sexual division of labor, and women's roles in agricultural decisionmaking. In Egypt, a team has trained scientists to use the methods of gender disaggregated data collection in an agricultural program.

We will be continuing this kind of technical assistance with even more fully developed projects that will ensure that our missions, host governments, and the universities' needs are addressed and met.

Another way of providing technical assistance to the field is through a cooperative agreement with the International Center for Research on Women, ICRW. In Zaire, ICRW is helping design and implement a pilot agricultural extension/training program to reach women farmers.

In Bangladesh, ICRW evaluated the mission's small enterprise development project and assisted in preparing a cross sectoral mission strategy for integrating women.

Offering technical assistance is critical. But equally important is offering training to our own Agency personnel. We cannot be content to merely sensitize our development personnel to women in development. We have to give them practical guidance in how this issue can and should be addressed.

Manuals for integrating women into A.I.D. projects, including such topics as vocational education, agriculture, and small-scale enterprise, have been developed. They not only help A.I.D. missions, but help country counterparts to understand the economic importance of women.

Further, the women in development office offers training workshops that provide A.I.D. field staff with practical and applicable guidelines for integrating women into A.I.D. projects.

In 1987, up to five workshops are planned throughout Latin America. We, along with the Bureau for Africa, are sponsoring a workshop in Nairobi on gender resources in African agricultural systems for all of A.I.D.'s Africa-based senior agriculture and program officers.

The major objective of the workshop is to provide A.I.D. mission personnel with information, guidelines, and tools to assist them in integrating women's roles in project design, implementation and evaluation. The workshop responds to the need for practical guidance to assist the Africa-based personnel in implementing A.I.D.'s policy.

Madam Chairman, these are only highlights of a few of our programs at A.I.D. I believe they provide an idea of how we are going about implementing section 113. We have a forward-looking program that emphasizes women's economic roles and potential, and we are institutionalizing our policy throughout our Agency.

We are affecting policy, we are improving our education and training programs for women and girls; we are offering technical

assistance to our missions overseas; we are improving women's access to credit, extension, and new technologies; and we are training our Agency personnel. And, most importantly, this issue is gaining wider recognition in other developing nations.

Women are a resource that we will not overlook. I believe that from the senior policy level to the important project and program personnel level in our Agency, we are finally able to say we are witnessing tremendous dividends.

We're not going to pretend that everything has been done and that we have mastered every technique in integrating women into their own economies. But I can assure you that we are committed to continuing our efforts, and I believe wholeheartedly that we will continue our successes.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Davies appears at the conclusion of the hearing, see p. 41.]

Mrs. PATTERSON. Thank you very much, Miss Davies. In your testimony you mention the training for a personnel, and I think I heard some numbers.

If not, could you tell me how many of A.I.D.'s permanent staff in Washington and in the field have participated in training projects to learn how to integrate women into projects?

Ms. DAVIES. In the last 3 to 4 years we've had several training programs. Washington based training programs were conducted by HIID, or Harvard Institute for International Development, and A.I.D. I think we've trained about 175 senior level people.

We conducted a workshop in Asia 2 years ago where we trained about 60 senior Asia-based A.I.D. program and project personnel. We anticipate in this coming year to train probably four to five times that number.

I think we have to emphasize that it's been an evolutionary process. I don't think any single donor country that is involved in training, including the United States, has truly refined its training techniques in women in development. It is a very difficult issue. It differs sector by sector, it differs from country to country and region to region, and we're working on that.

It's very difficult, but I hope within the next year or so we will have the penultimate training manual for women in development.

Mrs. PATTERSON. And you did say you had the manual already produced?

Ms. DAVIES. We are refining our training manuals that we've used in the past for our training programs this coming year.

Mrs. PATTERSON. This committee also has a strong interest in Africa. Can you tell me how many of A.I.D.'s projects which are intended to increase rural food production where women are the primary participants in Africa?

Ms. DAVIES. Well, A.I.D.'s policy is that all of our programs must include women. We must have sex disaggregated information, we must have social economic analysis, and what have you. It has been very difficult to track that in the past.

There is no single definition of women in development, if you will. It is now something we're looking at in our Agency, as are other donor countries. We are studying how we define women in development and then how do we take that information, quantita-

tively or qualitatively, and be able to begin to record our progress; what are the benchmarks that we're going to use to ensure that we're including women.

Now, I can't give you a specific number of women beneficiaries in those programs. We simply don't have that kind of data. The Women in Development Office is now developing a very sophisticated tracking system so that every one of these projects that come on board in the future will be monitored very closely. We will be able to go to the review meetings to ensure that appropriate adaptations are made to the design of those projects to ensure that women are included.

I think we will have much more information in the future, but right now I simply can't give you an estimate.

Mrs. PATTERSON. So at this time you could not say how many are really women head 'em up or—how do I put it—that they're the primary participants, you would not be able to say in which project or how many?

Ms. DAVIES. No, I could not.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Your statistics aren't kept like that?

Ms. DAVIES. We, in fact, about 3 weeks ago, sent cables to all of our missions in Africa and have asked them to report very specifically on how many women they feel they're reaching, the numbers of projects, the amount of money being expended. Some of those cables are now just coming in.

And, frankly, I think we're finding out that there are programs we've not known about because they've not been reported back to Washington. Any project under \$20 million, for example, does not come back to Washington for review. And we're now finding, for example, in a cable from Lesotho, that a \$10-million agricultural project, \$6 million of it will be expended directly on technical assistance for women, and they anticipate that 8 out of every 10 beneficiaries will be women.

So, as we get this information, I think we're going to be in a much better position to begin to track it.

Mrs. PATTERSON. As I said, I'm new to this, but it seems interesting to me that the division called women in development would not have statistics to show how many were primary women participants.

Ms. DAVIES. It's very difficult. It has to be done at the design stage. That means of the hundreds and hundreds of projects that A.I.D. is involved with, we have to put in place a very systematic reporting system, which we are now beginning to do, so that we will be able to ask the right questions and the missions will be able to give us the right information.

I don't think that's being done in very many places, and it's certainly something we know we've got to look at and we are now doing that.

Mrs. PATTERSON. I understand that our neighbor to the north, Canada, by using action plans and strong commitment has made rather rapid progress in mainstreaming women into their development projects and programs.

Could A.I.D. use some of their lessons learned up there?

Ms. DAVIES. Well, I'd like to make a little announcement, if I may. We have some very distinguished visitors with us here today.

The OECD/DAC, which is based in Paris and made up of about 19 donor countries, has an expert group on women in development.

There is a bureau of that expert group and the bureau is now visiting in Washington. The members are from Canada, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Denmark. And those members who are also my counterparts in those particular countries are visiting here today. They're seeing our system at work and an issue near and dear to their hearts, women in development. They're sitting in the back.

Mrs. PATTERSON. We'd like to recognize you at this time, if you would all stand so I'll know who you are and can speak to you later. We're glad to have you with us and hope you understand our political process here in the United States when we come and go as we listen to you. It's good to have you with us.

Ms. DAVIES. So to answer your question, yes, we are looking at the Canadian model.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Great. Congressman Bilbray.

Mr. BILBRAY. I sit on the African Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. From my work on that subcommittee, I got the impression that the program targeting women was being phased out and A.I.D. was more or less just targeting the family unit as a whole.

Is that not the case, or did I just get the wrong impression?

Ms. DAVIES. Well, I certainly think it's important to look at the family as a whole. We've been emphasizing I think for some time, that the household as a unit has been neglected. That means women and children within that household.

Mr. BILBRAY. Over the past month, I spent countless hours in the African Subcommittee markup of the foreign aid bill and then, of course, the full committee has been meeting almost all of this week going through the bill section-by-section.

And during the course of the testimony, I got the impression that the idea of targeting selected groups was being played down by A.I.D. and it was more the overall program as a whole that was being planned.

I guess in fact what I'm asking is, Do you feel that A.I.D. programs earmarked toward women have been increased, kept the same, or actually diminished in your view?

Ms. DAVIES. I think very much that it's increasing because I think the individual personnel within the Agency, those who are responsible for designing the projects and what have you, are including women at the appropriate levels. And, we will continue to do more in the future.

Mr. BILBRAY. What kind of A.I.D. money is earmarked for women's programs?

Ms. DAVIES. In our office we have approximately a \$2 million a year budget. Other than that we're not earmarking specifically for women because what we're trying to do is to employ the appropriate adaptations to the projects themselves to ensure they include women in development.

I think it's extraordinarily important that those projects look at women as beneficiaries and agents. If they're designed appropriately, there will be millions and millions of dollars, if you will, appropriated to women, just as we're looking at that \$6 million out of

\$10 million in Lesothu. It will be far more helpful to look at it at that level than to look at the women in development office's budget.

Mr. BILBRAY. What is the total A.I.D. budget, do you know off hand?

Ms. DAVIES. I don't know what it is for this year, sir.

Mr. BILBRAY. Thank you.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Any further questions? Congressman Mfume, would you like to ask some questions?

Mr. MFUME. I don't have any questions, Madam Chairman, of Miss Davies. I have her testimony. I will read through it and I thank you for it. I do have a question for someone who has concluded their remarks, Dr. Tinker, if she's still around. But I will wait, perhaps, until you've concluded your list of witnesses and then I'll go back and ask that, if that's OK.

Mrs. PATTERSON. That's fine. I'm hesitant because I'm not sure where to go from here. Ms. Davies, thank you for being with us. We appreciate you appearing and for your statement, and the completed statement will be part of the record.

Ms. DAVIES. Thank you very much.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Thank you very much. That concludes the witness, but if Dr. Tinker would come back and Congressman Mfume may ask you some questions.

Mr. MFUME. Thank you, Dr. Tinker, and thank you for your testimony also. In your testimony you talk near the conclusion about the macro policies; economic and agricultural and to some extent, I would imagine, social, that have adversely affected the micro policies of certain nations, particularly developing nations

Could you give us some instances or some examples of where that has taken place and how it has adversely also affected developing women?

Ms. TINKER. This is a very important question. It isn't always easy to make the macro/micro connections. But, for example, I mentioned earlier that 40 percent of the people in rural areas are landless and so buy their food. The current policies in many countries in Africa are now to raise the price of food as it's bought from the farmers. This policy shift was done under pressure to some extent from the World Bank in order to increase the return to the farmers. But if the food is then sold at that price rather than subsidized for the poor, the change increases the cost of food for the poor.

Clearly you have to know who is benefiting and who isn't from a particular policy. There's a tendency to think that everyone in rural areas will benefit by increased food prices for the farmers. But when you recognize that 40 percent of the people in rural areas buy food, you realize that the farmers with sufficient land are going to benefit. The landless, who are often the agricultural laborers, are the ones who are going to have to pay more for food.

Since we know that about 45 percent of all agricultural laborers worldwide are women, that women's income to poor families is used more for feeding themselves and their children than is income of the men, and that one-third of the households are headed by women, we know that a large percentage of this 40 percent who are buying food is going to be women.

Now, we know that by putting together various studies. We don't have specific studies designed to link these data. But when you look at the trends and you put the pieces together, you can link macro policies and micro impact.

Another illustration of micro-macro linkages is a study in Thailand by the International Laborer Organization. This showed that the low prices paid to the farmers in the northeast area were directly related to the large number of women who came into Bangkok to work in the massage parlors, primarily as prostitutes. This has been one of the best selling books that ILO has ever put out.

Mr. MFUME. I wonder why.

Ms. TINKER. I use it in my class to show this relationship. UNICEF, in its more recent study working with the World Bank, has looked at who is hurt by the policies brought on by debt restructuring. So there are some attempts to relate macro-micro policies.

It is estimated that the impact of 30 years of development has been to increase the income of the top 40 percent of the people in the Third World countries while the bottom 20 percent don't do very well. What you get is a maldistribution of income with the poor getting poorer, and the poor are increasingly women. So we begin to talk about the feminization of poverty. What we're trying to look at are ways to support these women or assist them in supporting themselves.

The Equity Policy Center that I run has recently done a study of street foods because women in many countries dominate the selling of food on the streets, whether it's in Peru or the Philippines. We wanted to see what kind of existence they had.

It turns out that their major problem is the fact that most governments consider street foods illegitimate and therefore try to get them off the streets. Yet, street foods provide 20 percent of the total urban food supply in those countries.

When you consider that in this country fast foods are supposed to be 30 or 40 percent of the food eaten, you can understand why the street foods, which are the fast foods in the Third World, are also very popular. So their governments, instead of fighting them, ought to support street food sellers, especially, say, by providing clean water for them.

In other words, the government should change their macro policies requiring extremely high sanitation levels that are essentially inappropriate in congested street and sidewalks which rob cities of their vitality.

Mr. MFUME. Do you think that in the formulation of those macro economic and macro agricultural policies there is a reluctance to look at the micro connection or is there an ignorance to some extent as to how it may, in fact, affect developing nations in terms of their own micro economics and micro agricultural policies?

Ms. TINKER. Part of it, I think, is the economists make the macro decisions and the anthropologists worry about the micro. You have different people studying different things, you have different ways of formulating issues. It took McNamara to get economists at the World Bank to look at poverty, for example, simply because it's not something that they tend to consider important.

I often think of the military. I imagine that if the generals thought about the individuals that they were sending into battle, we might have fewer wars. The issue really is to try to look at whether these policies are particularly inequitable to particular groups of people; most policies are going to take something away and give something. You can see that with problems reducing the deficit. What is important is knowing whom it will affect.

For example, when there's talk at the World Bank about the poor or the 51 percent of the people who are malnourished, they do not realize that the greatest number are women and children. If they recognize that, then they would have to change implementing policies to focus on them rather than male heads of household.

It's a question of recognizing the impact and then dealing with it rather than necessarily changing the policy.

Mr. MFUME. Does your center in looking at equity policy look at the, in work comparative purposes, look at the world in terms of an east/west, industrialized versus nonindustrialized, or north/south development versus nondeveloping way? Or do you put that all aside?

Mr. TINKER. No. We try to look at issues from a sectoral point of view. And we have, in fact, in the agricultural area looked at both the United States, Europe, and the countries in the south. We have not done much with east.

It is our feeling that there are some similarities but also there are some areas that you can't compare. We tried to compare, for example, the problem of energy use; we've done a lot of work on household energy in the Third World. That issue can't really be compared with U.S. energy problems.

On the other hand, about 5 years ago we were trying to look at the problem of clean water and found out that Virginia has the largest percentage of Americans without access to clean water. We thought it would be a very interesting study to look at the problem of water in the United States as if it were a Third World problem; that is, considering access to water in terms of class and ethnic group.

For example, in Virginia and in Maryland there are small towns which supply water to whites within the city limits but do not extend the service to the black areas outside the town boundaries.

I still think that it would make a very important study, almost as important as the problem of hunger in this country; it would also show how resources are unevenly distributed.

In agriculture we showed that in this country there's a long history of the involvement of women on farms. This was not obvious before because women do not call themselves farmers. Just like statistics overseas, women's work was undercounted. Two women in the Department of Agriculture have done new censuses showing the large number of women involved on farms in this country. So, yes, there are some commonalities.

I was surprised to find in our studies that there is a significant numbers of subsistence farmers in Poland largely women. So you find out there are lots of parallels, but there are also lots of differences.

Mr. MFUME. And areas that you can't compare

Ms. TINKER. Yes.

Mr. MFUME. Thank you. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Mrs. PATTERSON. Congressman Bilbray.

Mr. BILBRAY. Yes. My question is very similar to the one I asked Ms. Davies. In the recent Foreign Affairs Committee hearings I got the impression that women's programs were being de-emphasized by A.I.D.

Would your answer be similar to hers, that no, A.I.D. is not de-emphasizing women's programs?

Ms. TINKER. Well, in my statement I made the point that I thought it was essential to have a focal point for women in the development agencies as well as to try to integrate women in other appropriate projects, and that it was very important to have the support at the top in those developing agencies.

I think that there is today less support for such policies at the top in the U.S. A.I.D. than there used to be. However, there are more people in the Agency itself who understand the issue and are committed to carrying out the programs on women.

The resources in too many offices, including the women's office, have been reduced. Therefore the ability of that office to collect statistics and to analyze and monitor what is going on in A.I.D. is less.

The office itself has in the past had some project funds, but I think the answer that Kay Davies gave is important, she said that the moneys that are going to women go through the sectoral programs. However, that requires top level support for integrating women and a strong focal point. In the longrun, I think that's the only viable long-term policy because there will never be more than a piddling little amount of money for women's projects.

But I think we are pretty well all agreed to that. How you provide separate support for women at the grassroots and yet integrate them into a sectoral program is an administrative and programmatic issue. We're struggling with that. But I think we all are saying that it's important to integrate women throughout all programs.

Next week, for example, I'm going to a review of the United Nations' University 6-year plan. They have taken the view that they're going to integrate women into all of the U.N. university programs but not have a focal point. I'm going all the way to Tokyo to fight for a focal point because having good will at the top doesn't help staff to design programs to include women, especially if they do not see the connections.

This is, in a sense, a new issue. I was trained at Harvard. I didn't look at women during my first three field trips, I did interview Indira Gandhi, because she was the Minister of Information. I didn't talk to poor women. It took the women's movement in this country to make me look at what was happening to women in the developing countries.

I don't think that a lot of people of my age group men or women, have yet internalized the need to look at women as a separate group. So you need an expert on the council to push. Environment wasn't an issue until recently; you need an environmentalist to point out environmental impact of policies.

You need an expert to supply the information whether on environmental issues, women's issues, or equity issues.

Mr. BILBRAY. I get the impression from the administration that they're mainly looking at the big-ticket programs.

Ms. TINKER. That's right.

Mr. BILBRAY. And they're not looking at the individual programs that you're talking about. They would like to phase these programs out. That's the impression that I get from listening to their testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Not that they're just targeting your programs. Mr. Feighan had an amendment which would allow for small loans to small businessmen and farmers in the Third World. The administration, A.I.D., opposed that. The majority of the Foreign Affairs Committee, from both parties, feel that the trickle down effect is not working.

You give the big projects to a country, and it doesn't ever get to the little guy down below. I just feel that the kind of programs you're talking about are not high priority items for A.I.D. In fact, A.I.D. would just assume they go away.

Ms. TINKER. Microprograms are expensive for a large bureaucracy, and certainly it would seem that the trend of A.I.D. is more toward management of larger projects. That's why PVO's are important as intermediary groups who take larger amounts of money and filter it down with smaller grants. With such decentralization a monitor of women's programs becomes even more important.

Mr. BILBRAY. But I think what you're going to need to do in the future, in my mind, is to earmark specific programs you want, then come to Congress, come to a committee like this one or the Foreign Affairs Committee, and force the administration and A.I.D. to fund those programs.

If you don't, those programs are gradually going to wither away, and I think that you're going to have to really push for your programs because the administrators, the women working in A.I.D. or these programs, can't really buck their director.

Ms. TINKER. I certainly appreciate your point of view. I think many of us would fear that if the office got a large amount of money, the rest of the Agency might say, aha, we don't have to do anything about women any more. Essentially this is the dilemma.

That's why I have emphasized that high-level support is important. We now have Barber Conable at the World Bank and William Draper at UNDP; both are very committed to women in development programs. We do not have that leadership at A.I.D. or in the United States, and quite the other way.

I think myself, if I may say so, that what we need is a change of leadership before we're going to get this problem solved.

Mr. BILBRAY. I agree with you.

Ms. TINKER. Thank you.

Mrs. PATTERSON. I'd like to thank all of our witnesses; Dr. Tinker, Mrs. Smith, who had to leave to get a shuttle back to New York, Dr. Rojas and Ms. Davies for being with us today and sharing the information and views. The testimony that the committee has heard I think has been very helpful as we work to improve the efficiency and the effectiveness of our development assistance programs.

So I'd like to thank you for coming and, if you will, we may submit some questions to you all in writing and ask you to respond. Thank you very much, and this hearing is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, the hearing adjourned at 11:15 a.m.]

[Material submitted for inclusion in the record follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF IRENE TINKER, DIRECTOR, EQUITY POLICY CENTER

It gives me great pleasure to appear today before the Select Committee on Hunger for its hearing on the integration of women in development. The first Congressional hearing on this important issue was before the Committee on Foreign Affairs' subcommittee on International Organizations and movements; Congressman Donald Fraser requested my testimony as part of series on the International Problem of Human Rights, on 24 October 1973.

The focus of our testimony was the amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 concerning the integration of women into the development process which had been recently introduced by Senator Percy. The basic issue underlying that amendment, the frequent adverse impact of development on poor women, has not disappeared. However, we have today a much greater understanding of the extent and cause of the problem, and extensive experience with interventions designed to ameliorate the negative impacts.

WHAT WE KNOW

Documenting women's work

Development policies were framed in the post World War II era when the bulk of American women were housewives. Reflecting that emphasis of women's roles, early development programs, if they included women at all, saw them in terms of maternal and child health programs or family planning programs; in reality, these programs were focussed not on mothers, but on children—fewer and healthier children. Only very recently with the advent of the Safe Motherhood program, have the mothers' health and maternal mortality been given priority.

Development is primarily concerned about economic growth, and two decades ago there were almost no data about women's economic activities outside the modern sector. Thus the gathering of statistics on women's work became a major preoccupation of women concerned with international development. Our assumption has been that if women are proved to be valuable contributors to the gross national product, then development programs will be designed to reach, include, and benefit them as well as men. (Tinker 1976; Wellesley 1877; Jahan & Papenek; Dauber & Cain 1981; Lewis 1981).

The women's movement and the UN Decade for Women legitimized the study of women for the first time, and a plethora of theses and dissertations by anthropologists and demographers added depth to the growing literature on actual development projects produced in response to the Percy amendment. As data accumulated, challenges were made to the official definitions included in national accounts of what exactly constituted work, definitions which rendered most of women's work invisible (Beneria 1982; Dixon-Meller 1985).

Time Use.—At first, the focus was on women in near subsistence societies. Time-use studies, compiled in a wide variety of countries (Zeidenstein 1979; Acharya & Bennett 1981; Buvinic 1983; Islam 1984), document women's long work day in near subsistence societies: market and domestic production account for between 10 and 12 hours for adult women compared to between 6 and 8 hours for adult men (Tinker 1984).

Agriculture.—The female farming systems of Africa have been studied in depth by anthropologists (Guyer 1978; Pala-Okeyo 1980; Henn 1986) and sociologists (Fortmann 1985; Tadesse 1982). Data have convinced major donor agencies that since women in sub-Saharan Africa grow some eighty percent of the food and provide about half all agricultural labor in the region, that they must figure in programs designed to increase agricultural productivity (Dey 1984; Palmer 1985; Burfisher & Florenstein 1985; Muzaale & Leonard 1985; FAO 1986).

Research on the agricultural activities of women in Asia indicates not only their continuing importance as unpaid family labor but their growing employment as paid agricultural labor (Agarwal 1984; Kandiyoti 1985). Anthropologists have also documented the criticality of women's income to support poor households (Stoler 1977; Mencher 1987). Despite regional variations, it is estimated that between forty and forty-five percent of agricultural labor is done by women (FAO 1986).

In Latin America, FAO statistics show a lower agricultural participation rate, at less than twenty percent, than elsewhere in the world, in contrast the Caribbean participation is recorded as the highest at fifty-four percent (FAO 1986). Social scientists continue to question these data as they point out the importance of women's work in the agriculture sector (Deere & Leon 1980; Jaquette 1983; Spindel, Jaquette, & Cordini 1983; Flora 1985; Wilson 1985).

After ten years of research into women's productive activities in agriculture, most development agencies accept the fact even of women's agricultural work, even though the implications of women's roles to project design are not always apparent to planners (Ahmad 1984; Monson & Kalb 1985). However, farm work seldom accounts for even half the long day of female subsistence farmers.

Survival activities.—A second major task of women is to prepare food crops first for storage and later for eating. They build storage huts for cereals and legumes; then carry the crops from the fields to the huts or home. They spend long hours threshing, winnowing, and pounding grain, or equally long hours fermenting, shredding, and drying cassava or preparing yams and tapioca for cooking. Yet these time-consuming activities are almost never included in labor force statistics, despite the recent changes in the international definitions for recording labor force participation which would include all such processing of primary products no matter whether they would be consumed at home.

In addition to food storage, processing, and preparation, women are generally responsible for providing the fuel and water necessary for cooking the food (FAO 1979). Depending on the geography, climate, environment, and population density, these essential survival tasks take from one to six or even more hours per day (Cecelski 1984; Dixon-Meuller 1985). As pasture lands are taken over for food crops, women must also scavenge for fodder to feed their animals. A recent study in three villages in Uttar Pradesh, India, indicates that women spend 2.5 times as much human energy collecting fuel and fodder than they spend on agricultural production (Agarwal 1984). Time is clearly a major constraint for poor rural women (Tinker 1984) and must be considered if agricultural production is to be increased whether in Korea (Tinker & Cho 1981), Peru (Alcantara 1985), Senegal (Sow 1986), Ghana (Ardayio 1986) or South and Southeast Asia (Reddy 1980; Islam 1984).

New Technologies

Development attempts to increase individual productivity by introducing new technologies. Cultural biases have resulted in a pattern of focussing these innovations on men (Tinker 1981b). Too often these new technologies undercut women's traditional income activities such as making beer, puffed rice, or pottery for sale or pounding rice for a part of the product (Dauber & Cain 1979; Scott & Carr 1985).

At the same time, new agricultural technologies have tended to increase women's work: larger fields or more fertilizers can increase the amount of time women must spend weeding; new cash crops are often grown on the closest and best soils, requiring women to walk further to the fields where they grow food (Henn 1986). In comparing the impact of technological change in agriculture on women of various classes in Asia and Africa, one study finds that while women are less well-off than the men of their culture and class, there is a marked contrast between the two continents; in Asia the impact on women is in the same direction as that on men, in Africa men of a household might be better off while women of the same household would be worse off (Agarwal 1984).

In poor households, women work on neighbor's fields as agricultural laborers. Elsewhere, men migrate to find employment, leaving the women with all the agricultural tasks. As women begin to take on economic activities that historically have been done by men, men do not take over any of women's work.

Feminization of poverty

It is often forgotten that the poorest rural people are the landless. Over 40% of all rural families purchase their food. Technological innovations primarily help the largest landowners although there may be some increase in demand for agricultural labor where mechanization is not appropriate. Higher food prices, which encourage production, hurt poor consumers in both rural and urban areas. The result in persistent malnourishment; World Bank figures show that 51% of the people in low income countries do not consume enough calories for an active working life (IBRD 1986). The Bank does not disaggregate its figures by male and female, but it is instructive that 2/3 of the undernourished live in South Asia where deeply engrained biases result in greater malnutrition among women; 1/2 live in Sub-Saharan Africa with its growing food deficiencies.

Since the poor must buy food, and the poorest of the poor tend to be women headed households, it is obvious that the bulk of the undernourished are women

and their children. Estimates of the incidence of women headed households now go above one-third. Even official statistics which tend to undercount this phenomena, report that women headed households constitute 45 percent in Botswana and 34 percent in Jamaica. Official data indicated the following countries reporting over twenty percent women headed households: Malawi, Sudan, Ghana, Rwanda, El Salvador, Panama, Peru, Guyana, Venezuela, and Hong Kong (U.S. Department of Commerce 1985).

After fifteen years of research, then, we have documented that women work and that the poorer the household, the more important is the economic activity and/or income of the woman to family survival. We also know that married women in rural areas are increasingly poor, and often lack access to family income, not only for themselves, but to provide food for their families (Palmer 1985). It has become increasingly obvious to the development community that poor women need money to survive, and that income of the woman was more likely to benefit the family than income to the man (Bruce 1987).

WHAT WORKS

There is not panacea for improving the lot of women, just as there is not magic formula which will erase our deficit. Research underscores the tremendous variety of agricultural systems, cultures, climates. While it is possible to make a set of guidelines for reaching women, programs must be adopted to the needs to women in a particular country at a particular time and in a particular setting. These guidelines would include the data we know, as noted above, as well as advice on program design. Let me note a few important issues.

Separate or integrated?—It is important to avoid the trap of dichotomies, of either/or. It is not a case of either separate programs for women, or integrated programs. There is a need for both. Generally, to talk with women it is best to meet alone with them. But to set up programs outside the administrative or planning structures is to marginalize them.

Similarly, in development agencies, it is absolutely essential to have an office or a focal point for women, staffed by someone whose job it is to reiterate the importance of including women in development programs. But such an office is not sufficient. Support of decision makers, in Congress and in the administration of USAID, or the World Bank and other UN agencies, is imperative. Only then will the poorest women begin to benefit from programs designed to alleviate hunger and drudgery.

High level support by Barber Conable has allowed Barbara Herz in the World Bank to greatly increase program designed to reach women: both the safe motherhood initiative and new agricultural extension efforts. USAID has reduced its interest in women in recent years, but does have a pilot project on extension. The best such project, however, is being run by IFAD in Cameroon where male and female extension workers work with farmer groups of both women and men (Walker 1987); IFAD has recognized the importance of women's agricultural activity from its founding.

Within the UN system, UNIFEM (The UN Fund for Women) has provided the impetus for UNDP to integrate women in their projects. A recently established office on women will monitor this integration for the current director, William Draper. INSTRAW, (the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women) works with the UN statistical office UNICEF, and others to ensure that data on women are collected, and utilized in future planning. [I had the honor of serving as the only Board member representing the United States, and have recently set up a US Council for INSTRAW to bring more American women scholars into contact with UN research on women, and women researchers themselves from every corner of the globe.]

For women and men.—Another dichotomy to be avoided is the assumption that programs are either for women, or for men. Most people, even women headed households, live in kin networks which consist of women and men of all ages. Programs must be designed to benefit the family, not only one member of it. Too long development has been channeled to men; this may have encouraged family disorganization. Integrating women in development means basing programs on equity for the family and community as well as for the woman herself.

National policies and poor women.—A final dichotomy that must be avoided is that between micro and macro policies. Too often, discussion of subsidies or pricing policies for food neglect the impact on people. Many expensive food subsidy programs end up benefiting the middle class more than the poor. Similarly, many government decision from investment in agriculture to serving the debt, have differential impacts both by sex and class. UNICEF has led the development community

with its focus on the impact of debt rescheduling on children. Similar studies should be made concerning the impact of specific policies on poor women.

Land tenure is a particularly critical policy for women in Africa, and one that will directly influence food production in the next century. Population projections of 700 million in the year 2000 will force a change in subsistence agriculture. Women, who produce 70-80 percent of all food in Africa south of the Sahara, have only traditional use rights to the land. As land pressure increases along with population, and as privatization of land accelerates, who will be the farmers of Africa in the next century? If men take up farming, will they alter their traditions and begin to take responsibility for supporting their children and wives? What is, or should be, the balance between equity and production?

As this committee takes up issues of hunger in Africa, could it not suggest that a projection be made of what African agriculture would look like in fifty, and in a hundred years, if current programs and policies are followed. Once the scenarios are described, the alternatives should be examined in terms BOTH of equity and production.

LOOKING AHEAD

I have just suggested a study looking ahead fifty years. In development terms, that is a long time. After all, we are only in the UN Third Development Decade. The concern with women in development has only been around half that time. Yet everything seems to speed up these days, with faster communications, faster travel, increasing migration, and rapid population growth. We are indeed all becoming part of a global village. It behooves us to be concerned about the hungry, and the poor, and the women, everywhere. I thank you for the opportunity of sharing my thoughts, triumphs, and concerns with you today as you search for ways to achieve an equitable and sustainable future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR IRENE TINKER'S TESTIMONY

Agarwal, Bina. 1984. *Women and Technological Change: Asian and African Experience*. New Delhi: Institute of Economic Growth.

Ahmad, Zubeida. 1984. "Rural Women and Their Work: Dependence and Alternatives for Change," *International Labour Review* 123.1 (Jan.-Feb.): 71-86.

Ardayfia, Elizabeth. 1986. *The Rural Energy Crisis in Ghana: It's Implications for Women's Work and Household Survival*. Geneva, ILO World Employment Programme.

Alcantara, Elsa, Manuela de la Pena, Martha Abuhadba, & Dorina Flores. 1985. *Crisis de Energia Rural y Trabajo Feminino en Tres Areas Ecologicas del Peru*. Geneva, ILO Programa Mundial del Empleo.

Beneria, Lourdes, ed., 1982. *Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural Societies*. New York, Praeger, for ILO World Employment Programme.

Bruce, Judith, ed. 1987. *A Home Divided. Women and Income in the Third World*. Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press.

Burfisher, Mary E., & Nadine R. Horenstein. 1983. *Sex Roles in the Nigerian Tiv Farm Household*. W. Hartford, CN, Kumarian Press.

Buvinic, Mayra, Margaret A. Lycette, & William P. McGreevey. 1983. *Women and Poverty in the Third World*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cecelski, Elizabeth. 1984. *The Rural Energy Crisis, Women's Work and Family Welfare: Perspectives and Approaches to Action*. Geneva: ILO Working Paper, World Employment Programme.

Dauber, Roslyn, & Melinda L. Cain, eds. 1979. *Women and Technological Change in Developing Countries*. Boulder, CO, Westview Press.

Deere, Carmen Diana, & Magdalena Leon de Leal. 1980. *Women in Agriculture: Peasant Production and Proletarianization in Three Andean Regions*. Geneva, ILO World Employment Programme Working Paper 10/13.

Dey, Jennie. 1984. *Women in Food Production and Food Security in Africa*. Rome, FAO.

Dixon-Meuller, Ruth. 1985. *Women's work in third world agriculture*. Geneva, ILO Definitive study explaining undercounting of women farmers.

Flora, Cornelia B. 1985. "Women and Agriculture," *Agriculture and Human Values*, Special issue on women and agriculture, 2.1 (Winter) 5-12.

Food & Agriculture Organization (FAO). 1986. *Population and the labour force in rural economies*. Rome, Economic and Social Development Paper 59.

Formann, Louise. 1985. "Seasonal Dimensions of Rural Social Organization," *Journal of Development Studies* 21.3: 377-389.

Guyer, Jane. *Women's Work in the Food Economy of the Cocoa Belt: A Comparison*, Brookline, MA, Boston U. African Studies Center.

Henn, Jeanne Koopman. 1986. "Intra-Household Dynamics and State Policies as Constraints on Food Production: Results of a 1985 Agroeconomic Survey in Cameroon." Gainesville, FL, Conference on Gender Issues in Farming Systems Research and Extension, U. of Florida.

IBRD. 1986. *Poverty and Hunger: Issues and Options for Food Security in Developing Countries*, Washington, DC.

Islam, M. Nural, Richard Morse & M. Hadi Soesastro. 1984. *Rural Energy to Meet Development Needs: Asian Village Approaches*. Boulder, CO, Westview Press.

Jahan, Rounaq, & Hanna Papanek, editors. 1979. *Women and Development: Perspectives from South and Southeast Asia*, Dhaka, Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs.

Jaquette, Jane. 1983. "The Impact of Modernization on Women in Agriculture," in Spindel, Jaquette, and Cordini 1984.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1985. *Women in Rural Production Systems: Problems and Policies*, Paris, UNESCO.

Lewis, Barbara, ed. 1981. *Invisible Farmers: Women and the Crisis in Agriculture*, Washington, DC, Office of Women in Development, Agency for International Development.

Mencher, Joan P. 1987. "Women's Work and Poverty: Women's Contribution to Household Maintenance in Two Regions of South India," in Bruce 1987.

Monson, Jamie, & Marion Kalb, eds. 1985. *Women as Food Producers in Developing Countries*, co-published by UCLA African Studies Center, African Studies Association, and OEF International. Los Angeles.

Muzaale, Patrick J., & David K. Leonard. 1985. "Kenya's Experience with Women's Groups in Agricultural Extension: Strategies for Accelerating Improvements in Food Production and Nutritional Awareness in Africa," *Agricultural Administration*, 19: 13-28.

Pala-Okeyo, Achola. 1980. "Daughters of the Lakes and Rivers: Colonialization and Land Rights of Luo Women," in M. Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds. *Women and Colonialization*, NY, Praeger.

Palmer, Ingrid. 1985. *The Nemow Case*, W. Hartford, CN, Kumarian Press.

Scott, Gloria L., & Marilyn Carr. 1985. *The Impact of Technology Choice on Rural Women in Bangladesh: Problems and Opportunities*, World Bank Staff Working Paper 731, Washington, DC, The World Bank.

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR IRENE TINKER

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. MICKEY LELAND

Question. If you were the Administrator of A.I.D., what steps would you take to improve women's participation in the Agency's projects and programs?

Answer. It is essential to have both a focal point for women in development and to ensure that the differential interests and responsibilities of women and men are considered in all people-oriented projects. To accomplish these twin goals, I would support a three-pronged approach.

First, I would continue the training efforts of which A.I.D. has undertaken to deepen the understanding of WID, but would include training for contractors as well as staff.

Second, I would strengthen the capability of the WID office by increasing its allocation of staff and funds. In particular, direct hire staff—men as well as women, should be assigned to the office; it should be treated as a substantive office, not a women's office. Staff would provide information on issues and personnel for the rest of the agency in DC and abroad. Funds would be used to support the WID community through research grants and provision of documentation. Funds would also provide additional experts for design and evaluation of mainstream projects to assist in the inclusion of women's concerns.

Finally, I would set aside 10 percent of the total A.I.D. budget as leverage funds for the inclusion of women in mainstream projects. Access to these funds would be competitive, decided by an outside panel, and be awarded for new initiatives for the inclusion of women. Simply stating that a family planning program reaches women would not be sufficient to leverage additional funds, but an education program for women accepting contraceptive devices might be.

Question. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of A.I.D.'s women in development policy?

Answer. A.I.D.'s WID Program suffers from American stereotypes not only of women's roles but of the goals of the women's movement. These goals are intertwined, and so often confuse programming and policy directions thus making impact on the Agency more difficult.

Elsewhere I have written that there are at least four objectives of WID programming: equality, economic development, empowerment, and employment. All of these objectives are important, but one office should not have to deal with them all. Within the Agency, there are separate offices for each of these concerns for men: there is a human rights section for equal human rights; the labor office deals with empowering unions abroad; personnel deals with affirmative action and with staff rights; economic development is the stuff of the Agency. I feel that the WID office should primarily be concerned with economic development. However, the office should also work with the other parts of the Agency to see that women's legal rights are included within human rights; that empowerment of women's organizations become legitimized as part of the office supporting organization of democratic institutions, including unions; and that, together with personnel, a list of persons knowledgeable about women's issues be continually updated and made available to offices seeking direct hire or consultants.

Clarity of objectives is an essential step in increasing the efficacy of the WID office; strong and visible support of top management of A.I.D. and of the country is the other critical ingredient.

Question. Since he became president of the World Bank, Mr. Conable has acknowledged the importance of integrating women in the programs and projects funded by that institution. I understand that at least initially much of their effort will be placed on adding women's components to existing projects. Dr. Tinker, do you think this is a good strategy?

Answer. Mainstreaming women's concerns is the goal of all WID supporters. Such integration should ideally start at the design stage, but in this less than perfect world, adding components is a useful approach to including women in all appropriate projects. Careful monitoring of program results will assist in reorientation and redesign to improve such integration. Mr. Conable's backing is essential, and enabling; astute programming by Barbara Herz and her staff should ensure positive results. Their efforts provide a fine model for A.I.D.

Question. Legislation currently before Congress, H.R. 1802, requires that A.I.D. design and carry out action plans for implementing existing women in development guidelines. What major points do you think should be covered in these action plans to ensure that progress is made in integrating women?

Answer. All the guidelines in the world will not make the integration of women happen unless there is understanding of the reasons for such inclusion, and there are bureaucratic rewards for doing so. My suggestions for this were given in response to your first question, Congressman Leland.

Question. Much of your work has focused on the economic contributions made by women in the informal sectors of developing countries. Could you briefly describe these contributions and the advantages that would be gained by bringing them into the formal sector?

Answer. Sir, I cannot answer that question since I am uncomfortable with the false dichotomy between formal and informal economic activities. Further, I do not think that women, or men, will necessarily be better served by including them in the formal economy. Indeed, I see long-term trends toward an increase in small-scale enterprise of the type often termed informal.

EPOC has made an exhaustive study of street foods; who makes, sells, and buys them. Our objectives were to find out the importance of this activity as income and as food for the urban poor, women, men, and children.

Essentially our findings:

Underscore the importance of the vending of prepared foods: one in 16 people in Bogor, Indonesia earned their living this way;

Show that income earned is better than that paid to unskilled workers in the formal sector; and

Illustrate the importance of these fast street foods in the diet of urban dwellers: some 20 to 25 percent of the urban food budget goes for these foods.

This sector is doing reasonably well. Certain changes might increase the income to vendors—by legitimizing selling and so reduce bribes and protection money; or improve the quality of the food sold—by providing access to clean water for washing hands and dishes. But too much attention, particularly from economists who consider that the only successful programming for microentrepreneurs is growth, would probably bankrupt most vendors. The economy of scale with vendors is micro. This fact must be respected when working with them. Their enterprises provide work for

as much as one-quarter of urban citizens in the developing countries. Most street food vendors invest in education for their children; a few buy trucks to transport foodstuffs or increase the number of nonperishables in their stock. These vendors clearly play a central role in providing income and food for the urban poor.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ELISE FIBER SMITH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, OEF INTERNATIONAL

Mr. Chairman and members of this Select Committee, on behalf of my organization, I congratulate you for scheduling this important hearing and I congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, for introducing new legislation to strengthen the Women in Development sections of the Foreign Assistance Act. The concept in that bill as well as H.R. 1199 "Africa Famine Recovery and Development Act" introduced by Mr. Wolpe seem to provide a new formula for incorporating women in development programming. We appreciate this opportunity to identify types of assistance that should be provided and methods of providing assistance that will ensure that women in developing countries are enabled to fulfill their economic and other roles which are vital, not only to their families' survival, but also to their countries' economic development.

I am Elise Fiber-Smith, Executive Director of OEF International, a private voluntary organization (PVO) with 40 years of experience in development assistance to enable women, particularly low-income women, to improve the quality of life for themselves, their families, and their communities. During this period, our projects have sought to integrate women into the development processes of over 70 countries.

What role do PVOs play? We at OEF believe that private and voluntary organizations (PVOs) have a major role to play in integrating women into development. PVOs have become an increasingly effective vehicle for channeling both private and public resources to those in greatest need.

This was recently acknowledged by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which has unanimously approved the Gilman amendment to the Foreign Assistance Authorization bill. This amendment, entitled "Enhancing the Private-Public Partnership for Foreign Assistance", calls on AID to provide significantly increased resources through PVOs and cooperatives, as private channels which have proven to be efficient and effective in having a sustainable and lasting impact on the poor.

PVOs, with their people-to-people, community-based approach to self-help development, are in a unique position to understand women's roles and reach out to them.

The effectiveness of PVOs has been noted by AID:

"PVOs have a number of special characteristics that enable them to reach the poorer groups in countries where they operate. Some of the factors contributing to this effectiveness include their organizational flexibility and innovativeness, their ability to mobilize local resources, their capacity to work outside of government channels and their ability to work in remote areas beyond the reach of other support systems. AID's partnership with the PVO community is based on these proven capabilities. PVO effectiveness in bringing these unique characteristics to bear derives from the autonomy these agencies enjoy as a result of their ability to mobilize financial, volunteer and in-kind contributions from the private sector" (USAID, *AID Position on a Privatness Requirement for PVO Funding*, April 23, 1985.)

"The evidence on hand indicates that PVOs are effective in conducting low-cost, rural-based innovative development programs which complement official development programs. In particular, they tend to serve the poorest, neediest and most difficult-to-reach populations in the Third World. By concentrating on this group, PVOs reach those least able to help themselves and least likely to be served by their own governments or international donor agencies" (Development Effectiveness of Private Voluntary Organizations, submitted by AID to House Appropriations Committee, February 1986, p. 7).

The Overseas Development Institute/World Development Conference "Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGOs" held in London only three weeks ago brought together many leaders of the development community worldwide. There was strong consensus that (a) NGOs need to move from a peripheral to a central role in providing leadership for national and international development, and (b) the relationship between organizations in developing and developed countries should be based on a mature adult partnership based on mutual respect and equality (D. Korzen's observations).

On the one hand, up to now, development policy has concentrated on women's roles as program beneficiaries. This is evident in projects in agriculture, health, nu-

trition, income generation. While we are all in agreement that mainstreaming of women in development is the ultimate objective, we believe that in the short and medium term, there is a need for women-specific projects in areas in which women have no experience, expertise, or acceptance. The key is not to "projectize" women's concerns, but rather to design these projects within the context of a sector "program". OEF's Honduras pig project is part of a national livestock program. Our Somalia agroforestry project is not only part of a USAID CDA Community Forestry program, but also integrates a national women's organization, the National Range Agency, women and men, refugees and local residents.

On the other hand, it has become clear to us in our work in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa that women leaders and managers in local organizations also need assistance to ensure that development efforts are effective and sustainable.

What types of assistance are needed? PVOs, particularly indigenous women's organizations, need to take leadership roles to realize policy and institutional changes that support their development efforts.

This implies the need for strengthening strategic organizational capacity, including (a) strategic management, with attention to institutional and policy analysis capacities, (b) mobilization of local initiative and resources, (c) newer organizational forms that are better suited to the group's values and development purposes and missions. In addition, there is need to support networks of local complementary institutions, strengthening vertical and horizontal linkages that all work towards national development.

OEF's programs integrate training and technical assistance with other inputs, playing a facilitating, catalyzing role in assisting low-income women and men in improving their own socioeconomic situation. At another level, OEF assists indigenous groups in management and organizational areas such as those mentioned above. These skills are necessary for present-day agencies and groups to respond to the everchanging situation, problems and needs of people in the Third World. Let me give you some examples:

Strategic planning, resource mobilization (fundraising, proposal writing), program planning workshops have been conducted by OEF with Senegalese, Gambian, Nigerian, Argentine and Ecuadorian organizations. Financial management and accountability skills are learned by doing.

Skills in evaluation of development projects are learned through design and implementation by local people together with our staff either as part of OEF's Steering Committee mechanism for projects, or during our "Learning Workshops" or during actual project evaluations.

Our Women, Law and Development Program complements OEF's economic development programs because women, who often suffer the double burden of being poor and female, will not fully benefit from development until they are able to assert their rights, redress injustices, and access economic and political resources.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Take seriously the concepts contained in the two bills referred to at the outset.
2. Give increased attention to training and technical assistance in the area of organizational skills, including management skills, for women leaders.

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR ELISE FIBER SMITH

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. MICKEY LELAND

Question. In your testimony you describe A.I.D.'s partnership with the PVO community. What relationship does the PVO community have with the World Bank or with any of the other development banks?

Answer. The World Bank states a reemphasis on linking up with PVO's, and indeed, Bank officials have initiated meetings with PVO consortia in Third World countries and in the U.S. to generate ideas on alternative ways of collaborating. Currently, the Bank works with governments, although a few PVO's have received contracts for World Bank work. The PVO community is attempting to persuade the development banks to define PVO more broadly to include organizations other than international organizations like the International Planned Parenthood Federation.

Question. What do you believe are the advantages and disadvantages in working with or through indigenous women's organizations to implement programs which are intended to increase women's participation in development projects and programs?

Answer. Women's organizations have the advantage that they are natural and voluntary networks for information and mobilization, that they are formed because

of needs that the participants themselves have identified, that they function flexibly according to their members' styles and culture, that women feel more at ease and supportive of each others' efforts.

On the other hand, these organizations tend to be given less serious consideration by other groups, to have less access to resources and less experience in organizational management, resulting sometimes in women becoming more marginalized in development programming.

Third world women's groups have requested organizational assistance so they can play a stronger role in the development of their own countries.

Question. In your testimony you note that PVO's are especially effective at reaching the poorer groups in countries in which they operate, and we know that women are the poorest group in the developing world. What proportion of PVO activities would you estimate have women as the primary participants?

Answer. It is estimated that between 30 to 60 percent of PVO activities have women as primary beneficiaries. Perhaps 30 percent of projects actively involve women in programming. PVO's are determined to increase the number of programs reaching women. Moreover, efforts increasingly have women involved and trained in program design, management, implementation, and evaluation of programs, both as PVO staff or as beneficiaries.

Question. Much of your testimony describes the increasingly important role that PVO's play in development, in general, and in integrating women into development. What do you see as their major constraints or limitations?

Answer. While PVO's have been effective in development, they have been found to have weaknesses/limitations which are by no means insurmountable. According to a recent A.I.D. study, February 1986, (1) PVO's need to show that their community-based approaches can be scaled-up and expanded, in short, replicated. (2) Projects need to be designed to be sustainable over the long-run and not dependent on continued outside funding. (3) PVO projects need as broad programming context, emphasizing coordination and/or pooling of resources of different groups and agencies, as part of a broader programming strategy. (4) Lessons learned are either not generated because of lack of information and evaluation of project results or not shared with colleagues in development.

On the one hand, the absorptive capacity of PVO's to use outside funds has increased. On the other, there is still a limited proportion of A.I.D. funds channeled through PVO's, the level falling short of congressional expectations.

There is also a need to explore ways to expand PVO relationship with national governments in order to provide feedback that in turn will positively affect policy change. Truly collaborative ventures in development will then be possible.

Question. To what extent do you believe the leadership within PVO's is cognizant of the centrality of women's contributions to economic development?

Answer. There is increasing recognition of women's contribution to economic development. Most PVO's have re-examined their programs in light of activities like workshops for members of PVO associations on designing and implementing activities that effectively address women's issues.

Work remains to be done in moving from relief activities to development, including how to design and implement programs where women are not just recipients of aid, but also active contributors to development.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARY HILL ROJAS, VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

I feel very privileged to be here today before this committee that has enabled my distinguished colleagues and me to testify on an essential element of the development process, the roles of women and men. I represent the membership of the Association for Women in Development (AWID). The collective membership of AWID represents an exceedingly rich source of expertise and experience in the development field in general and with the women in development field in particular.

The Association for Women in Development is the only United States-based professional association that focuses on international development and gender issues. AWID is committed to ensuring that women participate as full and active partners in a more equitable development process, and that they share in its benefits.

AWID is a multi-disciplinary association which draws its membership from a wide variety of private and voluntary organizations, multilateral organizations, universities, and individuals with an interest in women in developing regions of the world. Members include faculty and students from such disciplines as the social sciences, agricultural human resource, and women's studies; staff of national and interna-

tional aid agencies; representatives of private development organizations and firms, and individuals involved in development programs. All the members are linked by their common concern for including women as both agents and beneficiaries in development planning in order to fully realize the goals of equality, development, and peace.

The Association's membership forms what we call a triad of scholars, practitioners and policymakers. Through this triad AWID encourages and strengthens research issues related to women in development, seeks to improve the practice of multilateral, bilateral and private institutions in the integration of women in development, and provides improved communications and education on problems and solutions relating to women in development.

One of the constituencies of AWID is the land grant university within the United States—an institution that has traditionally been concerned with agriculture, nutrition, and rural development and, therefore, has played a key role in development both at home and abroad. As a faculty member of a land grant university, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and as an administrator in the Virginia Tech Office of International Development, I'd like to focus my remaining time on issues related to agriculture, low-resource farm households, and the development process.

I team-teach a course with a cumbersome title, "Working with Limited Resource Farm Families in Developing Regions Through Extension." One of the first things we do in the class is consider each of the elements in the title. We ask our students, primarily from Virginia, to define a family. We ask them about their own family structures. We then design for them various family configurations—the United States idea of a nuclear family; the polygamous family; the extended family; the female-headed household. We talk about decision-making and income distribution within families. We ask what are resources from a farm household? Using, by way of example, the most common, land, labor and capital, we ask who in the family has title to land? What is the division of labor within the family? Who plants, who weeds, who harvests? Who has access to which resources and who controls them? What crops are grown and for whose benefit? What livestock are kept and for whose benefit? Then we ask the students to define "limited." We ask what factors limit access to and control over resources for people. The students usually name lack of political power, lack of education, and poverty. They name being too old or too young. They name being of minority groups and they name being female. Then we ask them *why* family structure and an understanding of resources and their allocation is important to agricultural production and why they are important to the field practitioner and the extension agent.

Invariably, the importance of gender or understanding the roles of rural women and men and their access to and control over resources emerges as a critical element in understanding any agricultural system. The students who are, for the most part, in the agricultural sciences and who, for the most part, have never heard of women in development, identify what have become known as women in development issues. They understand that if land title and access to credit are linked and titles are in the man's name, then access to a vital resource is curtailed for women. They understand that if a woman's primary responsibility is to feed her family through subsistence crops, then the introduction of cash crops that demand her time and labor may be in conflict with the nutrition of her family. They understand that if the man is considered head of household and is given credit to buy a tractor, he soon cultivates more land. They see that the woman and her daughter must then weed a larger area. The students begin to understand the choices that they must make as extension agents and the impact these choices may have on the various members of the low-resource farm family.

Through the women in development literature, we have learned a great deal about how to better work with the low-resource farm families and what information we need to know to do so.

We know that women's access to extension services is poor—that the focus is on male farmers at the expense of food crops for the family table and at the expense of training women in commercial farming.

We know that explicit training often can overcome male bias. In Kenya, an agroforestry project provided training to extension personnel for reaching women. They did role plays of the shy woman, the woman in an all male group, and the woman unable to talk with a male extension agent.

We know inheritance patterns in land can foil rural settlement schemes when daughters, unable to inherit and, move away, and only men are entitled to irrigated allotments. The motivation for women to resettle is minimal.

We know that gender plays a large role in labor constraints in agricultural production. Male migration leaves women with work they traditionally have not done, such as clearing land. New practices contribute to a heavier work load for women and their subsequent refusal to adopt the technologies introduced.

We know that when women have control over crops or livestock, there is an incentive for them to try innovations. A choice between a dairy project and a beef cattle project is often a choice between targeting women or targeting men.

We know that women and men often have conflicting views of agricultural resources. A woman's concerns with the forest are to find firewood and building poles for her family's needs. A man sees these products as cash crops. A woman sees the forest as a source of food, fodder, medicines, and raw materials for baskets and mats. A man does not usually consider these uses of the forest.

We know that agricultural yield, the standard criteria of researchers, often does not take into consideration the preferences and priorities of village women and men. Cassava, traditionally a woman's crop, was grown on an experimental station and produced a high yield. However, the new variety deprived women of the leaf harvest and they refused to adopt it.

We know that our vision of what women do and what men do on low-resource farms is often clouded by our own biases—the biases that lead us to work with more prosperous farms or those farms that are near urban centers and roads; the tendency to ask questions of village heads, primarily men; the tendency to meet with users of extension services rather than non-users.

In the evaluation document, "Women in Development: AID's Experience 1973-1985" the following conclusions were drawn and I quote:

"Understanding gender factors in agricultural production is crucial to the successful transfer of technology into agricultural systems. These factors include differential access to and control over resources, gender-linked labor constraints, control of income from sale of crops, and differing stakes in and incentives to increased output . . ."

The report also says:

"In the agriculture sector, those projects which delivered resources directly to women, i.e., where women's participation in project activities were high were much more likely to succeed in achieving their purposes than were projects where women did not receive resources. The degree of match between the gender division of labor in the baseline situation and the gender of project participants is the key factor for efforts to raise productivity and to diversify small farm production.

In a project where gender roles in agriculture were ignored, crops were planted incorrectly and did not grow, machinery provided by a project was not used, and crops were inadequately fertilized. In a project where design was adapted to fit gender roles, significant amounts of labor were mobilized for timely soil and water conservation efforts.

But the process of adapting projects to the gender division of labor in the baseline situation is by no means automatic. In case after case, the evaluation showed that project planners should never assume that female farmers will be automatically included in training or extension activities simply because there are no formal barriers to their participation.

Even in cases where a project focused on crops or activities which were women's responsibility but did not explicitly earmark resources or services for the women, they were not included in project activities."

The report emphasized that, although we know of the importance of gender analysis, we have yet to effectively adapt project activities to reflect this analysis. We continue to focus our research efforts on cash crops to the exclusion of vegetables and other food crops which are primarily the concern of women. We forget that for both women and men of limited resources, the transfer of high technology can be counterproductive.

We must provide training and research based on the priorities and needs of the low-resource farm families, especially women, as they are the food producers of the world. We particularly need to empower the limited resource rural woman by providing her with more access to the resources and opportunities that will allow her to better utilize and control the options open to her and to her family. Finally, we need practitioners who understand that agricultural production and agricultural yield are only a part of the equation. Labor requirements, marketing, consumption patterns, food preservation, access to credit, all play a vital part in the multidisciplinary approach we call agricultural development.

Those of us concerned with women in development are concerned with all of these issues, primarily at the household level. We are concerned with research at the household level and with the links between this research and extension. In the

United States Agency for International Development—Women in Development evaluation, those projects that did gender analysis and adapted the project activities based on the analysis had a greater success rate than those that did not. Although the report does not attempt to explain the cause of this, I believe the answer is simple: Gender analysis focuses our attention on the women and men at the household level and it is here that the success or failure of development ultimately lies. In this regard, it is obvious that the field of women in development is making an invaluable contribution to the development process.

Thank you for the privilege of being with you.

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR MARY HILL ROJAS

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. MICKEY LELAND

Question. Low resource women farmers have been identified as being the best hope for increasing food production in Africa and elsewhere. Yet, we know that they have largely been by-passed by development assistance. Dr. Rojas, what modifications do you think should be made in our development assistance policies and programs to better reach this group?

Answer. The importance of women in development (WID) was learned from the bottom-up, at the grassroots level. Now it is time for the issues to be emphasized and reinforced from the top-down. Top level A.I.D. administrators need to let it be known that WID is a priority throughout the Agency. The World Bank has recently done this and it has been effective.

(b) All personnel working with USA foreign assistance aid need WID training. Such training programs already exist and they have been used very extensively. The Canadian experience with WID training is worth emulating.

(c) Utilize those of us who have worked with WID issues as consultants in editing and reviewing all project documentation to make sure they are gender sensitive. The U.S. A.I.D./WID office has done very good work in this area.

Question. In your testimony, you mention priorities and needs of low-resource farm families. Could you be specific as to what these priorities and needs are?

Answer. The priorities and needs of low-resource farm families vary from region to region and country to country. Therefore, it is important to assess these needs and priorities. Such assessment can be quick and clean, as Robert Chambers says, by drawing on the experience of farming systems methodology using rapid rural reconnaissance surveys. The participation of the whole family in these assessments is paramount. Generally, the needs and priorities needs include increased income, more food for the family table, health care, and education. One of my African friends—a man—told me, however, that the greatest need was changing the attitudes of men toward women and their work.

Question. Women farmers and farm managers are rarely, if ever, included in the design, implementation, evaluation, and management of agricultural development projects and programs. What benefits do you think would result from their involvement in these activities?

Answer. The women in development literature is filled with examples of the negative results of not including women in the process of designing, implementing, and evaluating development projects. Much of our testimony before the Select Committee on Hunger gave examples of the negative results of not including women and the positive results that result when women are included. However it is essential to remember that the participation of the farm women, themselves, is the only way to ensure that projects address the realities of their lives. Again, farming systems methodology is useful in this regard. Practitioners who are WID sensitive are adept at serving as liaisons between the farm women and project personnel and policymakers.

Question. The magnitude and importance of women food producers have been recognized only recently. Their roles in food processing, preparation, and marketing which are equally important are still somewhat invisible to development planners. To what extent are the impacts of our development assistance efforts limited by the failure to address the entire range of women's roles in the food system?

Answer. I draw on my testimony:

Through the women in development literature, we have learned a great deal about how to better work with the low-resource farm families and what information we need to know to do so.

We know that women's access to extension services is poor—that the focus is on male farmers at the expense of food crops for the family table and at the expense of training women in commercial farming.

We know that explicit training often can overcome male bias. In Kenya, an agroforestry project provided training to extension personnel for reaching women. They did role plays of the shy women, the woman in an all male group, and the women unable to talk with a male extension agent.

We know inheritance patterns in land can foil settlement schemes when daughters, unable to inherit land, move away, and only men are entitled to irrigated allotments. The motivation for women to resettle is minimal.

We know that gender plays a large role in labor constraints in agricultural production. Male migration leaves women with work they traditionally have not done, such as clearing land. New practices contribute to a heavier work load for women and their subsequent refusal to adopt the technologies introduced.

We know that when women have control over crops or livestock, there is an incentive for them to try innovations. A choice between a dairy project and a beef cattle project is often a choice between targeting women or targeting men.

We know that women and men often have conflicting views of agricultural resources. A woman's concern with the forest is to find firewood and building poles for her family's needs. A man sees these products as cash crops. A woman sees the forest as a source of food, fodder, medicines, and raw materials for baskets and mats. A man does not usually consider these uses of the forest.

We know that agricultural yield, the standard criteria of researchers, often does not take into consideration the preferences and priorities of village women and men. Cassava, traditionally a woman's crop, was grown on an experimental station and produced a high yield. However, the new variety deprived women of the leaf harvest and they refused to adopt it.

We know that our vision of what women do and what men do on low-resource farms is often clouded by our own biases—the biases that lead us to work with more prosperous farms or those farms that are near urban centers and roads; the tendency to ask questions of village heads, primarily men; the tendency to meet with users of extension services rather than nonusers.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KAY DAVIES, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT, BUREAU FOR PROGRAM AND POLICY COORDINATION, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT [A.I.D.]

I would like to thank the committee for the opportunity to discuss the Agency for International Development's [A.I.D.'s] implementation of section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act.

Since the Percy amendment was enacted almost 14 years ago, the issue of women in development has progressed from what has been often viewed as a "special interest" cause to one recognized as a vital and critical component of our bilateral foreign assistance programs. It has been a priority issue for A.I.D. Administrator, M. Peter McPherson. He has taken a personal role in assuring that women's contributions to the development process are integrated within the Agency's mainstream programs and projects, not as a "special concern," but as an important, standard element in our programs and projects.

A.I.D. believes to ignore women's roles in the developing world is both wasteful and self-defeating. Because women and girls comprise more than fifty percent of the world's population, our programs will be less effective and less efficient if we fail to recognize women's potential contributions to their families, their communities, and to their nations. A.I.D. has been in the forefront of this issue. In 1972, we were the first donor country to issue a comprehensive policy paper on women in development. This paper serves as the written framework upon which women are to be integrated into all of the Agency's programs and projects.

At this point, it is important to emphasize that A.I.D. considers women in the context of their economic roles. We do not deny that for equity reasons women should be taken into consideration. However, we believe that we can have far more success as a bilateral donor organization if we target the economic roles of women.

Further, A.I.D. believes that implementation of its women in development policy depends upon its successful integration throughout the Agency's portfolio. Women's issues must be integrated into the mainstream and not marginalized in a single office or only through women-specific projects. We are committed to the philosophy that the responsibility for implementing this policy rests with all of A.I.D.'s offices, at all levels of decision-making.

Today, just as all of our programs are built upon what is referred to as the "four pillars": private enterprise, technology transfer, institution building, and policy dia-

logue, implementation of women in development programs is also built on these same four pillars. For example:

In designing private enterprise credit projects, we try to assure that women will benefit and also have access to credit programs, just like men, since their skills are self-evident, particularly in the informal sector.

In technology transfer, particularly in the all-important sector of agriculture and forestry, we work to remove barriers to women's access to extension service training and new technology;

In institution building, we design project adaptations ranging from the training of A.I.D. personnel, to the use of indigenous women's organizations as training units for cottage industries, to the facilitation of indigenous urban planning organizations' consideration of gender issues in new town development.

And, in policy dialogue, we are developing tools to train host country governments in making decisions that will both engage and benefit women.

So, keeping the four pillars in mind, the primary objectives of our women in development policy are to consider women in an economic context and to integrate women into all of our agency programs. Our strategies are to institutionalize WID concerns within the agency; offer high-level technical assistance to our missions, to host governments, and to development organizations; and, train our own personnel as well as other development practitioners and LDC organizations.

Now, how do we implement these policies and strategies?

Over the past six years, the Office of Women in development has been the agency's catalyst to accelerate the integration of women into the agency's programs. Since 1981, it has spent over \$16 million to support projects that benefit women. These projects addressed: increased employment in the private sector; small scale enterprise development; management training; education and skills training; credit and technical assistance; agricultural development, and technology transfer.

As mentioned previously, our WID policy emphasizes the integration of women into the economic mainstream. Consequently, we avoid, wherever possible, women-specific activities that may tend to marginalize women further. Keeping this in mind, I would like to give you a few examples of how the women in development office and the agency itself are responding to section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act.

First, in an effort to affect policy changes in the nations where we work, we emphasize to host governments that the effectiveness of development depends in significant degree upon the efficiency with which human resources are applied. The agency and its overseas missions attempt to demonstrate to host governments the important economic advantages of developing and applying the skills of women. We are particularly dedicated to the premise that women, along with men, be in a better position to shoulder their proportionate burden of the work to be done.

We are developing a micro-computer simulation model called "gender resource awareness in national development," also known as "grand." Grand demonstrates the economic impact effective participation of women and girls can have in different economic sectors. Models for gender resource analysis are tailored to each country situation. Programs are now being developed for Pakistan and Jordan, and as many as 10 more countries will be targeted in the next two years.

A second area of interest to us is in the area of education and training. In a typical developing country women fall far behind men in access to elementary and secondary education. As a result, an even smaller percentage become qualified to pursue higher levels of education. However, we are beginning to see changes. For example, from three years ago when there were no women students at the Institute of Agriculture and Animal Science in Kathmandu, Nepal, female enrollment has now increased to 32. USAID/Nepal, is co-financing a project with the World Bank for construction of permanent dormitory facilities for 154 women students. The project also includes a covenant that the Government of Nepal increase female enrollment and numbers of female staff.

In Jordan, USAID/Amman's management development project provides technical assistance and training to the faculty of economics and administrative sciences at the University of Jordan; 50 percent of whom are women.

Getting women involved in the education process is one of the main issues addressed by A.I.D.'s basic research and implementation for developing education systems [bridges] project, a \$10 million, worldwide effort managed by Harvard University and A.I.D.'s bureau for science and technology. In order to build upon the work already being done under the bridges project, the office of women in development is working with the bureau on a sub-project to facilitate greater improvements in girls' access and retention rates. The project will provide a statistical data base and

the use of microcomputer modeling to explore alternative strategies that more effectively reach girls in approximately 40 countries.

This is a good example of the office of women in development leveraging its funds with other agency offices to maximize its impact on females in the education sector.

With respect to our agency's participant training program, in fiscal year 1986, 15,330 A.I.D. participants were trained in the United States, 25 percent of whom were women. The number of U.S. trainees and the percentage of women are now the highest ever in the agency, and we will continue to pursue even higher goals in the future, which should increase as access to education for women at all levels increases in the developing world.

A third area of interest is micro and small scale enterprise development. A.I.D. is now formulating a formal strategy in this sector. We are beginning to recognize the full extent of the size of this sector, its relative economic efficiency, its industrial linkages, and its contribution to household incomes. We are also beginning to recognize the critical role of women in this sector. There are many examples of projects reaching women where improvements in equity were achieved at the same time economic performance was improved. For instance, in Jamaica, USAID/Kingston has funded small scale loans for the private sector. Since its inception, the mission's national development foundation project has provided 1,202 loans valued at approximately \$1.6 million. According to a USAID sponsored assessment of the project, thirty-five (35) percent of the enterprises receiving loans have women as principals. The number of women receiving technical assistance and training is even greater.

The Office of Women in Development is also leveraging its funds to "buy-in" to the bureau for Science and Technology's "ARIES" (assistance to resource institutions for enterprise support) project. ARIES is designed to help increase the effectiveness of institutions that promote micro and small scale enterprises. "Buy-ins" help ensure inclusion of women as participants and beneficiaries. For instance, the Office of Women in Development recently funded the addition of one person on a technical assistance team who will focus exclusively on women in the design of Jordan's small entrepreneur development project.

A fourth area of interest is extending technical assistance to field missions. Missions often need assistance in developing gender aspects of their planning and program documents as well as implementation and evaluation. Through the Office of Women in Development, assistance is made available in a number of ways.

Through cooperative agreements with title XII universities, working through the Consortium for International Development [CID] and the Southeast Consortium for International Development [SECID], we have offered technical assistance to over 25 countries. In Nepal, consultants have established baseline data on household composition, the sexual division of labor, and women's role in agricultural decision making. In Egypt, a team has trained scientists to use the methods of gender-disaggregated data collection in an agriculture program. We will be continuing this kind of technical assistance with even more fully developed projects that will ensure that our USAIDs, host governments, and title XII's' needs are addressed and met.

Another way in which the Office of Women in Development provides technical assistance to the field is through a cooperative agreement with the International Center for Research on Women [ICRW]. In Zaire, ICRW is helping design and implement a pilot agricultural extension/training program to reach women farmers. In Bangladesh, ICRW evaluated the mission's small enterprise development project and assisted in preparing a cross-sectoral mission strategy for integrating women.

Offering technical assistance is critical, but equally important is offering training to our own agency personnel. We cannot be content to merely sensitize our development planners to women in development; we have to give them practical guidance in how this issue can and should be addressed.

Manuals for integrating women into A.I.D. projects, including such topics as vocational education, agriculture, and small scale enterprise, have been developed. They not only help USAID missions but help country counterparts to understand the economic importance of helping women and providing them with the tools necessary to contribute to the national economy.

The women in development office offers training workshops that provide A.I.D. field staff with practical and applicable guidelines for integrating women into A.I.D. projects.

In 1987, up to five workshops are planned throughout Latin America. The Office of Women in Development and the Bureau for Africa are sponsoring a workshop in Nairobi on gender resources in African agricultural systems for all of A.I.D.'s Africa-based senior agriculture and program officers. The major objective of the workshop is to provide A.I.D. mission personnel with information, guidelines and tools to assist them in integrating concerns about women's economic participation in

project design, implementation and evaluation. The workshop responds to the need for practical guidance to assist the Bureau of Africa in implementing A.I.D.'s stated policy on women in development.

Mr. Chairman, these are only highlights of a few of our programs at A.I.D. I believe they provide an idea of how we are going about implementing section 113. We have a forward-looking program that emphasizes women's economic roles and potential, and we are institutionalizing our policy throughout our agency. We are affecting policy; we are improving our education and training programs for women and girls; we are offering technical assistance to our missions overseas; we are improving women's access to credit, extension, and new technologies; and we are training our agency personnel. And most importantly, this issue is gaining wider recognition in other developing nations.

Women are a resource that we will not overlook. I believe that from the senior level policymakers to the important project and program personnel in our agency, we are finally able to say we are witnessing tremendous dividends in the effectiveness of our bilateral development programs.

We are not going to pretend that everything has been done and that we have mastered every technique in integrating women into their own economies. But, I can assure you that we are committed to continuing our efforts, and I believe wholeheartedly that we will continue our successes.

Thank you.

RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS FOR KAY DAVIES

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. MICKEY LELAND

Question. Can you tell me what incentives and disincentives exist within the Agency for individuals to mainstream women in development projects and program activities, or alternatively what are the sanctions for not mainstreaming them? What incentives or sanctions do you think could be used to improve mainstreaming of women?

Answer. Through the Agency's Incentive Awards Program, there are two ways of recognizing efforts to carry out women in development activities: the Agency's ongoing Honor Awards Program (for example, the Special Honor Award and the Meritorious Honor Award) and the Agency's Special Awards Programs (for example, Administrator's Implementation Award for the C. Herbert Rees Memorial Award).

The Administrator re-emphasized the WID mandate in his March 7, 1987, cable to all foreign service posts and Washington staff. He wrote, in part, "It is important that we work even more diligently in implementing this policy (on women in development) so we will achieve institutionalization of this policy. . . . Agency staff must be constantly aware of the significance of integrating women into mainstream economic development and this awareness must be reflected in our developmental planning. I am asking each of you, therefore, to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that women in development issues are specifically and fully addressed in all critical agency planning documents. . . ."

There are no disincentives to carrying out the WID mandate. The backing of senior management, as represented in the re-emphasis of the Administrator noted above, is a positive incentive to develop and to implement mainstream WID activities.

Question. In your written statement, you indicated that 25 percent of participant trainees are women, but in your oral statement the figure you provided was 21 percent. Can you clarify which figure is correct and break participation down by region?

Answer. During fiscal year 1986 15,330 A.I.D. participants were in training, in the United States, of which 21 percent were women. The 25 percent figure in the written statement was a typographical error, and I apologize for it. The percentage breakdown by region is: Africa 21 percent; Asia/Near East 15 percent; Latin America and the Caribbean, 28 percent.

Question. Do you think it is possible to increase the percentage of participant trainees who are women? What levels do you think could be achieved within the next 5 years and what steps do you think would be necessary to achieve these levels?

Answer. A.I.D. believes that the percentage of participant trainees who are women will continue to increase in the next 4 years. The number of female trainees in fiscal year 1986 was the highest ever for the Agency. As missions focus more and more on integrating women into mainstream economic development programs and projects, training opportunities for women will surely expand. This is particularly

true as missions emphasize private sector development where women are a major source of entrepreneurial leadership.

It is important, we think, to remember that when we speak about percentages in participant training, we are addressing only the numbers of people in training in the United States in any given fiscal year. It does not include statistics on in-country training programs where I would suspect the inclusion of women is more substantial.

Despite the general inability of Third World women to accept long-term training assignments outside their countries, however, we believe that achievement of at least 30 to 40 percent females in U.S. training by 1990 is feasible. The Agency will continue to take steps to emphasize the need to increase the percentage of women. In some instances, as we have already done in our Central America Peace Scholarship Training Program, specific targets or goals will be set to ensure such increases.

Question. I understand our neighbor to the north, Canada, by using action plans and strong commitment has made rapid progress in mainstreaming women in their development projects and programs. Why couldn't A.I.D. do something similar?

Answer. Using the Agency's policy paper on women in development as the basic framework for complying with section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act, the Office of Women in Development has begun working with each Washington-based Agency bureau to develop regional and/or technical action plans for expanding our women in development programs. Further, each of our Assistant Administrators, with the full support and concurrence of Administrator McPherson, has agreed to pursue through each of their bureaus, programs that will ensure compliance with the policy paper's recommendations. We are well aware of Canada's activities to more fully integrate women into all of their programs, and we will be monitoring their progress through this first year of their program to determine what measures, if any, we may adopt and/or refine for our own use.

Question. It is my understanding that few if any permanent staff are assigned to the WID office on a continuing basis. Does this hinder the effectiveness of the office?

Answer. It has been our experience that through the flexibility of our staffing arrangements, PPC/WID has been able to contract out to meet the special needs of the office and to access the top experts in the field, with the most relevant and updated experience. In the same way, we feel that the experience of foreign service officers (who work for the office on a rotating basis) is invaluable, as it provides us with direct hands-on field experience and an otherwise unavailable insight into the missions' needs and procedures.

Question. How many permanent staff currently are assigned to the WID office?

Answer. Of a total of nine (9) current staff members, two (2) are permanently assigned to the WID office: one mid-level staff assistant and one secretary. The other seven (7) staff members consist of: the Director, the Deputy Director, four (4) senior technical advisors (two of whom are foreign service officers), and one mid-level staff assistant. We also expect to add two more technical advisors, with extensive backgrounds in agriculture and the private sector, sometime in May of this year.

Question. In your testimony you indicate that A.I.D. works to remove barriers to women's access to extension service training and new technologies. Could you briefly identify these barriers and describe some specific actions A.I.D. has taken to remove them?

Answer. A summary of the more common barriers faced by women in gaining access to extension services and new technologies are: (A) lack of access to decision making; (B) lack of access to resources, particularly land and credit; (C) level of time availability; (D) Lack of access to channels for information; (E) lack of access to extension services; and (F) lack of access to higher education. Provided below are illustrative examples of specific action taken by A.I.D. to overcome such barriers.

(a) *Lack of access to decision making/planning.*—The agricultural system support project in Kenya assures that female candidates be considered equally with males at all levels of the agricultural ministry. At the beginning stages of the project, 25 percent of the extension system is now staffed by women. In U.S. A.I.D. Morocco, the mission is negotiating changes in the laws and policies which affect women's involvement in project development, implementation, and evaluation. The mission has successfully negotiated a 33-percent minimum target for women's participation in the sector support training project.

(b) *Access to resources (land, credit).*—U.S. A.I.D. Uganda is assisting the Bank of Uganda to encourage banks to loan to women. Women will be provided with special education in how to apply for loans and the bank of Uganda will provide a partial guarantee to encourage banks establish a line of credit without putting up land as security.

(c) *Increasing availability of time/labor.*—U.S. A.I.D. Burundi has integrated an agro-forestry component into food crop projects to encourage the planting of quick growing trees. Aside from protecting against soil erosion and increasing soil fertility, the component has increased the labor capacity of women through saving the amount of time needed to collect firewood.

(d) *Women lack access to channels for information.*—U.S. A.I.D. Peru has incorporated a mass communication component which aims to develop and evaluate strategies to include women. In collaboration with the Peace Corps, U.S. A.I.D. Liberia has established a rural radio network aimed at providing women information and training in crop production management.

(e) *Lack of access to extension services.*—U.S. A.I.D. Nepal has established a special extension program directed to women farmers. The project trains women to serve as village contacts and extension agents in an already established agricultural project.

(f) *Barriers to admission in University education.*—U.S. A.I.D. Kenya has targeted an increase from 15 to 30 percent in women's admission to agricultural universities in its agricultural grain storage project. In addition, women are now specializing in all areas of agriculture rather than home economics where women traditionally specialized.

Question. In 1982, A.I.D. issued a women in development policy paper which provides guidelines for integrating women in development projects and programs. In your testimony you describe efforts and some specific A.I.D. projects that are a part of this policy. Can you tell me what effects or impacts these projects and efforts have had?

Answer. A.I.D. Washington is now able to monitor all CDSS's, action plans, project identification documents, and project papers to ensure that the guidelines set forth in the policy paper are carried out. In cases where mission submissions fail to adequately address gender issues, outgoing guidance is provided. In one case, for example, (U.S. A.I.D. Cameroon) guidance was provided in preparing a major WID strategy and a tracking system. At the other end of the spectrum; for example, U.S. A.I.D. Morocco; missions submit planning and program documents that demonstrate excellent initiatives undertaken on behalf of women in development. In these cases, the missions are commended for their efforts.

U.S. A.I.D. missions are offered technical assistance in a variety of forms including title XII university consortium and private contracting arrangements. One project in particular, gender resources awareness in national development, GRAND, has received overwhelming positive response. This project assists U.S. A.I.D. missions in implementing A.I.D.'s WID policy in macroeconomic policy dialogs with LDC's. Other types of assistance now being initiated are expected to receive similar responses.

Question. The women in development policy paper and your testimony state that responsibility for implementing A.I.D.'s offices and programs, at all levels of decisionmaking. Which offices and programs do you think have been most effective in implementing this policy? What is your opinion are the principal reasons that offices and programs have not been effective?

Answer. Several weeks ago, Administrator McPherson sent a directive to all of the Agency's Assistant Administrators and to all the mission's directors in the field re-emphasizing the importance he placed on the Women in Development Program, and requesting each of these individuals to ensure that all A.I.D./W bureaus and missions complied with the Agency's policy paper. Therefore, the responsibility for ensuring that these policies are adhered to rests with our senior policy makers. At the same time, it is imperative that Agency personnel at all levels understand why WID will improve the overall effectiveness of their programs. Agency personnel is sensitized to this importance, but the issue of addressing successfully WID issues in every sector, in every region, and in every country, is still a major program. Therefore, the Women in Development Office, with advice and support from other bureaus and offices, is developing specific training programs and materials that will provide guidelines on responding to the legitimate question of How do we do WID?

It should be emphasized that the United States is further along than any other donor country in addressing the specific sectoral training activities, and our models are being used by many other countries in meeting this need. We recognize we must continue to refine these training programs, and this effort will continue to be a major undertaking by the Agency and the Women in Development Office over the next 2 years.

With respect to those bureaus and offices that have achieved the most results in implementing WID policies, the LAC, S&T, and ANE bureaus are probably the most advanced. These bureaus have received the most training regarding WID. We and the Africa bureau realize it is an area that needs attention. The WID Office and the

Africa bureau, therefore, are developing their agricultural training course this fall for senior A.I.D. Africa-based agricultural officers.

Question. Some years ago, A.I.D. initiated something called gender analysis as part of the process used to design projects. Could you briefly describe gender analysis? I have been told that although these analyses are done, and stapled to the policy documents, it is rare that they are interwoven in project planning documents. Is this true?

Answer. Briefly, gender analysis is the process of analyzing gender disaggregated data. Gender disaggregated data is simply data that indicates the gender of the individual described by the statistic. For example, if a survey is being conducted on the number of people employed by small businesses in the city of Jakarta, the questionnaire will ask how many women and how many men are employed by each business, rather than simply asking how many people. The data can then be collated to determine the percentages of men and women employed, and analyzed to see if there are any unusual trends which need to be further explored. In the above example, for instance, gender analysis might reveal that small businesses in Jakarta employ a significant number of women. Therefore, any assistance to small business will necessarily address women's issues, such as time constraints, access to credit, et cetera.

It is true that, in the past, gender analyses were rarely interwoven into project planning documents. However, the Agency's planning documents have improved significantly during the last 1 to 2 years with respect to the integration of gender issues. Suggested project modifications to integrate women's concerns are still being refined, but are much more clearly defined in 1987 than ever before. During the last 12 years there has been a steadily growing (supply) of research on the situation of women, but it has been difficult to get specific recommendations on how to best integrate women into actual project design. A.I.D. is addressing this problem through its general manual series (discussed in the April 8th statement), and through its training workshops for A.I.D. personnel (also discussed in the April 8th statement), both of which are providing substantial assistance to project design teams for the integration of women in development.

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

Question. In 1982, A.I.D. increased its WID policy paper that was to provide a policy framework and practical guidelines for the Agency as a whole to incorporate women in the total development process. Some 5 years have now passed (14 years since the enactment of the Percy amendment).

Would you say that the policy—that mandate—that A.I.D. committed itself to for WID has actively received the kind of priority in the Agency that was set forth so clearly in the policy paper?

Answer. The Administrator of A.I.D. has been the most vocal supporter for ensuring that the policy paper is adhered to. It was with his guidance that the policy paper was developed and implemented. The responsibility for ensuring that these policies are carried out rests with each of the Assistant Administrators and their respective staffs. An overwhelming majority of the Agency's staff recognize the critical element women play in economic development activities, and, as such, recognize the priority of integrating women into A.I.D.'s programs.

Question. What are the constraints to actively implementing the policies set out in A.I.D.'s WID mandate?

Answer. A significant constraint to implementing policies is the lack of gender disaggregated data concerning women in developing countries. Gender disaggregated data are important in understanding the social and economic role of women in developing countries in order to plan and to implement development activities to reach women as beneficiaries and participants. A.I.D. has addressed this constraint in part by financing with the U.S. Bureau of the Census a major report on gender data. In addition, the Agency calls its staff's attention to the need for gender disaggregated data in the preparation and review of individual program and project grant and loan proposals, in its programming guidance to missions, and in the various fora in which WID activities are discussed.

Another constraint is that the WID mandate may be overlooked during development planning. The Administrator re-emphasized the WID mandate in his March 7, 1987, cable to all foreign service posts and Washington staff. He wrote, in part, "It is important that we work even more diligently in implementing this policy (on women in development) so we will achieve institutionalization of this policy. . . . It is all too often simply overlooked. Agency staff must be constantly aware of the significance of integrating women into mainstream economic development and this

awareness must be reflected in our developmental planning. I am asking each of you, therefore, to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that women in development issues are specifically and fully addressed in all critical Agency planning documents * * *"

A third constraint is external and cultural. At times, people in foreign governments and foreign institutions do not understand what is women in development, or they are suspicious or apprehensive about WID. A.I.D. has targeted various resources to raising the awareness and consciousness level concerning the social and economic aspects of women in development activities in order to counter the erroneous preconception of WID as an American political phenomenon. One example of our efforts is the gender resource awareness in national development project (GRAND) project. An A.I.D. Office of Women in Development project, GRAND uses microcomputer based models and presentations to host country development planners and policymakers to increase their awareness of women's and girl's contributions to the development of their countries and to assist developing countries to integrate women and girls more fully into their national social and economic development efforts.

Question. Is a budget of a little more than \$2 million a year a constraint? Is this an indication of the priority that the Agency puts on the WID Program?

Answer. As the goal of the Agency is to institutionalize women in development in A.I.D., we do not feel that our budget is a constraint, nor that it is an indication of the Agency's commitment to the Women in Development Program. The PPC/WID funds are generally used for policy development, pilot and demonstration activities, and combining the office's funds with other bureaus, offices, and missions, to leverage our collective impact and influence. In this manner, we are institutionalizing the commitment to integrating women as well as enabling other offices and the U.S. A.I.D. missions to gain experience in actual design and implementation of gender-aware projects.

While the stated annual budget for women in development is \$2 million, the total WID budget is very difficult to determine. Women in development is not a functional account, and the agency addresses women in development as a cross cutting issue. For example, a mission may address gender issues as part of a DA funded agriculture project or possibly from ESF, or we may find that aspects of a Commodity Import Program or Public Law 480 address directly or indirectly women in development. Putting dollars on these kinds of initiatives—from direct to indirect impact, from WID specific to unplanned WID impact—is imprecise. Our guess is that about 10 percent of a middle sized mission's portfolio may be expended on WID.

One of the Agency's problems in totalling the WID budget has been the lack of a precise definition of what WID comprises. We are therefore now assessing and developing appropriate, consistent WID definitions and methodologies for collecting gender-related data and standardized reporting procedures.

Question. What recommendations would you make to this committee that would lead to full and active implementation of the priorities set forth in the WID policy statement?

Answer. We certainly appreciate the continued interest and support the committee has given to the Agency in carrying out this critical mandate and look forward to working closely with you in the future. It is our hope that the committee will continue to place a high priority on the role of women and continue to emphasize that women's contributions to the development process in general must be integrated within A.I.D.'s mainstream economic programs and projects and not marginalized as a special concern.

Question. Given that WID is a centralized bureau operating in a decentralized structure, how does this impact on its effectiveness?

Answer. Women in development is a cross cutting issue in A.I.D., and, as such, has an impact on all aspects of the Agency's programs and projects. In order to thoroughly integrate WID into A.I.D.'s vast activities, the WID Program operates on a two-tiered system: (1) it is part of the central bureau for policy and program coordination, and (2) each bureau and overseas missions has a WID officer. We feel that this system is a very effective way of reaching all areas in A.I.D. and of ensuring their attention to gender issues.

Question. To what extent does the full implementation of A.I.D.'s WID policy depend on the interest of the regional bureaus or the individual overseas missions? What can be done about this lack of uniformity in the Agency's overall implementation of its WID policy?

Answer. A.I.D.'s regional bureaus and overseas missions are an integral part of its management effort for women's issues as well as all other activities of the Agency. It is A.I.D.'s ability to work flexibly within many individual cultures which permits

it to make maximum progress within a given country without impinging the cultural mores of that country.

It is imperative that all Agency personnel understand the critical importance of women's roles. The actions of all are dictated more by Agency policy and motivation than by individual preference.

Question. Would it be more effective if we had a WID officer in each of the bureaus and missions?

Answer. A.I.D. has a WID officer in each of its regional and central bureaus, as well as overseas missions.

Question. What are the incentives or punishments for fulfilling or not fulfilling the WID mandate throughout the Agency?

Answer. Through the Agency's Incentive Awards Program, there are two ways of recognizing efforts to carry out women in development activities: the Agency's ongoing Honor Awards Program (for example, the Special Honor Award and the Meritorious Honor Award) and the Agency's Special Awards Program (for example, Administrator's Implementation Award or the C. Herbert Rees Memorial Award).

The Administrator re-emphasized the WID mandate in his March 7, 1987, cable to all foreign service posts and Washington staff. He wrote, in part, "It is important that we work even more diligently in implementing this policy (on women in development) so we will achieve institutionalization of this policy. * * * Agency staff must be constantly aware of the significance of integrating women into mainstream economic development and this awareness must be reflected in our developmental planning. I am asking each of you, therefore, to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that women in development issues are specifically and fully addressed in all critical Agency planning documents * * *"

The full backing of senior management to carry out the WID mandate is a positive incentive to action. Performance of Agency staff at all levels is measured in terms of how they carry out the Agency's tasks, including women in development activities.

Question. I know that Mr. McPherson has been a strong advocate and supporter of WID. Now that he is leaving, do you feel that this will be a setback for the priority that has been placed on the WID process in the Agency?

Answer. Administrator McPherson's guidance and attention to this issue has been extremely important to the Agency. However, we believe that this support also reflects the Administration's policy and it will continue under the leadership of a new Administrator. It is clear that without the support at the very highest levels of the Agency, the WID Program could be de-emphasized. We do not believe this will happen, and we are committed to continuing our work to ensure that the emphasis placed on integrating women into all the Agency's programs remains a priority issue in the future.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KAVAL GULHATI, PRESIDENT, CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION ACTIVITIES [CEDPA]

CEDPA

The Centre for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) is a private, non-profit organization founded in Washington, D.C. in 1975. It offers management training to men and women from the Third World who direct development programs in the areas of health, family planning, nutrition, marketing and income generation. CEDPA has trained over 2,000 persons from 85 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East in its 11-year history.

CEDPA also provides follow-up assistance to its trainees or "alumni" in institution-building and project development. It awards subgrants to alumni projects which serve developing countries' needs in the areas of maternal/child health care, nutrition, family planning information and services, and small enterprise development.

CEDPA's Washington, D.C.-based staff numbers approximately 30 persons skilled in the areas of management training, primary health care, personnel administration, fund raising and communications. It has a volunteer Board of Directors representing the fields of population, law, finance, development, science and the media. It receives funding from both the public and private sectors.

A UNIQUE MANAGEMENT TRAINING PROGRAM FOR THIRD WORLD WOMEN MANAGERS

In 1978 CEDPA launched an innovative management training program specifically for Third World women managers. The workshop series, known as "Women in Management: Planning and Management of Service Delivery Programs in Family

Planning, Health and Development," is now offered in English, French, Spanish and Arabic. CEDPA will hold its twentieth WIM workshop in 1987; each has an average of 36 participants; 350 women applied to attend the first workshop and the demand for this training has been high ever since.

The object of the WIM training is to equip Third World women with the skills and confidence to plan and manage development projects—to move from merely being beneficiaries of development services into policymaking positions. The skills can be applied to a wide range of development programs, including efforts to increase a community's agricultural and food production, and improve levels of nutrition. To manage effectively and strategically, women need distinct skills in decision making, program coordination, communications, project planning and implementation. The program also recognizes that, while maternal/child health and family planning programs in the Third World are directed primarily toward women, they are designed, developed and controlled predominantly by male technicians. Why not equip women, who have an in-depth understanding of the target population, with the skills to carry out the projects?

The workshops take place in Washington, D.C., where CEDPA is able to draw upon a wide range of international development experts to serve as trainers. In addition, the workshops serve as an international forum for the exchange of ideas among managers from a variety of cultural settings who face similar problems. Said one woman at a CEDPA workshop: "One of the best and most positive things about the workshop was the marvelous opportunity to meet and share ideas with great women from different backgrounds, cultures and countries."

CEDPA SUCCESS STORIES

Phoebe from Kenya attended CEDPA's first Women in Management workshop. She returned home to organize a program which trained traditional birth attendants to deliver family planning information and services in the South Nyanza District. The project was cited by the Kenyan government as a model for similar projects in the country. Phoebe went on to become the only Kenyan woman currently holding an elected seat in Parliament, where she continues to champion women's causes, population programs, and public-private sector cooperation for development.

Amal holds a senior post in the Government of Egypt where she is responsible for the training of social workers. She believes that the CEDPA program changed her life. It was a turning point for her professionally because it provided her the skills, know-how and self-confidence to introduce a new training approach and supervisory system into her government agency, not only in Alexandria, but throughout the country.

These success stories can be multiplied for most of the women CEDPA has trained. They go on to apply their skills to building development organizations and carrying out community-based projects. CEDPA offers ongoing assistance to many of them.

FOLLOW-UP TO CEDPA TRAINING

At the request of women trained in Washington, CEDPA assists with in-country training workshops for local women managers of health, population and development programs. In-country training has taken place in India, Kenya, Bangladesh, Nepal, Indonesia, Peru, Mali, Togo, Senegal, Pakistan, Zaire, Zimbabwe and Egypt—an illustration of the CEDPA "multiplier effect." CEDPA also continues to assist its alumni with the skills needed for strengthening indigenous organizations: supervision, program monitoring and evaluation, fiscal management. It also provides small grants to projects developed and monitored by its alumni in the areas of health, family planning, nutrition, and income generation. CEDPA's in-country follow-up efforts are funded by grants from the U.S. government, private foundations, corporations and individual donors.

MANAGEMENT TRAINING FOR SUSTAINED DEVELOPMENT

The acid test for any development project is the question, "Can the institution carry on by itself, once outside assistance is withdrawn?" CEDPA's management training attempts to impart skills which can be applied to a variety of development organizations, in both the public and private sectors. The training emphasizes an integrated approach to development that, for example, efforts to improve a community's access to family planning services must be part of an overall primary health care program, and must also respond to women's needs to earn additional income and to improve their marketing skills.

Through its women-to-women strategy, CEDPA has learned important lessons about institution-building. One lesson is that in actually carrying out projects, supervising staff, overseeing financial resources, planning and evaluating activities, women leaders learn how to build institutions. Founded with a great deal of human energy, commitment and talent, these organizations are usually small but they get off to a good start because of effective leadership, strong community support and participation. The women trained by CEDPA are now requesting additional assistance in strengthening their organizations. Picked up by stronger organizations, they will in turn be able to respond to development needs with renewed vigor and flexibility.

CONCLUSION

The women CEDPA trains have proven their ability to carry out projects which are responsive to their community's needs for health, family planning, nutrition and other development services.

And in training women managers, CEDPA has helped build sound institutions, a key ingredient for sustained development in the Third World.

